

02/22/69 Memo to President from NASA administrator  
Policy issues regarding manned space flight, FY1970, future of NASA

03/18/69 O'Paine to Ehrlichman  
Description of activities and plans of NASA

06/19/69 Whitehead to O'Connell  
"Procurement on satellite in post Apollo era"

06/27/69 Whitehead to General Lincoln  
"I am not strongly wedded to final recommendation"

07/03/69 PSAC to Presidents Space Task Group  
outlines "objectives in post Apollo period"

07/08/69 Whitehead to Shapley  
"attached is a rough proposed working paper"

07/14/69 Whitehead to Shapley  
"will you please set up a briefing on communication satellite technology"

08/08/69 Stephen Bull to Nixon  
"3.5 billion in budget cuts needed" -NASA

08/19/69 Flanigan to Nixon CC:Whitehead  
"I agree with Dr. Paine's recommendations that the administration concentrate its support of bills recognizing accomplishments in space"

08/21/69 Flanigan to Dr. Paine  
"Thank you for the cost reduction report"

08/27/69 Space task Group Report  
"Post-Apollo Space Program: Directions for the Future"  
(manned pace flight and international considerations copied)

11/19/69 PSAC Advisory Suggestions "Reports Prepared in the last 18 months"

12/17/69 O'Paine to Nixon to Flanigan for recommendation  
--regarding FY 1971 budget level  
-includes stats on suggested NASA cuts

12/18/69 Flanigan to Nixon  
"Renegotiation board budget appeal"

01/05/70 \*\*\*\*\* Whitehead to Flanigan  
\*\*\*\*The current NASA budget is as follows, the major differences are, BOB, Viking,  
\*\* packet includes attached memo including Kriegsman's suggested reductions (12/29/69),  
includes expenses/outlays, and Flanigan's NASA budget cuts

01/06/70 Flanigan to O'Paine and Mayo  
"It was agreed that with Dr. Payne that NASA's FY 1971 budget will be met subject to the  
following presidential objectives"

03/06/70 Shapley to Whitehead  
"These are the changes George Low and I recommended to you at Paine's request"

03/06/70 Flanigan to Nixon  
 "To discuss statement on space and Dr. Paine's press briefing"

03/06/70 Flanigan to Ehrlichman  
 I advise Paine meets with the president but this is not the occasion to try and change his message on space

03/07/70 \*Nixon's statement on Space

12/01/70 Ed Harper to Ehrlichman  
 NERVA

12/12/70 Low to Flanigan CC:Kriegman  
 "there are two important points which bear on the President's posture on NASA..the BOB and Russia  
 \*\*\*includes charts on payloads Russia vs USA

02/16/71 Flanigan to Ehrlichman  
 "Attached is a thoughtful memo I asked Tom Whitehead to prepare on NASA."  
 \*\*attached memo

07/27/71 Haldeman to Mr. Sully  
 a study in 1970 indicated.. we must continue in space, and the potentials of space exploration warrant the expenditures presently planned

10/01/71 Pete Peterson to Whitehead  
 "concerning alteration of the FAA/ESRO arrangements...as you know the matter is extremely complex and I am unable to give you a substantive reaction"

10/04/71 Grubb to Rose of Fletcher letter to George Miller  
 on the space shuttle and the alternative approaches being considered

11/01/71 "Jon to Bill"  
 Tom W. can make lunch re: NASA  
 Attached is "Aerospace industries of America" NOV 71  
 Table of contents and graphs

11/29/71 Federation of Rocky Mountains States, Inc. to Nixon, Flanigan, Fletcher  
 After meeting with Fletcher, "we want to renew our expression of support in the space shuttle program"

12/17/71 Peters of Madison County Republican Party to Haldeman  
 "Your active support of a higher budget for NASA in FY 1973 is solicited"

12/29/71 NASA admin to Cap Weinberger  
 "report the results of space shuttle options and to recommend a course of action"

01/05/72 Nixon Statement on Space

01/29/1972 John Rose to Flanigan  
 "We have come from \$6Billion to \$3B thanks to Whitehead...  
 My suspicion is without having intently studied the matter tat we would not have a viable space program if the level were too much lower than it is now."

