

"The real enemy is not Osama, it is the ignorance that breeds the hatred that fuels his cause. This is what we have to change. I realized what an enormous job that was going to be the other day when I heard a young Pakistani student tell an interviewer that everyone in his school knew that Israel was behind the attacks on the Twin Towers and everyone in his school knew all the Jews who worked there had stayed home that day.

"What we have all come to realize now is that a large part of the world not only misunderstands us but is teaching its children to hate us."

Steve Forbes, who once headed the Broadcasting Board of Governors, put the issue even more bluntly: "Washington should cease its petty, penny-minded approach to our international radios and give them the resources and capable personnel to do the job that so badly needs to be done right. . . . What are we waiting for?"

#### THE PROPOSAL

What are we waiting for? I suggest three simple proposals. First, define a clear strategic mission and vision for U.S. international broadcasting. Second, provide the financial resources to get the job done. Third, use the unique talent that the United States has—all of it—to communicate that vision to the world.

First, and above all, U.S. international broadcasting should be unapologetically proud to advocate freedom and democracy in the world. There is no inconsistency in reporting the news accurately while also advocating America's values. The real issue is whether we will carry the debate on the meaning of freedom to places on the globe, where open debate is unknown and freedom has no seed. Does anyone seriously believe that the twin goals of providing solid journalism and undermining tyranny are incompatible? As a people, Americans have always been committed to the proposition that these goals go hand in hand. As the leader of the free world, it is time for us to do what's right—to speak of idealism, sacrifice and the nurturing of values essential to human freedom—and to speak in a bold, clear voice.

Second, if we are to do that, we will need to put our money where our mouths are not. We now spend more than a billion dollars each day for the Department of Defense. Results in the war on terrorism demonstrate that this is money well invested in our national security.

Whatever Don Rumsfeld says he needs should be provided by the Congress with pride in the extraordinary service his imaginative leadership is giving our country. As President Bush has proposed, we will need to increase the defense budget. When we do, let's compare what we need to spend on the Voice of America and the Freedom Radio services with what we need to spend on defense. Our international broadcasting efforts amount to less than two-tenths of one percent of Defense expenditures. Al Jazeera was started with an initial budget of less than \$30 million a year. Now Al Jazeera reaches some 40 million men, women and children every day, at a cost of pennies per viewer every month.

Congress should hold hearings now to decide what we should spend to get our message of freedom, democracy and peace into the non-democratic and authoritarian regions of the world. One suggestion is to consider a relationship between what we spend on defense with what we spend on communication. For example, should we spend 10 percent of what we spend on defense for communication? That would be \$33 billion a year. Too much. Should we spend 1 percent? That would be \$3.3 billion, and that seems about right to me—one dollar to launch

ideas for every \$100 we invest to launch bombs. This would be about six times more than we invest now in international communications. We must establish a ratio sufficient to our need to inform and persuade others of the values of freedom and democracy. More importantly, we should seek a ratio sufficient to lessen our need for bombs.

Third, throwing money alone at the problem will not do the job. We need to use all of the communications talent we have at our disposal. This job is not only for journalists. As important as balanced news and public affairs programming are to our public diplomacy mission, the fact is that we are now in a global information marketplace. An American news source, even a highly professional one like the VOA, is not necessarily persuasive in a market of shouting, often deceitful and hateful voices. Telling the truth in a persuasive, convincing way is not propaganda. Churchill's and Roosevelt's words—"never was so much owed by so many to so few"—"The only thing we have to fear is fear itself"—were as powerful as a thousand guns.

When Colin Powell chose advertising executive Charlotte Beers as Under Secretary of State for public diplomacy and public affairs, some journalists sneered. You cannot peddle freedom as you would cars and shampoo, went the refrain. That is undoubtedly so, and Beers has several times said as much herself. But you can't peddle freedom if no one is listening, and Charlotte Beers is a master at getting people to listen—and to communicate in terms people understand.

