

**FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZATION FOR FISCAL  
YEAR 2000-2001: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PROGRAMS**

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**HEARING**  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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# FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZATION FOR FISCAL YEAR 2000-2001: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PROGRAMS

THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1999

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND  
HUMAN RIGHTS  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,  
*Washington, DC.*

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:10 p.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher Smith (chairman of the Subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SMITH. [presiding] The Subcommittee will come to order. Good afternoon.

This is the second in a series of hearings on legislation to authorize the foreign relations agencies in the United States for Fiscal Years 2000 and 2001. Today, the Subcommittee will consider the functions collectively known as public diplomacy, the International Broadcasting Services Exchange Programs, and other information services now operated by the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and the worldwide pro-democracy activities of the National Endowment for Democracy.

Most Members of this Subcommittee, both Democrat and Republicans, have been strong supporters of public diplomacy. I fully expect that this will continue. We are particularly concerned with preserving the integrity of the public diplomacy function after USIA merges with the State Department.

But we will succeed in this effort only if we can show our colleagues and the American people that public diplomacy programs continue to serve their original purpose—the transmission of American values or, more accurately, the universal values embodied in the American experiment of freedom and democracy.

Our International Broadcasting Services which, after September 30th of this year, will be funded through a separate and independent broadcasting entity, will survive and prosper if and only if they continue to get the message of freedom to people whose government hate this message. It is an important fact of modern life that the need for freedom broadcasting is as great as ever not only in countries with totalitarian regimes such as Cuba and Vietnam, Iran and Iraq, China and Tibet, North Korea and Burma, but also in the astounding 80 percent of the world's nations in which, according to Freedom House, the government still abridges freedom of the press.

I want to acknowledge the presence today of the heads of our International Broadcast Services. We're honored to have them here today. Evelyn Lieberman of the Voice of America (VOM), Tom Dine of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Richard Richter of Radio Free Asia, and Herminio San Roman. I know the Subcommittee will have questions for you, and your prepared statements will be made part of the record.

But I want to begin by congratulating each of you and thanking you. I want to call attention in particular to the new services initiated during the last year, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Iraq and Persian Language Services as well as the Albanian Language Broadcast into Kosovo that will begin next Monday. VOA's new Macedonian Service and its worldwide Child Survival Broadcast and Radio Free Asia's new Vighur and Wu Services.

I also want to call attention to the continuing struggle to overcome jamming of our freedom broadcasting by totalitarian regimes. The worst problems are the Hanoi's jamming of Radio Free Asia's Vietnam Service and the continued jamming by the Castro regime of TV Marti.

These battles are frustrating, but they're not unwinnable. They're a test of American technology and creativity, of our resources and our willingness to use them in a worthy cause. Letting the bad guys win these battles at exactly the wrong time and would provide a fresh dose of despair for the long-suffering people of Cuba and to Vietnam.

On international exchanges, we confront many of the same issues. Exchanges are worth the money the U.S. taxpayers spend on them only if they promote American values. In order to do this, we need to include more human rights advocates and fewer apparatchiks, more victims and fewer oppressors. We also need to act forcefully to minimize the number of participants in our tax-supported exchange programs who happen to be spies for totalitarian regimes.

This should go without saying. But as late as last year, a major USIA grantee brought in several officials of an institute that have been reliably reported to be a front for a Chinese military intelligence. I believe this needs to stop, and it needs to stop now.

Although I'm not thrilled with the way the USIA has been implementing some of our exchange programs, I believe things could get even worse if we incorporate these programs into the State Department in the wrong way. I fought hard during the legislative consideration of the reorganization bill to preserve the integrity of public diplomacy functions. Unfortunately, there are some important respects in which the State Department's reorganization plan may erode that integrity.

For instance, conducting educational and cultural exchanges is a very different kind of activity from providing information about the United States to people overseas. These activities need to be conducted from separate bureaus as they are now, and both of them should be clearly segregated from the State Department's Press Office and public relations apparatus.

We may also need a separate appropriations line for international information programs so that these funds are not diverted to the Department's own press relations or other activities.

If we cannot work these issues out with the Administration, we may need a legislative solution, and I trust that will be bipartisan.

Finally, I want to thank and congratulate the National Endowment for Democracy. Of the billions of dollars we spend every year to protect and defend freedom around the world, the \$30 million, a very small fund, that we spend on NED may well be the most cost-effective item in the budget. Because of NED's relative small size, its creativity and flexibility and its status as a private entity closely associated with the U.S. Government, it can intervene more directly than our official foreign relations agencies to ensure that the victims of oppression survive and prevail.

I look forward to hearing the testimony from our very, very distinguished witnesses. And it is my pleasure now at this point in the hearing to invite a good friend and colleague, Congressman Tim Roemer. He's a Member of Congress representing the Third District of Indiana. He earned his Masters and Ph.D. degrees in International Affairs from the University of Notre Dame.

Before beginning his service in Congress, Dr. Roemer taught at the American University and worked for the U.S. Senate, and hopefully he'll be on this Committee some day.

Tim, please proceed as you would like.

**STATEMENT OF HON. TIMOTHY ROEMER, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF INDIANA**

Mr. ROEMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate that gracious and kind introduction and wish you would follow me around my district and do that for me before the Chambers of Commerce and my schools and businesses. That was wonderful. Thank you very much.

I'd ask at this time that my entire statement be entered for the record. I won't read the entire statement, but I hope that maybe the colleagues that are not here today would have a chance to see it.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for allowing me to testify this afternoon to discuss an issue of great importance to me and of great importance to U.S. diplomacy. I want to talk about a decision that was made last year by Congress to terminate the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, an important oversight body of the USIA.

Let me preface my comments, Mr. Chairman, by saying to you that I come before your Committee just as I go to the House floor a Democrat who is fiscally responsible, who has worked hard for a balanced budget, who has supported a Constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

However, I do think there is sufficient room in the budget to restore this very important commission. Last year's State Department consolidation was a smart reinvention of our foreign policy programs. I applaud this Committee's role in that process.

However, this consolidation abolished the only citizens advisory body for public diplomacy, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy when you made that reinvention. Let me stress here, Mr. Chairman, how strongly I believe in this.

Just as we needed to reinvent the State Department, we need to reinvent public diplomacy. And I think it was a mistake to elimi-

nate a commission that gives us such valuable insight as to how to work with public diplomats and public audiences in other countries around the world.

The consolidation and this Committee retained the Advisory Committee to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, but it eliminated this Advisory Commission. Second, there was no vote on the Commission's continuance, and I don't believe this provided for a thorough and comprehensive consideration for its future.

Let me tell you a little bit about this commission. The commission is bipartisan. It's Presidentially appointed with the consent of the Senate, and its membership has included distinguished Americans like Father Ted Hesburgh, a constituent of mine, George Gallup, William F. Buckley, Frank Stanton and James Michener who have all served with compensation, Mr. Chairman.

Additionally, the commission has a budget of less than \$500,000—and I think you'll like this part, Mr. Chairman, and it has returned an average of \$75,000 to the taxpayers in each of the last 3 years. This is a commission that is responsible with the taxpayers' money and doesn't just get a budget and decide to spend it.

In this age of information and democracy, of globalized free markets and the Internet, foreign publics are increasingly more and more important. As we face new problems, we are developing a new diplomacy for the 21st century, and the commission is of even greater constructive value to Congress and the Administration.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I want to cite a *Boston Globe* article and ask unanimous consent that the entire *Boston Globe* article be entered into the record. And let me quote from it. "In the past 3 years, three separate groups of experts in Washington have issued studies calling for an overhaul of America's diplomatic corps. The Henry L. Stimson Center, the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy which was created by Congress.

"The experts agreed on the need for a new diplomacy in which American ambassadors around the world make their case not just to foreign ministries, but to civic groups, chambers of commerce, college audiences and the general public."

Before USIA was created and when the overseas information and cultural programs were still located in the State Department, Congress decided in the Smith-Mundt Act that distinguished Americans be asked to provide and I quote "great constructive value to the Secretary of State and the Congress in the best development of public relations programs in the foreign relations of the United States."

For 50 years, the commission and its predecessor bodies have issued several intelligent and thoughtful reports in which relevant public diplomacy issues have been examined and recommendations made. With the integration of USIA in the State Department, a citizens board which represents the public interest and provides public policymakers with responsible oversight on public diplomacy and strategic priorities and program effectiveness is needed now more than ever. I encourage this Committee to support legislation that Amory Houghton and I have introduced that repeals the abolition of this commission.

During the 1960's and 1970's, the commission helped USIA expand its research and program evaluation to target information to women's and labor groups abroad. It helped improve VOA programming and signal delivery and direct broadcast satellite research.

Mr. Chairman, in the 1980's, the commission broke new ground when it released a special report entitled "Terrorism and Security: The Challenge For Public Diplomacy," which recommended ways to make the difficult balance between the need to protect our diplomats at overseas installations and the need to reach out to the overseas publics. It has done so again with recommendations in the 1990's by focusing on a new diplomacy for the information age, as I quoted in the *Boston Globe* article.

Our country, Mr. Chairman, enjoys a considerable edge in public diplomacy, both in reaching publics through advanced technology and in our message of democracy, human rights, free markets and ethnic and cultural diplomacy. We should use that edge in the post-cold war. We should appeal directly to the chamber groups, to women's groups, to college audiences and not merely have our foreign policy be reflected or engaged by diplomat to diplomat.

Mr. Chairman, with this Committee's recommendations, we have worked and we have provided a new State Department. Now we need to help create a new diplomacy. It can be a responsive and flexible new diplomacy with responsible and reflective diplomatic institutions. We need the oversight and the experience of the Advisory Commission to make this transition successful and to achieve our foreign policy goals.

And in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I know you are an avid history buff. I just finished reading a couple weeks ago a biography about John Quincy Adams—and I see my friend, Mr. Delahunt from Massachusetts, and John Quincy Adams was from his distinguished State—who probably founded our American foreign policy when he was first stationed by George Washington over in the Hague and in Russia and in England, when he was the Secretary of State for President Monroe and formulated the Monroe Doctrine, and when he traveled throughout Europe meeting not only with people such as Thomas Jefferson and Ben Franklin overseas and foreign diplomats, but at colleges, at universities, in taverns, all kinds of places to understand what the public was going through overseas so that we can reflect that in our foreign policy, so we can brag about our human rights concerns that I know you are very devoted to, that we can brag about our free markets, that we can insist on fair and free trade, and that this commission who returns money back to the taxpayer from their budget plays a very important role in helping us craft new public diplomacy, new public policy for our new diplomats of the next century.

With that, let me conclude my comments, and thank you for your time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Roemer appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Roemer, thank you for a very eloquent and, I think, very persuasive statement. As I think you probably know, the elimination of this commission is not something that emanated from our Subcommittee, Full Committee or even during House ac-



tion on this bill. It's something that came up in conference and did not get the kind of attention that it should have.

As a matter of fact, I'll ask Mr. Kemble who is the Acting Director of USIA when he testifies if he would speak to that issue as to the advisability of reconstituting the Advisory Committee and get his views on the record and that of the Administration.

And I think you make a very, very cogent case. And I can assure you our Committee and, I'm sure, Mr. Gilman as Full Committee chairman will look at yours and Mr. Houghton's piece of legislation very, very carefully.

Mr. ROEMER. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I know you're always fair in your deliberations. And the fact that this was eliminated without discussion, without a vote, without Subcommittee or Full Committee consideration, deliberation, debate, that it was something that possibly was an oversight in Congress for when they're in a conference where a lot happens very quickly, I would hope that we might revisit this given the importance and the responsible action that this Advisory Commission has taken in the past.

Mr. SMITH. Is there anything relevant to the way that it is or was constituted that you would change? Or would you want the same basic format that existed?

Mr. ROEMER. I think pretty much the same basic format, although I can give you a more analytical and hopefully thoughtful presentation with a paper that I can submit to you over the course of the next several days as I reflect more on it.

But given where we have analyzed the strengths and weaknesses of this commission in the past, given the fact, first of all, that they're fiscally responsible, that they return money, that they have existed on a \$500,000 budget and then returned roughly \$75,000 a year, that their membership is bipartisan, that it is voluntary.

They travel the world, they try to make recommendations to reform and modify and improve our public diplomats as we reinvent the State Department which should go hand in hand. I think they provided a host of very valuable recommendations over their 50-year history and particularly issued some very, very innovative and intriguing and helpful reports in the last three decades.

And I can give you some more information as to what other roles they may play as we move into a more and more challenging time, working with the public in Iran, for instance, as Hatami is going through a difficult time in Iran. Should our diplomats be engaged diplomat to diplomat in Iran, or should our diplomats in Iran be reaching out more and more to understand what the public is going through in Iran. That's what this commission advocates.

And those are the kinds of new ideas through human rights and markets and fair economics that this commission has advocated through its history. And I think you agree with the pillars that this commission stands for, and we would hope we—

Mr. SMITH. I would just say next time we send the soccer team, we've got to make sure we win against Iraq.

Mr. Delahunt.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Yes, I just want to echo your sentiments, Mr. Chairman. You make a very cogent, persuasive argument, Tim. I think you're right on the mark.

I just want to add to your understanding of history and maybe even that of the Chairman. You referenced John Quincy Adams, and I think you should be aware that I happen to be John Quincy Adams' direct political descendent.

I was born and raised in Quincy, just like John Quincy Adams himself, and I happen to be the first citizen from Quincy, Massachusetts since John Quincy Adams that's been elected to the U.S. Congress.

That's why I felt compelled to seek an assignment on the International Relations Committee and serve with this Chairman on the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Operations. So that's a footnote in history right there.

Mr. SMITH. Well, Mr. Delahunt, I hope what you're saying, too, if I can read through it, is, one, that we have your vote to restore this commission, and, second, you certainly come from a very strong gene pool with the Adams family, President, Member of Congress, a U.S. Senator, a Secretary of State, and his father, a President of the United States. I'm not even going to compete with you.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Tim, I said his political descendent. My antecedents came from that other island called Ireland, and we shared different ways to come to the United States.

Mr. SMITH. I'm not going to touch that. And he's not even wearing green in anticipation of St. Patrick's Day. Mr. Wexler.

Mr. WEXLER. Tim, I again want to thank you for your excellent testimony, and you certainly have highlighted a very important issue, and we will work to see what we can do.

Mr. ROEMER. I hope to get your support, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for your time. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. I'd like to ask our second panel if they would come to the witness table. Penn Kemble became the Acting Director of the USIA on February 1, 1999. Previously, he served as Deputy Director of USIA for 6 years and as a member of the Board for International Broadcasting and as a Washington representative for Freedom House.

Mr. Kemble was also a member of the Board of Directors of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NEI), and a member of USIA's Radio Programs Advisory Council, among many, many other things as well.

Edward Kaufman is a member of the Broadcasting Board of Governors. Mr. Kaufman was appointed as a charter member to the Broadcasting Board of Governors in 1995 where he oversaw all non-military U.S. Government international broadcasting. Currently, Mr. Kaufman is president of a political and management consulting firm. Previously, Mr. Kaufman taught at Duke University and served as chief of staff to U.S. Senator Joseph Biden.

Carl Gershman was appointed President of the National Endowment for Democracy in 1984. Under his leadership, NED created the *Quarterly Journal of Democracy* in 1990 and launched the International Forum for Democratic Studies in 1994.

Prior to his work with NED, Mr. Gershman was senior counselor to the U.S. Representative to the United Nations. Mr. Gershman earned his B.A. from Yale University and Masters from Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Mr. Kemble, if you could begin and welcome and thank you for being here today.

**STATEMENT OF PENN KEMBLE, ACTING DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY**

Mr. KEMBLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm grateful for the opportunity to join you today to discuss the USIA and the function it performs in our foreign relations.

We have a written statement. Rather than taking your time to read through it, may I ask that it be included in the hearing record?

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, your statement and those of the other witnesses will be made a part of the record.

Mr. KEMBLE. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, since December 30th, the Congress has had before it the President's plan and report for integrating USIA into the Department of State. On March 27, when the 90 days required by legislation for Congressional consultation has expired, this report will become law.

The plan has been developed through extensive consultations between senior management at USIA and at the Department of State. Many very difficult issues have been studied and debated. Now it is time for us to move forward and to make this plan work. We will make it work.

With openness, imagination and the enthusiastic cooperation of our very capable professional staffs at both USIA and the State Department, this reorganization process can be an opportunity for developing new and effective ways for pursuing America's interests in world affairs. We have reached an important milestone, but we are still at the beginning. Further steps are already underway, and, with our colleagues at State, we are planning a number of interesting projects that can bring this integration to fulfillment.

Secretary Albright and others have said that public diplomacy must become central to the way we work in foreign affairs. In a world where diplomacy is expanding, where mass communications reach huge numbers of people in almost every country, and where business and non-governmental organizations reach across political boundaries, it's necessary to understand and to engage foreign publics in our efforts to preserve peace, foster prosperity and strengthen freedom.

This will require steady work. It will require clear thinking. It will require consistent resources. It will require a willingness to experiment. It will also require close cooperation and commitment from both the executive branch and the committees of Congress that guide and oversee our work.

We look forward to working with you in this, and I welcome your questions. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kemble appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Kemble, thank you very much for your testimony.

And Mr. Kaufman.

**STATEMENT OF EDWARD E. KAUFMAN, MEMBER,  
BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS**

Mr. KAUFMAN. Chairman Smith, Congressman Delahunt, Congressman Wexler, I make a request to put my full statement in the record.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record.

Mr. KAUFMAN. First, thank you for having Governor Tom Korologos and me here today to talk about the future of International Broadcasting.

As you know, members of the Broadcasting Board of Governors serve part time. We're kind of semi-civilians. That's why Chairman Mark Nathanson cannot be here today. He's involved in running his business in Los Angeles. He's in Washington regularly working for the Board, and he would like to come by and see you all the next time he's in town.

Governor Korologos and I have brought the people who work in Broadcasting every day. They're a very impressive group, and we're lucky to have them, and I want to thank you for introducing them.

We face many challenges at International Broadcasting, as you pointed out, Mr. Chairman. That is brought into sharp focus when you know that according to Freedom House, one in five people in the world live in a country with completely free press. The other four are our targets at International Broadcasting.

However, we have a number of new weapons to help us assure success in this battle. First is the Congressionally mandated reorganization. This will give us increased credibility and flexibility. Negotiations with the State Department and with USIA required to accomplish the reorganization have gone extremely well, much better than I ever thought they could. We've received wonderful cooperation, and we've practically solved all the issues.

We're beginning now the process of reorganizing ourselves as an independent Federal agency and will be getting back to you with our ideas as we develop them. Second is Radio Democracy for Africa. Africans, as you know, listen to international broadcasting at an incredible rate and also have many of the types of problems for which broadcasting can help—fighting local hate radio, bringing information during times of trouble, reuniting families, giving location of food and safe havens, providing health information, especially on child survival and AIDS.

I just returned from Ethiopia and Nigeria, two countries where nearly one in five citizens listen to VOA Radio. It's incredible. Wherever you go, they know VOA, and they appreciate it. They also are faced with crushing poverty and immense health problems.

In Ethiopia, VOA can help bring information needed to stop the fighting between Ethiopia and Eritrea. This war is in no one's interest and its fuel by nationalism can be exposed by free press, and VOA's doing that.

In Nigeria, we all know they're going through the difficult process of democracy. Elections are just the beginning, and VOA is providing the objective information needed to sustain the democratic process.

Third is our new transmission facility on Tinian Island in the Northern Marianas. We just began broadcasting on two transmit-

ters, three antennae. Results are very good. This will ultimately give us five 500 Kw transmitters and eleven antennae, allowing us to broadcast a strong signal practically anywhere in Asia. Thanks to your help, Radio Free Asia and VOA will have good programming to take advantage of this new capability.

Fourth, as you know, it's the beginning of our new Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Persian service broadcasting to Iran and Radio Free Iraq broadcasting to Iraq. Early results have been excellent.

Finally, in response to requests from Congress, VOA and Worldnet Television have begun development of a pilot program utilizing small format digital video technologies. We'll be coming to see you in April with early results, but they look very, very good.

International Broadcasting has an exciting future. The problems are daunting, but the payoff is immense. We look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kaufman appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Kaufman, thank you very much for that statement.

And Mr. Gershman.

#### STATEMENT OF CARL GERSHMAN, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

Mr. GERSHMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As with the other witnesses, I would like to have my testimony submitted for the record, and I would like to take the few minutes that I have just to summarize and make a few points about the testimony.

The first point, as you know, from having reviewed the testimony, is the scope of the work. The scope is extraordinary and covers all of the major regions of the world—Africa, Asia, Latin America, Middle East, Central Europe and the former Soviet Union and with something on the order of 90 countries within those regions.

And to try to do all of this with a budget that we have is obviously a great challenge, but it's something that we have been able to manage in the recent years. What the global scope of this program underlines is the fact that there is today in the world a movement all over the world to democracy country by country, but there's hardly a place where you can't identify some organization, some groups that are not active.

The question is no longer whether all peoples or all countries in the world are fit for democracy, but as Amartya Sen said in our recent meeting in Delhi, the question is really how all countries can become fit *through* democracy since democracy is relevant to all.

And I think that the kind of people that we support all over the world demonstrates the extraordinary courage and determination often at risk to their lives. In just the recent months, one of the great leaders of the democracy movement in Mongolia, Galina Staravoiatova, was assassinated in Russia, and Dariush Parveneh Fourouhar was assassinated in Iran. They represent just some of the people who are prepared to give their lives for the struggle for democracy.

What we have tried to do within the Endowment is not only to utilize the funds that we receive from the Congress as effectively as possible to assist these groups, but also to try to think of new ways to maximize those funds, to leverage those funds to help people more effectively than we can solely through the grant funds.

One way we've done this and it's explained in the testimony is by encouraging grantees to raise counterpart resources to the grants that we're able to provide, and something on the order of 80 cents on the dollar is raised in that way.

We also try to work with the new democracies and the people who've had experience in the struggle for democracy in newer democracies, especially a country like Poland in what we call East to East work to utilize their unique capabilities in assisting people who have not made the gains that they have made.

We've established a research center which is largely funded by monies that we raised from private sources and foundations to provide information to the groups that we work with around the world. The result is that people know of the research that has been done in democratic progress and development.

We are in the process of encouraging all of the established and new democracies to establish foundations like our own so that we can have a partnership among the democracies to promote democracy around the world. We were started, as you know, after the Germans with their political party foundations. And since we've come into existence, the British and the Canadians have established foundations. The Australians have just done so. Some countries in Asia like Taiwan and Korea are looking at this. Other countries in Europe—Ireland is very active in looking at the establishment of a democracy foundation as are some of the countries in Southern Europe, Spain, Portugal, Italy, also France. And we meet regularly. We've had four meetings already of these foundations, and we hope to coordinate the activities of these foundations further.

The meeting we just had in India to establish a world movement for democracy is another way in which we can assist people through the creation of structures of cooperation and interaction. And I might say that the people who felt that the meeting in India was of most benefit to them were the people who are in exile from dictatorships and people from regions which are least far along in terms of the development of democracy. The Arab group at the India meeting and the group from Africa were especially appreciative of convening a world movement which can provide new forms of cooperation and assistance for people struggling for democracy.

And finally, we hope to make use of modern technology through the Internet and other means to try to provide information to people, to get websites for people who are not on the web to give them exposure, to give them access to the information that exists, and also let people know about their existence.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we're very proud. The last page of my testimony underlines the fact that we have now really established very tight grant management procedures to the point where in the recent audit done by USIA and the State Department there were no serious findings, and the two small findings that they had are

in the process of being implemented. And, indeed, they're looking at our grant management program as a model for other grant makers as to how they can manage difficult grant programs efficiently and without the expenditure of great resources.

So we're very pleased to be able to report that to the Committee. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gershman appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Gershman. Let me ask some questions, and I'll yield to my friends and colleagues to continue.

This has to be the fastest presentation I have ever seen since I've been in Congress, and I do thank you for your succinctness and for the written word which I sat down and read last night and this morning. It really laid out the case very, very well.

I would like to ask you, Mr. Kemble, about the Administration's reorganization plan which, as you know, proposes combining USIA's Bureau of Information Programs and its Bureau of International Exchanges into a single new bureau in the State Department which would be overseen by a single Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs.

As you know, Mr. Gilman and I on the House side and Mr. Helms and Mr. Biden on the Senate side did raise some questions about that in terms of whether or not that would be the best way to proceed. I would appreciate it if you could explain why you think this is the way to proceed and whether or not you see any pitfalls, and whether or not you're open to any adjustments to it.

Mr. KEMBLE. Thank you. You know, this was the subject of a great deal of discussion in the interagency process that developed the reorganization plan. Our information programs currently housed in our Bureau of Information are advocacy programs that are aimed at persuading foreign audiences of a U.S. position. Our educational and cultural exchanges are designed to acquaint foreign participants with all aspects of American life.