04/27/72 Rose to Flanigan

“PSAC space science panel would inevitably creep into areas in duplication of NASA’s technology and OMB’s purview.”

12/19/72

Rose to Knubel

“OMB analysis indicated that the only way to reach the overall desired mark of 3.04 billion is to cancel the Viking Mars mission scheduled to arrive in ‘76’...”

undated

OMB outline of suggestions to Nixon for FY 73  
And the future manned space program

***Warring Against Modernity***

By Aryeh Neier  
*Washington Post*  
10/09/01

“Some Islamic leaders are tepid in their support for us, both because they remain uncertain whether we will pursue terrorism in a manner that will contribute to such a clash and because as modernizers themselves, they are weary of becoming targets.....many Islamic states could join the struggle more wholeheartedly if it took place under the authority of the world body, and fellow travelers of the terrorists would have more difficulty in whipping up the anti-Americanism on which they thrive.

***Equal time for Hitler?***

by William Safire  
*New York Times*  
9/20/01

“Here is why the VOA is the wrong voice in this area in wartime”.....  
“....we need an American signal in Afghanistan’s five languages with a clear, truthful message: Bin Laden and his gang are the cause of present and future misery...”

***Struggle for Afghanistan’s Airwaves Looms***

By Dan Nowicki  
*The Orange County Register*  
9/27/01

“Had Radio Free Afghanistan continued, the Taliban probably wouldn’t have been able to seize control of most of the country, insists (Ed) Royce, R-Fullerton.”

***The Ultimate Weapon Against Terrorism***

By David Hoffman  
*Internews.org*  
10/01/01

“In this battle of world views, the West’s greatest weapon will be its proliferation of pluralistic, open media”

***Monitoring Afghanistan***

*Cambridge University Wireless Society*  
10/01/01            10/04/01            10/09/01

10/01- “As the tensions increase, it would probably be advisable to keep an ear on the short-wave bands and an eye on the web, since it is at times like these that the media, and particularly propaganda and clandestine radio stations are working hardest.”----Also, “*The World Radio TV Handbook* lists Afghanistan has having a population of 31,876,539 but only 1,670,000 radio sets and 100,000 television sets. It will therefor be very interesting to see whether any NATO countries attempt to set up propoganda stations to influence events within the country”

10/04- Ed Royce has introduced legislation to create a radio station called “Radio free Afghanistan”. million for fiscal year 2002 and 6 million for 03 “to revive the broadcasts aired by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty during Soviet expansion during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan”

10/09- “Taliban are thought to be monitoring foreign television, despite banning the medium in their country”

***California Republican pushes for radio free Afghanistan***

By Jim Burns  
*CNCNews.com (clandestineradio.com)*

10/03/01

"Information is the only way to win the public relations war, (Ed) Royce said, information that is up on the airwaves 24 hours a day"

***Congress considers Campaign for Hearts and Minds of Muslims***

By Jeffery Donovan

10/12/01

"Henry Hyde said yesterday at a congressional hearing on the role of U.S. public diplomacy in the fight against terrorism that the media in the Middle east has been key in spreading anti-U.S. sentiment across the Islamic world, depicting America as a force for evil in the world."

**We Can't Win if We're Not Heard**

by Robert Stewart

Washington Post

10/14/01

"America is losing the battle of ideas within countries harboring terrorists, placing our national security at risk."

***Higher Ambition in Central Asia***

by Georgie Anne Geyer

*Washington Times*

"It turns out that a disproportionate number of problems are found in the mountains. The people are independent and resourceful, but they are also impoverished and apprehensive: they are marginalized by their societies because in most cases they find themselves on the insecure political borders of a number of states."

