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Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify before you here today.

One way to look at September 11 is that it provided all of us with a painful, highly accelerated learning curve.

We were gratified to have funds in the emergency supplemental to initiate new programs intended to open doors with audiences with which we had precious little discourse. A brief description of these programs and any results to date has been sent to you and members of your staffs. I look forward to any comments you care to offer.

Among the lessons of 9/11 is that our educational and cultural exchanges - be they of young leaders, academics, students, or others - are almost always positive, literally transforming, experiences.

This is a hugely significant conclusion. It is impossible to calculate the return on this investment. It would be too high to be believable. 50% of the leaders of the global coalition in the war against terrorism had been International Visitors. More than 200 current and former Heads of State, 1,500 cabinet-level ministers, and many other distinguished leaders in government and the private sector from around the world have participated in the International Visitor Program.

There's also a problem. The number of exchanges - 35,000 a year worldwide -- is nowhere near enough and should be expanded in the future, since they are so productive. The transformation of perceptions and the recognition of commonality that we realized after 9/11 are so important must take place for millions, not just thousands. We have to go beyond the significant dialogue we have with government officials and country leaders and reach out to mass audiences.

Let's just take a few key countries in the Middle East. For example, the population of Egypt is 71 million. Saudi Arabia is 23.5 million. Pakistan is 148 million, and Indonesia has a population of 231 million.

We are talking about millions of ordinary people, a huge number of whom have gravely distorted, but carefully cultivated images of us - images so negative, so weird, so

hostile that I can assure you a young generation of terrorists is being created.

The gap between who we are and how we wish to be seen, and how we are in fact seen, is frighteningly wide.

Well, does it matter? Our businesses, whose brands travel the world, know it matters because they are boycotted. Our great universities and faculties know it matters because schools in England, Germany, Australia and elsewhere are doing a very good job of offering alternatives.

The gap matters most of all because our country has a profound belief in the power of sharing a way of life that enhances the individual, protects rights and faith, and optimizes potential.

And there is no way to even engage others in the world in such honorable pursuits if every action is viewed with distrust and cynicism or hate.

It is depressing to hear major non-governmental organizations, well funded by our tax dollars, claim that acknowledging our role in their work would diminish or destroy their ability to get the job done.

Let's agree that the gap in perceptions matters. What can we do about it?

We can attack the misperceptions, unmask the lies, and live up to our own high expectations by taking our messages to the millions, activating every emissary we have, tapping into new channels of communication, and delivering programs that benefit both us and the recipients - all to create and sustain a dialogue of enhanced growth and potential for these millions.

It's not as overwhelming as it sounds, but it does have to be agreed as a long-term goal, consistently funded, and adequately measured.

We need too to find ways to enlist our private sector in this effort. We need to engage our best and brightest business, academic, and cultural leaders -- not to consult, but to participate in programs and mentoring, drawing on their unique and helpful perspectives on the American way of life and on their capacity to teach. The willingness to

be engaged and this depth of talent is not a resource we can let be latent.

We need to take the best of America to other countries, to offer who we are honestly and sincerely, to share with them our exceptional gifts in English teaching, literature, science, and technology.

We've lost most of the natural touch points for doing this. What we do still have are the American Corners in Russia and Central Asia and the Binational Centers of many of our Western Hemisphere neighbors.

These can teach us how to redirect our capacity to open up access points to America - to one another.

We still have a few English teaching programs. These can be revamped and made more serious, more ambitious, more focused on universal values. We have fabulous new material in literature, in poetry, in film - but it's not out there.

We need to organize, fund, and support the many creative talents -- the musicians, actors, writers -- who will go willingly to teach, inspire, and tell the story of America by their own lives.

We can do a better job of sharing what's already known and written through television and the Internet.

We must create better access to our most priceless endeavors, for instance, medicine. Here, we need to talk about the work of the National Institutes of Health, whose mission is to uncover new knowledge that will lead to better health for everyone. We have stunning stories of life saving medicines developed and delivered by USAID - but no one hears these stories.

There are brave and bold plans in front of you now. Prominent among them are a Sesame Street for teens, an Arabic-language television channel, an Arabic-language magazine, the Middle East Partnership Initiative and its important exchange component, and a global Partnerships for Learning initiative aimed initially at the Muslim world.

In the end, what the task before us needs most of all is leadership. And that's where we all come in.

All of this is for the long term, but I hope I've conveyed our sense of urgency about lifting public diplomacy -- our way of engaging the world -- to a significantly higher and more sustained level.

Now the shorter term, this real time is also greatly urgent as we deal with such issues as the War on Terrorism, the reconstruction of Afghanistan, and the past, present, and future of Iraq.

That's why the primary task of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs is to inform. Our Washington bureaus and our Embassy Country Teams around the world work intensively everyday to present, explain, and advocate our policies in many languages.

Over the past month for example, State Department officials have done 72 foreign events and 217 domestic outreach events.