They have been funded under a separate appropriation, the Fulbright-Hays appropriation, which specifically designates that they are intended to promote mutual understanding.

These two functions have traditionally been administered under what are the equivalent of two different State Department bureaus. The American participants in our educational and cultural programs are sometimes uncomfortable with the perception that they may be participating in the pursuit of a political objective when they take part in an exchange program.

There are also sometimes difficulties with the perception of these exchange programs abroad. As the reorganization report developed, our colleagues at State argued that the information and the educational and cultural functions could be merged under a single bureau with a single Assistant Secretary. They argue that the distinction between advocacy and exchange could be maintained by placing these different functions in separate offices under three different Deputy Assistant Secretaries.

Since the plan was made public, this matter has been the subject of public discussion. You and Chairman Gilman have written the Secretary asking for the retention of a separate bureau for edu-

cational and cultural affairs, and Senators Biden and Helms have done the same.

As I said in my opening remarks, we at USIA are able and willing to make the plan set forward by the President work. But in our discussions at the Department, we have noted that your questions about the plan in its present form are being taken very seriously.

Mr. SMITH. I do appreciate that. When do you think a final decision might be made?

Mr. KEMBLE. Well, I read over Assistant Secretary Kennedy's comments before your Committee on Tuesday, and I thought it was interesting that he made a point that sufficient time should be left in the consideration of this so that there'll be ample time before the final issuance of the President's plan on March 27th for all this to be considered and for consultations to take place with you.

Mr. SMITH. I do appreciate that. And hopefully, the give and take will continue. Let me ask you about a related point. The reorganization plan also includes the Public Affairs Bureau, basically the State Department's Press Office in the Office of the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy. Is this in your view consistent with the preservation of a sharp distinction between public diplomacy and domestic public relations?

Mr. KEMBLE. This was, as you know, another question that we had quite a discussion about. And the question really is how bright a line is required, and how rigorously separate the administration of all this has to be. Our agency has had a great deal of sometimes difficult experience with the issues that gave rise to the Smith-Mundt-Zorinsky restrictions on how the funds and tools of foreign advocacy and domestic information activities are to be used.

As the plan is written, the Smith-Mundt-Zorinsky restrictions would apply to the use of any public diplomacy programs and program materials to influence opinion in the United States here at home.

The plan asks for flexibility, however, in allocating personnel who would be paid out of the monies once appropriated to USIA. In the future, the funds that had been appropriated to USIA would be appropriated directly to the State Department, and the plan that has been put forward asks to allow the Secretary some flexibility in assigning the personnel who will be paid with those funds.

There's an interesting argument to be made for this approach, and we in our Agency had discussed this even before reorganization was on the horizon. The argument is that we live in an increasingly global information environment in which the media, the Internet, journalists themselves often serve both foreign and domestic audiences. I mean, CNN, Reuters, you read the stories in our paper. You see CNN when you're abroad. It's hard to distinguish what is foreign media, what is domestic media.

With good departmental management and good Congressional oversight, the approach that's set out in the plan can work. We want to make it work. But the most important thing is that all parties understand clearly just what the new arrangement entails. The question, as I said, is how bright a line is necessary between foreign advocacy and domestic information programs.

Under the new plan, there will no longer be a separate appropriation for public diplomacy. State Department officers will be



able to move between domestic public affairs activities and activities aimed at influencing foreign audiences.

But the programs that used to belong to USIA—our exchanges program, our visitors program, our electronic journalists, our Washington file and the materials that we prepare will be directed exclusively to foreign audiences. Now if we can come to a clear understanding and consensus on all sides about this new arrangement, I think it will work. We want it to work. And I think we'll be able to avoid the kinds of conflicts that provoked the original Smith-Mundt-Zorinsky restrictions.

Mr. SMITH. You know, in terms of that Congressional oversight you mentioned, how difficult or easy do you think it might be for us to know the content of what's happening on the day to day basis? I mean, we often deal with figures and line items, and we have a devil of a time getting to the details as to what's happening.

We pick up things anecdotally when we travel and we get insights from things that people send us. But oversight seems to be a very difficult process with regards to the plan.

Mr. KEMBLE. Well, in the report, we endorse a very rigorous oversight and accounting procedure, and I'm sure the Secretary is committed to giving you all the information you'll ask for to do your job.

Mr. SMITH. Let me ask you about scholarships and exchanges. Section 102 of Public Law 104-319 states that USIA should take appropriate steps to provide opportunities for participation in education and cultural exchange programs to human rights and democracy leaders.

Obviously, I was very pleased with that and was in constant contact with Dr. Duffey with regard to Doan Viet Hoat from Vietnam, and I think that was one of those real success stories of helping a long-term political prisoner not only get out of the country, but also to find some gainful employment at the Catholic University of America.

Recently, at Dr. Duffey's request, I had sent a letter with some 11 people who I asked be considered for inclusion in those exchanges, and there are many, many others. What are you doing? What steps are you taking to ensure that we do have more, not less, of the human rights activists and the people who are really the salt of the earth in these countries?

Mr. KEMBLE. Well, we appreciate the legislation you introduced. We think it gives us real leverage in trying to deal with what are some very difficult problems in managing these kinds of exchange programs.

You know we're often dealing with societies that are not as free as our own, where the people that we're hoping to engage in these programs may encounter some problems because of their association with us. If we do get them out of the country, they may not be able to go back. It's an extremely complicated set of issues, and we want to work with people inside these countries.

Even though we have enormous respect for and wish to support people who may be in exile, the object is to try to find some means of engaging people within these societies. And so it's an extremely complicated thing. We have tried in the past to bring people who are associated with the causes that you so strongly endorse and we

endorse. When we do get people out, we assure that the programs they go on when they're here bring them into contact with human rights groups, people concerned about religious liberty, the rule of law. It's a constant effort to push the envelope. And in some of the societies that you've referred to in your letters to us, we are faced with somewhat shifting relations. And, as a consequence, we have to keep adjusting our programs to do the maximum that can be done.

Secretary Albright has just been in Asia. She'll be coming back with a sense of how to proceed in terms of our policy there. Our own Associate Director, Dr. Bader, has just visited China, and he has a keen interest in this. And as I told you, we look forward to working very closely with you and consulting with you on how we can make this work in a way that satisfies you.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that, Mr. Kemble, and I look forward to working with you on that.

Let me ask another question. In 1994, we had what I thought was a very misguided sense of Congress statement that Radio Free Europe should either privatize or go out of business by the year 2000. Many of us thought that that was premature euphoria about the end of the so-called cold war, and I think all of us took some heart when we were able to get language in the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 that contains the provision reflecting a somewhat different Congressional view, namely that the Board would report to Congress on whether RFE broadcasts may be needed after the year 2000, which is almost on a silver platter asking you to tell us why and to give the rationale so we can ratchet up support for RFE in what is still a very troubled part of the world.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Well, I'd like to quote Governor Tom Korologos, who's here, who kind of set the standard for the Board when he said if it's worth doing, it's worth paying for. This also applies to Radio Free Asia. There's also a sense at Radio Free Asia that we have to deal with both of these.

And when you go out there and see what they're doing, I know it's like preaching to the choir. I know, Mr. Chairman, your concern for this and your support of this down through the years. Privatization was an idea that was worth looking into, and we spent a lot of time, and I can send you the details of all the things we tried to do to look into privatization. You can privatize, but then it's gone. If you think it's important that we're broadcasting into Kosovo now, if you think it's important we're broadcasting to Bosnia, if you think it's important we're broadcasting to China, if we privatize, these new companies are going to be private companies, and they're going to do what every private company does and should do, and that is maximize profits.

They will be trying to sell Coca-Cola and Nike, whatever else it is. We feel that it's important, especially in this time of racial and ethnic and religious conflict, the kind of things we're getting constantly involved in all around the world that we be able to broadcast surrogate radio into these countries and tell the people what's really going on.

As you know, surrogate broadcasting is broadcasting that would actually be going on if the country had a free press. And as you

point out in your opening statement, with only one country in five having an absolutely free press, that means in the vast majority of countries the people are not getting the news.

So it's really good—I go back to Governor Korologos' thing. I believe it's worth doing, and I believe, therefore, we have to pay for it. If it's not worth doing, we should privatize it and move on. But it's especially important for us in the future of U.S. foreign policy.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that, Mr. Kaufman. I'm just wondering if Mr. Dine might have something to add to that.

Mr. DINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. We at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty are now broadcasting to 24 countries and as you indicated in your opening statement on Monday, 26 different languages. None of these countries are successful and secure in the transition from a command economy and dictatorship to a free market economy and democracy.

We believe that the part of the world to which we broadcast includes Iran and Iraq; the free flow of ideas and information is absolutely essential. They're at the core of creating democratic societies and democratic institutions. For us to go out into the sunset makes no sense. You referred to the paragraph in the Fiscal 1999 Omnibus Appropriations Act in your opening statement which said the contributions made by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty are in the U.S. national interest.

That's what we're about—promoting democracy and helping to build democratic institutions, particularly free speech and free press.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Mr. Chairman, could the President of Radio Free Asia just speak for a minute because I think the issues are very much alike. And in fact, we have an even bigger problem with Radio Free Asia than with Radio Free Europe.

Mr. SMITH. We're very pleased to have Mr. Dick Richter.

Mr. RICHTER. Mr. Chairman, we actually have a hard legislative sunset provision that says that if we are not authorized by Congress to continue beyond September 30th, 1999, we won't continue to exist. And, I would like to think that there's wide feeling on both sides of the aisle in Congress that we do have a right to exist.

As a matter of fact, I think that we have shown in the three short years that we have been in existence that we have had an extraordinary impact on the countries that we broadcast to. I would like to point out that in China, for instance, in Mandarin we're now broadcasting 12 hours a day, and we are doing five call-in shows to China where people in China just have to dial up an 800-number, and they are able to discuss anything on earth that they want to. They seem to be unfettered in the way they respond to it.

They talk about communism. They talk about public security. They talk about how they are in the military, and they're not too happy about what happened at Tiananmen, et cetera. I think that the same thing pertains to a perhaps less dramatic degree throughout all of the other countries to which we're broadcasting, and I think it's absolutely essential that we continue because there is no question but there is no wall that has come down in Asia. The bamboo curtains, or however you want to describe them, are still

there. All of these countries are still totalitarian entities without any freedom of speech or integrity.

Mr. SMITH. Well, I can assure you, Mr. Richter, I believe this Committee will not be incompetent in getting legislation passed when the 5-year authorization expires on September 30th. And I think you know my own deep concern when H.R. 1757 was on the floor, I offered the amendment to bump up to hopefully a 24-hour a day service broadcasting, and it passed by an almost three-to-one margin. It was overwhelming. It was brand new money. It didn't even have an offset. There were some saying we should take an offset from refugee accounts which I thought would have been, you know, killing Peter to save Paul. There was enough money to do both.

And it passed by a three-to-one margin. I was flabbergasted. And when the appropriators got around, they had overwhelming support there as well. So I do believe there's support for Radio Free Asia. I do believe the President is fully on board.

I did raise the issue with Jiang Zemin when he was in last year as to how damaging it was to U.S./China relations that the jamming goes on unfettered especially in Beijing. I wonder if you could tell us how we're doing in terms of overcoming the jamming both in Vietnam, certainly in China, and anywhere else where it's a problem.

Mr. RICHTER. Yes. Jamming is always a difficult thing to be totally precise about. I'll give you what I consider to be as close to the truth as I can possibly come up with now. This is based upon International Broadcasting Bureau statistics from listening stations throughout Asia.

There has been, I think, a ray of sunshine and a tremendous likelihood that we are being heard more clearly in all of the places that we broadcast to as a result of the activation of the two transmitters on Tinian. And there are going to be more transmitters, three more at least, on Tinian (which are very, very powerful) that are going to be pressed into action fairly soon.

For the first time, after the Tinian transmission started, we heard rather universal reports from Beijing that people could hear us quite clearly. We heard the same thing about Shanghai, and those were the two places in China where the jamming was most intense.

We subsequently have heard that the jamming has been extended to Beijing and also to Shanghai, and that all of our frequencies into China from Tinian are being jammed, but not all the time. In addition, some of the jamming doesn't seem to be effective. So most of the time in most of the sites throughout China, the jamming is ineffective when it comes from Tinian.

In addition, the jamming intensity and jamming operation from the Chinese point of view seems to be so concentrated now to a greater degree on trying to block out this big signal from Tinian that some of our other less strong transmissions from other parts of the world are coming in with a bit more regularity and a bit more clarity. So I think that the situation in China in particular is improving considerably.

In Vietnam, there was almost dancing on desktops as soon as Tinian started because the signal was so good. It was even better

than in China. And it was the best signal that we have ever experienced anywhere in any of our broadcast areas. Since then, the jamming has intensified in Vietnam, and it seems as though the Vietnamese are relatively effective, as far as we can tell, at jamming the Tinian signals. But we still have reports of large areas of the country, with the exception of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, where the signal is getting through.

We are getting so much new information from Vietnam as a result of our broadcasts that we have started to put out a new publication called *Vietnam Update*. We feel it is more expeditious to do this than to send out spot news releases.

So we're doing quite well in that sense.

Mr. SMITH. Do you know whether or not on the diplomatic front the jamming has been raised in either Beijing or in Hanoi to try to get them to back off?

Mr. RICHTER. I do know that when the President went out in July, he did bring it up. And as far as I can determine, he got no response from Jiang Zemin.

I had asked people at the State Department including the Secretary to bring it up on this current trip, but I have not heard a report back yet as to whether or not she was able to do that because of limited time.

Mr. SMITH. Are there any recommendations? Mr. Kaufman, you might want to chime in, too. Should we be considering upgrades to provide for a better authorization for the next 3 to 5 years or whatever it may turn out to be?

Mr. KAUFMAN. I think you've been quite generous. I'm sure we could come up with a number of ideas. Transmission is the key thing. But now we have Tinian coming on line, and we just bought the Saipan Station. But, no, we'll come back with some ideas.

Mr. SMITH. I'd appreciate it.

Mr. KAUFMAN. And I think Tom Dine would like to say one more thing if that's all right.

Mr. SMITH. Please do.

Mr. DINE. Mr. Chairman, regarding your question about privatization. I've come to learn over my 20 months as president of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty that privatization of this organization—and I would assume for Radio Free Asia—is not viable at this time.

My predecessor and I have spent time with people in New York and other places in this country who might be interested in external investment strategies. I've been up and down Wall Street, frankly. I've talked to investment bankers, CEOs and others in the multinational corporation world and actual owners of radio stations in this country. They ask me three questions, and I have three answers.

Thank you, Mr. Dine, for telling us about what you do. You have a good name. You have other things, but they're all intangible assets. They're not tangible assets. Do you own transmitters? No. Those were taken away in the 1994 legislation. We don't own anything.

Do you own frequencies? No. We lease. Or, as we get away from short wave particularly more and more, we're leasing more and more.

And, third, do you advertise. The answer's no. Well, we're not interested. We're not interested in buying from you because you have nothing to sell. And that is a practical point that I'd like to add to this discussion. I think the word privatization has been overused and not enough practical understanding of what it means here.

Yes, they would like to have our good name, a brand name. It's a brand name in Europe. They want to, as Governor Kaufman indicated, they want to then advertise in a variety of ways while they play rock-n-roll, and they're not interested in public affairs. They're not interested in news, information, opinion battles.

And finally, there's not much money in the former Soviet Bloc to advertise in this situation.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Dine. That was an excellent and persuasive argument.

Mr. RICHTER. May I have one additional comment.

Mr. SMITH. Could you come a little closer to the microphone?

Mr. RICHTER. Sure, sure. Your staff has been very interested in this jamming and justifiably so, just as we have. One of the questions that have been put to us is, are you continuing to seek additional transmission sites in addition to the Tinian? And, yes, we are. As a matter of fact, in exactly a month from today, I'm going to Tinian for the official unveiling of the station. But then from there we're going to Korea to see if we can wrest any facilities for transmission from them. They have been reluctant in the past.

And we're going up to Mongolia to discuss the possible expansion of some of the transmission that they are now doing for us. In addition, I have a list here so I won't forget them. We are pursuing Australia, Sri Lanka, we're still pursuing the Philippines, and even Taiwan. Looking into all of these places.

Whether or not any of them will come through, I don't know. But we continue to make an effort, and we'll never stop, no matter how often anybody says no to us.

Mr. KAUFMAN. You asked for a suggestion. Can I make this one suggestion? I know 15 years ago when you went out and talked to people in the embassies around the world, drugs was not an important issue for them to be concerned about.

Then it became a lot more important through work of the Congress and also the Administration, if you did well on drugs in the State Department and you were an ambassador, you got a star on your crown.

I'd like to see if we could try to do the same thing with this broadcasting. Right now, when I go out and talk to ambassadors and DCMs, they're all very nice and they like broadcasting. But they really don't want to upset their client state, about Radio Free Asia especially.

And I would think there are some opportunities for VOA. I've seen it work before so that's why I'm raising it. I think if you, Mr. Chairman, could get other Members to impress on ambassadors and DCMs that it is important to have a policy to help us broadcast Radio Free Asia from your country or broadcast VOA, that's really the best thing we can do to fight this jamming.

The Chinese—I mean, it's kind of a red badge of courage the fact they spend so much money jamming us. And the best solution is

for us to have as many different spots to broadcast from as we can. So this is something I believe could be very helpful.

Mr. SMITH. I am very interested. As a matter of fact, on one human rights trip to China several years ago, riding in from the airport, I was discussing the need for Radio Free Asia with our DCM, and he said everyone has satellite dishes. And I said, well, hotels have dishes, and maybe some of the elite have dishes. But based on what Human Rights Watch and others have told me, that is not the case.

As a matter of fact, you will not have a dish, especially post-Tiananmen Square, and not even a fax. But he stuck to his guns.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. And it amazed me how someone who should have been so knowledgeable felt that everyone had access to CNN.

Mr. KAUFMAN. USIA's people are great, and the USIS people are great, and the State Department people are great. It's just, as you know, you have a certain priority of things that you're working on. And what I'd like to do is (obviously I'm prejudiced in this), I would like to see broadcasting's priority pushed a little bit.

Mr. SMITH. I already thought of it.

Mr. KAUFMAN. I know you did.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wexler.

Mr. WEXLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm not a Member of your Subcommittee. So I very much appreciate the opportunity just to raise one point if I could.

I felt compelled to come today because I had the privilege in January of visiting Radio Free Europe and meeting with Mr. Dine and spending about a half a day at the facility. I was a believer before I got there, but now I'm a true believer in both the purpose and the mission and especially with respect to the individuals involved with the transmission.

The Chairman raised an issue with respect to is there anything you need, I think I'm paraphrasing, or any suggestions that you might have, and I'd like to ask a specific question of Mr. Kaufman and Mr. Gershman and ask Mr. Dine to comment if he wishes to.

My understanding is that 2 weeks ago the Iraqi Government issued a security threat to all American institutions in Prague and particularly Radio Free Europe in response to Radio Free Europe's broadcast into Iraq. And sitting here in Washington, it would seem to me the only greater tragedy than having the Iraqi security threat realized would be if Congress failed to do something now that we could do to prevent or minimize the risk.

So I'd like to ask specifically is there anything that Congress can do now understanding the new threat that the Iraqis have posed to minimize the security threat? Do you have enough resources to prevent it?

Mr. KAUFMAN. I'd like to have President Dine answer that. But it has been interesting how much support we've been able to get on this. It's one of those things that was raised, and we've been getting really good support, especially from Ambassador Havel. But I'd like Tom to talk about this a little bit.

Mr. DINE. First of all, Congressman Wexler, thank you for coming to Prague and seeing our operations. You were a real live Member of Congress, and our broadcasters were able to quiz you as they

did on radio about what was going on on Capitol Hill. For instance, what does the impeachment process mean? So it was quite an educational experience, and I'd like to think you probably had a larger audience that day, about 20 million listeners, than you do in Ft. Lauderdale. But I know Ft. Lauderdale's growing.

First of all, you're absolutely correct. The British Embassy and the American Embassy closed their doors last month to any kind of public operation. They reopened several days later.

We did not close our doors with the evidence of a threat that was available to the two embassies, but we limited the number of people that come to work. But my missive was we are committed to our mission. We are committed to broadcasting, and nobody's going to stop us from broadcasting to the best of our ability.

But we have continued to broadcast during the high threat alert. So, Mr. Chairman and Congressman Wexler, there has been an increase, a dramatic increase, frankly, of risk to property and to people, and that is of utmost concern to all of us. I will be reporting when the Broadcasting Board of Governors meets on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. I will be reporting to them on the details of this particular situation, and the fact that we will need more resources. We will need to enhance our security. We will need to enhance our fire protection. We will need to do more to cover ourselves in a variety of ways.

We've already spent part of the money that was allocated to us through Fiscal 1998-1999 budgets for Iran and Iraq on security. And if you come to Prague, you will see evidence of that in terms of barriers, security guards going around and around our three different installations. But it looks like we're in for the long haul, and we're going to, therefore, need additional funds for protection of people and property. And this is of utmost concern, obviously, to myself and to all of you.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have an estimate as to how much we're talking about? Yes, we had a hearing with the Under Secretary of State for Management, Under Secretary Cohen. And I for one, and I think I was joined pretty strongly by my Democratic colleagues, was very upset that for this Fiscal Year there is only a \$36 million budget, and then there's a \$3 billion outyear, and we all know outyears may or may not happen. Hopefully, they do. But it seems to me there's a pressing case to be made right now in addition to the supplemental last year. Can you give us an idea?

Mr. DINE. Just a point of fact. We're not a U.S. Government—

Mr. SMITH. Oh, I know.

Mr. DINE. So the monies will come through the appropriation. And right now, in our fiscal appropriation request that the Administration and the BBG have approved and sent to you, there are additional funds to keep Radio Free Iraq and our Persian Service to Iran operating.

But when I say enhancement, I mean it looks like we will need at least \$3 million extra for the things that I mentioned already, and frankly, I have a long list. But just, for instance, taking care of the air conditioning intake system.

We all know there are a variety of ways of decimating a building. One is high explosives in trucks or vans, but there also are other



ways of penetrating, and we've got over 400 employees in our main building in Prague and other employees at other installations.

So we will need more security guards. We will need to upgrade our facilities. We will need more equipment, and we will need to be better prepared for a long hard future. And as I indicated to you, this is not going to go away soon. Iraq has targeted us and other American installations.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Wexler. I appreciate your questions.

Mr. DINE. Thank you for your concern.

Mr. SMITH. I would just like to ask two final questions. One is for Mr. Gershman. We've even run into each other at some hot spots in human rights areas around the world. I applaud the funding of Harry Wu's foundation and all the other funding that you've been able to leverage to make go as far as it possibly can.

I'm very pleased that you plan on supporting some organizations working for human rights in Vietnam. At least that's the sense that I've gotten. What else can Congress do in addition to increasing the appropriation and, thankfully, the Administration did ask for another million dollars, and we are grateful to see that.

Mr. GERSHMAN. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. Actually, the main need is resources. We've seen ourselves as a life line to these groups, and that's basically what we can do to help them.

Now there are some new ideas that are floating around having to do with a fellowship program named after Congressman Fascell that I know Congressman Gilman was interested in which will not be part of this appropriation but might be a way in which some of these activists can be brought out of their struggles to recharge their batteries or to do some particular research projects and also to enable people here to know them a little bit better if they were able to be here a few months, and that's certainly one idea.

We wouldn't want to see that affect the life line funds for these people. But in terms of basic needs, Congressman, it really does amount to how do you spread \$32 million over 90 countries, and often, in terms of the direct grant making, it's really under \$10 million out of that since a lot of the work also is work that our institutes carry out.

So it's a struggle, and we'll try to leverage these resources as much as we can. If we can come up with some specific ideas related to what Congress can do other than enhance the appropriation, then we'll report them to you.

Mr. SMITH. Just a footnote. I was in Jakarta the day that Moachtar Pakpahan was released. And I can't tell you how proud I was when I was in the office that was partially funded and helped by NED to see that his release and the ongoing work for workers' rights, for labor rights is being financed in part through us. And so it was very much of an encouragement.

I hadn't known that until I was told that while I was in their office.

Mr. GERSHMAN. Well, it's hard to emphasize how important it is when you do get out there and you are able to meet these people. And also when they come here and they can meet you, and they know that they've got support.

That is critical. And we also remind them repeatedly that in having friends in the U.S. Congress, they're not just giving you moral support, they're able to actually give you material support through institutions like the NED, and it's critical to them to know that there are people like yourself and some of your colleagues who have really taken the lead on this and to take the trouble to go out there and make some very difficult trips to meet with these people. And I commend you for it.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. Let me ask one final question, and I feel like I've neglected Ms. Lieberman. Your statement will be made a part of the record, and I do thank you for your good work.