***Where are the Arab world's moderate Voices?***

By Shibley Telhami

Los Angeles Times

10/19/01

"It is time for those elites and political forces that represent the views of the majorities in the region to speak with more courage and imagination, and for the international community and especially the U.S. to help them succeed."

***Push Comes to Shove***

by William Safire

*New York Times*

11/01/01

"Most people in Afghanistan—including Taliban soldiers, suffering civilians and wavering warlords—have one link to the outside world—have one link to the outside world: short-wave and AM transistor radio."

\*\*\*Attached to:

***They Can Live Together***

The Economist

11/17/01

"All Muslims, not just Western ones should know that life for them is all right in the West"

***The War for Muslim Hearts and Minds***

By Tony Karon

Time.com

11/06/01

\*\* marked “The U.S. has introduced a new secret weapon to the propaganda war: Christopher Ross, former US ambassador to Syria and State Department counter-terrorism coordinator...”

\*\*marked “The Bush administration confronts its greatest weakness in the current battle—the absence of Muslim allies whose support is anything more than lukewarm.”

\*\* .. “in the propaganda war the U.S. needs indigenous allies to aggressively carry the fight to bin Laden in the court of Arab and Muslim public opinion.”

***The Worrier-Newt Gingrich Returns***

By Peter Boyer

New Yorker Magazine

11/26/01

Gingrich critical of Bush’s communication skills, and of “psy-ops” in Afghanistan

## **Magazines**

*Who is the enemy?*

Daniel Pipes

January 2002

Three rings that constitute militant Islam- \*This article is marked up in numerous places

### ***A Modest Little War***

By David Brooks

“An exit strategy isn’t a foreign policy”

### ***Do As We Say Not As We Do***

By Jack Beatty

Atlantic Monthly

February 2002

“Globalization might actually be good for poor countries, if only rich countries played by the rules”

### **The Tougher War for Hearts and Minds**

By Carl Bialik

*Media Life Magazine*

2/11/02

\*\* marked “It is pitching a complicated product—America—to people who mostly range from cautiously supportive to hostile. The offensive words will be conducted on all fronts—over the air, on paper, and from the sky—it will feature a slew of spokespeople and messages.”

\*\* marked “At a congressional hearing, Beers testified that key points of the PR campaign will include these messages: The U.S. is not fighting a war against Islam; Osama bin Laden is a false prophet; and the U.S. is working to provide humanitarian aid.”

### ***Outfoxed in the Information War***

By Nik Gowing

Time.com (Time Europe)

2/11/02

“Four weeks into the Afghan military operation, the battle for information high grounds has intensified as the Pentagon struggles to counter claims about civilian casualties and apparent U.S. military errors.”

\*\* “the solution will be rebuttal centers”

\*\* The issue is not perfect accuracy: much officially released information is as correct as it can be in the fog of war”

\*\* “For U.S. led operations in Afghanistan, the enemy is not only al-Qaeda, it is the complacent assumption of information supremacy.”

### ***The Satellite Subversives***

By Michael Lewis

*New York Times Magazine*

2/24/02

“There are 4 million Farsi speakers in the US and Western Europe”

NITV—Iranians & Atabay, “He wanted to be a media mogul, the Rupert Murdoch of the Farsi speaking world...he tried to accommodate the government to preserve the market...by moving his uplink to New Jersey Atabay found he could avoid the signal jammers in Iran”

***The Economist : "Time Travellers"***

18 pages from 3/23/02

Articles include;

***Middle Earth***

Oil is big, but it is not the only reason to take the gulf seriously

***People Pressure***

The World's emptiest quarter is filling up fast

***A Pearl in the Indian Diaspora***

Gulf Indians may lack citizenship, but want for little else

***No Taxation, no Representation***

Absolute monarchy lives on in the Gulf. But for how long?