So was another visionary in this business, Bill Benton. Before he served as Assistant Secretary of State, Benton had been a founding partner in one of the country's largest and most successful advertising firms, Benton and Bowles. To win the information war, we will need the Bentons and Beers of this world every bit as much as we will need the journalists. We have the smartest, most talented, and most creative people in the world in our communications industries—in radio, television, film, newspapers, magazines, advertising, publishing, public relations, marketing. These men and women want to help their country, and will volunteer eagerly to help get our message across. One of the first people we should enlist is a West Point graduate named Bill Roedy, who is President of MTV Networks International. His enterprise reaches one billion people in 18 languages in 164 countries. Eight out of ten MTV viewers live outside the United States. He can teach us a lot about how to tell our story.

#### CONCLUSION

In 1945, a few years after the VOA first went on the air, the newly founded United Nations had 51 members. Today it has 189. In the last decade alone, more than 20 countries have been added to the globe, many of them former Soviet republics, but not all. Some of these new countries, as with the Balkan example, have been cut bloodily from the fabric of ethnic and religious hatred. Some of these countries are nominally democratic, but many—especially in Central Asia—are authoritarian regimes. Some are also deeply unstable, and thus pose a threat not only to their neighbors, but to the free world. Afghanistan, we discovered too late, is a concern not only to its region, but to all of us.

In virtually every case, those whose rule is based on an ideology of hate have understood better than we have the power of ideas and the power of communicating ideas. The bloodshed in the Balkans began with hate radio blaring from Zagreb and Belgrade, and hate radio is still common in the region today. The murder of 2 million Hutus and Tutsis in central Africa could not have happened but for the urging of madmen with broadcast towers at their disposal. The same

has been true of ethnic violence in India and Pakistan.

I saw this first hand in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. President Kennedy asked me to organize eight American commercial radio stations to carry the Voice of America to Cuba because the VOA was shut out by Soviet jamming. We succeeded, and President Kennedy's speeches were heard in Spanish in Cuba at the height of the crisis. As we kept the destroyers and missiles out of Cuba, we got the Voice of America in because we had enough power to surmount the jamming. On that occasion, our American broadcasts were more than a whisper.

Last spring—well before the events of September 11—Illinois Congressman Henry Hyde put the need eloquently. I quote him: "During the last several years it has been argued that our broadcasting services have done their job so well that they are no longer needed. This argument assumes that the great battle of the 20th century, the long struggle for the soul of the world, is over: that the forces of freedom and democracy have won. But the argument is terribly shortsighted. It ignores the people of China and Cuba, of Vietnam and Burma, of Iraq and Iran and Sudan and North Korea and now Russia. It ignores the fragility of freedom and the difficulty of building and keeping democracy. And it ignores the resilience of evil."

Fifty-eight years ago, Albert Einstein returned from a day of sailing to find a group of reporters waiting for him at the shore. The reporters told him that the United States had dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, wiping out the city. Einstein shook his head and said, "Everything in the world has changed except the way we think."

On September 11 everything changed except the way we think. It is hard to change the way we think. But we know that ideas last longer than people do, and that two important ideas of the 20th century are now in direct competition: the ideas of mass communication and mass destruction. The great question of our time is whether we will be wise enough to use one to avoid the other.●

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 11:04 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Niland, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has agreed to the following concurrent resolution, without amendment:

S. Con. Res. 101. Concurrent resolution extending birthday greetings and best wishes to Lionel Hampton on the occasion of his 94th birthday.

The message also announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1374. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 600 Calumet Street in Lake Linden, Michigan, as the "Philip E. Ruppe Post Office Building."

H.R. 3960. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 3719 Highway 4 in Jay, Florida, as the "Joseph W. Westmoreland Post Office Building."

H.R. 4156. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to clarify that the parsonage allowance exclusion is limited to the fair rental value of the property.

H.R. 4167. An act to extend for 8 additional months the period for which chapter 12 of title 11 of the United States Code is reenacted.

At 3:07 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by

Ms. Niland, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 476. An act to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit taking minors across State lines in circumvention of laws requiring the involvement of parents in abortion decisions.

### MEASURES REFERRED

The following bills were read the first and the second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

H.R. 476. An act to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit taking minors across State lines in circumvention of laws requiring the involvement of parents in abortion decisions; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 1374. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 600 Calumet Street in Lake Linden, Michigan, as the "Philip E. Ruppe Post Office Building"; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

H.R. 3960. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 3719 Highway 4 in Jay, Florida, as the "Joseph W. Westmoreland Post Office Building"; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

H.R. 4156. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to clarify that the parsonage allowance exclusion is limited to the fair rental value of the property; to the Committee on Finance.

### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. DURBIN:

S. 2138. A bill to provide for the reliquidation of certain entries of antifriction bearings; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BINGAMAN:

S. 2139. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide grants to promote positive health behaviors in women; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2140. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on 1,2 cyclohexanedione; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2141. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on Wakil XL; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2142. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on primisulfuron; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2143. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on flumetralin technical; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2144. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on methidathion technical; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2145. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on mixtures of lambda-cyhalothrin; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2146. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on cyprodinil technical; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2147. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on oxasulfuron technical; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2148. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on Paclobutrazole 2SC; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2149. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on difenoconazole; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2150. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on mucochloric acid; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2151. A bill to extend the duty suspension on 3,5-Dibromo-4-hydroxybenzotrile; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2152. A bill to extend the duty suspension on isoxaflutole; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2153. A bill to extend the duty suspension on cyclanilide technical; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2154. A bill to extend the duty suspension on Fipronil Technical; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2155. A bill to extend the duty suspension on 3,5-Dibromo-4-hydroxybenzotrile ester and inerts; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2156. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on 2,4-Xylidine; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2157. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on p-Chloro aniline; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2158. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on 4-methoxyphenacylchloride; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2159. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on 3-methoxy-thiophenol; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2160. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on acetyl chloride; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2161. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on esters and sodium esters of parahydroxybenzoic acid; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2162. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on chloroacetic acid; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2163. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on isobornyl acetate; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2164. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty of azoxystrobin technical; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2165. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on paclobutrazole technical; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2166. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on 1H-imidazole-2-methanol, 5-[(3,5-dichlorophenyl)thio]-4-(1-methylethyl)-1-(4-pyridinylmethyl)-(9CI); to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2167. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on 1H-imidazole,4-(1-methylethyl)-2-[(phenylmethoxy)methyl]-(9CI); to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2168. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on 1(2H)-Quinolinecarboxylic acid, 4-

[[[3,5-bis(trifluoromethyl)phenyl]methyl] (methoxycarbonyl)amino]-2-ethyl-3,4-dihydro-6-(trifluoromethyl)-ethyl ester, (2R,4S)- (9CI); to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2169. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on Benzamide, N-methyl-2-[[3-[(1E)-2-(2-pyridinyl)ethenyl]-1H-indazol-6-yl]thio]-; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2170. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on 1H-Pyrazole-5-carboxamide, N-[2-fluoro-5-[[3-[(1 E)-2-(2-pyridinyl)ethenyl]-1H-indazol-6-yl]amino]phenyl]1,3-di-methyl-; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2171. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on Disulfide,bis(3,5-dichlorophenyl)(9CI); to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2172. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on HIV/AIDS drug; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2173. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on HIV/AIDS drug; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2174. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on rhinovirus drug; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2175. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on Pyridin, 4-[[4-(1-methylethyl)-2-[(phenylmethoxy)methyl]-1H-imidazol-1-yl]methyl]-ethanedioate (1:2); to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2176. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on Triticonazole; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 2177. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on Glufosinate-Ammonium; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 2178. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on 1H-imidazole,4-(1-methylethyl)-2-[(phenylmethoxy)methyl]-(9CI); to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. CARNAHAN (for herself and Mr. LEAHY):

S. 2179. A bill to authorize the Attorney General to make grants to States, local governments, and Indian tribes to establish permanent tributes to honor men and women who were killed or disabled while serving as law enforcement or public safety officers; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KYL:

S. 2180. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on Nylon MXD6; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. MCCAIN:

S. 2181. A bill to review, reform, and terminate unnecessary and inequitable Federal subsidies; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. WYDEN:

S. 2182. A bill to authorize funding for computer and network security research and development and research fellowship programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. HUTCHINSON:

S. 2183. A bill to provide emergency agricultural assistance to producers of the 2002 crop; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. BREAU (for himself, Mr. SPECTER, Mrs. LINCOLN, Ms. LANDRIEU, Mr. CLELAND, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. BAYH, Mrs. CLINTON, Mr. DODD, Mr. EDWARDS, Mr. FEINGOLD, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mrs. MURRAY, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. WELLSTONE,