I was very excited to see the work that VOA is doing on behalf of child survival. Just as a footnote, I got hooked on that in my second term when the Reagan Administration had a \$25 million earmark and were planning on eliminating it. I offered the amendment to double it up to \$50 million, and I and many others including Tony Hall, Frank Wolf, and many others have been working on it ever since.

As a matter of fact, I was in El Salvador in 1984 when they had a day of tranquility with the FSLN and Duarte and then the insurgency joined hands and allowed hundreds of thousands of kids over a 3-day process period to get immunized against the five leading killers of children. It was astonishing what a couple of pennies can do.

But the amplification of that message is something important. I remember in El Salvador that year, a lot of women were not bringing their kids back because they might get a little bit of a fever after the first shot. The church admonished their churchgoers to go back for the second and the third, but certainly radio offers us an incredible resource to get that message out. Would you want to speak to some of that success and what you hope to do in the future.

Ms. LIEBERMAN. Thank you. This is definitely a labor of love toward VOM because a lot of the money that's come down has not necessarily come to us. USAID and VOM co-sponsored a conference last April where we had broadcasters and public health officials and communications experts from all over the world to talk about how they could work cooperatively, work free in most cases in broadcasting very important short messages around the world, some as simple as telling parents to be concerned about their child's health, others about immunizations, others about diarrhea, boiling water, very simple messages.

And at VOM in August, most of the language services have started to prepare and broadcast these messages to great effect. We've learned that in Nigeria, for example, 800,000 families brought their children for polio immunization because of some of these broadcasts.

In other places, we have found that the constant repetition of very simple messages have made families be more aware of the fact that there are health officials, health nurses and doctors that could help them. So we're very excited about this.

We've also been working with the Peace Corps, USAID again and UNICEF and other organizations on the ground in certain countries because certain health issues in certain areas get the kinds

of messages in the 53 languages we broadcast that we need to be sending out.

So we're very happy about it. We'll continue to do this, and I'm hoping that also we can find additional funds from as many private places as we can and, we hope, from Congress as well. So thank you for your support and your vote.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, and keep up the good work.

I may have some additional written questions to submit for the record. Mr. Kemble.

Mr. KEMBLE. Just if I could ask your indulgence, Mr. Chairman. When Congressman Roemer was here, you offered to ask me a question that I was looking forward to answering about the future of the Advisory Commission, and I would just like to very warmly say that I think this is a group of people with tremendous expertise and contacts.

And as we go forward with this reorganization, it's going to be very helpful if some way can be found to keep them working with us. There is, I think, sometimes the misconception that reorganization is going to be finished on October 1st. And I think that we and our colleagues at State both understand that this is really just the beginning of a process, that we have a long way to go to devise new ways in which public diplomacy can be conducted more effectively in a new context.

And having a group like this to draw on as we work through this is going to be a very useful thing. I won't take time to introduce all my colleagues from USIA. But I have a wonderful group here who carry me through and our agency through the work we do. I want to express my gratitude to them, and I hope sometime you have a chance to meet them. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. All right, thank you, Mr. Kemble. Let me just ask you in followup, would the Board stay or the Advisory Board stay the way it was before? Do you see ways of improving it?

Mr. KEMBLE. Well, to tell you the truth, neither State nor USIA initiated this idea for the abolition of the Advisory Board, and I think we were all a bit surprised when it happened.

I haven't consulted with anybody about this issue. But having worked with the Board for quite a number of years, I think it works very well as it is.

Mr. SMITH. I do have two additional questions I'd like to ask very briefly. During the past few years, how successful has USIA been in identifying and recruiting participants from East Timor, Tibet and Burma exchanges, and have all the slots for these exchanges been filled? Because you might recall we put specific numbers into the statute.

[The answers to Mr. Smith's questions may be found in the appendix on page 94.]

Mr. KEMBLE. I know we've had difficulty with Timor because the situation there has been so unsettled. I'm going to try to give you specific numbers if I've got them here. But if Dr. Bill Bader would like to step up and try to help you with that while I'm looking.

You're asking for specific numbers, and I don't want to be inexact. I don't have specific numbers to give you for East Timor, as I said. The situation there has been so difficult that program activity has been virtually impossible.

We did award three grants for program activities in Tibet. We sent American scholars to Tibet. We created private sector opportunities for Tibetans of the Tibet Autonomous Region. We have cooperated with the Tibet Fund to bring 25 students each year from Tibetan refugee communities in India and Nepal.

From Burma, we have had 58 refugees participating in a refugee scholarship program, and 44 of them have completed either a baccalaureate or a masters degree. And there, too, we've had some difficulty because the Thai Government has refused to issue exit clearances to Burmese candidates for this program.

As a consequence, we've had to move the locale for recruitment to India. But we've already received 90 applications in India, and we have a selection process scheduled to begin on March 12th.

If you'd like me to be more specific on any of this, I'll be happy to respond in writing.

Mr. SMITH. I would appreciate the maximum amount of input that you could provide us. That would be great.

The process for application for the scholarships, we're told, for East Timor have not been made fully clear. Is there anything being done to try to get the message out? I mean, we met with a number of activists when we were in Jakarta who actually came in and spoke to us. We've met with some who have traveled here. And if you don't have that, please provide it for the record, and that would be very helpful.

Mr. KEMBLE. I think since you want specifics, it would be wiser for both of us if I went back to the people who actually manage these programs and got you clear details.

Mr. SMITH. And I do, and this will be my final comment, and I thank you for your excellent testimonies. Thank you for the strong support for the South Pacific scholarships, the \$500,000. I know Eni Faleomavaega is very happy with that, and my Democrat friends are very pleased that it's been requested again for Fiscal Year 2000.

This is a part of the world that, as we all know, is often overlooked in terms of U.S. foreign policy, but not so when it comes to these exchanges. So we're very appreciative of that. Thank you.

I want to thank our very fine witnesses for being here for the great testimony. But more importantly, the great work you do each and every day on behalf of democracy, human rights and all the things we so deeply care about.

I just want to make note for those of this session who are wondering where some of our folks are. We went out early today, and usually when that happens, people are on the next plane. That is what happened because I know that the Ranking Member wanted to be here as did several other Members, including Mr. Gilman.

So they will be very supportive, I'm sure, and we will work in a bipartisan way to be effective and to provide as much money as possible for the great programs.

Thank you. The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:35 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]



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## Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-3004

Statement of Representative Christopher H. Smith  
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights  
March 4, 1999

### *Foreign Relations Authorization For FY 2000-2001: Public Diplomacy Programs*

#### COMMITTEES.

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COOPERATION IN EUROPE**  
CO CHAIRMAN

This is the second in a series of hearings on legislation to authorize the foreign relations agencies of the United States for fiscal years 2000 and 2001. Today the subcommittee will consider the functions known collectively as "public diplomacy": the international broadcasting services, exchange programs, and other information services now operated by the United States Information Agency, and the worldwide pro-democracy activities of the National Endowment for Democracy.

Most members of this subcommittee, both Democrats and Republicans, have been strong supporters of public diplomacy. I fully expect this support to continue. We are particularly concerned with preserving the integrity of the public diplomacy function after USIA merges with the State Department. But we will succeed in this effort only if we can show our colleagues and the American people that public diplomacy programs continue to serve their original purpose: the transmission of the American values --- or, more accurately, the universal values embodied in the American experiment --- of freedom and democracy.

Our international broadcasting services --- which, after September 30 of this year, will be funded through a separate and independent broadcasting entity -- will survive and prosper if and only if they continue to get the message of freedom to people whose governments hate this message. It is an important fact of modern life that the need for freedom broadcasting is as great as ever, not only in countries with totalitarian regimes such as Cuba and Viet Nam, Iran and Iraq, China and Tibet, North Korea and Burma, but also in the astounding **eighty percent** of the world's nations in which (according to Freedom House) the government still abridges freedom of the press.

I want to acknowledge the presence today of the heads of our international broadcasting services --- Evelyn Lieberman of Voice of America, Tom Dine of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Richard Richter of Radio Free Asia, and Herminio San Roman. I know the Subcommittee will have questions for you, and your prepared statements will be part of the hearing record, but I want to begin by congratulating and thanking each of you. I want to call attention in particular to the new services initiated during the last year:

--- RFE/RL's Radio Free Iraq and Persian language services as well as the Albanian-language broadcasts into Kosovo that will begin next Monday;

--- VOA's new Macedonian service and its worldwide Child Survival broadcasts;

--- and Radio Free Asia's new Uyghur and Wu services.

I also want to call attention to the continuing struggle to overcome jamming of our freedom broadcasts by totalitarian regimes. The worst problems are the Hanoi's jamming of the Radio Free Asia Vietnam service and the continued jamming by the Castro regime of TV Marti. These battles are frustrating, but they are not unwinnable. They are a test of American technology and creativity, of our resources and our willingness to use them in a worthy cause. Letting the bad guys win these battles would send exactly the wrong message at exactly the wrong time, and would provide a fresh dose of despair for the long-suffering people of Cuba and of Vietnam.

On international exchanges, we confront many of the same issues. Exchanges are worth the money the U.S. taxpayers spend on them only if they promote American values. In order to do this, we need to include more human rights advocates and fewer apparatchiks, more victims and fewer oppressors. We also need to act forcefully to minimize the number of participants in our tax-supported exchange programs who are spies for totalitarian regimes. This should go without saying, but as late as last year a major USIA grantee brought in several officials of an institute that has been reliably reported to be a front for Chinese military intelligence. This needs to stop, and it needs to stop now.

Although I am not thrilled with the way USIA has been implementing some of our exchange programs, I believe things could get even worse if we incorporate these programs into the State Department in the wrong way. I fought hard during legislative consideration of the reorganization bill to preserve the integrity of the public diplomacy functions. Unfortunately, there are some important respects in which the State Department's reorganization plan may erode that integrity. For instance, conducting educational and cultural exchanges is a very different kind of activity from providing information about the United States to people overseas. These activities need to be conducted from separate bureaus, as they are now --- and both of them should be clearly segregated from the State Department's press office and public relations apparatus. We may also need a separate appropriations line for international information programs, so that these funds are not diverted to the Department's own press relations or to other activities. If we cannot work these issues out with the Administration, we may need a legislative solution.

Finally, I want to thank and congratulate the National Endowment for Democracy. Of the billions of dollars we spend every year trying to protect and defend freedom around the world, the \$30 million we spend on NED may well be the most cost-effective item in the budget. Because of NED's relatively small size, its creativity and flexibility, and its status as a private entity closely associated with the U.S. government, it can intervene more directly than our official foreign relations agencies to ensure that the victims of oppression survive and prevail.

I look forward to hearing the testimony of our distinguished witnesses.



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INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS  
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**Statement of Representative Cynthia A. McKinney**  
**Ranking Member, Subcommittee on International Operations**  
**and Human Rights**  
**March 4, 1999**

I wish to take this opportunity to extend my appreciation to our distinguished witnesses, including my friend from Indiana Mr. Roemer, and to express my appreciation for all that they have done to advance United States public diplomacy and the goals of democratization and improved human rights observance around the world. Those who strongly support these goals, as I do, owe our witnesses and the agencies and organizations they represent a debt of gratitude for their dedicated efforts to promote them; and I wish to make clear my commitment to continue to work closely with those involved in public diplomacy programs, regardless of the structure in which they may be located.

I join our chairman, Mr. Smith, in his concern for preserving the effectiveness and mission of public diplomacy through the present trying circumstances of organizational change. Nothing we do with our organizational wiring diagrams should be permitted to interfere with the important activities we are discussing today, including functions as widely different as broadcasting the message of hope and freedom to those living under oppression and supporting the efforts of scholars and researchers on everything from agriculture to ethnology. Making the resources of the United States—our ideas, our extraordinary store of information and expertise, and our principles of national life—available to others is a key element in our public diplomatic work, and it deserves our support.

Of course, we expect that governments that do not value freedom will attempt to interfere with efforts to bring the ideas of freedom and the other principles we value to their people. We need to persevere in our own efforts to overcome these barriers.

At the same time, we need to ensure that we are not interfering with our goals by adopting the wrong methods of pursuing them. The activities in which we engage in public diplomacy need to be judged by criteria of appropriateness and effectiveness; and they need to serve the purposes our citizens and taxpayers expect them to serve. Simply to call something a public diplomacy effort is not necessarily to make it something to pursue. I thus look forward to hearing from our witnesses as to how their programs are using effectively the resources they are provided.

In the same way, I am concerned that the process by which it is proposed to manage

public diplomacy in the future may not be the most appropriate and may not even be legally permissible. In particular, the intention of the Department of State to combine the functions of two bureaus in USIA, the Bureau of Information Programs and the Bureau of International Exchanges, into a single bureau under one assistant secretary appears seriously flawed. Our chairman has expressed serious reservations on this point, as has the chairman of the full committee, Mr. Gilman. I take these concerns seriously and wish to associate myself with them.

As many people know, I have not been a supporter of this reorganization effort. I believe the functions that the United States Information Agency performs were perfectly well located in that agency as a separate entity. But if in fact this effort is to go forward, it should do so with maximum regard to the integrity of those programs.

In this same way, I found it most curious that no one could point out to me where in the Department of State budget proposal we could find the funding to cover the costs of the reorganization effort—everything from matching computer systems to moving people around. The estimates I have seen for these costs exceed \$30 million. I am concerned that unless this point is clearly addressed, the resources available for public diplomacy may end up bearing the burden for a reorganization that does not, in my view, serve their needs. I expect that there will be some effort to address this concern by the Administration before we complete our authorization process.

I believe that one of the most important parts of the public diplomacy function is the program for educational and cultural exchanges. While I appreciate the concern of other members of this Subcommittee for other regions, I wish particularly to emphasize the importance of involving in these programs as large a participation as possible from Africa. Africa has many young leaders who are working to strengthen human rights and promote democracy in their countries; and it has many scholars who can benefit uniquely from opportunities to make contacts with colleagues in the United States. I hope our witnesses will address the extent to which these programs are reaching out to Africa and their plans to do more such outreach in the future.

The challenge we face now is to ensure the continued effective conduct of public diplomacy under changing structures in a changing world. I look forward to working with my colleagues here and with those actually carrying out these activities to achieve that outcome.

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Committee on International Relations  
Subcommittee on International Organizations and Human Rights

March 3, 1999

Mr. Chairman, thank you allowing me to testify today to discuss an issue of great importance to U.S. public diplomacy. I want to talk about a decision made last year by Congress to terminate the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, an important oversight body of the U.S. Information Agency.

Last year's State Department consolidation was a smart reinvention of our foreign policy programs. I applaud this committee's role in that process. However, this consolidation abolished the only citizens' advisory body for public diplomacy -- the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy -- on October 1, 1999, when USIA ceases to exist.

The consolidation retained the advisory commission to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, but it eliminated the advisory commission to USIA -- a much larger agency. There was no vote on the commission's continuance, and I don't believe this was a fair consideration of its future.

The commission is bipartisan and presidentially-appointed, with the consent of the Senate, and membership has included distinguished Americans like Father Ted Hesburgh, George Gallup, William F. Buckley, Frank Stanton and James Michener, who have all served without compensation. Currently, the commission has a budget of less than \$500,000 and it has returned an average of \$75,000 to the taxpayers in each of the last three years.

In this age of information and democracy, of globalized free markets and the Internet, foreign publics are far more important than ever. As we are developing a new diplomacy for the 21st century, the commission is of even greater constructive value to the Congress and the Administration.

Before USIA was created and when the overseas information and cultural programs were still located in the State Department, Congress decided in the Smith-Mundt Act that distinguished Americans be asked to provide "great constructive value to the Secretary of State and the Congress in the best development of public relations programs in the foreign relations of the United States."

Tim Roemer  
Page 2

For 50 years, the commission and its predecessor bodies have issued several intelligent and thoughtful reports in which relevant public diplomacy issues have been examined and recommendations made. With the integration of USIA into the State Department, a citizens' board which represents the public interest and provides policy makers with responsible oversight on public diplomacy strategic priorities and program effectiveness is needed now more than before. I encourage this committee to support a legislative provision repealing the abolition of this commission.

During the 1960s and 70s, the commission helped USIA expand its research and program evaluation to target information to women's and labor groups abroad. It helped improve VOA programming and signal delivery and direct broadcast satellite research.

In the 1980s, the commission broke new ground when it released the special report -- "Terrorism and Security: The Challenge for Public Diplomacy" -- which recommended ways to make the difficult balance between the need to protect our diplomats and overseas installations and the need to reach out to overseas publics. It has done so again in the 1990s by focusing on a new diplomacy for the information age.

Our country enjoys a considerable "edge" in public diplomacy, both in reaching publics through advanced technology and in our message of democracy, human rights, free markets and ethnic and cultural diversity. We should use that edge. In the post-Cold war era of instant global journalism and people power, foreign public opinion is critical to the success of American foreign policy initiatives.

Mr. Chairman, the new State Department we are creating must be a responsive and flexible diplomatic institution that can deal as effectively with foreign publics as with foreign governments. We need the insight and experience of the advisory commission to make this transition successful and to achieve our foreign policy goals.

**STATEMENT OF PENN KEMBLE  
ACTING DIRECTOR  
UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY**

**ON**

**FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZATION FOR FY 2000-2001:**

**PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PROGRAMS**

**Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights  
House International Relations Committee**

**Thursday, March 4, 1999  
2:00 P.M.**

Testimony by Penn Kemble  
Acting Director, United States Information Agency  
before the Subcommittee on International Operations  
and Human Rights  
March 4, 1999

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee:

Thank you for inviting me here today to discuss the FY 2000-2001 authorization for public diplomacy. I say "public diplomacy" and not "The United States Information Agency" because, in accordance with the President's decision and Congressional legislation, USIA is about to be merged with the Department of State.

The end of a 45-year tradition of locating public diplomacy at an independent foreign affairs agency warrants a moment of reflection. In briefest summary, our Agency was born out of the recognition -- a recognition gained at some cost -- that traditional or formal diplomacy was not adequate to a time when relations among nations were in such great measure shaped by popular movements and the influence of the mass media. The conduct of relations between governments needed to be supplemented by an effort to build harmonious relations among peoples in order to counter the demagogic appeal of totalitarianism, and to engage the many nongovernmental forces that increasingly exert influence in international affairs.

Few would contend that the end of the Cold War has altered the need for such a capability. If anything, as Secretary Albright has noted, the expansion of democracy and the spread of global communications have made public diplomacy ever more central to the conduct of our foreign policy. As former director Dr. Joseph Duffey liked to say, "Today, all diplomacy is public diplomacy." (One might perhaps add, whether we intend it to be or not.)

Because public diplomacy has today become so integral and important to all our diplomacy, the instruments of public diplomacy belong at the organization that has the principal responsibility for the conduct of our foreign policy -- the Department of State. The expectation set forward by the Administration and Congress who worked together to fashion this reorganization is that the fusion of organizations and functions will release creative energies that can strengthen our influence in the world.

Congress now has before it for review and consideration the Reorganization Plan and Report of the President that would integrate USIA into the Department of State, which is the result of the careful work of many in the Administration. Secretary Albright has stated that she places high priority on public diplomacy with foreign audiences, and that

she is strongly committed to the President's request for public diplomacy funding. She has given us great encouragement by committing herself to welcome, reward, fully employ and retain the expertise of USIA's employees. She has said that they will bring to the Department strengths in their strategic approach to influencing foreign audiences, an open style of operations, close ties to NGOs and skillful use of advanced communications technologies.

Several decades ago, USIA's most celebrated Director, Edward R. Murrow, advised that those who understand public diplomacy should be "in at the takeoffs, not just the crash landings" of the foreign policy process. The integration of USIA with the Department of State will encourage that kind of relationship, and diminish the chances of crash landings.

We see many foreign policy challenges today that cannot be met unless America and its purposes are understood and accepted by the citizens of other countries. We must try to win at least a significant portion of the people of Serbia to an understanding that the United States seeks democracy and security for all the citizens of the former Yugoslavia, and has no favorites or hidden interests. The people of Russia must be helped to understand that the admission of new members into NATO will bring stability to a region for whose troubles Russia itself has paid a heavy price. The people of the Arab world need reassurance that while the United States opposes terrorists and rogue governments with weapons of mass destruction, we seek only cordial relations with the adherents of Islam. Nations whose economies have been buffeted by global financial turbulence must be persuaded that the advice we offer is intended to help them recover, not to punish or weaken them.

Many of our difficulties in today's world are caused or intensified by the misimpression that America seeks a cultural, economic or military "hegemony" over others. This is a challenge for public diplomacy. If we do not find ways to penetrate the fog of fear and resentment that too often clouds America's image abroad, the most well-conceived initiatives of our formal diplomacy will rarely succeed.

Effective public diplomacy requires long-term investment. We must foster a second tier of relationships beyond our links with foreign governments that can engage strategic opinion in countries we need to influence. We need to know these societies and cultures, not just blare our messages at them. Before we can press our case, we often may have to invest in developing an audience, and establishing the credibility that earns us a hearing. We have to understand that even when we seek to speak clearly, the message can be distorted, or the receiver switched to another channel. We have to recognize that what our government says and believes frequently faces competition from what our private news and entertainment industry communicates to the world, and that audiences unfamiliar with our traditions are sometimes unsure about how to sort this out.

Long-term investments must be made in citizens' and scholarly exchanges, in the networking and programs conducted by our overseas Public Affairs Officers, in cultivating the audiences of our broadcasting units, and in maintaining up-to-date, accessible information systems. Without such investment, our message to the world will lose clarity.

Our ability to sustain this kind of investment faces challenges today from many quarters.

There are still those who question the need for a vigorous foreign affairs capability, and, in particular, the need for spending on information programming and international exchanges. The Cold War is over, they say, or let the private sector do it. But experience teaches the enduring importance of reaching out to foreign audiences: maintaining support for reconstruction in Bosnia, pressing ahead for peace in the Middle East, winning support for a stronger international financial architecture.

We are especially grateful that both the President and Secretary Albright have supported sustaining the resources needed for what are often long-term investments in public diplomacy. In order that these resources can be maintained, the financial arrangements for integration must support the priority and integrity of the public diplomacy mission. Exchanges will continue to have a separate appropriation. In a letter to Harriet Fulbright, Senator Fulbright's widow and now the distinguished Executive Director of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, the Secretary of State has pledged her determination to maintain "the scholarly integrity" and "standards of excellence" of our academic exchanges. Funds for other public diplomacy programs will also be separately planned for, identified and accounted for.

Mr. Chairman, we have a Secretary of State who has clear ideas about American interests and is effective in expressing them. We have a reorganization plan that will put the tools of public diplomacy at her disposal. The professional staffs of both the Department of State and USIA will now need to work closely together to develop and implement strategies that will both maintain the value of these tools, and put them to good uses. The interest and counsel of this Committee will be of great assistance to them.

Thank you.



**TESTIMONY OF EDWARD E. KAUFMAN  
MEMBER, BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
MARCH 4, 1999**

Mr. Chairman, Congresswoman McKinney, members of the Subcommittee:

I am pleased to appear before you today, along with my friend and fellow Governor, Tom C. Korologos. We are, as you know, representing Chairman Marc. B. Nathanson and our other colleagues on the bipartisan Broadcasting Board of Governors. Marc, who lives in Los Angeles, sends his sincere regrets, and asked me to tell you that he very much hopes to see both you and Congresswoman McKinney next week, when he will be here in Washington for our monthly Board meeting.

We are accompanied today by the members of our senior management team: Mrs. Evelyn S. Lieberman, Director, Voice of America, and of the International Broadcasting Bureau; Mr. Richard Richter, President of Radio Free Asia; Mr. Thomas A. Dine, President of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; and Mr. Herminio San Roman, Director, Office of Cuba Broadcasting. We are here to share our perspective with you as you review our Fiscal Year 2000 budget request, the first for the new broadcasting entity established by the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998.

I'd like to begin by citing a statistic with which you and many members of this Subcommittee are familiar. According to Freedom House, one in five people in the world live in countries whose press is rated "free", while the remainder are subject to news and information which is partially or totally controlled by their governments.

It is, of course, these people who comprise the principal audiences for our various international broadcasting services, and whom you and your colleagues had in mind in the congressional findings section of the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (P.L. 103-236):

"Open communication of information among the peoples of the world contributes to international peace and stability, and the promotion of such communication is in the interests of the United States."

Allow me to provide some recent examples of how these broadcasting services, with your continuing support, have gone about promoting those interests:

-- In January, 1998, Radio and Television Marti provided extensive coverage of Pope John Paul II's historic visit to Cuba. Radio Marti broadcast the Pope's arrival statement, President Fidel Castro's welcoming speech, and each of the papal masses live to the Cuban people. Both Radio and Television Marti transmitted taped rebroadcasts of these events.

-- Last May, VOA launched "VOA News Now", international broadcasting's first 24-hour, English-language news and information service, featuring world, regional, and U.S. news delivered to each region of the world during prime listening hours.

