

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY; TOOLS OF POWER IN FOREIGN POLICY; (CASE STUDY: APPLICATION OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN FOREIGN POLICY OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)

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Abstract

The research is carried out to describe public diplomacy as a tool of power for countries to advance their national interest and it is trying to answer this: "What are the best reasons to apply public diplomacy in foreign policy?" The method of research in this study is descriptive-analytic. First, a theoretical description of public diplomacy has been provided and then the way public diplomacy is applied in US foreign policy is analyzed. Public diplomacy is the process of direct communication with people in other countries to influence their thoughts often its goal is to influence the behavior of foreign governments via influencing the viewpoints of their citizens.

The importance of public diplomacy, especially in terms of promoting a country's image, comes into play and policy-makers do their utmost to get their message across and, hence, leave a positive image of themselves. The United States of America was the first country to realize the importance of public diplomacy in foreign policy after the September 11 terrorist incidents and seriously took advantage of it. In this regard, the US relied on soft power and targeted other nations and by this means tried to give identity to people in accordance with the policies and interests of the US, and captured their hearts and minds to make them follow their policies.

The United States has concluded that to advance its national interest on international level, before anything it needs to make the public opinion follow them and attaining this goal is tied to the use of soft power and public diplomacy; However, despite the efforts by American politicians to make up and positive image of this country, because the authoritarian policies of the United States in some regions like the Middle East, the negative image of the US is becoming widespread by the day.

Key words: Public Diplomacy, Soft Power, Foreign Policy, Cultural Diplomacy, Exchange Diplomacy.

Statement of the Problem

After the end of the Cold War, international actors made significant changes in the management of their foreign policy and diplomacy. The changes in the international system introduced new and influential components in this field. In such conditions, many countries came to the conclusion that they have to define and apply better tools and new policies to advance their national interests. In fact, the revolution in communications and the spread of mass media on the one hand, and activation of non-state actors such as NGOs, civil society organizations and companies led to formation of the public opinion as one of the leading principles of decision-making in various spheres in many countries. At this point, many countries defined new mechanisms for diplomatic

establishment, one of which was called public diplomacy. So these countries no longer could only rely on traditional diplomacy in the form of their inter-state exchanges public like they did in the past.

How a country is shown and described in the international media, how they manage a crisis covered by the media and how authorities and officials of a country interact with the world public opinion as well as other states, are among the determining factors in evaluation of public diplomacy. The importance of public diplomacy in particular is important when it comes to promoting the image of a country. In this type of diplomacy, in which the public sector and the private sector act together, the focus of the efforts by policy-makers is to get in touch with the general public in order to convey the message and influence the decision-makers. This study tries to answer the question "What are the most important reasons for the use of public diplomacy in foreign policy of countries?" Therefore, the author studies various definitions of the public diplomacy theory, compares them in the traditional diplomacy to highlight the differences, then studies different types of public diplomacy and the related concepts, and finally carries out a case study to examine the use of public diplomacy in the US foreign policy to answer the above-mentioned question.

Public Diplomacy in Terms of Definition

International Relations Terms of the US State Department defines Public Diplomacy as: "PUBLIC DIPLOMACY refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television and the internet." (Hadian, Vadehi, 2009:90)

The Department of Studies and Planning to Merge the US Information Agency at the State Department, defines public diplomacy as following: "Public diplomacy seeks to promote the national interest of the United States through understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics." (Ashna & Jafari 2007:183)

In another definition it is defined as: "Central to public diplomacy is influencing the receptor countries without mentioning the ideas and revealing the strategic nature of communications in public diplomacy: (Bergman, 2009:109)

The clearest and most concise definition of public diplomacy is arguably given in the article by Paul Sharp. He has defined public diplomacy as "the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented." (Milsen, 2009:53)

Hence, we can say that public diplomacy is designed based on its American inventors' viewpoints and is defined in order to inform and influence public opinion in another country. In any case, it should be noted that public diplomacy supports foreign policy objectives as well as traditional diplomacy goals.

Differences Between Public Diplomacy and Traditional Diplomacy

When comparing traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy (official diplomacy) we can examine the use of public diplomacy.

The first and most important aspects of public diplomacy are transparency and efforts to disseminate information as well as the extent of diplomacy, while in traditional diplomacy, confusion and confinement are considered as important features.

The second feature is that the public diplomacy is used by the state to communicate with the masses, while traditional diplomacy is primarily about state-state relations.

Public Diplomacy is applied selectively by the government for certain people or certain group of people, while traditional diplomacy runs between states.