***The Pen and the Sword***

The complexities of Muslim identities

***Beyond Oil***

The cure for oil addiction is known, but some find it unpalatable

***Beyond Public Diplomacy***

By David Hoffman

*Foreign Affairs*

4/02

\*\* "winning the hearts and minds of Arab and Muslims has quite understandably risen to the top of the Bush administration's agenda.

\*\*The widespread antagonism to U.S. regional policies themselves further limits what public diplomacy can achieve. Until these policies are addressed, argues American Universities R.S. Zaharna, 'American efforts to intensify its message will be harder to achieve'

\*\* America must take on the job of "supporting indigenous open media, democracy, and civil society"

\*\* "Washington's immediate response to the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> was to try and figure out how best to spin its message"

***Book Review***

***Unholy War: terror in the Name of Islam*** by John L Esposito

Review by Patrick Clawson

5/01/02

"it is the Esposito view of political Islam that has dominated the thinking of policy-makers for the last decade or more"

***John Redon's Shallow P.R. War on Terrorism---Flacks Americana***

By Franklin Foer

The New Republic Online

5/20/02

\*\* The Rendon model of propaganda (information warfare and perception management) is in many ways the opposite of the CIA's long-term, ideas oriented effort. Rendon, who cut his teeth as a political consultant, specializes in exploiting the technology of American campaigns—focus groups, voter databases, rapid response teams.

\*\* If the Americans had paid attention they would have discovered a mediocre product

\*\* Of course there's value in shaping news coverage. But Rendon makes a fetish of it, focusing more on winning the daily sound bite battle rather than the war of ideas. he tends to overrate the power of media outlets and underestimate the deeper sources of anti-Americanism in the Middle East that express themselves in educational curricula and arab intellectual life.



\*\* Rendon had even grown close to Karl Rove, even briefing the NSC and white house communcations at his behest. Nobaody else has masterd the complexities of government contracting or knows the people with power. He's all alone

***Wolfowitz at Monterrey, CA***

5/03/02

(On the common ground between East and West) "First, Isalm's tradition of tolerance and moderation; second, what current voices of moderation are telling us, and third, what we can do to reach out to those voices and strengthen them"

**Book Review**

**Why We Fight: Moral Clarity and the War on Terrorism by William J. Bennett**

Reviewed by David Pryce-Jones

June 2002

"(Bennett) brings his customary lucidity and polemical firepower to bear both on the attack (9/11) itself and on what he sees as the feeble and compromised response to that attacks by American elites."

***Remarks by President George W. Bush at West Point Graduation***

06/01/02

"A truly strong nation will permit legal avenues of dissent fro all groups that pursue their aspirations without violence."

***War of Ideas***

by Thomas Friedman

*New York Times*

6/02/02

"And that war within Islam is not really a religious war. It is a war between the future and the past, between development and underdevelopment, between authors of crazy conspiracy theories versus those espousing rationality..."

***Wolfowitz at Hoover***

6/02/02

(On bridging the gap between the West and the Muslim world)—"It's a dangerous gap, but I think it is bridgable"..... "I think the overwhelming majority of the world's population, the Muslim people, would like to enjoy the same benefits that we do of a free and democratic and prosperous society."

***Radical Islam Called Worst Foe***

by Bill Gertz

*Washington Times*

6/6/02

"The majority of the world's 1 billion Muslims 'would like to enjoy the same benefits we do of a free, democratic and prosperous society', said Mr. Wolfowitz"

***Iran and the War of Ideas***

by Thomas Friedman

*New York Times*

6/19/02

"What if theocracy and a democracy had a baby? What would it look like? It would look like Iran

***Young Muslims still favor America***

by Veronique Mistiaen

*Washington Times*

6/20/02

“Asked to name ‘the country you think most highly of’, the vast majority of the young Muslims and Arabs surveyed in Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Palestinian territories, Saudi Arabia and Turkey chose the United States.”