-- In response to Congressional mandates, RFE/RL broadcasts to Iran (Persian service) and Iraq (Radio Free Iraq) began last October 30 from RFE/RL's Prague Broadcasting Center. These broadcasts have had an immediate and continuing impact, as demonstrated by denunciations in the official Iraqi press, the withdrawal of the Iranian Ambassador from Prague, and the attention paid to the new Persian service broadcasts in the Iranian media.

-- In response to a bipartisan initiative endorsed by President Clinton, Radio Free Asia (RFA) and VOA greatly expanded broadcasting to China in Mandarin, Tibetan, and Cantonese, and RFA initiated programming in Wu (Shanghaiese) and Uyghur. With close coordination of broadcasting schedules mandated by the Board and implemented by IBS Engineering, VOA and RFA now provide round-the-clock service in Mandarin to China.

-- Due to the enormous popularity of RFA Mandarin's first listener call-in program, *Listener Hotline*, launched last spring, what began as a 30-minute daily show had been expanded by the end of the year to five different thematic call-in programs, including shows focused on labor, consumer protection, and rule of law issues.

-- In early June last year, VOA broke the story of the Ethiopian-Eritrean border war, as well as the news of Chief Abiola's death in Nigeria.

-- Last summer, for several weeks before and after the Cambodian election of July 26, Radio Free Asia doubled its broadcasts to Cambodia. RFA's Khmer-speaking reporters traveled throughout the country, identifying and covering abuses of the voter registration process well ahead of monitoring groups and election officials.

-- Last October, both VOA and RFE/RL expanded broadcasts to the former Yugoslavia in response to the crisis in Kosovo and the Milosevic regime's crackdown on independent media in Serbia. RFE/RL's South Slavic Service, along with 31 independent radio stations in Bosnia, created "Radio 27", a locally-based, all-Bosnia public affairs network free of nationalist slant.

-- Last November, VOA broadcast the Dalai Lama's first-ever television interview conducted in the Tibetan language. During his visit to VOA, the Dalai Lama said, "So many people inside Tibet and outside listen to the Voice of America. People are almost risking their lives to listen, hiding their radios, going into a private corner to listen ... every word is important."

-- In early January this year, VOA, at the request of the Board, began a 15-minute daily (Monday through Friday) Macedonian Service, including a six-minute newscast featuring stringer and correspondent reports from the area.

-- As part of its "Broadcasting for Child Survival" initiative, last September VOA launched a Public Service Announcement (PSA) campaign in which PSAs on child survival are now broadcast daily by every language service. A recent survey of listeners in Nigeria indicated that 800,000 adults had their families immunized after hearing a PSA about polio on VOA.

-- VOA and Worldnet Television have begun development on a pilot project utilizing small-format, digital video technologies.

The best programming in the world cannot effectively serve an audience if it cannot be received clearly. While the rapid development of digital technology and Direct Broadcast Satellite (both audio and video) transmissions enhance the clarity of programs for the rapidly growing numbers of people able to receive such signals, many people in the developing world do not yet have access to a telephone, much less a satellite dish or the Internet. Therefore, shortwave and long-distance medium wave (AM) transmissions continue to play a crucial role in program delivery to large and eager audiences in Africa, South Asia, China, and rural areas of the former Soviet Union.

The International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB)'s worldwide transmission infrastructure, designed and maintained by a professional engineering staff, serves the mission requirements of all the international broadcasting services and represents a national asset valued at over \$1 billion dollars.

I am pleased to report that this past January, full operations began on the first two transmitters and three antennas at the IBB's new transmitting station on Tinian, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Initial reception reports for both RFA and VOA broadcasts to China, Burma, Cambodia, and Vietnam have been good to excellent, although jamming of RFA Vietnamese continues. With funding made available by the Congress last year for the purpose of expanding RFA and VOA broadcasts to China, three additional transmitters will be relocated to Tinian from a closed IBB facility in Portugal. The target completion date for the expansion phase is February, 2000.

The additional funding also enabled RFA to purchase and enhance a commercial shortwave transmitting station on Saipan in the Northern Marianas, which, along with Tinian, will greatly help to counteract jamming of RFA's Mandarin, Cantonese, Tibetan, Korean, and Vietnamese services.

The IBB deploys a network of monitors responsible for gathering and analyzing data to verify technical reception quality. If transmissions are not being clearly received, IBB engineering staff coordinate efforts to correct the problem. In 1998, development continued on an Internet-based monitoring system which will facilitate data collection and enable us to verify use of programming by affiliate stations.

As part of ongoing efforts to expand their reach, RFE/RL, VOA, and RFA each refined or expanded its Internet services last year. RFE/RL developed a highly successful web site ([www.rferl.org](http://www.rferl.org)) which provides program audio, program texts, daily and weekly information reports to users throughout their broadcast region and the world, and is visited nearly ten million times monthly. RFA ([www.rfa.org](http://www.rfa.org)) redesigned and relaunched its web site to include audio and text programming in each broadcast language, as well as bulletin board and e-mail features designed to foster an open dialogue with listeners. Audio files from 28 of VOA's language services are now available on its web site ([www.voa.gov](http://www.voa.gov)), with plans to include the remaining services later this year. Pilot efforts are also underway using live, "streaming" audio and video technology.

Mr. Chairman, a word about our budget. The BBG is requesting a total of \$452.6 million for Fiscal Year 2000, a net increase of \$55 million from comparable amounts enacted in 1999. Pursuant to the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998, this budget reflects the net transfer from USIA to the BBG of \$33.2 million and 81 positions associated with various administrative support functions previously provided by USIA. This represents a current services program level, with the exception of three proposed increases totaling \$7.5 million.

An increase of \$5 million and 30 positions is requested to enable VOA's Africa Division to broadcast an additional 27 hours weekly of targeted programming to selected sub-Saharan Africa countries, including Nigeria, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Eritrea.

During his March, 1998 visit to Africa, President Clinton announced his intention to create Radio Democracy for Africa as a service of the Voice of America, focused on providing news and information about Africa to Africans in order to help them make

informed choices about their lives. The FY 2000 enhancement would build on a \$1 million, 13.5 hours weekly pilot effort proposed as part of the Fiscal Year 1999 program plan, currently pending Congressional approval. The Board fully supports this exciting initiative, designed to build on VOA's significant strengths, including name recognition, popularity, and reputation for bringing reliable news and information to African audiences.

An increase of \$1.5 million is requested to enable RFE/RL to ensure full compliance with evolving employment and taxation regulations in the various countries where it operates bureaus, consistent with the recommendation of the State Department's Office of the Inspector General.

Finally, \$1 million is requested to enable the Office of Cuba Broadcasting to convert Radio Marti's production equipment at its new Miami headquarters from analog to digital technology.

In closing, Chairman Marc Nathanson joins Tom Korologos, our Board colleagues, and me in expressing our sincere gratitude to you, Mr. Chairman, the members of the Subcommittee, and indeed the Congress as a whole for the confidence you have shown in us and our stewardship of this important collective enterprise called U.S. international broadcasting.

We all believe that the structure outlined in the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act, by providing an arms-length distance between the broadcasters and the policy apparatus, while insuring that broadcasting remains an important instrument of U.S. foreign policy, will promote the continued effectiveness of our international broadcasting services in sharing American values, projecting our policies, and supporting others around the world in their struggle for freedom.

We are all proud to be associated with the dedicated employees of these various services, whether serving in Prague, at news bureaus or relay stations around the world, in Miami (where we recently helped Secretary Albright dedicate the new Radio and Television Marti headquarters), or right here in Washington.

My colleagues and I will be happy to respond to your questions.

STATEMENT OF CARL GERSHMAN,  
PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MARCH 4, 1999

Chairman Smith, Congresswoman McKinney, and members of the Subcommittee:

Thank you for offering me this opportunity to appear before you today to discuss the work of the National Endowment for Democracy and to defend the Administration's request for FY2000. What this subcommittee has meant to those (small d) democrats with whom we work is impossible to measure, not just because you authorize the funding that enables us to support them, but also because you continue to serve as one of the leading voices in our country on behalf of all those fighting for freedom and human dignity, the cause to which we are mutually committed.

The Administration's request is \$32 million, representing an increase of \$1 million over the current year's appropriation. With these funds, we support organizations in over 90 countries in every region of the world. Many of these programs are carried out by our four affiliated institutes: the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS), the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), the International Republican Institute (IRI), and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). The Endowment works with scores of other groups, mostly indigenous, that are working to advance human rights, provide civic education, develop independent media, disseminate democratic values, and promote governmental transparency and accountability.

We regard the Administration's request as a vote of confidence in our work and are grateful for its continued support. That support has always come with the recognition that our country truly has a strong interest in the advancement of democracy, since those countries that respect the rights of their own citizens are far more likely to behave more peaceably toward their neighbors and the world community as a whole.

### Democratic Cooperation

Since the Endowment was established 15 years ago, many new democracies have come into existence. It is well worth noting that last month marked the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the historic accord in Poland that set in motion the process of democratization in that country and that had such a major impact throughout the former Soviet Bloc. Today, many of the brave individuals who helped bring democracy to Poland, the Czech Republic, and to Hungary are helping to assist fellow democrats further to the east in programs funded by the Endowment.

It was in that same spirit of democratic cooperation that representatives of over 80 countries met just last week in a historic gathering in New Delhi. Convened by the Endowment with two Indian partner organizations, the conference has set in motion a new World Movement for Democracy, a coalition of leading figures from politics, associational life, business, trade unions, the mass media, academia, and policy organizations around the world who are united by shared democratic values and a commitment to mutual support and solidarity.

I shall return to this important development later in my statement, but let it be noted that the enthusiasm we experienced in New Delhi for the dozens of practical initiatives that will follow to promote democratic cooperation is eloquent affirmation of the continued relevance of our work. As the director of the new democracy promotion institute in Australia pointed out, unlike the (economic) aid field, where there is frequently harmful competition among donor organizations, the democratic assistance field has shown no such competition since the needs are so vast and the resources so limited.

For while we celebrate the gains that have occurred since the Endowment was established, and work to stimulate the creation of counterpart democratic assistance organizations in both new and more established democracies, we should stop to consider the vast number of countries where democracy has not taken root, where the elements of civil society remain weak, where human rights are not respected, and where governing institutions remain unaccountable to the people. In fact, if we have learned anything at all from recent events in Eastern Asia, in Central Africa, in the Balkans and elsewhere, without democratic institutions there can be no economic stability, no peaceful resolution of conflict, and no means of keeping unaccountable leaders from transporting problems far from their borders.

Let me hasten to add that despite these vast problems, we at the Endowment continue to be impressed by the quality, seriousness, and self-sacrifice of democratic activists in EVERY one of these situations. The fact that democracy is not a narrow, exclusively Western concept but rather, in the words of Nobel laureate Amartya Sen, "a universally relevant system," is reaffirmed every day by the commitment of those men and women with whom we work.



### Two Heroes of Democracy

Mr. Chairman, before sharing with you some of our recent and ongoing program highlights, I would like to pause to pay tribute to two key figures in our world who died within one week of each other last November. Dante Fascell was once the Chairman of this very subcommittee before becoming Chairman of the full Committee on Foreign Affairs. As noted repeatedly at his memorial service last month, Dante's love for his country and its values led him to want to share them with the rest of the world. The Endowment was for him the embodiment of that worthy goal, and now stands as a major part of his legacy.

At the memorial service, we were gratified to hear Chairman Gilman announce that the Committee would put on its agenda the establishment of a Dante Fascell Fellowship Program, to be housed at the Endowment's research institute, the International Forum for Democratic Studies. When fully funded, the program would enable activists, scholars, journalists and practitioners from around the world to make significant contributions to the strengthening of democracy in their respective countries and regions, thus helping to fulfill the vision of our principal "founding father." We look forward to working with the subcommittee and the full committee on this significant initiative.

Halfway around the world, Galina Staravoitova's brutal assassination in St. Petersburg at the age of 52 put a tragic end to one of the world's most dedicated fighters for human rights and democracy. The Endowment had a long association with Galina, who was originally a grantee but became a trusted advisor, helping us develop priorities for our program in Russia. There is a congressional initiative led by Senator Biden to conduct a study of how best to establish a Russian democracy institute that would honor Galina's memory in a very appropriate and practical way. As tragic as her death and the circumstances surrounding it for Russia's democratic movement which she was so much a part of, the outpouring of grief and outrage by her fellow citizens offers some hope that many more are prepared to rally to the cause.

### Program Highlights

The following illustrative examples of recent and ongoing programs will give you some idea of the scope and content of our work. Keep in mind that they represent a very small percentage of the more than 300 grants which we award annually.

#### **I. AFRICA**

The Africa grants program continues its involvement with the continent's two most difficult and important challenges: Nigeria and Congo. NED committed more than \$1 million to Nigeria last year, including 20 grants to human rights groups and independent press projects, and

for women's political empowerment, conflict resolution, and democratic action training. Major programs were also conducted by the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS) and the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE).

The year began with many NED grantees in prison, in exile, or working underground. Two NED grantees participated in a new program of NED's International Forum for Democratic Studies to train human rights librarians on how to use the internet for their work; one of them was detained upon his return. But with the death of dictator Sani Abacha on June 8, 1998, NED grantees quickly mobilized to take advantage of the new opportunities that soon emerged, having prepared the way after years of struggling to keep the flame of freedom, human rights, and democracy burning. Most political prisoners were freed, including NED grantees Beko Ransome-Kuti and Malam Shehu Sani of the Campaign for Democracy, Olisa Agbakoba of the United Action for Democracy, and trade unionists Frank Korkori and Milton Dabibi.

Grantees swiftly organized to monitor the series of elections that were called, including the first round in December. Others pressed for changes in press laws, the annulment of pernicious security decrees, organization of a sovereign national conference, and reform of the security forces. Both the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) conducted election observation missions for the presidential election last weekend, and all of us eagerly await their reports.

In Congo, which slid from a process of steadily shrinking political space into civil war and a full-scale abrogation of human and civil rights, two NED grantees, Paul Nsapu and Sabin Banza, were detained for several months, while others have been harassed and some forced into exile. Yet in 10 cities across Congo, Endowment grantees bravely continue monitoring human rights violations, calling for tolerance and peaceful political negotiations, promoting women's political participation, supporting independent media, and educating the Congolese public on its rights and responsibilities.

In Kisangani, for example, NED grantee Groupe Justice et Liberation released the first comprehensive report on human rights violations in areas directly affected by the war. Two NED grantees, Voice of the Voiceless and the Friends of Nelson Mandela, collaborated to produce a weekly newsletter, *Human Rights Weekly*, which provides unbiased, current information on human rights developments. In Washington, the Endowment convened a series of informal meetings to build support for Congolese civil society; NED has become a key American rallying point for the Congolese democratic movement. Didier Kamundu Batundi, director of APREDICI, a NED subgrantee in Goma, won the 1998 Reebok Human Rights award, but has now been forced to work in exile.

NED grantees continued to play prominent roles in the human rights and democracy struggles in Liberia and Sudan, where NED has mounted significant programs. Grantees in the Republic of Congo released a major human rights report in the aftermath of that country's civil war, and in Mogadishu, Somalia, the Dr. Ismail Juma'le Human Rights Center organized a

commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. NED grantee Gremeh Boucar of Radio Anfani of Niger won the Committee to Protect Journalists' 1998 award.

## II. ASIA

Mr. Chairman, I know the importance you and other members of the subcommittee attach to the work of Radio Free Asia (RFA), and I'd like to begin my description of some of our programs in the region by pointing out that more than half of NED's Asian grantees have been tapped by RFA to host their own shows, give weekly commentaries, or to respond to requests from reporters for interviews. They are very grateful to the subcommittee which supports RFA, the Congress as a whole, and of course to the service itself for the opportunity to reach greater audiences. It is particularly significant to these activists that listeners turn short-wave radio into a two-way channel of communication by sending letters and e-mail to our grantees with offers of cooperation.

The diversity and vigor of the Chinese and Burmese democracy movements made these, as in past years, the largest recipients of Endowment assistance in Asia, including support for an extensive range of groups promoting human rights, civic education, political dialogue and democratic change. NED was able to highlight the struggle for democracy in China in a February ceremony honoring Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan as co-recipients of the 1998 NED Democracy Award. Wei had just been released and exiled to the United States after 19 years in prison and Wang was still serving an 11-year sentence for his peaceful pro-democracy activities. At the ceremony, we heard the moving words of his mother communicated from China relating how much the award meant to the family. Later in the year, in the spotlight of intense international pressure, Wang was also exiled to the United States.

NED grants continued to enable Chinese pro-democracy organizations to cut through official censorship and repression of independent voices. Endowment-supported programs sponsored a number of publications addressing issues currently proscribed or severely limited inside China, including several popular electronic mail and Web-based news services and opinion journals. Let me take this opportunity to highlight the work of the Chinese VIP Reference News, an internet-based news service that manages to reach more than 10% of the entire on-line population of China!

Grantees also conducted research, circulated detailed studies proposing democratic solutions to intractable public policy problems, carried out human rights documentation and advocacy, and collaborated on programs designed to foster Chinese-Tibetan dialogue on long-term issues regarding the future of Tibet. NED provides funding for a Tibet-language newspaper, The Tibet Times, that is distributed throughout the Tibetan exile community, and a news service, The Tibet Voice, which disseminates information about the struggle for a democratic Tibet inside both China and Tibet.

ACILS continued to support the efforts of labor activists to educate workers about their rights and document labor law violations. Endowment-supported programs enabled the circulation of a vast amount of timely and thought-provoking literature in Chinese, Tibetan, and English promoting the development of a democratic culture.

NED's institutes also continued to implement programs made possible by official Chinese reform policies. In the areas of local elections and economic liberalization, both IRI and CIPE continued their programs designed to extend and institutionalize promising areas of experimental reform. IRI continued its programs to strengthen legal protections for civil rights, to foster legislative independence, and to strengthen mechanisms conducive to transparent local-level elections. CIPE continued to support an extremely successful symposium series on public affairs in Beijing and other independent research on economic reform and governance reform issues.

In **Hong Kong**, an NDI monitoring program leading up to the May 1998 elections helped support local efforts to increase voter understanding of the new and arcane electoral system installed by the Beijing-appointed provisional legislative council. The persistence of determined political and civic leaders, including 1997 NED Democracy Award recipient Martin Lee, was rewarded with extremely high voter turnout and an unexpectedly strong showing for staunch proponents of full democracy in Hong Kong. The Endowment continued to support the city's leading legal and constitutional watchdog group, the Hong Kong Human Rights Monitor, and ACILS maintained its support for Hong Kong labor union programs to protect civil and worker rights.

NED's **Burma** program continued to provide extensive support to the dynamic Burmese pro-democracy movement both inside the country and among ethnic minorities and exiled pro-democracy groups in Thailand, India, and other countries. NED and its core institutes support an array of independent media and information sources, human rights documentation, institution-building, and women's projects. The popular *New Era Journal*, a monthly Burmese-language newspaper with a circulation of more than 15,000 copies per issue, is distributed by hand through remote regions of the country. The Democratic Voice of Burma produces and transmits a daily shortwave radio program from Norway. The Federation of Trade Unions-Burma, in conjunction with ACILS, continues to educate workers and other citizens inside Burma about labor rights and to document violations of internationally-recognized labor rights.

NED has continued to fund programs that strengthen civil society and aid the consolidation of democracy in **Thailand, Mongolia, the Republic of Korea, Nepal, and Sri Lanka**. Support for human rights and legal aid programs were also continued for **Vietnam and Pakistan**, respectively. Responding to the challenge of the continued state-imposed isolation of **North Korea**, NED also developed its first programs designed to call attention to massive human rights abuses and foster an opening to the people of that isolated dictatorship.

All four NED institutes remain actively involved in **Indonesia**, having begun programs three or more years ago to support those forces in civil society pushing for reform and a

democratic opening. The institutes' ongoing involvement with counterpart institutions there, from independent think tanks to dissident labor leaders to the groundbreaking Independent Committee for Election Monitoring (KIPP), enabled them to respond rapidly to the dramatic political changes taking place.

In Cambodia, Endowment-funded programs enabled IRI and NDI to monitor the highly contested lead-up to the July 1998 elections, in the wake of a coup less than 12 months before the scheduled polling date. One of the few positive legacies of this problematic election for Cambodia's political future is the coherence and commitment of the domestic non-governmental election monitoring initiative, a pluralistic coalition effort nurtured over a three-year period by an NDI program. Continued NED assistance was directed toward the long-term task of strengthening civil society in the form of support for human rights education, capacity building among the country's still-fledgling human rights education groups, and a highly popular program in desktop publishing and journalism education.

### III. CENTRAL & EASTERN EUROPE

One recent dramatic development in the region was the September election in Slovakia, where a democratic coalition won a decisive election victory over the authoritarian government of Vladimir Meciar. The Endowment and its institutes played a leading role in assisting the democratic opposition. NED provided support to Civic Campaign '98 (OK '98), a nonpartisan, independent initiative of more than 40 NGOs that is credited with boosting voter turnout to record levels. Two NED grantees, the Foundation for Civil Society (NOS) and the Association in Support of Local Democracy, played a leading role in OK '98. Other NED grantees, including the Permanent Committee of the Civic Institute (SKOI), the Jan Hus Educational Foundation, and the Milan Simecka Foundation also conducted election-related programs that worked closely with OK '98.

NDI helped to create and support two important monitoring organizations that assisted OK '98. MEMO '98 monitored the pre-election coverage of Slovakia's media and helped to level the playing field by exposing the pro-Meciar bias of Slovak State Television. OKA '98 led a nationwide poll-watching program that helped to insure free and fair elections. IRI complemented this effort with an international election observation mission. CIPE's two programs, with MESA 10 and the Center for Economic Development, exposed the corruption and economic mismanagement of the Meciar government.

There is a large task ahead to help get Slovakia's democratic and free-market transition back on track, and we are providing assistance for this purpose.

As I mentioned previously, the Endowment continues to play a leading role in supporting innovative crossborder and regional programs, many using the experience, skills and materials of

long-time Central European activists to assist democrats further east. Last year NED grantees in the Czech Republic assisted NGOs in Belarus and Central Asia; a Slovak grantee organized workshops for local media activists from the Balkans, and a grantee based in Hungary conducted conflict resolution training in the Caucasus. The majority of these "East to East" programs continue to be carried out by Polish grantees. The Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe/Warsaw (IDEE/Warsaw) is one of only a very few foreign organizations working in Crimea. With NED funding it has organized 90 internships for Crimean Tatars and Ukrainians in Poland and assisted over 30 Tatar and Ukrainian NGOs in Crimea.

In the **Baltic States**, two NED grantees, the Democracy Advancement Center and the Latvian Center for Human Rights and Ethnic Studies (LCHRES), carried out civic education and advocacy programs designed to promote tolerance and the integration of Latvia's Russian minority. For its work, the LCHRES was awarded the prestigious U.S.-E.U. Civil Society and Democracy Award. In 1998, NED also began its first democracy-building program in Kaliningrad.

NED has sought to address the complex and problematic nature of the democratic transition in Southeastern Europe with programs promoting the resolution of inter-ethnic conflict, greater political pluralism and economic reform, the development of independent media, and the strengthening of independent organizations necessary to consolidate civil society in the region. The republics of the former Yugoslavia, particularly the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (currently configured as Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo), remains a high priority.

NED programs have helped ensure the survival of a number of independent media and helped break the stranglehold of government-dominated media in **Serbia** by strengthening influential sources of objective information. Endowment assistance has enabled newspapers, radio and TV stations to purchase desperately-needed supplies and equipment, including newsprint and broadcast transmitters. Past grantees have included the newspapers Nasa Borba, Vreme, and Danas, an independent TV station in eastern Serbia, TV Negotin, the prominent news agency BETA, and the important Belgrade station, Radio B-92.

Due to the crackdown on democratic forces in Serbia, **Montenegro** is becoming more and more a haven for the Serbian independent sector. For example, several prominent independent media in Serbia have recently re-registered and begun publishing in Podgorica. The Association for Independent Electronic Media (ANEM) received Endowment funds to expand its high-quality news programming, which is broadcast throughout Serbia/Montenegro through ANEM's wide network of affiliate radio stations. NED assistance has also helped Montenegro's only independent daily newspaper continue providing timely and objective information on political, cultural, and economic developments in the republic and throughout former Yugoslavia.

NED programs in Serbia also encourage the political participation of Serbia's youth. With Endowment support, the Center for Democracy Foundation, a prominent Belgrade-based NGO, conducts a School for Democracy for secondary school and university students, facilitating the exchange of ideas and promoting cooperation among young activists committed to Serbia's political and economic reform process. With NED funding, CIPE has enabled the European Movement of Serbia (EMS) and the G-17 group of independent economists to promote economic reform legislation and conduct research programs to identify barriers to private sector development at the local and federal levels.

In **Kosovo**, Endowment support facilitated the monitoring work of the province's most important human rights organization, the Council for Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms. NED funding has also enabled Kosovar pro-democratic forces to establish the province's first independent think-tank focusing on policy development and the promotion of civil society.