So actors of traditional diplomacy are governments and their representatives. In short, this area is an exclusive sphere of authority for state actors and only a very minor and limited role is given to non-state actors. But public diplomacy is assigned both to governments and non-state actors such as educational institutions and the media. (Neek Ayin, 2009: 366)

And the third feature is that the things that are into account in traditional diplomacy are type, behavior and function of governments vis-a-vis other governments, while the focal point public diplomacy are the behavior and perception of people. Therefore, every country can step into the public diplomacy arena according to their goals and facilities. If public diplomacy goes in tune with traditional diplomacy, it will enable the country to meet its interests, preserve its safety and provide an ethical basis for its regional and international regional and sustain it.

The Relationship Between Public Diplomacy and Foreign Policy

Although many consider diplomacy is same as foreign policy and take them as synonyms, foreign policy is something beyond that and includes the principles and objectives that a government adopts in relation to other states. However, diplomatic protocols and establishments are created and evolved in the course of history for relationship between governments. By studying the meaning of diplomacy, we can find out this word is used in two senses: First, the process through which international relations are driven. Second, a set of mechanisms and structures through which the mentioned processes are implemented.” (Giudice 2010:120)

On the relationship between public diplomacy and foreign policy it can be said that foreign policy included objectives and diplomacy is the tool and mechanism to achieve those objectives; just like economy, advertisement, military forces, culture and ideology are considered as other tools of foreign policy. It is a fundamental and obvious principle that public diplomacy supports the goals set by foreign policy.

On the one hand, it needs to support the goals of traditional diplomacy for its own survival and to provide opportunity to materialize its goals. Otherwise, it may never get the chance to be present in foreign policy and international relations as an applied sphere or even it may never come into play as a profession and expertise. (Ashna & Jafari 2007:191)

Public diplomacy is a governmental activity in foreign policy arena and is based on state budget and it aims to create a positive atmosphere among people of a foreign country in order to facilitate determining the foreign policy efforts of the country of origin and try to receive its acceptance by the people of the country of destination (2007:28)

The main issue is that in what way and by which method we can improve the image and perception of a country in the world and spread its beliefs and policies in order to increase its influence among communities within other countries. Thus it can be said that public diplomacy is not merely an advertisement method, a type public relations, or a communications approach or marketing, but perhaps we can consider public diplomacy as a series of new diplomatic strategies and tactics that serve the interest of the foreign policy of a country.

The Relationship between Public Diplomacy and Soft Power

The most important concept that is closely related to the concept of public diplomacy is soft power. The term soft power was first introduced by Joseph S. Nye. In his 1990 he published a book entitled

"Bound to Lead" in which he raised the concept of soft power. Nye addresses the concept of soft power in contrast to the concept of hard power.

Traditional diplomacy often relies on the use of hard power. Resources in this kind of power are military power (in the form of threat or use of military tools in relation to the target country) and economic (economic pressures and sanctions), while in public diplomacy often soft power is used. The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority). (Nye: 2010: 51)

According to Nye, public diplomacy is a key tool to advance soft power. Public diplomacy targets public opinion and in terms of consequences and results, it is as significant as behind-the-scenes and traditional diplomatic relations between heads of state. Information plays an important role in this regard, and we can say that information is power. If soft power includes shaping the perceptions from a country, in this condition, information is considered as a major source of soft power, although transferring information and providing a positive image are part of the public diplomacy and the more part is lasting relationships that will create appropriate conditions for strengthening government policies. (Asgari, 2010: 70)

Although Nye defines government policies and consequently public diplomacy as part of soft power, it seems soft power is taken as a source of public diplomacy and provided a proper design and implementation are in place, public diplomacy can take advantage of this resource. Enjoying the resources of soft power, on its own means, is not equal to enjoying public diplomacy, but the way this resource is used to achieve the desired goals, is considered public diplomacy. This is a very important conceptual distinction which can help researchers and decision-makers get rid of the confusion.

Objectives of Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is used to achieve five strategic and fundamental goals:

- Influencing, attracting and encouraging people overseas to support specific policies
- Creating a proper understanding of the institutions, values and people in all their complexity, or at least to help people outside the country to provide real information about public diplomacy of the country which uses it and enhance its national attractions of that country
- Creating conditions of understanding, mutual respect and trust to increase the possibility of cooperation.
- Gaining support for the values that are in line with US interests, such as environmental protection, rule of law, supporting the free market or to preventing WMDs
- Developing the networks of personal relationships between present and future community leaders, developing communication channels that can reduce conflicts and ambiguities, and creating opportunities for cooperation and to help gain common goals (Lord, 2008:25)