As we deal with the issues surrounding Iraq, we have prepared a variety of materials in support of our position:

The booklet **Iraq: From Fear to Freedom** examines in a comprehensive way the horror of Saddam Hussein's regime but also addresses the U.S. desire to see a future Iraq that is democratic, unified, and at peace with its neighbors.

In our booklet **Iraq: A Population Silenced**, we focus on human rights violations by Saddam Hussein, and his associates. We include first-person and eyewitness accounts of the atrocities committed. A quote: "Iraq under Saddam's regime has become a land of hopelessness, sadness, and fear, a country where people are ethnically cleansed. Prisoners are tortured in more than 300 prisons in Iraq. Iraq under Saddam has become a hell and a museum of crimes."

Tomorrow, we will introduce a brochure and filmed interviews under the heading of **Iraqi Voices for Freedom**. These voices represent but a few of the millions of Iraqis whose hopes for the future have been silenced by tyranny.

We have also focused on certain exchanges that will allow the visitors to become unofficial emissaries when they return home.

49 Arab women came here in November to witness our election process and democracy in action. They couldn't believe the fervor of the debate and then . . . the coming to a common resolve . . . the day after election.

We also invited thirteen women teachers from Afghanistan to enhance their skills and prepare them to train other teachers in their country. They asked us not to forget them . . . and we are working now to send American teachers to Afghanistan.

We also hosted women from Afghan government ministries for a four-week program in which they met with national and local leaders and received education and computer skills and leadership management. While in Washington, the women also met with Cabinet officers and members of Congress. President Bush himself gave them assurances that the United States will not forget Afghanistan and urged them to tell him, in specific terms, how the U.S. can best help rebuild their country.

Just recently we asked five northern Iraqi/Kurdish television producers, managers and directors to learn about broadcast operations in the United States. Having viewed the mini-documentaries about Muslim Life in America, these journalists were impressed with this story of freedom in America . . . the pluralistic side too They are going to substantial risk to take the videos home with them.

All year, we have been testing many new programs to create models . . . prototypes for reaching those millions to whom I referred earlier.

One such initiative took the form of a series of mini-documentaries of Muslim Americans describing their freedom here, their ability to practice their faith, and their integration into the life of America. These stories were told through paid media programs on television and radio and in newspapers, and augmented by speaker programs and a booklet on "Muslim Life in America."

288 million people were exposed to these messages through pan-Arab satellite television and newspapers, as well as through the national media of Indonesia, Pakistan, and Kuwait during the holy month of Ramadan.

We took Indonesia as a case study, tested the levels of recall and message retention, and found them to be significantly higher than, for instance, those of a typical soft drink campaign run at higher spending levels for more months.

This kind of exceptional result means that the messages not only were relevant, but they were also very interesting. In random taped interviews, people on the street made it clear that these messages literally opened minds and challenged the carefully taught fiction that the Muslims of America are harshly treated, illustrating instead religious tolerance is fundamental in the U.S.

The follow-up - the continuing dialogue -- is even more important. Indonesia's largest television channel taped a one-hour Town Hall meeting between Americans and Indonesians - people to people. Filmed on February 7, it will air shortly, reaching 135 million people.

The "Muslim Life in America" booklet previously mentioned is one of the most successful pieces we've ever produced. It's now in use in overseas schools, libraries, and seminars and even on Malaysia's national airline, Air Asia.

One interesting lesson of this initiative is our discovery that a disconnect can exist between leadership elites and ordinary people. The elites are often not aware of the depth of misperception and myth traveling in their countries.

Another more obvious lesson is the importance of television as the dominant medium in today's information environment. Building on this lesson in Egypt, we invited an Egyptian TV group to film the story of several USAID projects, highlighting the families that benefited from the clean water, the improved education, and the micro-loans that resulted. The television coverage, readily available to a mass audience, confirmed the commitment of the American people to improving the quality of life around the globe.

But we need to get these stories in a far wider reach - and more artfully.

Building upon the Shared Values initiative, and aimed initially at the Islamic Near East, we are initiating a new program called Shared Futures, which will bring sustained attention to economic and political and educational reform in the Muslim world through media campaigns, television and media co-ops, and other creative programming and in partnership with the local institutions.

Our lessons have come fast and hard this year. We learned the importance of good collaboration as a magnifier. The geographic bureaus and overseas missions of the Department house our most talented resource - people. Our Public Diplomacy Officers need and want training in modern marketing and outreach to large audiences. We've formed a strong partnership with USAID so the real story of the generosity of the American people can be told.

Perhaps most importantly, we have learned that, for some time into the future, we will be dealing with the natural tension between our need for security and our desire to be open and inviting. This is nicely summarized by our new communication plan on visas, "Secure Borders - Open Doors."

These words are a good summary of where we are with the world. Our policies must be heard. They deserve powerful advocates, but it is also crucial that they be delivered in a proper context.

Our Open Doors and all that stands for is a message too muffled by circumstances today.

We must have both conversations. We need new programs and sustained funding to do this.

Thank you and I look forward to your questions.

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