In **Bosnia**, the Endowment's support for independent media provides unbiased information to the country's beleaguered population. The Croatian-based STINA news agency received renewed NED funding last year to improve its information gathering capacity in the Croat-controlled area of Bosnia known as "Herceg-Bosna;" STINA expanded the only independent network of correspondents which exists in the statelet. The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in *Republika Srpska*, a prominent human rights organization based in Bijeljina, received Endowment funding to monitor the human rights situation in the Serb Republic, disseminate otherwise unattainable information on human rights abuses to local residents and the international community, and educate residents of the Serb Republic on their basic human rights.

NED continues to support the democratic transition in **Romania**. Endowment programs seek to counter negative trends such as political instability and the persistent influence of extremist parties on the far right and far left by developing the leadership and organizational skills of Romania's non-governmental sector, and strengthening the institutions which facilitate cooperation and information exchange within the third sector.

In **Bulgaria**, which has exhibited a stable democratic government, a modestly growing economy, good relations with its neighbors, and domestic inter-ethnic peace, NED assisted the Balkan Forum Civil Association in strengthening the capacity of citizens to participate in public affairs and effect changes at the local level. In addition, the Democracy Foundation received an Endowment grant to organize a series of Youth Forums that encouraged young people to participate in the political process and taught them about economic and political reform. To enhance the transparency of legislative processes and increase effective communication between citizens and their elected representatives, NDI continued to develop a constituency liaison program for parliamentarians in the Bulgarian National Assembly.

#### IV. LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

NED's programs for the region are clustered in three areas: expanding political participation, promoting human rights and access to justice, and furthering the adoption of reforms intended to encourage government transparency and efficiency. Mexico, Cuba and Colombia remain countries of high priority.

In Mexico, NED supports efforts by groups such as *Equidad de Genero*, ANCIFEM, *Presencia Ciudadana*, the Mexican Confederation of Employers, and the Citizen's Movement for Democracy to provide channels for citizen participation in Mexico's legislative process, including monitoring and promoting legislation affecting youth, business and women.

In Cuba, the Endowment's strategy has been to support and promote the diverse, incipient forms of civil society by providing independent sources of information to various groups and increasing awareness of their efforts outside of Cuba. For example, NED has supported publication of *Encuentro de la Cultura Cubana*, a quarterly humanities journal edited by esteemed Cuban writer Jesus Diaz, which receives written contributions from academic and cultural intellectuals on the island and is widely circulated inside and outside of Cuba. The Endowment also funds CubaNet, which supports independent journalists on the island and independent media associations by publishing and distributing their articles via the Internet. CubaNet also helps Cuban groups such as the recently-founded independent farmers' cooperatives and independent workers' unions connect with like-minded foreign and Cuban groups.

The Endowment has funded a variety of programs to promote and support the peace process in Colombia, including efforts by the Colombian Commission of Jurists to promote international humanitarian law as a basis for initiating the peace negotiations and activities of the *Corporación Viva la Ciudadanía* to disseminate and refine proposals developed during the July 1998 Permanent Civil Society Assembly for Peace. In the face of continued political violence and human rights violations, the Endowment has continued to support efforts by Colombian organizations to promote legal access and a democratic culture based on tolerance and the fundamental respect for human rights.

In Peru, Endowment funds supported a Peruvian NGO, *Organización de Mujeres Indígenas de la Amazonía Peruana*, and its efforts to foster the political participation of indigenous women as candidates and voters in the municipal elections of October 1998. The International Republican Institute (IRI), one of NED's core institutes, worked with *Fundación Participación Juvenil* and *Fundación Pensamiento y Acción* to mobilize young voters for the 1998 congressional and presidential elections in Venezuela. In Mexico, NED has funded *Equidad y Genero*, a women's organization, and *Presencia Ciudadana*, a youth movement, to



develop and promote legislative proposals concerning the participation of women and youth.

NED has also expanded its support for legal reform and access-to-justice programs. Justice of peace and conflict mediator training programs have been funded in Colombia, Peru and Venezuela. The Endowment also supports, through the *Asociación Civil Primer Justicia*, a Venezuelan television program that explains recent judicial reforms and how to gain access to the legal system.

A variety of NED-supported programs promote government transparency and efficiency. *Fundación Espíritu*, a Colombian NGO, has received Endowment support to promote the implementation of resolutions from the 1991 constitution that would allow citizen monitoring of municipal budgets and public services. In Venezuela, *Centro al Servicio de la Acción Popular* organized similar monitoring activities through a series of candidate forums with local politicians during the 1998 campaigns. IRI has supported a Nicaraguan NGO, *Hagamos Democracia*, and its efforts to improve constituency relations with Nicaragua's national legislators. CIPE has supported legislative advocacy programs in Mexico, Haiti, Venezuela and Paraguay, to promote analysis and discussion of legislation concerning economic reform in those countries.

The Endowment supports several anti-corruption initiatives in the region. NDI complemented its regional anti-corruption activities with a project in Paraguay that included a radio media campaign and a program to teach local officials how to combat corruption. In Ecuador, CIPE supports a comprehensive analysis of state corruption, covering current legal statutes, procurement procedures and customs, and recommends specific reform measures; recommendations by CIPE and the National Association of Entrepreneurs were recently incorporated into Ecuador's national constitution.

## V. THE MIDDLE EAST & NORTHERN AFRICA

Facing obstacles from both repressive government actions and anti-democratic opposition forces, NED-funded activists have sought to popularize democratic values, strengthen civil society, and protect press freedoms. In Algeria, where continued political unrest and tightening government restrictions make it increasingly difficult for NGOs to operate, one organization has succeeded in involving thousands of young Algerians throughout the country in peaceful and educational activities. Rally for Youth Action (RAJ) has carried out dozens of activities, ranging from peace rallies to human rights awareness campaigns. RAJ provides alienated and marginalized Algerian youth a vehicle for self-expression and a sense of inclusion in a civil society, even during times of severe violence and terror.

In neighboring Morocco, the Endowment has supported groups promoting women's political participation, the institutional capacity building of NGOs and publications on such topics as Islam, modernization, and democracy. One of these groups, NetRAC, is a

newly-established network of several dozen civic organizations spread throughout the country. NetRAC seeks to strengthen the role and effectiveness of NGOs through information-sharing, the exchange of ideas and experiences, and stronger linkages. The publication Prologues, a literary review published in both Arabic and French, exposes Muslims to the plurality of ideas and concepts debated internationally, and prints articles on Islam, democracy and modernization.

In response to **Egypt's** draft law imposing greater government control over associations, three NED grantees mobilized dozens of democratic activists, parliamentary deputies, researchers, and the media in an effort to confront the government and demand that civil associations be included in any discussion of the law. Similarly, in **Jordan**, the passage of new restrictive legislation targeting the freedom of the press and media prompted two NED grantees to organize an educational and outreach campaign bringing together journalists, parliamentarians, lawyers, and other activists to draw attention to the issue. These campaigns became important landmarks in holding back both governments from imposing further restrictions.

Contributing to the struggle for accountability in **Lebanon**, the Lebanese Foundation for Permanent Civil Peace (LFPCP) received NED support for a project which seeks to make public services more accessible to citizens and strengthens accountability of public officials responsible for administering public services. Based on the Foundation's recommendations, several public information offices were established in ministries and universities. NED support has also been provided to groups educating the Lebanese people about their rights and obligations as citizens and promoting an understanding of rights.

Palestinian democrats in the **West Bank and Gaza** have persisted in their efforts to disseminate democratic values. One such NED-supported effort is the Palestinian Center for Helping to Resolve Community Disputes, established with assistance from Search for Common Ground. The Center conducts workshops and training sessions in the Gaza community to raise awareness of conflict resolution as a means for resolving problems and reducing violence. The Endowment also provides support to Palestinian youth and women's organizations working to consolidate civil society.

In **Turkey**, NED has supported initiatives which encourage respect for the rights of women and ethnic minorities, and promote better governance and democratization within political parties. A good example is the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, which encourages civic participation by raising the profile of NGOs throughout the country.

## VI. NEW INDEPENDENT STATES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

NED programs continue to support the emergence of civil society throughout the region, funding numerous human rights, rule of law, civic education, and NGO development projects in an effort to maintain a vibrant third sector. Last year the Endowment paid particular attention to

the development of regional human rights groups, including NED-supported local groups in Nizhnii Tagil, Snezhinsk, Kazan, Irkutsk, Ekaterinburg and Saratov. The Endowment supported both a small grants program by the Human Rights Foundation for Civil Society for regional human rights groups, and efforts by the Union of Councils and the Moscow Helsinki Group to help establish regional human rights commissions in five provincial cities.

Another major area of NED activity in the **Russian Federation** is civic education. NED provides renewed support for the Development Through Education Foundation in Togliatti, which has conducted a series of seminars for local civic education teachers. The Youth Center for Human Rights and Legal Culture also received additional Endowment funding to develop alternative human rights curricula for secondary schools, and the Russian Association of Civic Educators was awarded a grant to conduct the third annual Civics Olympiad.

An assessment by an independent evaluator of six organizations in Russia that received support from NED to promote civic education during the period from 1994 to 1997 concluded.

"It is already clear that many of these projects have begun to contribute to the growth of democratic values and practices among Russian educators and students. More specifically, the NED-supported grantees have pioneered new approaches to teaching about citizens' legal rights and human rights, have created new teaching methods for cultivating attitudes of tolerance and mutual respect, and have developed extensive materials to teach citizens and students about the institutions and practices of Russian democracy."

We will be happy to share copies of the full evaluation with members of the subcommittee.

ACILS continued to focus on Russia's wage arrears, the widespread non-payment of wages, which increased by 54.6 percent from January 1 to August 1, 1998. ACILS programs taught Russian trade unions and workers how to protect their rights, get to the negotiating table, and address the serious issues confronting workers today, including trade union education, public interest legal clinics, and a thematic program devoted to resolving the wage arrears crisis.

For the pivotal elections in **Ukraine** last March, NED programs supported several election initiatives: IRI sent a 15-member delegation to Ukraine to monitor the electoral, voting, and counting processes in 11 districts; the Kharkiv Center for Women's Studies helped prepare women candidates for the elections; and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America developed a series of commercials aimed at increasing voter participation among young people. NED funds also supported an innovative television program, *Five on Five*, which provided a forum for Ukrainian political parties to debate and advocate their views before a national audience.

In **Belarus**, despite the regime's flagrant attacks against the democratic opposition and virtually all elements of civil society, the country's third sector continued to grow, and the

Endowment, one of the leading funders of democracy projects there, provided considerable support to regional NGOs and the independent press. NED funds critical cross-border support to Belarusian democrats from neighboring East European countries. Belarusian journalists, for example, have received practical training through internships at Polish newspapers, publishing houses and radio and television stations. CIPE has teamed with the Independent Institute for Socio-Economic and Political Studies, a media research organization, and the Factory of Information Technologies, the producer of an economic television program, to challenge the Belarusian government's monopoly on information and media.

NED funding in the southern Caucasus region of **Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan** reflects the diverse concerns of this volatile region: the Azerbaijan Fund for Democracy Development has continued, through its educational and advocacy programs, to promote greater public awareness of democratic processes; the A.D. Sakharov Armenian Foundation for the Protection of Human Rights promotes human rights concerns by advocating, among other things, the legal rights of the country's refugees; the INAM Center for Pluralism offers political education seminars to regional party activists in Azerbaijan; and the Association of Women with University Education fosters civic activism among Armenian women through its network of 22 regional centers.

Work with young people, particularly through civic education programs, has been a major focus in **Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakstan**. For example, the Ilim School fosters greater community and parental involvement in the Kazakstan educational system, while the Tashkent Public Education Center trains teachers who conduct civic education seminars in various parts of Uzbekistan. Environmental groups have been another focus of NED funding, particularly in countries with extremely repressive governments. By providing assistance to the Dashkovuz Ecological Club, NED has become one of the few Western organizations supporting programs in Turkmenistan.

#### Leveraging our Resources

Mr. Chairman, it is clear from this program summary just how vast are the needs of democrats around the world. The challenge for us is how to serve these growing needs with limited resources. One way in which we leverage our funding is by encouraging those with whom we work to supplement their NED grants with funding (including in-kind contributions) from other sources. This is often achieved by helping them cultivate contacts with the private sector and the growing number of counterpart democracy foundation organizations. I am pleased to report that in Fiscal Year 1998, our grantees raised over \$.80 for every NED dollar, the highest amount since we began compiling these figures six years ago.

Another way is to engage the private sector, including individuals, foundations, and the business community in the work of promoting democracy. This was encouraged by Mr. Lantos when I appeared before this subcommittee several years ago. I am pleased to report that with a

generous contribution from one of our Board members, we have been able to hire a professional and to begin a modest development program. Developing private sources, of course, takes much patience, but we believe that the importance of engaging the private sector will allow us not only to leverage our public funding but also to promote outreach to new and important constituencies.

For example, this past October, with a grant from the American Standard Companies, we were able to sponsor a pathbreaking conference in Bulgaria on government transparency and accountability, making use of the expertise provided by the Center for Liberal Strategies, an Endowment grantee. Not only did American Standard provide the funding, it also participated actively in the conference, demonstrating how a partnership between a government with reformist intentions, a think tank, and the corporate sector can help develop strategies to improve governing institutions.

It was the challenge of how the Endowment can remain a dynamic center globally for the promotion of democracy within the context of limited resources that led our Board to adopt a new strategic plan two years ago. The plan that was adopted called for creative ways to make the best use of our resources: first, by developing regional and inter-regional networks to multiply the impact of individual grants; second, by encouraging the establishment of counterpart organizations to promote democracy; and third, by bringing together donor groups with one another and with potential grantees, democratic practitioners and scholars to coordinate work and to develop joint initiatives.

The conference last week in New Delhi is the culmination of our effort to incorporate all of these strategies into our work. As the founding document of the World Movement for Democracy states,

"The continued durability and dynamism of democracy globally requires a worldwide community of democrats—leading figures from politics, associational life, business, trade unions, the mass media, academia, and policy analysis organizations from all regions who are united by shared democratic values and a commitment to mutual support and solidarity."

The most valuable aspect of the conference were the workshops which we hope will result in the creation of networks of NGO's, democracy think tanks, anti-corruption groups, trade unionists, party organizers, business organizations, and democracy assistance foundations. These groups have already begun to develop their own joint initiatives that will all come under the umbrella of the world movement.

One very exciting aspect of this work will be its use of communications technology to enable these networks both to work together effectively and to relate their work more broadly to the world movement. Indeed, it is the technological advances of the past decade and their remarkable diffusion to all parts of the world that has made the coordination required for such a

global undertaking possible.

At the Endowment, we have developed mostly with private funding a Democracy Resource Center (DemocracyNet) that we hope to expand to help meet the needs of this movement. The Center currently serves as an international clearinghouse for democracy, including information about the grants awarded by democracy assistance foundations. The website, [www.ned.org](http://www.ned.org), houses websites of numerous grassroots organizations with whom we have grant relationships, and as pointed out earlier, we have begun to train these organizations on how to set up their own websites.

In an extraordinary presentation at the conference in New Delhi, one of the principals of Radio B-92, the independent station based in Belgrade, described how it has made use of the latest technology to effectively end the Milosevic regime's information monopoly:

"The Internet became vital to us when Radio B-92 was banned in December 1996. We had been reporting professionally on the peaceful mass demonstrations over local election fraud. This was why the authorities banned the station without even bothering to provide a legal justification. The ban lasted only 51 hours, primarily because we resorted to the Internet.

"Even more important was the fact that we continued to produce our programs, which were distributed worldwide on the Internet in RealAudio format. Our colleagues from the VOA, the BBC, Radio Free Europe and Deutsche Welle picked up our signal and rebroadcast our news programs. In those few days more people than ever before were listening to our programs. This rendered the ban meaningless and counterproductive. Many newspapers reported that the Internet saved the demonstrations in Serbia."

Another conference participant, who serves as director of the Civic Development International Center and the director of the National Library of Georgia, shared his experiences in establishing a grass-roots Internet system in that country, which services its 2,000 non-governmental organizations. Technology clearly will have an increasing role to play in the furtherance of democracy, and the Endowment looks forward to helping democratic activists harness its great potential.

### Management

Mr. Chairman, before I close I would like to say a word about our system for maintaining financial accountability. As you know, this subject has been raised by Members of Congress over the years, and we have always maintained how much of a priority it is for us. I am proud to report that the audit report of the State Department's Inspector General (IG) for the years 1994-6

has found NO questioned costs related to the management of the Endowment's grants. We believe that this is particularly noteworthy, considering that NED issued nearly 650 grants over this three-year period. One of the IG's two recommendations has already been implemented by the Endowment and the other is currently being implemented.

Significantly, the IG has requested copies of NED's internal control procedures to be used as a model for other grant-making organizations to follow. In addition, the Association of Private Volunteer Organization Financial Managers requested that the Endowment present its procedures at a workshop attended by 60 financial managers.

While we are delighted that the hard work we have put into this function is being recognized by others, we know how important it is that the progress we have made be maintained, and intend to keep you informed about our grant management procedures.

In conclusion, the Endowment has a large agenda ahead of it, managing a growing grants program and helping to leverage the assistance we provide by linking those who receive it with those who are working in one way or another to promote and strengthen democracy. We will continue to look to the Congress, and especially the subcommittee, for your ideas as well as your support, and look forward to maintaining this productive relationship.

Thank you.

**Statement by:**

**Evelyn S. Lieberman,  
Director, Voice of America and  
Director, International Broadcasting Bureau**

**Hearing on:**

**“Foreign Relations Authorization for FY 2000-2001:  
Public Diplomacy Programs”**

**Before the:**

**U.S. House of Representatives,  
International Relations Committee,  
Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights**

**March 4, 1999 – 2:00 p.m.**



Good afternoon.

Thank you Chairman Smith and Representative McKinney for giving me this opportunity to tell you about the recent accomplishments and future plans of the Voice of America.

The Voice of America (VOA) celebrated its 57<sup>th</sup> Anniversary on February 24, 1999. We marked the occasion with the presentation of VOA's annual awards for excellence in programming. I wish you had been there to see and hear how enthusiastically VOA's broadcasters, editors, writers and technicians honor the excellent work of their colleagues. Former Director Geoffrey Cowan presented the second annual Cowan Award for Humanitarian Reporting, named in honor of his father, Louis G. Cowan, VOA Director from 1943-1945, to our English language news reporter Scott Stearns. His series on famine in Africa was as fair, honest, balanced and well produced a piece of radio journalism as you are likely to hear on any radio news service in the world. Events like VOA's annual awards program make me justly proud of the thoroughly researched, balanced and accurate journalism that VOA broadcasts every day.

The Voice of America broadcasts more than 900 hours of news and information per week in 53 languages, including English. On January 1, 1999, Macedonian became the latest addition to our broadcasting schedule. Our signal is available to people in almost every corner of the globe, whether on short wave, medium wave, FM, or via satellite transmission. VOA programs reach listeners through 14 short wave and medium wave transmitters operated by the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB), and 8 more leased facilities. An additional 1100 AM and FM affiliates around the world rebroadcast VOA programs. Practically the only place that VOA cannot be heard is in the United States, where we are prohibited from broadcasting by law.

VOA brings objective news and information to the information-deprived. Radio remains the primary source of information for many parts of the developing world, particularly in Africa, Asia, the N.I.S., the Balkans and in remote and rural communities throughout the world. Our latest estimates show that VOA programs on short wave reach in excess of 90 million listeners per week. Because access to reliable information is one of the underpinnings of a democratic society, VOA's lifeline of information contributes every day to the formation of successful democracies and the transition to market economies.

Our news and information programs inform the world about U.S. and international policies, trends in American thought and culture, news of innovative American products, and discussions of American advancements in science, medicine, and technology. VOA also brings news of international and regional significance to listeners around the globe, information that may not be available to them otherwise through state-owned or state-controlled media.

VOA continues to change as the needs of our listeners change. In the last year, VOA launched a 24-hour a day, 7 days a week, all-news-programming stream which we call *VOA News Now*. This service makes English language news and features available to broadcasters and listeners at all times around the world. Later this year, we will launch *VOA Music Mix*, a 24-hour satellite service providing continuous programming and a six-minute news update at the top of each hour.

Also in 1998, VOA began planning and implementing a project we call *Broadcasting for Child Survival*. This international public service campaign turns VOA's tremendous reach and popularity into a tool for reducing child mortality around the world. A VOA- U.S. Agency for

International Development (USAID) sponsored conference was held in Washington in April of 1998 at which broadcasters, health experts, health promotion specialists, and reporters from 30 countries shared ideas on how to make maximum use of the positive health impact of radio in general and VOA in particular. Child health public service announcements (PSAs), written by VOA staff with the advice of a panel of experts in public health and health communications, began airing on all of VOA's English and vernacular language-service broadcasts in September of 1998. The conference and the partnerships it helped form have been instrumental in the successful development of the project. Already, VOA PSAs have addressed pressing child health issues surrounding nutrition, immunizations, HIV/AIDS, diarrhea and dehydration, and respiratory infections and pneumonia. Throughout the process of developing this project, it has been made clear to VOA that concise, simple and practical information in radio broadcasts can be a tremendous asset to the promotion of improved health practices by listeners. We have been working with the BBC, Deutsche Welle, Radio France International, and Radio Nederlands to make health information a priority across the board in international radio broadcasts.

Also in partnership with USAID, VOA has received funding to continue efforts to eradicate polio. In areas where polio outbreaks are still a potentiality, VOA language service broadcasts have played and will continue to play a vital role in educating parents about the need for vaccination. USAID has stated that VOA broadcasting was a crucial component in the success of a mass inoculation of 134 million children in India. In Nigeria, research indicates VOA programming on polio influenced as many as 800,000 adults to bring their families in for immunizations.

Finally, as in every year since our founding in 1942, VOA reported on the most pressing and important global news stories of the year. Anyone who questions VOA's integrity and objectivity would have their doubts assuaged by listening to VOA's extensive and unbiased coverage of the White House and subsequent impeachment proceedings.

Our East Asia and Pacific Branch provided extensive coverage of President Clinton's 1998 trip to China and also broadcast the first ever television and radio interviews in Tibetan with the Dalai Lama. The Tibetan spiritual leader was full of praise for VOA and our Tibetan Service, saying, "I'll often meet people and find myself discussing things with them and then they say they already know about it from the Voice of America. They are taking this very seriously, and many people buy a radio just to listen to the Voice of America." With additional funds we have been able to expand our China broadcasting in various ways and have taken steps to counteract efforts by the Chinese Government to block our broadcasts and web-based news service. Whether it is via our new call-in show in Indonesia or through Khmer or Burmese language radio, where there has been controversy and crisis in Asia, our broadcasts in 1998 have been a constant and consistent source of accurate and timely information.

The VOA's Africa Branch has also been a focal point of activity in the past year. Bombings at two U.S. Embassies, American investigations, and wars and unrest throughout the region have challenged VOA's extensive network of reporters and stringers. However, we have been on top of, and in many cases first with, the complex and ever-changing news from the African continent. VOA broke the news of General Sani Abacha's death in Nigeria and has been at the frontlines of the Ethiopian/Eritrean war since the fighting began, to name just two examples.

According to the International Committee of the Red Cross and the American Red Cross, "...via international services of VOA Albanian, more than 130 refugee families have been able to inform relatives of their whereabouts after being separated during the escalating crisis in Kosovo." In Kosovo, Bosnia, and the rest of the Balkans, VOA has not only been a source of reliable information, but has also provided programming and leadership as a free press tries to take root in this troubled region. Throughout Europe and the former Soviet Union, VOA's example has set a standard for emerging journalistic organizations and has provided technical assistance and training as well.

VOA demonstrated its flexibility when conflict again rose to the boiling point in the Persian Gulf last year. We expanded Arabic programming and were successful in reaching audiences in Iraq and elsewhere. According to ABC's William Blakemore, interviewed on *Good Morning America*, "Iraqis know what is going on because everyone listens to VOA." The Arabic Service, as well as our other language services in North Africa and the Near East have been at the forefront in covering the death of King Hussein, the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Summit in Maryland, and the arrest of Turkish Kurd leader Abdullah Ocalan, among other breaking stories.

VOA was on the air to provide much needed impartial information after US air strikes targeted Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan and Pakistan and also during the India-Pakistan nuclear showdown. In the latter case, our special series of 'Conflict Resolution' programs put the nuclear situation in context for listeners and provided practical information to help diffuse the escalation of ethnic and nationalistic tensions.

Our Latin American Service continues to expand its reach throughout its economically and geopolitically important region on topics such as American trade, immigration and narcotics control policies. Our Creole Service remains an important lifeline to the people of Haiti.