Types of Public Diplomacy

Unlike traditional diplomacy, which has its limited types of channels, public diplomacy is applied using a variety of tools. Public diplomacy comes in a wide variety. In here we take a look at each of them:

Listening

Although most forms of public diplomacy here are provided without any particular order, no doubt the first important one is listening, because, this is the first component of public diplomacy. Listening is an activity by the actor to manage the international environment by collecting and obtaining information about masses overseas and their beliefs and using the information to advance their own policies. This activity has traditionally been a part of every act forming public diplomacy. Collect information about public opinion in other countries is considered as part of a regular duty of foreign public diplomacy and this type of diplomacy is pursued by activities related to opinions polls on the selected objectives. (Cull 2008:32)

Listen is done in short-term and long-term periods and for users of public diplomacy and analysts it is a source of access to internal information, while it is an external source for policy-making process. Tools that are used in this regard include: Groups trained in language and eavesdropping technology.

Advocacy

In public diplomacy, advocacy can be defined as efforts of actors to manage the international environment, through communication activities on an international level to advance their policies, opinions or the public interests of the actor in the foreign public opinion. Today this activity includes press relations of a country's embassy in another country as well as information activities. We can come across advocacy elements in all spheres of public diplomacy. The scope of this kind of diplomacy is short-term and flow of information is external. The Strategic Organization of the State Department is assigned with these activities. (Cull 2008:35)

Exchange Diplomacy

Exchange diplomacy can be defined as efforts by an actor for international management by sending its nationals abroad and, in return, admission of foreign nationals for the academic terms or by becoming familiar with that country's culture. (Cull 2008:22)

This exchange often overlaps cultural activities in a country. Program in the context of this policy include establishing cultural centers, libraries, academic contributions, fellowships for graduate students to study abroad, investment on advisors in the target countries, translation programs, research grants, teaching language, language study programs in which mostly students, university professors, intellectuals and journalists are targeted. (Botes 2007:25) The timeframe for exchange diplomacy is long-term time and the flow of information is both internal and external. Organizations that are used in this context are Director of Exchange and the Education Office.

International Broadcasting

International Broadcasting is an actor's attempt to manage the international environment using the radio, television and internet technologies to work with foreign public. In this context, governments have to deliver their message on radio and television programs in foreign languages. This kind of diplomacy takes place in the medium term the information flow is external. This is done by an administrative news organization. The organizations employed in this area include news committees and radio transmitter facilities. (Cull, 2008: 35)

Cultural Diplomacy

By Cultural Diplomacy we mean efforts to understand, inform, attract participation, and influence people other countries. According to another definition, cultural diplomacy is exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations to strengthen mutual understanding. Cultural Diplomacy in fact, meets the national interest by using cultural tools. (Salehi Amiri and

Mohammad, 2010:110). Today, the most widely used type of public diplomacy is cultural diplomacy. This diplomacy takes place in the long term and access to information is external. Organizations that are active in this area include: libraries and cultural centers.

In using cultural diplomacy, two principles should be borne in mind: First, recognition of the cultural policies of the country of origin, and second, understanding of cultural policy the target country. It means, on the one hand, the cultural characteristics of the target country have to be identified and on the other hand, the genuine image of the country of origin has to be correctly introduced to the audience abroad.

Characteristics of a Successful Public Diplomacy

A successful public diplomacy, like successful public relations of a company or campaigns, has to start with an understanding of what really affects public opinion. The media has the final say in the influence and events influence attitudes, but only to the extent that they are reported in the media and reflected. It's the case with policies and programs. The way perceptions or mindsets of leaders are depicted in the media, are also important.

A successful public diplomacy has the following features:

-Nowadays rules of the game have changed in the field of international. So for the new game we should have the tools to play, the most important of which is the power of persuasion. Today, success in diplomacy depends on persuasive transnational interactions. A successful public diplomacy, is always seeking ways to become more updated and more effectively convincing. Public diplomacy is the sphere for governments to show their persuasive capabilities. In this field, those with higher power of persuasion can meet the interests of their countries better and more effectively.

- A successful public diplomacy is an at least medium-term and at most long-term public diplomacy. Time is an important factor in the occurrence of a successful public diplomacy. However, we should always bear this fact in mind that the nature of public diplomacy is mostly cultural and cultural measures which comes into fruition in mid- and long-term plans.