***A Flawed Quasi-War***

by Jim Hoagland

*Washington Post*

6/23/02

“The continuing problems in the U.S. propaganda war are not a matter of the Muslim audience liking or hating America. Instead, this audience has no basis for trusting the message it is being given.”

***The Word at the White House –Bush formulates his brand of Foreign Policy***

by Peter Slevin

*Washington Post*

6/23/02

“Freedom is the president’s favorite foreign policy term these days, an all purpose word he employs to define a high purpose, defend action on the ground, or parry awkward questions”—comparison with FDR

***Palestine’s Deliverance***

by Foud Ajami

*Wall Street Journal*

6/27/02

“In recent days, a declaration signed by dozens of Palestinian intellectuals and public figures, condemned suicide bombings against Israeli civilians and called upon their young people and paymasters to stop driving young people towards these deeds”

***Lessons in Jihad for Pakistani Youth***

by John Lancaster

*Washington Post*

7/14/02

Religious schools resist law to curb extremism

***The Silence Signal***

by Jackson Deihl

*Washington Post*

8/05/02

Why Bush must speak to Muslims... “No high-tech satellite television broadcast was needed to get the message across-just the stolid old Voice of America, which relayed the statement in Persian on its Iranian service”

***Towers of Babelaganda***

*Economist*

8/24/02

Blasting out propaganda over the Middle East’s airwaves

***On the Radio, Afghans Call Their Nation to a New Duty***

by John F. Burns

*New York Times*

9/04/02

“...the Afghan program is by Afghans, for Afghans, about Afghan issues”

***VOA Director was undermined by doubts- principled conservative driven out-  
Washington Times***

09/05/02

(Robert Reilly) "Mr. Reilly's fatal mistake might have been to upset the oversight board last month with a proposal to close five overseas bureaus, including a major news center on Hong Kong, to help finance a planned Farsi radio service targeting Iran."

***A Real War on Terrorism***

A 27 page packet by Robert Wright

From 9/03/02---9/13/02

Propositions

1. ..we have to understand that the threat posed by radical Islam is just a wave that signifies a deeper, ven more menacing current
2. " For the foreseeable future, smaller and smaller groups of intensely motivated people will have the ability to kill larger and larger numbers of people
3. The number of intensely aggrieved groups will almost certainly grow in the coming decades of rapid technological , and hence social change.
4. The amount of discontent in the world is becoming a highly significant national-security variable.
5. The current phase in the evolution of information technology is anti-repression.
6. Part of the problem is poor nations-or, at least, underglobalized nations.
7. Globalization, though a large part of the solution, is also a large part of the problem.
8. Globalization has doubly bad short-term side effects, bringing transnational alienation to both developing and developed nations
9. We are seeing and will continue to see, the globalization resentment
10. The lines separating domestic and foreign policy, national security and international security, are rapidly blurring.
11. The force is with us, but only so long as we respect its power
12. Understanding where technology is moving us in the long run can save us lots of turmoil.

***Public Diplomacy and the War on Terror***

By Pete Peterson

*Foreign Affairs*

10/02

Five urgent areas of reform are recommended;

1. Develop a coherent strategic and coordinating framework
2. Increase customized , two way dialogue in place of conventional one-way, push down communication
3. Expand private sector involvement
4. Improve the effectiveness of public diplomact resources
5. Enlarge assets devoted to public diplomacy

***Is there an Audience for Public Diplomacy?***

by Kim Andrew Elliot

*New York Times*

11/16/02

"Public diplomacy manages information to put the United States and its policies in the best light. In my experience, however, this is exactly the type of pro-government reporting that audiences seek to escape by tuning to foreign broadcasts. However, Arabs will listen to a radio station or watch television channel that provides news that is more comprehensive and reliable than what they get form their domestic media. Well informed, they ca make up their own minds about current events. They will be grateful to the U.S. for providing such a service."