As we move into a new millennium, VOA has set ambitious yet achievable objectives for the future. Technologically, VOA is already in the process of converting our operations to state of the art digital audio, transmission and information facilities. This will extend the productivity of VOA's resources and personnel and allow for greater creativity and flexibility in our newsgathering and dissemination. The incorporation of web-assisted newsgathering, with strict guidelines and oversight over accuracy and copyright issues, has already begun and will continue. The World Wide Web is also becoming an increasingly important tool in informing our audiences around the world. Furthermore, a new broadcasting transmission facility in the South Pacific will come on-line shortly, again extending our reach and capabilities. We continue to explore options regarding digital audio broadcasting through satellite technologies.

Last month, we began training VOA journalists for the next generation of newsgathering. A pilot project arming experienced journalists with digital video cameras has been a success in several field tests. We are now training additional staff in the art of using digital video journalism to provide background and context for the breaking news they are already covering for VOA's radio broadcasts. We hope to launch a half-hour news magazine series on *VOA-TV* later this year, which we hope and expect will be as popular, informative and reliable as other VOA programs.

One priority in the coming year is a project that President Clinton underscored in his State of the Union address to Congress in January: *Radio Democracy for Africa*. Radio remains the

preeminent form of mass media in Africa, which puts VOA in a particularly strong position to not only provide information that state and commercial media cannot or will not supply, but also to provide leadership and training. With additional English and vernacular language programming, we will use VOA's prominent role on the continent to help shore-up and strengthen nascent democracies and market economies throughout the region. Our reporter and stringer presence will expand, paying particular attention to electoral politics and institutions, human rights and conflict resolution reporting, and economic and business news. Our most experienced reporters will go to Africa to train aspiring journalists and help ensure that the free press that takes hold on the continent is grounded in the practices and precautions of accurate and balanced journalism that is the hallmark of VOA's tradition.

In Africa and throughout the developing world, as I discussed earlier, VOA is also making *Broadcasting for Child Survival* a priority for the coming years. Launched in conjunction with USAID, and now with assistance from UNICEF and the Peace Corps, this is an effort to use VOA's reach and popularity to increase the awareness of ways listeners can promote their children's health. The Public Service Announcement campaign will continue to grow with new spots tailored to the specific country or regional child health priorities that our partners and reporters identify. Furthermore, we are in the process of negotiating agreements with other major international broadcasters to join us in this important effort to save lives and improve health. Finally, child health issues and accurate, practical information for parents will become a top priority for all VOA broadcasts.

By the end of this fiscal year, the Broadcasting Board of Governors, of which VOA is a part, will become an independent entity pursuant to the Foreign Affairs and Restructuring Act of 1998. While this presents certain administrative and technological challenges, this transition will in no way effect the integrity, balance, accuracy and high journalistic standards of our broadcasts. This new status, as part of an independent agency, will enable VOA and other broadcasters to continue to maintain their journalistic independence. By communicating balanced and credible news to the world, VOA and other broadcasters will remain an essential element of U.S. foreign policy.

This has been a very successful period for VOA and we are poised for even greater success in the future.

I will be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Thank you.

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**Statement of  
Richard Richter  
President of Radio Free Asia  
On Foreign Relations Authorization and Public Diplomacy  
Before the House Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights  
March 4, 1999**

Chairman Smith and members of the subcommittee thank you for the opportunity to present an assessment of Radio Free Asia's (RFA) activities. As you know, RFA is still a very young radio, having been on the air only two-and-a-half years in Mandarin and only one-and-a-half years for some of our other services. In this time RFA has launched nine language services to countries that do not allow for a free and objective media. It is RFA's role to fill that gap and give people unfettered news and information which they crave. A letter from a student in Burma sums it up: "Radio Free Asia's news broadcasts are invaluable to ethnic peoples such as myself. It is like a pot of pure drinking water from which we can quench our thirst for knowledge and information."

The past few years have been busy for RFA. Not only did we launch a new surrogate radio to Asia, in 1998 we significantly increased our broadcasts to China with your help, Congressman Smith, and others on this committee. With your continued support for RFA, starting this year RFA will be on the air 24 hours a day to China in multiple languages, including Mandarin, Tibetan, Cantonese, Uyghur, and Wu (Shanghaiese). I am proud to say that we have grown rapidly in a very short amount of time without sacrificing the quality of our programs.

In fiscal year 2000 RFA plans to continue the broadcast menu it will be establishing this year of 24 hours a day to China and another 10 hours a day of programming at two hours a day each to North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Burma.

**China**

Through five different call-in programs and intensive coverage of human rights and labor issues as well as economic and social issues, RFA has reached beyond traditional elites to a broad spectrum of ordinary people in China. RFA is honored to have three leading Chinese dissidents working for the station. Soon after his release, Wang Dan signed on with RFA as a weekly commentator as did Wei Jingsheng. Labor activist, Han Dongfang, signed on early with RFA to host "Labor Corner" which is a weekly question and answer session between Hong-Kong-based

Han and callers from China. Issues covered include workplace safety, labor unions, employment negotiations, and other issues.

"Listener Hotline" is RFA's most popular Mandarin feature and provides a forum for listeners to voice their opinions and debate one another. This 60-minute forum airs Monday through Friday, with each caller limited to five minutes. A recent caller and a former PLA soldier recounted how he had received orders to "clear the Square" nine years earlier and how he has lived with the painful memories since. Just last month the show received its second call from a public security officer recounting that "our job now is mainly to supervise their [laid off workers'] actions. If they show a little dissatisfaction or frustration, we arrest them immediately." While other radio call-in shows do exist inside China, none of them allow free discussion and debate, particularly on politically sensitive subjects.

In the past several months the crackdown on members of the Chinese Democratic Party (CDP) has been a focus of RFA Mandarin reporting. Every leading member of the CDP has been interviewed by RFA more than once and we are regularly updating the news regarding the harassment, interrogation, and detention of members. A dissident from Shanghai who recently arrived in the U.S. told RFA that its reporting is "very fast" on CDP-related events.

### **Tibet**

RFA recently aired investigative reports of the "secret channel" between His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government and was the first to report of this unofficial dialogue in the Tibetan language media. Even though this dialogue has been ongoing for several years, the existence of the channel was only admitted to by President Jiang Zemin during his joint press conference with President Clinton in Beijing last July. RFA has also reported on poor Tibetan language education and interviewed the Chinese official who is in charge of language education in Tibet. Later, Chinese authorities in Tibet ordered an investigation of the status of Tibetan language instruction. In addition, an exclusive report was aired by RFA on a political prisoner in Tibet, Lobsang Tenzin, who was tortured in prison. Later, Lobsang's family sent word to RFA that his treatment in prison had improved after our report.

### **Cambodia**

RFA's Bangkok reporter was the last journalist to interview Khmer Rouge leader, Pol Pot, inside Cambodia before his death in April. During the Cambodian national elections last July, RFA doubled its broadcasts to four hours per day for several weeks before and after the election. RFA's Khmer reporters traveled throughout the country and exposed voter registration abuses well ahead of monitoring groups and election officials. RFA provided equal coverage of the platforms of all 36 political parties and used live broadcasts to give many ordinary people a chance to voice their opinions on the election. Programming was also provided to promote free and fair elections. RFA recently conducted a lengthy series on the corruption in Cambodia. Interviews ranged from a police chief and an army general to a prison director, government official, and ordinary citizens. A listener recently commented: "The news from RFA is very important to people both inside and outside the country because it is timely, like good fresh food

from the oven. I like this program because it is different from the domestic radio and RFA dares to speak the truth."

### **North Korea**

North Korea's suspected nuclear program and international negotiations is a continuing RFA story. RFA also reported on the North Korean missile launch and world reaction. The fall-out from the famine is extensively covered, including the international community's humane efforts to help. Numerous interviews have been conducted with defectors and escapees from North Korea, including an exclusive interview with the highest former official to defect, to which the North Korean government issued an angry response. Frequently, RFA Korean broadcasts are ahead of all other Korean media. In fact, in the last two months Korean media have quoted RFA stories 22 times.

### **Burma**

Aung San Suu Kyi has said "It is a powerful source of strength for us to know that a radio station like Radio Free Asia has been established to broadcast, with absolute freedom, the views of the world as well as those of the people of Burma. On the 50th anniversary of Burma's independence a special series of programs was broadcast every day starting a week before the date. The series focused on Burma's political, economic, and social history with interviews with veteran Burmese politicians, renowned Burmese economists, and retired journalists. RFA also interviewed several prominent democracy activists to obtain their views on how they see Burma in the next 50 years. Currently, RFA is broadcasting a series about the rising tide of AIDS that is sweeping Burma.

### **Vietnam**

A series of stories in Vietnam about the split in the Communist Party has been aired. RFA has been receiving a stream of documents from inside Vietnam concerning activities and statements by dissidents and classified documents that give details as to how the government plans to deal with dissent. A seven-part series on corruption in Vietnam, with names, dates, events, supporting documents, and case studies was aired in the fall. In recognition of the quality and timeliness of RFA's Vietnamese service, our service chief, Dr. Nguyen Ngoc Bich, was invited to give the keynote address at the European Parliament in Brussels in December. The topic of his address was "Human Rights in Vietnam: a 50-Year Retrospective." RFA also aired from Bangkok the first interview with Doan Viet Hoat, a prominent Vietnamese dissident, upon his release from prison.

### **Laos**

RFA recently broke several stories in Laos, including the formation of the new Lao government. RFA was the first to air confirmation of the death of Lao prisoner of conscience, Thongsouk Saysangky, who was serving a 14-year sentence for conducting propaganda against the Lao Government. RFA was also the first to report a detailed list of Lao casualties in the May 1998

Lao military plane crash which killed members of a high-ranking Vietnamese delegation, including the Minister of Defense.

## Research

Initial research conducted on RFA's behalf finds that, after just over two years of broadcasting, RFA is already having an impact on its targeted audiences. A database of correspondence and calls to the station reveals that, in the last six months of 1998, citizens from every single province and autonomous region under the People's Republic of China—including Inner Mongolia and Tibet—took the risk of communicating with the station to express their appreciation for RFA broadcasts. Furthermore, a survey conducted last November among nearly 3,000 subjects in three sites in China found that RFA has had success in building its audience. Though researchers warn that respondents might be afraid to mention radio listening, RFA already has captured a significant share of international radio audience in these sites. In the eastern city of Qingdao, 16.7 percent of international radio listeners reported tuning in to RFA. In the industrial city of Wuhan, that number was 10.8 percent, while in the rural southwestern country of Chengjiang, Yunnan, 21.4 percent of international listeners reported listening to RFA. In fact, in Qingdao, RFA's listenership outstripped the well-established BBC World Service.

Research for other RFA services suggests that RFA is doing a good job of presenting objective and appealing programs that people appreciate hearing. Though final numbers are still being analyzed, researchers who conducted a three-city survey in Cambodia found that RFA is being heard and has a significant number of regular listeners. Also in Cambodia, an in-depth interview project found that listeners believed the programs presented an objective viewpoint that was difficult or impossible to find in the local media. Initial findings from similar projects for the Cantonese and Tibetan programs—conducted with recent arrivals in Hong Kong and Kathmandu—suggest that those language services also are doing a good job of providing information that would otherwise be unavailable to listeners in Guangdong and Tibet.

Though research for the countries targeted by RFA remains challenging, in the next several months, RFA will get results from a quantitative media survey in Vietnam as well as North American qualitative interview projects for the Vietnamese and Laotian services. The station, in cooperation with the InterMedia Survey Institute, also is exploring the possibility of overseas work for the Burmese and North Korean services.

## Transmission

RFA broadcasts have been plagued by jamming in China since August 1997, but multiple frequencies from different points of the compass have insured listenability in every section of the country with varying degrees of success. Occasionally Mandarin jamming is dropped on some frequencies. There appears to be no pattern or reason for this. Incomplete jamming of one of the two hours of Cantonese broadcasting began in February, but the Chinese Government has not been able to block the signal in Hong Kong. We have received reports from listeners that RFA's



Uyghur broadcasts are being jammed, but this has not been verified by monitoring. However, the vibrancy of the Mandarin call-in programs attest to a wide audience, as do letters from throughout China.

Other jammed locations are Vietnam and North Korea. In Vietnam the signal is heard regularly in many coastal areas and in the densely populated delta south of Ho Chi Minh City. Jamming of RFA broadcasts in North Korea seems to be very weak and ineffective.

Despite these jamming efforts, our signal continues to get through. RFA signals from the newly established Tinian transmission site have proven to be effective in overriding most jamming. RFA's aggressive pursuit of good transmission received a valuable boost from Congress last year with funds to buy and enhance the Christian Science Monitor's excellent station on Saipan. This site has been RFA's best. Addition of a third transmitter is now underway, due for completion before the end of fiscal 1999.

RFA has scored its first breakthrough in FM transmission in Phnom Penh. The Cambodian Government has just granted an FM license to RFA and a transmitter and antenna will be installed shortly. This facility should vastly improve reception in the greater Phnom Penh area.

RFA's innovative web site was reintroduced last October and continues to develop. It makes both audio programming and text in Asian languages available to those with access to a computer and modem. The site also features a bulletin board and email to promote open, running dialogue with our listeners. As Internet penetration spreads in Asia, the web site will provide an alternative means to reception for more of RFA's listeners. In only a short time RFA now on average gets over 13,000 hits per day.

I would like to end with some comments from our listeners, which are more poignant than anything I could tell you about RFA. From a listener to RFA's Tibetan program: "The Tibetan language program...has become the listening post and window to the outside world for the Tibetans under the occupation of China. I know for a fact that Tibetans inside Tibet listen to your program everyday at the great risk of being prosecuted and imprisoned by the Chinese authorities." From China: "Your program gave me much information and courage during this black time...I believe everyone is anxiously looking forward to having a free press and information. No one can doubt this is the most useful weapon against a dictatorship government."

**Statement by Thomas A. Dine, President  
Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty  
Before the  
Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights  
Committee on International Relations  
U.S. House of Representatives  
March 4, 1999**

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee:

I welcome the opportunity to report to you about Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and the staff who continue to define excellence in broadcasting. For fifty years Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty has been carrying out its mission as a surrogate radio to promote democratic values by providing the people in our region with factual information and ideas they need. I will address three areas today: recent accomplishments, the continuing mission of the radios, and the needs of our audience.

I want to tell you about our accomplishments in the past year. In response to Congressional mandates, RFE/RL began broadcasting to Iran and Iraq on October 30, 1998 from our studios in the RFE/RL Prague Broadcasting Center on Wenceslas Square. The programs are already having an impact, as demonstrated by denunciations in the official Iraqi press, the withdrawal of the Iranian Ambassador from Prague, the attention paid to our broadcasts in the Iranian media, and positive feedback from listeners outside Iran and Iraq, as well as the recent security alert for US institutions in Prague, particularly RFE/RL.

The Persian Service of RFE/RL, or "Freedom Radio" as the Iranian media call it, already has helped to shape issues discussed in the Iranian press. For example, the economic report broadcast five times a week, is already cited as the best source of information on the Iranian economy by the Iranian press and media. (Please see Attachments A and B for detailed information about RFE/RL broadcasting to Iraq and Iran.)

Our second major accomplishment was to expand and enhance our broadcasts to the former Yugoslavia in support of both our mission and U.S. foreign policy objectives. We did so in three important ways.

However, as background, I remind you that in January 1994, at National Security Council request and BIB approval, RFE/RL inaugurated a South Slavic Broadcasting Service for the countries of former Yugoslavia. We did not broadcast to Yugoslavia prior to that time. This service provides surrogate broadcasting of news and information in Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian. The purpose of the broadcasts is to help promote ethnic and national reconciliation in this war-torn region, as well as engaging the area in RFE/RL's traditional mission of fostering democracy and free markets.

First, in June 1998, RFE/RL's South Slavic Service applied a unique model to its operations in Bosnia. With economic and social conditions in that country stabilizing, RFE/RL formed a partnership with thirty-one independent, local radio stations throughout Bosnia to create a radio network called "Radio 27". It reaches all parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina including the ethnic Serbian Republika Srpska. The network's daily broadcasts in the morning --7:00 to 9:00 local time-- include news supplied by RFE/RL as well as local news reports and features supplied by the individual Bosnian radio stations. Production is coordinated in RFE/RL's Sarajevo bureau with editorial oversight at RFE/RL's Prague headquarters. Network members are committed to the continuation of Bosnia-wide broadcasting free of local political influence -- programming that is essential to the development of a civil society, inter-ethnic harmony and Bosnian statehood.

Second, in response to the media crackdown under way in Serbia, RFE/RL's South Slavic Service began a new program in January 1999, with reports and features provided by independent Serbian radio stations. The program is carried on IBB short-wave transmitters, on RFE/RL affiliates in neighboring areas (including Montenegro), and on an IBB-leased medium-wave transmitter in Bulgaria. The South Slavic Service is also providing, by satellite and Internet audio, a new "News on the Hour" service from 7:00 to 14:00 local time, for use by Serbian and other regional radio stations and newspapers.

And, third, as of this Monday, March 8, 1999, we will also be broadcasting to Kosovo with BBG approval and NSC and Department of State concurrence. The new Albanian-language program for Kosovo initially will be a half-hour program on IBB short-wave transmitters, using capacity now devoted to Bosnian programming which itself will continue on medium wave and FM. The program will air daily, live from Prague, at 2100-2130 CET. This program should fill a much needed information gap for the Kosovar Albanian population and will not overlap with existing Albanian-language programs of the VOA and the BBC. It will support the U.S. policy objective of ethnic harmony in Kosovo based on a defined status for the predominantly ethnic Albanian population. RFE/RL has reallocated \$250,000 of broadcasting division funds for this effort in order to employ three contract staff and several stringers

As a third accomplishment for the year, we have increased contacts with leaders in our broadcast region. RFE/RL created a press briefing program in its Washington office that provided a forum for the Prime Ministers of Armenia and Latvia and more than 30 other senior officials from 12 countries of its broadcast region. RFE/RL also hosted Bulgarian Prime Minister Ivan Kostov, Romanian Prime Minister Radu Vasile, Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, Kosovo Albanian leader Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, and Russian human rights activist Yelena Bonner in official visits to the Prague broadcasting center. All reaffirmed the importance of RFE/RL broadcasting in stabilizing and encouraging democratic development in former communist countries.

In addition to these programming innovations, we have made a number of technical innovations as well, including the start-up of Radio Free Iraq and the

RFE/RL Persian services, and introducing digital audio at the Bureaus and digital video broadcast. RFE/RL became the first U.S. international broadcasting organization to move to DVB, maximizing the highest technological developments and innovations available on the market today.

### **Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty' s Continuing Mission**

As it has for nearly fifty years, RFE/RL serves U.S. national interests by maintaining a free flow of information and ideas to strategically vital countries including the Russian Federation, Ukraine, other former Soviet republics surrounding the Caspian Sea, and Iran. RFE/RL broadcasts promote peaceful resolution of dangerous conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and an end to repressive and aggressive policies of the regime in Iraq.

RFE/RL programming supports U.S. economic interests by promoting free trade and open market principles. Broadcasts encourage societal transformation by supporting democracy and values of a civil society, including ethnic, racial and religious tolerance and dialogue.

In recognition of the value that the U.S. Congress and the Administration continue to place on its broadcasts, RFE/RL has been given the responsibility over the past five years of establishing new language services to countries that have become priority U.S. foreign policy objectives. As noted in the Conference Report on the FY 1999 Omnibus Appropriations Act, "The conference reflects continuing support for the contribution made by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty to United States national interests."

From Central Europe to the Pacific, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, from Russia to Central Asia to the Persian Gulf, countries are struggling to overcome autocratic institutions, violations of human rights, centralized economies, ethnic and religious hostilities, regional conflicts and controlled media.

The first requirement of democracy—and the strongest challenge to dictatorial regimes—is a well-informed citizenry. Building on nearly a half century of surrogate broadcasting:

- RFE/RL provides objective news, analysis, and discussion of domestic and regional issues crucial to successful democratic and free-market transformations.
- RFE/RL strengthens civil societies by promoting democratic values.
- RFE/RL combats ethnic and religious intolerance and promotes mutual understanding among peoples.
- RFE/RL provides a model for local media, assists in training to enhance media professionalism and independence, and develops partnerships with local media outlets.
- RFE/RL fosters closer ties between the countries of the region and the world's established democracies.

In light of the uneven development toward democracy and market-based economies in the countries of Eastern Europe and the post-Soviet states, and in consideration of the particular strategic importance of reaching audiences in Iran and Iraq, the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty are aimed today at a wide spectrum of media environments.

#### *Repressive Countries*

At one end of this spectrum are countries with tightly controlled media. The governments of Iraq, Serbia, Belarus and Turkmenistan actively repress any challenges to their rule. In most of these countries: journalists are harassed; newspapers are closed, or threatened with closure; the government controls the electronic media; citizens have very limited access to information concerning internal political and international developments; and media either are silent on crucial but sensitive issues or do not provide for dialogue, debate and confrontation on crucial issues.

RFE/RL's broadcasts to these repressive countries are intended to bring to all sectors of the population accurate and unbiased information that they can trust, as well as to expose them to new ideas concerning how they could organize their society and government. The broadcasts are on traditional short-wave channels.

#### *Transitional Countries*

Most of the countries to which RFE/RL broadcasts—from the Russian Federation to Kazakhstan to Armenia—are still in the early stages of post-Communist transition. The media are free from state control but dependent on commercial or political interests. In these states:

- where privatization has occurred, as in Russia and Georgia, it has not led to a free and responsible press;
- commercial-business or partisan interests can still dictate the nature of reporting. Examples include the Russian presidential elections of 1996 and the politically biased and one-sided reporting of the Iranian electronic media;
- there is no advertising base—a situation that worsened after the August 1998 financial collapse in Russia—that would help diversify the sources of income of domestic stations and permit the voicing of other views.

RFE/RL broadcasts play an important role in promoting democratic transformation in these transitional countries. In some of them, such as Moldova and the Kyrgyz Republic, RFE/RL is the only external broadcaster reaching audiences in their local language. In some of these countries RFE/RL is able to supplement its short-wave range through partnerships with local MW and FM radio stations.

- RFE/RL broadcasts analyze issues that local media avoid, such as the lack of freedoms and weaknesses of democratic institutions with respect to human rights, flaws in the courts, and the electoral process;
- RFE/RL fosters high journalistic standards both by providing a model of how journalism is conducted and by working closely with local journalists and government institutions to spread the values of responsible journalistic activity;
- RFE/RL broadcasts compensate for the declining amount of news and commentary now broadcast on privately owned domestic stations;
- RFE/RL broadcasts help ensure continued domestic media freedom. Governments know that if they crack down on media freedom at home, RFE/RL will still reach their populations.

### *Reforming Countries*

At the other end of the political spectrum are countries such as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania. These countries are making progress toward genuinely free media, but face many of the same problems that hamper the transition countries. The media are free but have not mastered the principles of responsible journalism.

- The media have no effective institutions for self-regulation, limiting the possibilities for eliminating unprofessional journalistic practices;
- Privately-owned electronic media outlets have generally turned away from public service broadcasting of hard news, while at the same time the owners of such outlets often use them to push partisan political or business interests;
- Newspapers are becoming increasingly tabloid-like.

In these reforming countries, RFE/RL is able to critically analyze efforts to build democratic institutions, civil societies, and a free market; to constructively point out shortcomings; and to present alternatives by describing how American and Western institutions approach such issues. In these countries, RFE/RL continues to search for partnerships with newly independent commercial radio stations or reformed public stations which can utilize RFE/RL's respected brand of news, analysis, and feature programming to strengthen their programs.

It is a measure of RFE/RL's importance in these reforming countries that its audience among opinion-makers and leaders is higher than anywhere else. In addition, RFE/RL's broadcasts to the Baltic states are also widely regarded as symbol and substance of American interest in their independence.

### **The Continuing Needs of our Audience**

As RFE/RL looks to the future it faces three realities: one, declining short wave listenership; two, rising interest in the internet and specialized publications; and three, a continuing need for our broadcasts in countries making the transition from authoritarian systems to democratic and free market ones.

First, in the face of declining rates of listenership to international radio in vernacular languages throughout our broadcast region, RFE/RL has maintained a leading position in attracting audiences. According to recent audience research, more than half of all listeners to international radio on a regular basis in 24 countries of the region listen to RFE/RL. This translates to nearly 20 million regular listeners, the largest audience of any international broadcaster in the region. RFE/RL is especially effective in reaching opinion-makers and leaders in these countries; in ten of the countries surveyed, RFE/RL has an average regular listening rate among opinion-makers and leaders of 27 percent. RFE/RL is by far the dominant international broadcaster to these elite audiences; of elites who listen to international radio regularly, 72% listen to RFE/RL.

RFE/RL is taking the lead in recapturing the audience through local affiliates. A major contributing factor to the over-all decline in audiences to international radio in the region has been decreased listening on short-wave, the transmission medium which has traditionally dominated international broadcasting. To counter this trend, RFE/RL has embarked on a vigorous program of local broadcasting in partnership with local AM and FM stations throughout the region, particularly in Ukraine, Russia, and Romania.