- A successful public diplomacy is a two-way street. What is introduced as a one-way street is primarily for advertisement purposes. The audiences have a lot to offer to those involved in public diplomacy, those who listen to this carefully and observe its points can manage their image better and develop what they want on the minds. (Naderi, 2010: 66)

Public diplomacy is one of the "notion-maker" elements. The notion which is shaped on the public opinion of each country and plans has to replace it with a new notion. Public diplomacy, in the form of thought, acts as a tool for the notion, both in the arena of construction and the arena of changes. Therefore, a successful public diplomacy has the power to create the notions and to change the patterns already made.

- What is involved in public is the guidance and management of the audience's perceptions. In today's world, several factors lead to abuses in the perception and reception of an action or a series of actions in a country. A successful public diplomacy is the art through which the impression made on the audience is managed to improve its image in the international system.

The Status of Public Diplomacy in Foreign Policy of the United States of America

Public diplomacy is a new realm of knowledge and action which was used in the bipolar world in the last century and the era of the Cold War by the United States to gain support for a delicate

balance of nuclear weapons and an ideological battle to capture the minds and hearts of people. In fact, we can say that public diplomacy has always been used in the foreign policy of the United States. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, US policymakers mistakenly came to the belief that there is little need for public diplomacy. But after the September 11 terrorist attacks, the United States once again realized the importance of public diplomacy and using soft power in achieving its national security and interests in the post-Cold War era. So, once again using public diplomacy activities was top on the list of US policies.

In using public diplomacy, the US takes the following points into consideration:

- The main purpose of public diplomacy is to improve the image of the United States and in this regard, battling anti-US sentiments in particular is part of the activities. The overall goal of public diplomacy is to create a chain of human relations which provides a ground for the traditional diplomacy and long-term interests of the United States. In the United States it is believed that there is a need to for all to be in a similar position, it means as much as the US seeks to convey its messages, it seeks to listen to the messages of the others. It is important to have a communications strategy. But mutual relationship is at the core of successful and honest diplomacy. We have to listen to the messages be others as much as we transmit our messages.

- Although public diplomacy is an activity concerning the government and for sure there are crucial and appropriate roles for the government, all Americans should have a role to play in this regard. The United States should encourage individuals to accept their role as citizen diplomats and help shape international relations. Architects of public diplomacy need to pay attention to the importance and credit of participating in the private sector to improve and restore efforts in public diplomacy. Access to the foreign audience who reside inside the country is among other purposes. Institute for International Education reported that during the academic year 2008-2007, 624,000 international students registered at colleges and universities all across the US, 106,000 of them are in the United States. So the US needs to increase its active dialogue with ethnicities within the country.

- The United States' public diplomacy is inconsistent. Many public diplomacy programs are successful, but they are still waiting for a good investment. However, public diplomacy relies on the commitment and active participation of citizens and government agencies are not the only side that plays a role in this regard. It is therefore essential that the government in employ many US citizens volunteered to work as a diplomat is this regard through increased investment for these programs and partnerships to support public-private that are employed. The US is trying to meet the long-term interests of its future generations by this means. (Muller, 2009:3)

It is vital for United States to be able to convey its message quickly and consistently, however it should be noted that public diplomacy does not merely involve the transmission of information. Public diplomacy is to convince the people of the world, especially the Arab and Muslim world, about this subject that the US transfers accurate and honest information and the US core values of tolerance and respect are shared with other countries and its policies seek to acquire the common values and follows these values and finally clarifies the issue that these policies are ultimately good for the world. Therefore, it should be noted that the US needs initiatives and large investments, and more importantly patience to achieve these objectives.

Principles of Propaganda and US Public Diplomacy

Information Activities

- Part of Information Activities are assigned to Washington Files which are available on a computer terminal at US embassies in different ways including satellite, cable, microwave, or a combination of land lines. The content of the Files is diverse and includes the full text of speeches and

statements by top US officials, press conferences which are prepared and submitted by the White House, State Department and other US agencies.

- Spokespersons and experts: Americans who represent government, corporations, academic institutions and the media expressing their views and experiences.
- Resident experts: Professionals on topics such as law, business, public administration, media who live in another country for a few months as a consultant for non-academic institutions.
- Remote Conferencing Programs: Speakers who are not able to travel, calls communicate with foreign audiences through advanced technology and telephone and make voice or video calls.
- Publication of leaflets, booklets and brochures in different languages and distributing them to other countries is another approach.
- Foreign Press Centers: Foreign Press Centers has been established by information agencies in the United States in the cities of Washington, New York, Los Angeles and provides a wide range of services to more than 1,600 foreign journalist living in America in addition to thousands of journalists who travel annually for short-term state missions to the US.
- Libraries and Information Resources: Information centers and sources were previously run by the United States but now part of the department is responsible for it, and it exists in many countries.
- International radio and television programs (Botes, 2007:49)

Educational and Cultural Exchanges

- Student, Professor, and Researcher Exchange
- Helping to establish and maintain the quality of Studies on the United States at foreign universities
- Teaching English
- Exchange and interaction between citizens
- Plan on building democratic institutions: Organization of US Information creates a range of programs to assist emerging democracies in the world to develop democratic institutions that push for democratic reforms.
- Performing artistic, theatrical and visual programs: Through these programs, and by performing arts, the visual excellence, diversity and vitality of the US are shown to foreign audiences.