***Voices who speak for (and Against) Us***

by Robert Satloff

*Washington Post*

12/01/02

“Washington’s public-diplomacy designers need to operate on the basis that America is, in fact, at war.”

***Saudi Arabian Dissidents Launch Own Radio Station***

The Straights Times Interactive

12/12/02

“Sawt-al-Islah, Arabic for The Voice of Reform-broadcasts non-stop via satellite and also 2 hours daily on short wave. It wants ordinary Saudis to push for change. The station is based somewhere in Europe.

***Pentagon Debates Propaganda Push in Allied Nations***

by Tom Shanker and Eric Schmitt

New York Times

12/16/02

***Opposition groups convene to plot Iraq without Saddam***

*Washington Times*

Opponents of Saddam met in London to map out a future for the country...

***Iraq War Will Divide the World for the Better***

by Daniel Henninger

*Wall Street Journal*

03/03

“On this page a few days ago, Spain’s foreign minister Ana Palacio aligned herself with ‘the values and objectives we share with the United States’ and in support quoted Miguel Cervantes on liberty.”

\*\*Writing pen next to that---“free media”

“This model is so internalized that I believe some of the critics are coming very close to suggesting that what the embeds with U.S. troops on the Iraqi front are reporting does not constitute reality.”

***Beware of the Kurds***

by Melik Kaylan

*Wall Street Journal*

3/19/03

“In the weeks I’ve been here, I’ve learned the last thing local leaders want, or intend to employ, is democracy and the rule of law.”

***The New Iraq***

CBSNEWS.com

3/26/03

“Through personal anecdotes, factual research, folk stories and jokes, (Joseph) Braude paints a picture of what life in Iraq has been like under Saddam, and what the countries people hope for in the future”

***Afghanistan Gets First radio Station Dedicated to Women***

By Todd Pitman

*Associated Press*

3/09/03

“The new radio station is sponsored by UNESCO and the French aid group AINA”

***Perceptions Where Al-Jazeera & Co. Are Coming From***

by Mamoun Fandy

*Washington Post*

3/30/03

“Indeed the Arabs are watching a different war than we are”—article contrasts Western & Arab style of war reporting.

***Wrong answer to al-Jazeera***

by Robert Satloff

*Washington Post*

4/04/03

“To combat what is widely viewed as the slanted news coverage of Arab satellite stations, the white House and Congress are joining forces to spend tons-perhaps hundreds-of millions of dollars to launch an official Arabic-language U.S. government competitor. Unfortunately, it has a chance of turning out to be one of this country’s most ill-conceived and wasteful experiments ever in public diplomacy”

***Bush, Blair Trumpet New TV Station to Iraq***

By Andrew Cawthorne and Michael Holden

Reuters

4/10/03

Nahwa Al-Hurrieh or "Toward Freedom" would broadcast one hour a day from a U.S. Force plane flying over the country providing news and coalition public service announcements....The messages were, however, aired by Arabic satellite broadcasters in Dubai.....the new Anglo-American station will likely be viewed with suspicion"

***An American Ally--Qatar's road map to democracy***

by S. Rob Sobhani

*Washington Times*

4/29/03

Qatar is proving to be an ally with significance to The United States far beyond that of military partnership. As a groundbreaker in the application of democratic principles in the Arab world, a patron of scientific and technological breakthroughs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, owner of huge gas natural reserves and ruled by a visionary and compassionate leader, the country of Qatar may be physically small, but its importance to the world could be huge."

***It Time to Place Some Trust in the Shiites***

by George Melloan

Wall Street Journal

4/29/03

"In other words don't be guided by prejudices in trying to sort out the politics of a Muslim nation. There are indeed negative forces derived from hatred, blind orthodoxy or political ambition. But there are positive ones as well, driven by normal human desires for peace and prosperity."