RFE/RL is also reaching out to opinion-makers via the Internet in both audio and text form. The percentage of broadcast region visitors to the RFE/RL Website has tripled in the past year. RFE/RL's Russian Website receives more than five million hits a month and is one of the most popular online sources of news in Russian. In addition, RFE/RL disseminates both electronically and in hard copy a daily report, *Newsline*, as well as six weekly reports: *Balkan Report*, *Caucasus Report*, *Iran Report*, *Iraq Report*, *Watchlist*, and the *Russian Federation Report*.

The Internet transcends time and borders—the audience can access Internet-based RFE/RL news and information not only when it is broadcast, but anytime it can sign-on from a computer. Broadcasts are available in the audio archives and news summaries are available in daily reports and weekly analyses about the region. Repressive governments cannot easily block, control, or censor Internet-disseminated RFE/RL news. And RFE/RL news on the Web is easily shared, republished, and re-distributed by affiliates, other news organizations, and individuals—further expanding RFE/RL's reach. The Internet is a powerful communications tool that RFE/RL will continue to develop to further its mission.

Mr. Chairman, as you and your colleagues know, RFE/RL is serving U.S. national interests; and the many difficulties that the countries in our broadcast region continue to face suggest that RFE/RL will be needed for many years to come to advance American national interests.

# # #

## Attachment A

**RFE/RL, Inc.  
Radio Free Iraq**

RFE/RL established Radio Free Iraq pursuant to the passage of H.R. 3579, the FY 1998 Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions Act. Radio Free Iraq began broadcasts on October 30, 1998.

RFE/RL's Radio Free Iraq broadcasts every day 1900 Baghdad time one hour live. The program is repeated at 0600 Baghdad time. Radio Free Iraq uses the following frequencies: 6130, 9540, 9850 and 11915 Kilohertz, corresponding with 50, 42, 41, and 31 meters short-wave.

On April 1, Radio Free Iraq will begin broadcasting four hours, 2 hours live with one repeat. By July, it will be broadcasting 6 hours, 3 hours live with one repeat. Broadcasts originate from RFE/RL's main broadcasting center in downtown Prague. Radio Free Iraq did expand its coverage to three hours live during Operation Desert Fox in December, 1998. The two hour single repeat included new material when warranted by fast-breaking events.

The programming is a mix of news reports, actualities or interviews, focused on political and military developments. More economic and cultural programs are being developed for the expanded service. Radio Free Iraq is being heard in North, Central and Southern Iraq. To date, it is not being jammed.

Our goal is to broadcast on medium wave as well as the current short-wave as soon as possible. Armenia has powerful transmitters for medium wave, but refused to rent their facilities to us. There is a powerful medium wave transmitter in Kuwait, currently used by VOA. The IBB is in negotiations to try to secure a second frequency from the Kuwaiti government to accommodate the Radio Free Iraq broadcasts.

Radio Free Iraq currently has 16 employees and when fully staffed will employ 23 full time equivalents. Currently there are stringers based in Amman, Ankara, Beirut, Cairo, Jerusalem, Kuwait, London, the Northern area of Iraq, and Washington, DC. Stringers are also needed in Paris, Moscow and NYC to adequately cover Iraqi foreign relations. The budget for FY 98-99 from the Supplemental Appropriations Act is \$5,000,000, of which \$500,000 is utilized by IBB to fund transmissions. The FY 2000 Budget request is in the amount of \$2,670,000.

RFE/RL will soon open a London bureau which will serve both Radio Free Iraq and the Persian Language Service. An office manager has been hired and recording facilities are being prepared.



RFE/RL's Internet Website now includes an Iraq section, which includes archived broadcasts available to the Internet public. In January, 1999 there were 8,346 visits to this site.

The broadcast mission of Radio Free Iraq reflects the basic mission of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty: to act as a surrogate radio providing accurate, factual and timely reporting not available in the regime-controlled media so that the people of Iraq can make informed judgements and choices in their own lives. Those principles underlie all truly free and democratic societies.

**Attachment B****RFE/RL, Inc.  
Persian Language Service**

RFE/RL established a surrogate broadcasting service in the Persian language pursuant to FY 1998 reprogramming action and P.L. 105-277. Broadcasting began on October 30, 1998.

RFE/RL's Persian service broadcasts one hour live every day from 1930-2030 Tehran time on 25, 31, and 49 meterbands, or 6040, 9680, 11730, and 12025 Kilohertz. The program repeats at 0800-0900 Tehran time on 31 and 49 meterbands or 6025, 6150, 9585 and 9850 Kilohertz.

On March 28 the broadcasts are scheduled to expand to two hours live repeated once per day. The Persian language service is prepared and hopes to expand its broadcasts on March 21, the Iranian New Year holiday (Now Ruz), and will be able to broadcast a three hour live program to be repeated once to help launch the new expanded broadcasts.

The programming is a mix of news reports, actualities or interviews, an economic report widely praised in the Iranian press, and cultural issues. Over 80 percent of the material is about Iranian domestic and foreign policy issues. There is a heavy emphasis on political discussion with a broad range of human rights issues addressed including press freedom, pressure on writers and women's rights. The broadcasts are gaining in credibility with the Iranian population as reflected in the Iranian press which quotes from broadcast interviews and the increased access to Iranian expatriates who are experts on Iran and Iranian issues. The broadcasts support the U.S. policy objective of encouraging pluralism and democratic development in Iran.

The broadcasts are not being jammed by the Iranian government. Listener phone calls and anecdotal evidence indicate that we are being heard throughout Iran. Broadcasts are currently transmitted only on shortwave as RFE/RL seeks access to medium wave facilities. Currently available IBB transmitters in Kuwait are fully utilized by VOA and are not available. Further options are being explored in Ukraine.

The Persian language service currently has 20 employees and when fully staffed will have 21 full time equivalents. Currently there are 9 stringers based in Brussels, Cairo, London, Los Angeles, Moscow, Paris, Teheran and Washington, DC. The FY 1999 budget is \$4,000,000 of which \$800,000 has been provided to the IBB for program transmission. The FY 2000 Budget request is in the amount of \$2,940,000.

RFE/RL will soon open a London bureau which will serve both Radio Free Iraq and the Persian Language Service. An office manager has been hired and recording facilities are being prepared.

**RFE/RL's Internet Web site now includes a Persian language section where archived broadcasts are stored and available to internet users. In January, 1999 there were over 30,000 computer visits to the site.**

**The broadcast mission of RFE/RL's Persian Service reflects the basic mission of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty: to act as a surrogate radio providing accurate, factual and timely reporting not available from the controlled domestic media so that the people of Iran can make informed judgements and choices in their own lives. Those principles underlie all truly free and democratic societies.**

*United States Advisory Commission  
on Public Diplomacy*

Washington, D.C. 20547

Statement by

Mr. Harold Pachios  
Chairman of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy

For a Hearing of the Committee on International Relations  
Subcommittee on International Organizations and Human Rights  
United States House of Representatives

March 4, 1999

On behalf of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, I appreciate the opportunity to submit testimony for this hearing on public diplomacy, a topic this Commission and its predecessors have been considering for more than 50 years. My name is Harold Pachios. I have been a member of the Commission since 1994.

For the past five decades, the Commission and its predecessors have worked to examine, critique, and promote the efforts of the U.S. government to enhance its foreign policy objectives by influencing foreign publics. The Commission began its work in 1948, five years before the establishment of the United States Information Agency (USIA), and has been and continues to be the only independent entity in the U.S. government exclusively devoted to the area of public diplomacy. Commissioners, who serve without compensation, have included such distinguished Americans as Frank Stanton, William F. Buckley, Jr., George Gallup, Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, James Michener, John Gardner, Dorothy Chandler, Leonard Marks, Ed Feulner, Tom Korologos and Olin Robison.

The Commission is abolished by the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998. Those associated with the Commission's work over the years believe that there is, in light of the reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies, an even greater need for an independent board to observe, analyze and make recommendations which improve public diplomacy.

Before commenting on the reorganization, I would like to highlight a few of the critical developments and changes in U.S. public diplomacy activities for which I think the Commission can take considerable credit.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Commission took the leadership in getting USIA to expand its research and program evaluation effort, to target information programs to women's and labor groups abroad, to improve VOA programming and signal delivery and to give top priority to the development of direct broadcast satellite research. During the 1980s, the Commission continued to press for the development of direct broadcast satellite technology, and to require that foreign public opinion analyses become a formal part of all foreign policy decisions.

The Commission broke new ground in 1985 when it released the special report *Terrorism and Security: The Challenge for Public Diplomacy*, which deals with the balance between the need to protect our diplomats and overseas installations and the need to reach out to overseas publics. It has done so again in the 1990s by focusing on a new diplomacy for the Information Age.

The Commission's 1996 report discussed the foundations of a new approach to diplomacy in the age of globalized issues, increasingly powerful publics and the communications revolution. Although it was the catalyst for last year's Center for Strategic and International Studies' *Reinventing Diplomacy in the Information Age*, this Commission had been considering information age diplomacy since 1993.

Our 1998 report, *Publics and Diplomats in the Global Communications Age*, voices a strong call for a Presidential Decision Directive (PDD) to formalize the central role of understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics in American foreign policy and set a national priority to secure the support of foreign publics for U.S. policy. The Commission has sounded this theme for years and it is our understanding that a PDD on International Public Information is currently being considered by the White House.

The reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies to be implemented this year is a unique opportunity to create a new Department of State. The Commission has supported the reorganization since early 1997. As we said in our most recent report, this country has a substantial edge in public diplomacy, both in reaching publics through advanced information technology and in our message of democracy, human rights, free markets and ethnic and cultural diversity. We must use that edge. In the post-Cold War era of instantaneous global journalism and "people power", foreign public opinion often is critical to the success of American foreign policy initiatives. The new State Department we are creating must be a responsive and flexible diplomatic institution that can deal as effectively with foreign publics as with foreign governments.

However, merging two, large, organizations is a complex and difficult undertaking, posing many challenges and thorny issues. One such issue is whether the present Information and Educational and Cultural Bureaus should or should not be combined into one bureau in the State Department. There is a long history to this debate, dating back to the establishment of such programs under the Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948. The Commission believes that equally good arguments can be made on both sides of the question. However, given the difficulty of melding two foreign affairs agencies into one, this Commission does not see the need to create any further complications by immediately combining two distinct bureaus at USIA into a single one at the Department of State. Given the importance of public diplomacy in the information age, we can not afford any real or perceived structural obstacles to the larger goal -- putting public diplomacy at the heart of American foreign policy. The Commission believes that the two USIA bureaus should remain separate as they move into State and the situation be evaluated after two years in the review called for in the Administration's Reorganization Plan. The Commission, as an independent body of citizen experts on public diplomacy, would be ideally positioned to undertake such an assessment.

For fifty-one years this Commission and its predecessors have considered the impact and role of public diplomacy, influenced the thinking of policy makers, and raised public diplomacy issues to a greater level of visibility. The justification for a statutorily mandated advisory commission of outside citizens experienced in foreign affairs and communications is stronger today than it was when the information and educational/ exchange advisory commissions were created in the Smith Mundt Act of 1948.

I thank the Chairman and Members of this Subcommittee for organizing a hearing on such an important topic and for accepting this statement from the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy.

CITYSCAPES: Mechanics Hall | FOOD: Cutting the mustard

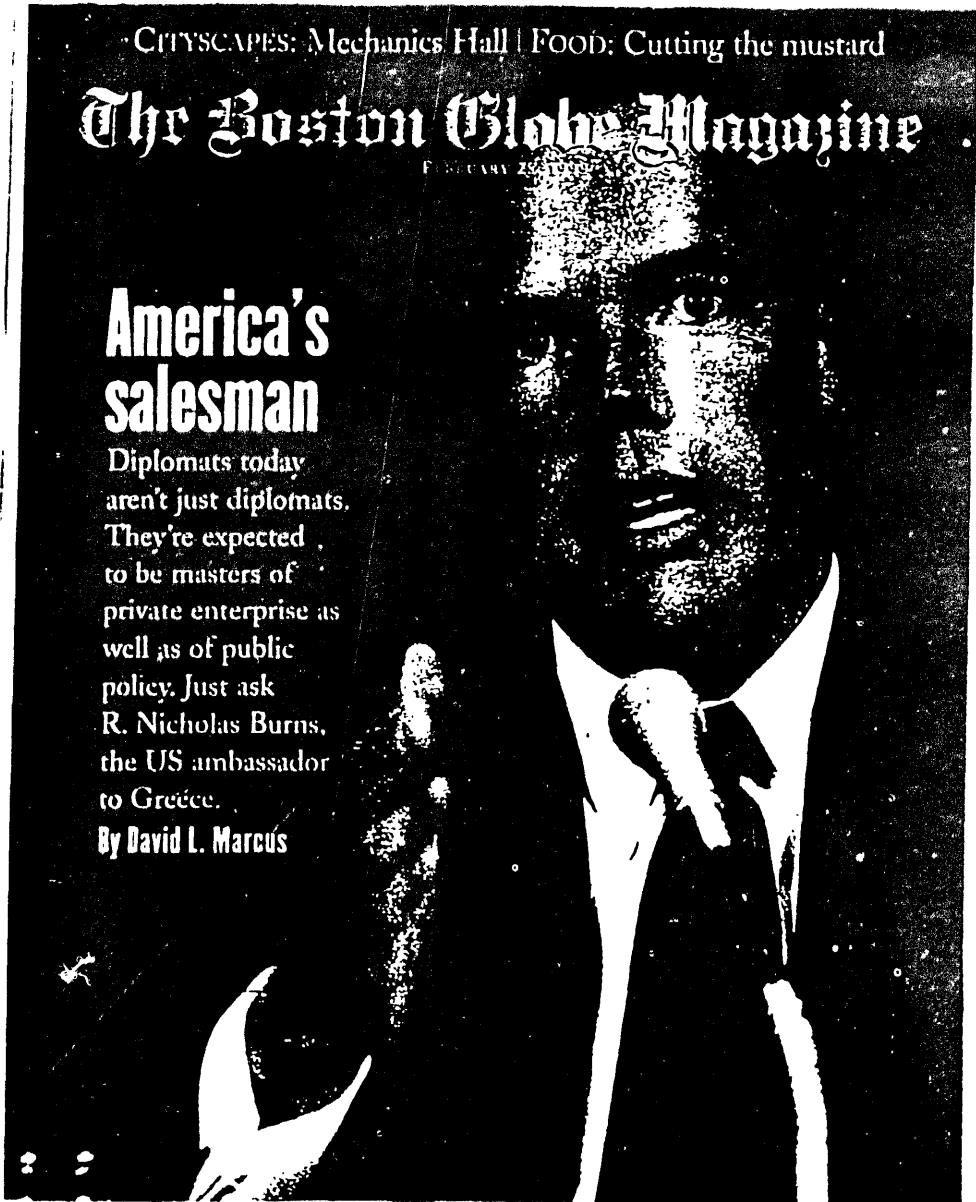
# The Boston Globe Magazine

FEBRUARY 2005

## America's salesman

Diplomats today aren't just diplomats. They're expected to be masters of private enterprise as well as of public policy. Just ask R. Nicholas Burns, the US ambassador to Greece.

By David L. Marcus



# America's salesman

Diplomats today aren't just diplomats. They're expected to be masters of private enterprise as well as of public policy. Just ask R. Nicholas Burns, the US ambassador to Greece.

BY DAVID L. MARCUS

It's a Wednesday morning at the US Embassy in Athens, a once-futuristic building that now has the peeling-paint look of a junior college flirting with bankruptcy. In a conference room with bullet-resistant windows, overlooking a 15-foot fence and concrete planters meant to keep out car bombs, Ambassador R. Nicholas Burns gathers his inner circle of advisers from the Commerce Department, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the FBI, the CIA, and other agencies.

The country team, as it is known, briefs the ambassador on the latest news. To the north, in the Yugoslavian province of Kosovo, fighting has resumed after a lull. Closer to home, thousands of Greek high school students are occupying campuses in a protest over new exams. The one private-sector employee at the long table, a Wackenhut Security executive who supervises the embassy's 240-person security division, chimes in. He says that a surprise check shows that too many embassy employees are following an unvarying routine when they commute to work, making them ideal targets for terrorists.

All important issues, to be sure, but Burns, who grew up in Wellesley, has a pressing question for two Midwesterners at the table. "How do you pronounce Missouri?" he asks, calling it

*David L. Marcus is a senior writer at US News & World Report.*

Mi-zoor-ee, with some hesitation. This is no trivial geography quiz. Burns is about to host Governor Mel Carnahan, who is coming to make a pitch to the Greek armed forces; Carnahan hopes to persuade Greece to buy two squadrons of Boeing F-15 fighter jets, which are built in St. Louis. A \$2.5-billion contract and hundreds of American jobs are at stake, and the ambassador wants to make sure every detail is pinned down, including pronunciation.

Alexander Karagiannis, the political counselor, says people from the eastern part of the state call it Mi-zoor-ee. Lieutenant Colonel Don Dotson, a military attache, says that people from the western part of the state call it Mi-zoor-uh.

Burns thinks it over. At 43, he still has the boyish face of a fraternity pledge. His smile, his parted brown hair, and his crisp white shirt look familiar even to those who have never met him, because for three years, while he served as State Department spokesman, he was a fixture on the Cable News Network.

The ambassador looks at his team. "I'd better ask the governor," he says, diplomatically.

TO SERVE AS AN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR at the end of the 20th century is to be a personnel manager, trouble shooter, master of ceremonies, referee, recruiter of talent, economist, political scientist, counterintelligence expert, and, yes, diplomat. Increasingly, ambassadors find themselves acting as promoters of American products and

*Continued on Page 22*

Ambassador Burns chatting with a Marine at the US Embassy awaiting for a meeting in Athens with a representative of the Greek Foreign Ministry and playing basketball in a charity game for children with cancer.





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**Ambassador**  
*Continued from Page 12*

champions of America investors, a development not everyone embraces. Embassies that once dutifully issued replacements for lost passports and monitored Soviet ambitions now track car-smuggling rings, child-labor shoves, money laundering, environmental devastation, corporate espionage, and pirates who copy American software and music.

In the past year, three separate groups of experts in Washington have issued studies calling for an overhaul of America's diplomatic corps: the Henry L. Stimson Center, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, which was created by Congress. The experts agreed on the need for a "new diplomacy" in which American ambas-

sadors around the world make their case not just to foreign ministries but to civic groups, chambers of commerce, and college audiences.

Most of all, today's ambassadors are salesmen and women. They have to sell American products and sell American policy. Few do that better than the gregarious Burns, who made a name for himself as a straight talker at the State Department under Madeline Albright and her predecessor, Warren Christopher.

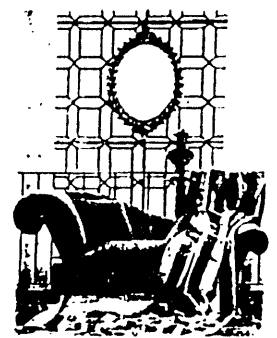
If any country offers an opportunity to mix traditional diplomacy and new diplomacy, it is Greece. Burns works on the war-and-peace issues, consulting with Greek officials about crises in the Balkans and NATO peacekeeping operations. He ensures that the 100,000 US citizens who have returned to Greece get their Social Security checks. And he helps sell American

military hardware to Greece - even while exhorting the Greek government not to strike its longtime adversary, Turkey.

While arms sales are slowing in many parts of the world, Greece is undertaking a \$23 billion upgrade of its military. For its part, Turkey plans to spend more than twice that amount over the next 10 years. The Clinton administration has made a priority of getting big portions of those contracts for American companies.

Burns' mission is complicated by the tangled history of US-Greek relations. That may surprise many Americans, because Greece seems to be an unwavering ally. Both countries, after all, are democracies, and they have never fought against each other. Two million Greek-Americans - a number equivalent to almost one-fifth of Greece's population - live in the

*Continued on Page 26*



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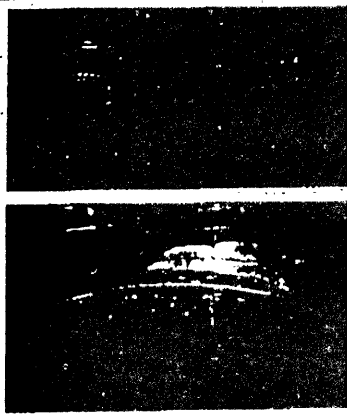
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## Ambassador

Continued from Page 22

United States, mostly in New York, Chicago, and Boston.

But to Greeks, who have long memories, the United States is a colonial power. When Greece was reeling from World War II and a civil war, the United States pumped in billions of dollars under the Marshall Plan. But the aid came at a price: For years, American ambassadors told the Greek government how to manage its affairs. According to lore, James D. Peurifoy, a US ambassador in the late 1940s, routinely slouched back and put his feet on the table at Greece's national security council meetings. Embassy officials say that's accurate, though they do relate a story about Peurifoy's once showing up at the Greek Foreign Ministry in Bermuda shorts. Washington's anti-Communist obsession culminated in enthusiastic backing for a military dictatorship that took power in a 1967 coup. Then, seven years later, America remained silent while Turkey invaded Cyprus, an island nation where most residents are of Greek origin.

Washington, too, has reasons to feel scorned. In the past 24 years, a shadowy terrorist group called November 17 has killed five US diplomats in Greece with car bombs and booby-trapped explosives, starting with CIA Station Chief Richard Welch, a Harvard classics graduate, in 1975. Another 10 American diplomats have been injured. Because of incompetence or lack of political will, or probably a mixture of both, Greek authorities have never convicted, arrested, or even identified any of the terrorists.

"We used to be scorn by a large number of Greeks as imperialist ogres, trying to dominate them," Burns says



Ambassador Burns at the US Embassy earlier this month.

as he sits in his second-floor corner office, where a model of Fenway Park, a Red Sox cap urged by President Clinton, a history of the Celtics, and other Boston paraphernalia crowd the bookshelves. "We have to convince the Greek government and the Greek people that the days of intervention, the days of America as Big Brother, are over, and we want a normal, rational, mature, open relationship."

**F**ROM THE TIME HE was a junior at Wellesley High School, writing editorials against the Vietnam War in the student newspaper, Robert Nicholas Burns knew he wanted to be a diplomat. At Boston College, where he was an undergraduate, and later, in graduate school at Johns Hopkins University, his pleasure reading included George Kennan, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Henry Kissinger on the art of diplomacy. As a young Foreign Service officer in Cairo, he found himself stamping passports and bailing American travelers out of jail, not working on the great geopolitical issues of the time. Still, Burns followed the advice of a men-

tor who told him never to complain about the nagging job.

Burns has risen through a combination of hard work, lucky timing, a knack for befriending up-and-coming Republicans and Democrats, and a penchant for following up on every seemingly trivial request with a call or a letter. After spending three years at the US Consulate in Israel, he helped James A. Baker III run a transition team for President-elect George Bush. The Bush administration named Burns's talent and made him second-in-command of the White House group that overhauled relations with Moscow.

Those were heady times for Russia experts (and sometimes for the Russians themselves). As the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, Burns wanted Bush to give a speech explaining the implications for Americans, but the president demurred for weeks. At 6 o'clock on Christmas Eve, when Burns was helping his three young daughters put out milk and cookies for Santa Claus, the White House called. Bush had decided to give a nationwide address the next evening, and Burns was to

wrote it. Burns drove to the White House and wrote until 9 a.m. He spent Christmas Day revising the text with Secretary of State Baker, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, presidential spokesman Martin Fitzwater, and CIA chief Robert Gates. That night, the Burns family gathered by a television set while Bush announced the end of the Cold War, in Nick Burns's words.

Burns became a friend of a *Time* magazine columnist and Sovietologist named Srobo Talbot, who had studied at Oxford University with Bill Clinton. During the 1992 transition, President-elect Clinton turned to Talbot and Burns for advice, and soon Talbot was the second-highest official in the State Department and Burns was the top expert on Russia at the White House. Warren Christopher nominated Burns for ambassador to

When he moved into the embassy in Athens, Nick Burns ordered his staff to cut down the vines, fix the fountain, and light the facade of the building at night.

Estonia in 1994, but then reconsidered and asked him to serve as State Department spokesman. It was an unusual career move for someone who had dreamed of heading an embassy, but Burns clearly relished being recognized by strangers in hotel lobbies in Paris and bistros in Damascus. Just as important, the White House admired Burns's unflappable style.

It is a sign of the times that the job as State Department spokesman led not to a job in public relations, as would once have been the case, but to a coveted diplomatic assignment. Albright, who prides herself on connecting with the public, liked Burns and made sure he stayed on the fast track. She first offered him the job of ambassador to Ukraine, but Burns declined because the country doesn't have an English-language high school, and he couldn't bear to send his oldest daughters to boarding school. Albright decided that Burns should go to the Czech Republic, where she was born. Burns started study-

ing for his Senate confirmation hearings.