International Broadcasting

International broadcast has many organizations in the US, including:

- VOA: Voice of America as the international radio service of the US government broadcasts news and information in different languages for international audiences of over 90 million worldwide.
- International Movies and TV services: World Net was first satellite network which was launched on 3 November, 1983, and in terms of organizational chart it is under the supervision of Voice of America and outlines the US ideas for a global audience and in broadcasts video programs about culture, history and science and technological achievements of the United States.
- Radio y Televisión Martí: These two radio programs broadcast to Cuba and to comply with the standards of the VOA.
- Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: These networks' officials are in Washington DC and its broadcasting center is Prague, capital of the Czech Republic. They broadcast their programs for countries located in Central Europe as well as for Russia, Afghanistan. The two radios introduce themselves as a Western means of informing dissemination to independent nations on the difficult path towards democracy and free market economies.
- Radio Free Asia: The radio like Radio Liberty defines itself as a non-profit and private radio and broadcasts programs in seven languages, going to 10 Asian countries including China, Burma and Cambodia.

- Radio Sawa: The radio was established in 2002 and tries to attract the young audience in the region through popular music and meanwhile gives information on US politics, values and interests. Radio Sawa is currently broadcasts programs on the FM radio in Jordan, Kuwait, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Bahrain and also in Baghdad, Erbil and Sulaimaniyah in Iraq, Cyprus, Greece and covers Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Gaza, East Mediterranean through the AM radio transmitter.

- Radio Farda (Tomorrow): The radio broadcasts to Iran and in the Persian language. Three-quarters of its programs are entertainment programs and one-fourth of it is on information. Radio Farda also supports a website.

Despite all efforts, there is the fact that the public diplomacy of United States is turbulent and does not have a strategic and coherent structure. The US published a list on November 6, 2008, on which thirteen essential issues are highlighted that must be considered by the next government takes and item five on the list refers to national security by improving the image of the US overseas. (Kerry 2009:9) It is mentioned in this report that many studies have found that the problems of the United States foreign policy generally lies in explaining its foreign policy to its own people as well as those across the borders. It is part of the open oppositions that some of the audience has raised towards US policies, consequently, the image people worldwide are receiving from the US is a distorted image and is not consistent with the facts. Another reason goes back to the biased reporting on the United States which transferred to people and to prevent or restrict access to the Internet sites they are restricted or strictly filtered.

Conclusion

Developments after the Cold War brought significant changes to foreign policy. The revolution in communications and the spread of mass media and the importance of non-state actors, made the role of public opinion in foreign policy outstanding. So countries no longer could only rely only on their inter-state exchanges in the form of traditional diplomacy. They had to pay special attention to public opinion to move their foreign policy forward. Following these developments, the concept of public diplomacy emerged alongside traditional diplomacy. Public diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs whose aim is to inform or influence public opinion in other countries. The main tools are publishing texts, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television. The actors of this kind of diplomacy are governments, cultural and educational centers... and the audiences are nations (from the general public to the elite in foreign countries). In public diplomacy the actors in foreign policy advance foreign policy objectives through the creation of identity, and making image of their own choice for the public opinion.

Public diplomacy has various forms, the most important of which are: Listening, Exchange Policy, Advocacy, Cultural Diplomacy, and International Broadcasting. The most important objective in various forms of public diplomacy is directing and management of the audiences' perception; as the art of a successful public diplomacy has to be able to manage audience impressions and promote the country's image in the international system. The US was the first country to realize the importance of public diplomacy in its foreign policy and since World War One onwards has always used different degrees of this kind diplomacy in its foreign policy.

The importance of public diplomacy was doubled after September 11 terrorist attacks and hundreds of foreign media centers, radio and television networks, libraries, cultural centers and universities, experts International spokespersons took steps to create a positive image of the United States and its values and policies. This is because the main goal of the US (or any other country) for applying this type of diplomacy in its foreign policy is to enhance its image in the world public opinion in order to ensure its national security. But it should be noted that despite the efforts by US politicians for

creating a positive image of the country, the United States still has a negative image in world public opinion, particularly in the Middle East.

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