***Bush to Call for Mideast Free-trade pact***

by Bill Simon

Washington Times

5/09/03

Will tie proposal to reforms

***A Digital Marshall Plan***

by David Ignatious

*Washington Post*

5/9/03

"Memo to: Bill Gates, John Chambers, Scott McNealy.....Starting today you should combine forces with each other and the U.S. Government to create a digital Iraq—a new economy built from the ground up with the latest in network systems"

***How to Build a Democratic Iraq***

By Added Dawisha and Karen Dawisha

Foreign Affairs

May/June 2003

***Watching You, Africa***

*Economist*

6/21/03

Johannesburg—this article is about the success of Big Brother Africa and African media

"Anton Harber, who started the Mail and Gaurdian, and other news papers, says there is no pan-African as market yet. Without it, growth will be slow. DSTV is looking further afield, including to Asia.

***All that Jazeera***

Economist

6/21/03

Despite its popularity, al-Jazeera is struggling to break even.

“as for al-Jazeera, a spokesman for the network says it would consider any proposal that guaranteed editorial independence. Could that be the Murdoch clan?”

***Iranian Exiles Sow Change Via Satellite***

by Michael Dobbs

*Washington Post*

6/26/03

Islamic government's foes tap TV, web and phones to encourage protests

***Under Cover—Christianity in Muslim Lands. But is this what the worlds needs now?***

By David Van Biema

*Time Magazine*

6/30/03

***Afghanistan's Future, Lost in the Shuffle***

by Sarah Chayes

*New York Times*

7/01/03

“The most dangerous form of bet hedging has been America's support for local strongmen.....because they had reaped weapons and cash in the bargain, the warlords were able to impose themselves as provincial governors....”

***U.S. Satellite Feeds to Iran Jammed***

By Robert Windrem

MSNBC—La Nueva Cuba

07/12/03

“U.S. government officials as well as Iranian and Americans and communications satellite operators confirm that all U.S.-based satellite broadcasts to Iran are being jammed out of Cuba, one of Iran's major allies and a nation increasingly dependant on Iranian oil.”

***U.S. Cuba jamming TV Signals to Japan***

***Satellite Sabotage Allegedly Affecting Iranian Exile Broadcasts***

NBC6.net

07/17/03

“The Iranian programming that Cuba has been trying to block originates in Los Angeles from three broadcasters; ParsTV, Azadi Television and Appadana TV. The satellite feeds are uplinked and taken down in Washington Dc, then uplinked again to Telstar 12, a communications satellite that services Iran, and that is when the Cuban satellite overpowers the signals, Windrem reported.”

***Terror in Everyway***

National Iranian Television Web Site

7/17/03

“TLS investigations concluded an ellipse of the most probable location of the source of the interference, which it identified as being in the vicinity of Havana, Cuba. On 9<sup>th</sup> July Skynet forwarded al the information concerning the interference and forwarded it to the FCC”

***Cuban Transmitters Jam signal to Iran***

Miami Herald posted on Philly.com

By Nancy San Martin

7/16/03

“The jamming, first reported by NBC news, began as the Washington based VOA began broad casting a new Persian-language television program, News & Views, to Tehran as Iranian students launched a series of street protests against their government.

***America’s Glossy Envoy***

by Peter Carlson

*Washington Post*

8/09/03

State funds pop magazine for young Arabs

***52 to 48***

by Thomas Friedman

*New York Times*

9/03/03

“Show biz, and Arab democracy----about the Arab version of American Idol

***Book reviews***

***Islam: a Guide for Jews and Christians***

By F.E. Peters

“Clearly the reading public needs a book describing Islam that avoid trendy multiculturalism as well as Christian rejectionalism. That is precisely what Peters provides...”

“militant Islam is the latest in a long line of death obsessed anti-liberal ideologies”

***Terror and Liberalism***

By Paul Berman

“Berman is a prominent left-wing intellectual and his new book presents a passionate defense of the nation’s war on terror (including Iraq) in explicitly liberal terms.”