But a few months later, while driving with Burns through Washington, Albright mentioned that her first choice for ambassador to Greece, a veteran ambassador named John Negroponte, had decided to take a job in the private sector. Would Burns be interested in the post? He called his wife, Libby, an art history expert who grew up in Marion and loves archeology. Greece it was.

Although the US Embassy in Athens is smaller than missions in Moscow, London, and Mexico City, it is a high-profile post, because it sits at the edge of the most unstable part of Europe, the Balkans, and serves as a gateway to the Middle East. Embassy records indicate that Burns, who was 41 when he arrived in December 1997, is the second-youngest US ambassador to Athens. Until the 1960s, the Foreign Service was a Harvard-Yale-Princeton WASP man's club, and Irish-Americans like Burns were not welcomed. Even though diplomats come from different backgrounds these days, the diplomatic corps remains as hierarchical as the army. Burns has few, if any, enemies, but some in the State Department resent his fast rise and describe him as glib, superficial, and too eager to please his political masters.

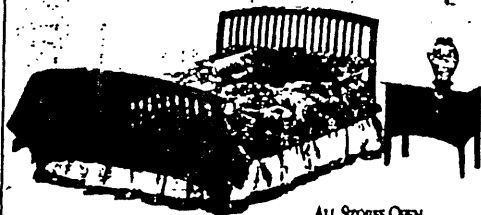
When Burns started in Athens, he found a "psychologically impaired" Greek-American relationship, as he puts it. Among European nations, only tiny Luxembourg conducted less trade with the United States. No American Cabinet official had visited Greece in nearly five years.

The embassy building was emblematic: Walter Gropius, a pioneer of modernist architecture, had designed it in the 1930s with walls of glass and an inviting, sun-dappled plaza, to showcase American hospitality. But over the years, giant steel fences had been erected around the compound, and visitors had to pass through three checkpoints, where security guards and Marines sat behind half-inch-thick glass. The building was hidden from the street by thick vines covering the fences, the fountain in the front had not worked for 15 years, and the protective Mylar coating on the windows had turned charcoal-gray

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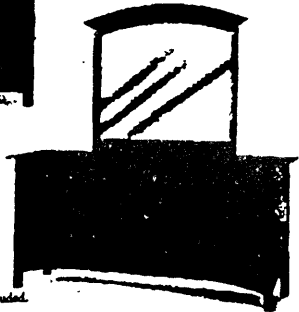
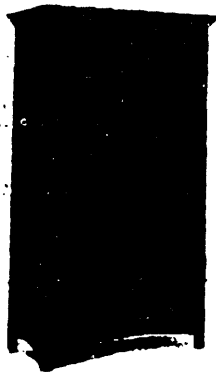
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Burns ordered his staff to cut down the vines, fix the fountain, and light the facade of the hulking building at night. Because he couldn't take down the fence, he tried to build an "electronic bridge" to his office with an e-mail address for the public (burns@usaathens.gr). Libby Burns designed a garden featuring indigenous herbs and olive trees to replace a dead lawn in the front.

**BURNS LITERALLY** jumped into the ambassador's job. A few weeks after arriving, he broke two ribs playing basketball with a US Marine. "It was so bad that he had to sleep in a chair for a few nights, but he didn't miss a day of work," recalls Karagiannis, the political counselor.

Burns succeeded Thomas Niles, a widely respected and circumspect career foreign officer who had gone everywhere with his dog, Mr. Wheat. In his

first speech, Burns started Greeks by issuing what amounted to an apology for Washington's role in backing the dictatorship that had ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974, saying, "With the obvious benefit of historical hindsight, I wish my own country had stood more firmly on the side of democracy during those years." Yet he refused to bend to Greek acrobatics, saying they would have to find a way to coexist with Turkey.


It wasn't an easy start. During Burns' first six months in Greece, terrorists bombed the Greek offices of eight American companies, including Coca-Cola, General Motors, McDonald's, and IBM. Although no one was injured, the scores of shattered windows didn't help Burns' campaign to lure more American investment to Greece. The terrorists also issued a manifesto identifying Burns as their number one target.

The embassy in Greece spends more on security - \$10 million - than any other US mission overseas. Burns travels in a bullet-proof Cadillac Fleetwood with a driver and a security officer in the front and four Greek police officers in a tail car. When the Burnases take weekend excursions, they go in an armored van, and the police are never out of sight, even at the beach.

Albright, though, wants her ambassadors out and about, mingling with people, and Burns obliges. There he is: presiding over the Athens premier of the movie *Saving Private Ryan*; or posing with a baseball for *Fu for Two* magazine (with Cindy Crawford on the cover); or escorting Greek commanders around the USS *Nezumi* nuclear-powered submarine as it cruises 500 feet below sea level; or beaming the Canadian ambassador in a charity basketball game; or

*Continued on Page 30*

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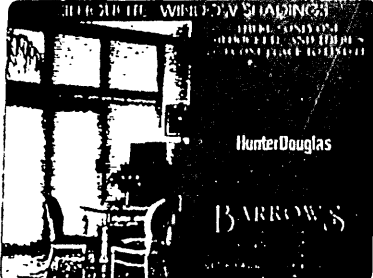


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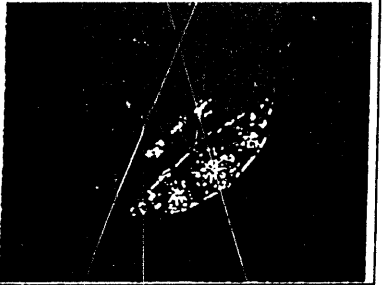
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## Ambassador

Continued from Page 28

talking music with Seiji Ozawa and James Taylor until 1 a.m. on his pedo after a Boston Symphony Orchestra concert in Athens: Burns speaks to high school classes, Greek-American civic associations, and Rotary Clubs. He hosts receptions for Americans considering investing in Greece, and Greeks considering studying in the United States. His protocol assistant, Daisy Andriatopoulou, estimates that 20,000 people attended meals or receptions at the residence last year. It should be noted that Burns, the ultimate New England promoter overseas, serves only one beer: Samuel Adams.

At first, more than a few Greeks wondered about this tireless ambassador. A common complaint was that he was, in essence, too "touchy-feely." Summarizing the criticism, Iana Kizantassopoulou, diplomatic correspondent for the country's best-selling newspaper, *To Nea*, says, "Nick Burns has talked about everything except sex."

Burns especially rubbed leftists and nationalists the wrong way. A small Communist newspaper, *Rizospastis*, likened Burns to parsley, "which sprouts everywhere." Another newspaper ran an editorial cartoon of Burns raising the Turkish flag over the embassy. And Apostolos Kalamainis, the speaker of Parliament and an unrepentant America-basher, demanded that the government "rein him in."

But Greece's growing population of technocrats and entrepreneurs decided that Burns delivered. A month after he arrived, US Commerce Secretary Richard Daley named Defense Secretary William Cohen followed. Embassy rumor has it that Clinton is con-

sidering a trip late this year.

Burns is making his mark in defense circles with his all-out efforts to win billion-dollar military sales, but that's just part of the story. Last year, Patrick Scahill, the chief US Commerce Department official in Athens, needed help persuading a new hospital in Athens to consider two American furniture companies for a relatively small \$2 million contract for beds. Burns stepped by the hospital, pressed the flesh, and the companies had the deal. "Burns does bring a different style of diplomacy, and I welcome that personally, because I see a need for a different style of diplomacy," says George Papan-

**Selling weapons is complicated. Greece years for the best hardware, but the US government must review every sale.**

drea, the deputy foreign minister.

Chris Sprou, the former chairman of the Democratic Party in New Hampshire, recognizes that certain politicians crude, and he detects it every time he meets with Burns. "He has the Irish-American-Bostonian, How-are-you!, back-patting, natural political instinct," says Sprou, now president of the Hellenic American Union, a civic group in Athens. "In 10 years, Nicholas Burns will be equally comfortable running the State Department or the state of Massachusetts."

When Burns is told about that comment, he laughs. He has not been involved in politics since he volunteered for Michael Dukakis's gubernatorial campaign in 1978, and he wants to keep it that way

Listening to the conversation, Libby Burns makes it clear that she wants more privacy, not less.

**IT SOUNDS SIMPLE** enough: An embassy must promote American goods. But the varying, and sometimes conflicting, roles of American agencies make the job difficult.

Consider aviation. Greece's state-owned Olympic Airways plans to modernize its fleet of jet Boeing's civilian aircraft division in Seattle, backed by the Commerce Department, aggressively bid for the business. At the same time, though, as part of its regular checks around the world, the Federal Aviation Administration was investigating possible security breaches at the Athens airport. Any public scolding on airport safety would hurt tourism in Greece, and that would probably sink the Boeing deal. Foreigners don't differentiate between Commerce and the FAA; to them, it's all the same hostile US government.

Selling weapons is even more complicated. Greece years for the best-of-the-line hardware. But the Pentagon and the State Department must review every possible sale, and special scrutiny is applied to Greece and Turkey, the only two NATO members that are enemies. The Clinton administration has already scotched the possible sale to Greece of SAM-2 missiles, which can be launched from a ship in enemy territory (read Turkey). European defense manufacturers have almost no restrictions on arms sales to Russia, arm-buying can be boiled down to three words: *Make an offer.*

Then there's the matter of what State Department officials delicately call "the nuisance." It's no secret that European and Russian defense contractors pay oodles of cash under the table to

is forbidden by U.S. law. Last year, when Greece was deciding between Russian S-300 antiaircraft missiles and Raytheon Corp.'s Patriot missiles, Burns went into overdrive. He took Defense Minister Akis Tsochatzopoulos to a dinner at the Pentagon given by Defense Secretary Cohen. He escorted Tsochatzopoulos to North Andover to see Patriots go down the assembly line. At every stop, a Greek-American employee presented Tsochatzopoulos with homemade sweets and made remarks in Greek about the old country. For good measure, Burns even took Tsochatzopoulos to one of his favorite pubs in Boston, the Black Rose, until 1:30 a.m. for drinks and Irish music.

It worked: In November, the Greeks announced a \$1.4 billion deal with Raytheon. It was bitter-sweet news: Two days before, Raytheon had laid off 14,000 workers because of slackening sales.

All this corporate bricksmanship assuages many State Department hands and academics. They warn that ambassadors bent on selling weapons and other products overseas will be tempted to overlook human rights violations and environmental abuses.

Professor Andrew Hesse, who teaches diplomacy at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, says ambassadors are more valuable when they quell regional conflicts than when they pitch in as "an additional senior vice president" for multinational corporations. "I look at it from a humanitarian perspective," Hesse says. "I think ambassadors are supposed to be doing something other than selling 747s for Boeing. They are supposed to be displaying leadership for the United States, the last superpower, and contributing to

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a better life for the planet."

Sitting at breakfast in the formal dining room of his Mediterranean-style residence, Burns says he sees no conflict between his roles as an advocate of American values and one of American products. "I have no compunction about selling military hardware to Greece," Burns says. "This is not some top-top Third World dictatorship where the weapons might be misused. This is a NATO ally, a democratic country that has pledged to defend the United States, if need be."

There is little chance to savor the Raytheon victory, though. Another American firm has just lost a billion-dollar sale for an air-defense warning system to a European company. Within six weeks, the biggest prize so far will be decided: the \$2.5 billion contract for fighter planes. Two American planes, Boeing's F-15 and Lockheed Martin's F-16, are competing with the Eurofighter, a plane being developed by a consortium of four European countries that is still on the drawing board. Other contenders, by French, Russian, and Swedish companies, did not make the final cut.

Burns worries that Greece, fixated on the idea of being a full-fledged European country, will try to buy more military hardware from its European neighbors. Already, the European Community is plying Greece with grants to build a subway, loans for housing for the 2004 Olympics, even money to refurbish the Acropolis. Burns is smarting, he says, because the Europeans have been bad-mouthing the American planes in public and in private.

Burns has done everything he can think of. He has accompanied Greek military officials to an air base for tests of the planes (he wanted to fly in the cockpit, he says sadly, but was not had time to take the

necessary parachute training). At his urging, Clinton, Gore, Albright, and others have made calls and sent letters to their Greek counterparts. Burns has set up a meeting in Texas between Governor George W. Bush and a Greek Cabinet official (the F-16 is made in Fort Worth). In visits to the Greek Defense Ministry, Burns never loses an opportunity to mention that F-15s and F-16s are being tested extensively as they patrol no-fly zones in Iraq and clash with Saddam Hussein's forces.

In his effort to treat each American company equally, Burns has set up similar "cocktail" receptions two weeks apart for Boeing and Lockheed Martin. And so on Friday night, January 15, more than 100 business executives and Greek government officials stream through the American ambassador's residence - surely the only one in the world to give equal prominence to a signed Andy Warhol print and a photograph of Fenway Park.

Burns said Governor Carabian of Missouri - that's Missouri, by the way - are the hosts. Embassy staff members wade through the crowd, keeping track of the names of Greek military officers who show up. Like nervous suitors, Boeing executives watch the Greeks for a sign, any sign. After an hour, Burns and Carabian hold a cordless microphone and welcome the crowd. Carabian makes a low-key pitch for the F-15 and reminds everyone that this is his second visit to Greece within a year.

During a decade as lieutenant governor and governor, Carabian has led trade missions to Asia, Latin America, and Europe. "If you went back 10 years, almost no American embassy was helping commercial scoundrels - the diplomats were doing war and peace, and it was below them," Carabian says as he watches

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LUNAR LUMBER

Burns work the crowd. "Longtime diplomats are still fighting the Cold War, but Burns is from a younger generation. With him, commercial service is an art form."

**ON THE NIGHT OF** Moody, January 18 — Marna Luther King Day back in the United States — Nick Burns could use a cheer or two. He and Libby are due at an estate in the hills above Athens for a dinner party with some of the most cosmopolitan and well-connected people in the country, including architects, philanthropists, and a shipping baron. But first, the ambassador needs to review his 15-year-old daughter's French homework from the American School.

Then, just after he steps into the shower, he gets an urgent call from the State Department with the news that President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia, in a fit of pique, has decided to oust the top American envoy to the region. Al-bright wants Burns to work his contacts to see if someone can stop Milosevic. Standing in his boxer shorts, Burns tracks down Foreign Minister Theodoros Pangalos, who wavers between serving as an ally and an adversary of Washington.

As Burns dresses, he gets a call from Lockheed Martin executives who are gathered around a speakerphone in Fort Worth, holding a strategy session about selling the F-16. Governor Bush has stepped up the pressure and is sending a personal emissary to Athens to make his case. Burns offers to redouble his contacts with key Greek officials. Just to keep everything aboveboard, he reminds the executives that he is hosting an 8 a.m. breakfast planning session the next day for their competitors from Boeing.

out of Athens in the evening, Burns sits in the bus seat, erasing the memories of a pitcher in a pizzeria. He's been doing it a few things to it reporter who has followed him for a week. He speaks in the smooth style he perfected during three years at State. Department spokes-man: "I've told everyone on my staff that this fighter plane sale is our priority for the next two months. I mean jobs, it means keeping an assembly line open in St. Louis or Fort Worth. There's nothing more important to an embassy than that."

"I also want to beat the Europeans. The Europeans think they are going to win this competition, and they're not. We are going to win! They are allowed to take the gloves off and use ruses full of cash, and our companies can't. The big problem we have is that the Europeans can grease people's palms. So that means we have to activate them."

That talk about palm greasing, incidentally, does not come from Washington's carefully worded "guidance" to its diplomats. It comes from the man who once took to the State Department podium to announce that official policy had dethroned Roger Clemens, the Boston pitcher who moved to Toronto, a quarter-

Burns glances to the side, barely making a breath. "I love it; I love the competition. Don't I, Libby?"

The Cadillac pulls up to a 1920s mansion bathed in lights, where a dozen people await their young guests. The bodyguards open the car's heavy doors, the police escorts scan the street for possible terrorists, and Nick and Libby Burns bound up the steps and are enveloped in the hum of the party. It's almost 10 o'clock, and the evening is just beginning for the American ambassador in Athens. □



**TIBET, EAST TIMOR, BURMA PROGRAMS****Question:**

During the past two years, how successful has USIA been in identifying and recruiting participants from East Timor, Tibet and Burma exchanges, and have all the slots for these exchanges been filled? Because, you might recall that we put specific numerical numbers into the statute.

I would appreciate the maximum amount of input that you could provide us.

I understand the process for application for the East Timor scholarships has not been fully clear. Is that true? If so, is there anything being done to try to get the message out?

**Answer:**

- The FY99 Appropriation set spending and target participant levels for a number of exchange programs, including those with Tibet, East Timor and Burma.
- USIA has worked energetically to craft exchange programs which carry out the intent of Congress within the established spending and target participant levels. Below are details of those programs.

**East Timor**

- The fluid political situation in East Timor has made program activity there difficult. Upon initial authorization of the East Timorese Scholarship program, The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs worked closely with the USIS post in Jakarta to assess the needs and capabilities of East Timorese. We advertised Fulbright Academic Exchange program opportunities in East Timor, as we did throughout Indonesia. However, because of the educational disruptions caused by the unstable political situation in their territory, East Timorese students had difficulty competing successfully for placement at U.S. graduate schools.
- In view of this, USIA decided to begin its exchange programming for East Timor with short-term professional and citizen exchange programs aimed at promoting the skills needed to establish a civil society in a potential new state. Recently, we have had successful exchange programs in university administration and English teaching, and we are currently working on other programs in teacher training and NGO development and management. This year, we hope to be able to carry out a more diverse set of activities, including English teaching, a small International Visitor program and further support for community and NGO development. We are also actively considering an undergraduate student program.
- Funding for exchanges with East Timor was authorized by Congress at \$500,000 annually for FY1998 and FY1999. USIA spent \$500,000 on programs in East Timor in FY1998 and proposed \$500,000 for FY1999 programs. During FY1997 and FY1998, USIA awarded grants totaling over \$670,000 to American non-profit organizations and universities that had developed exchange program contacts in East Timor.
- USIA identified a total of 38 exchange participants from East Timor over the past three fiscal years to participate in programs organized by our Office of Citizen Exchange. These programs included:

- An FY1998 grant in the amount of \$249,634 to the University of Iowa to prepare the Timorese education system to teach its children the skills and attitudes of democratic participation. A total of eleven (11) East Timorese will travel to the University of Iowa for 16 weeks each to study English, educational pedagogy, and cross-cultural communication.
- Heartland International will bring 10 community leaders from East Timor to Chicago for a three-week NGO Management Training Program. Five additional East Timorese community leaders will be provided with an intensive month-long U.S. internship on the role of community leaders in strengthening a civil society. The \$183,797 FY1998 grant is intended to enhance the participants' knowledge of the role of nongovernmental organizations and to expand their comprehension of American society and our values
- A \$97,000 FY1997 grant to San Diego State University provided five (5) East Timorese teachers with a semester long course on teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL).
- The Institute of International Education received a grant in FY1997 in the amount of \$140,513 to conduct a three-week U.S. study tour for seven (7) East Timorese education officials to investigate English language teaching methodologies and teacher training programs. The project also provided the participants with an overview of higher education capacity building and university outreach programs.
- In FY 98, the Executive Secretary of the Dili Diocese's Justice and Peace Commission (the organization headed by Bishop Philippe Ximene Belo, the 1997 Nobel Laureate) visited the United States as an International Visitor. This program cost approximately \$12,000. In the U.S., the visitor met with federal/state legislative, executive and judicial branch officials, human rights organizations, religious organizations and others concerned with human and civil rights. In FY1999, we plan to organize a program for three International Visitors from East Timor at a cost of approximately \$45,000.
- During the last two fiscal years, the Regional English Teaching officer in Indonesia arranged two groups of exchanges for English teaching professionals in East Timor.
  - The first exchange involved sending five professionals to the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language in Indonesia conference. This conference is the professional development seminar hosted by the key Teaching English as a Foreign Language professional organization in Indonesia. The cost of sending these professionals to the conference was \$3,700.
  - The second program enabled an East Timorese scholar currently doing graduate work at the University of Southern Illinois at Carbondale to attend the international convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) held in New York City from March 9 to March 1, 1999. The cost of this program was \$2,000.

#### Tibet

- For over ten years, USIA has administered a program for Tibetan refugees resident in India to study in the U.S., funded from Fulbright Academic Exchange Program funds pursuant to P.L. 100-204. Public Law 101-246 (Section 225a) noted that "not less than 30 scholarships" would be made available to Tibetan students and professionals outside Tibet. This target number was subject to a waiver "to the extent that the Director of the United State Information Agency determines that there are not enough qualified students to fulfill such allocation requirement." Subsequent USIA appropriations maintained this program. The FY1999 USIA appropriation amended P. L. 104-319 to require that scholarships be given "if practicable, including individuals active in the preservation of Tibet's unique culture, religion and language." The waiver provision was maintained. The FY1999 appropriation also stipulated that the program be supported "to the maximum extent possible" from funds appropriated to the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

- The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchange (E/AEF) has cooperated with the Tibet Fund to bring 25 students each year from the Tibetan refugee communities in India and Nepal to study at American universities. Total funding for FY1999 is set at \$500,000 annually, and this level is maintained in our proposed budget for FY2000. To date, all participants in this program have returned to India upon completion of their programs in the U.S.
- P.L. 104-319 (Human Rights, Refugee and Other Foreign Relations Provisions Act of 1996) called on the Director of USIA to "establish programs of educational and cultural exchange between the United States and the people of Tibet." Consequently, USIA's Office of Citizen Exchange awarded a grant to the Tibet Fund in FY1997 in the amount of \$188,050. The grant funded a three-phased program for Tibetans to explore sustainable and environmentally sound economic development, and to enhance the capacity of Tibetan institutions to manage such growth. The project brought five (5) Tibetans scholars and students to the U.S. for a period of 18 months to study English, management and computer science. Two (2) American specialists conducted workshops in Tibet on conservation and eco-tourism
- The Office of Citizen Exchange awarded three grants in FY-98 to support program activities in Tibet, totaling over \$500,000. Each recipient U.S. institution plans to begin implementing the FY1998-funded exchange programs during the spring and summer of 1999.
  - A grant in the amount of \$164,436 to the University of North Carolina, Charlotte for a four-part exchange program that emphasizes the value of maintaining cultural heritage with broad, positive social implications. This grant will involve nine (9) American academics and ten (10) Tibetans.
  - A grant in the amount of \$174,671 to The Mountain Institute to expand private sector opportunities for Tibetans of the Tibet Autonomous Region and to assist them in conserving their environmental and cultural heritage. This grant will enable exchanges of five (5) Americans and 16 (16) Tibetans.
  - A grant in the amount of \$165,835 to Future Generations to encourage the development of Tibetan community-based organizations. This grant will involve the travel of six (6) Tibetans to the U.S. for an 18 month period.
- USIA also programmed three International Visitors from Tibet in FY1998, and is planning programs for two Tibetan IVS in FY1999. Nominated by the U.S. Mission in Beijing, these International Visitors have included the Mayor of Lhasa and the Director, Foreign Affairs Office, Tibet Autonomous Region. So far for FY1999, IV invitations have been extended to the Director of the Tibet Environmental Protection Bureau and the Director, Tibet Plateau, Institute of Biology.
- USIA is currently working with the U.S. Embassy in Beijing to determine the parameters of this year's solicitation for programs with Tibet. USIA will solicit those organizations which have previously expressed an interest and a capacity for implementing successful programs in Tibet. Among others, The Tibet Fund will receive a letter of solicitation.

#### Burma

- In 1990, Public Law 101-246 directed USIA to provide "at least 15" scholarships to U.S. institutions for Burmese students and professionals living outside Burma. This instruction has been repeated in subsequent USIA authorizations. For FY1999, this program was included among those that were to be supported "to the maximum extent possible."
- To date, USIA has spent over \$3,000,000 from Fulbright Academic Exchange Program funds on the

**Burma Refugee Scholarship Program (BRSP).**

- Fifty-eight (58) Burmese refugees have participated, with approximately 44 either completing either a baccalaureate or master's degree. Thus far, none of the BRSP students has been able to return to Burma.
- Implementation of the FY97 grant was stalled because the Thai government refused to issue exit clearances to the Burmese refugee scholarship candidates, who resided in Thailand. The Thai government did issue exit visas to four (4) candidates in March 1999, and those candidates, together with one other who was already in the U.S., have started their programs at American universities.
- Recruiting for the FY98 grant has focused on India, where over 90 applications were received. Selection interviews were held on March 12, 1999, and five (5) candidates were identified. (The USIS post in India will negotiate with the Indian government for exit visas for the selected candidates in April 1999.) The FY99 grant competition is slated for June 1999.
- The FY99 grant will be competed through an open request for proposals in June 1999. The Agency will continue to meet with Congressional staff members regarding the future of the BRSP.

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