***Nation-Building ‘Lite’***

by Francis Fukuyama

*Wall Street Journal*

10/01/03

“Nation building requires a lot more than training indigenous police and military forces to take over their coercive roles from the occupying power”(lessons from Nicaragua)

***For ‘New Europe’ the Silent Treatment***

by Josh Muravchik

*Washington Post*

10/21/03

OMB\$ vs. VOA/Radio Free Europe “could there be a worse moment to slash it further and kiss of the few friends who have been standing staunchly with us?”

***How to Win Iraq (A new strategy must be developed)***

by Harlan Ullman

*Washington Times*

10/29/03



“A sense of coherent society must be created” “If however the administration’s spin doctors continue to rely on static statistical metrics to rationalize progress, they will find that the operation may succeed. But the patient surely will not survive”

***Letting Fear Flourish***

by Marcela Sanchez

*Washington Post*

11/01/03

Funding for “public diplomacy has been declining since the end of the Cold War—Latin America

***The FCC Dinosaur***

By Peter Huber

Source? Date? (pre1990's)

“What began in the 1970s as a stream of moving toward freedom of the wires and airwaves has become a flood. Telecom regulators have lost control of their borders.”

**Set the Networks Free**

The Economist

3/25/89

The on-off switch and diversity of supply are now the best regulators of American TV

**The Truth about the Fairness Doctrine**

By Tom Shales

Washington Post

4/05/89

“In fact one study says those uninhibited stations now give less time to public affairs than they did before the rule was thrown out”

**A Clear Signal to Congress**

Wall Street Journal

4/07/89

“The resignation Wednesday of FCC Dennis Patrick is worth more than the usual interests”

**U.S. Is Asked for Subsidies of TV Research**

*Electronic Group's request for 1.35 billion Ignites Industrial-Policy Battle*

By Bob Davis

Wall Street Journal

5/10/89

**HDTV asks Boost from Uncle Sam**

By John Hillkirk

USA Today

5/11/89

“The electronics industry is asking Uncle Sam for 1.3 billion to help U.S. firms build a new generation of high tech TVs....”

**OTA Report Seen Justifying House Policy Initiatives**

Communications Daily

01/31/90

**Critical Connections: Communication for the Future**

OTA Report Brief

January 1990

With Key policy strategies

Sikes suggests guidelines for long distance rule making

Communications Daily

02/16/90

**Are America's Networks Facing Extinction?**

The Economist  
4/06/91

“After a ten year war with independent program-production studios, America’s television networks are facing the final battle”

**A Win for Hollywood, a defeat for TV Competition**

Wall Street Journal  
4/10/91

“Yesterday the FCC voted to maintain the financing and syndication “fin/sin”-rules that forbid Television networks to buy ownership of the shows they broadcast”

**Prime Time Drama**

By Dennis Kneale and Mary Lu Carneville  
Wall Street Journal  
4/10/91

“In TV Re-Run Ruling Hollywood interests prove special indeed”

**Technologies Challenges to the First Amendment**

Remarks Prepared for the Upper Midwest First Amendment Congress  
Walter S. Baer  
26 page speech  
09/20/91

**Cable TV: For a Better Picture Try Competition**

By Peter Coy  
Business Week  
12/23/91

**The Television Question**

By Meg Greenfield  
Washington Post  
1991

“Our Lives have been irrevocably transformed un ways that make pre-TV America seem like the dark ages”

**ABC, CBS, NBC: S.O.S**

Review of Three Blind mice; “How the Networks have Lost Their Way”  
Business Week 09/9/91

**The Communications revolution: 2001 and Beyond**

Address by Abbott Washburn  
At Sky Light Club, Minneapolis. Minnesota  
10/21/92

**The Case for a White House Office of Telecommunications**

By Henry Goldberg  
02/05/93

**Why we don’t need to recreate a White House Office of Telecommunications Policy**

By Harry Shooshan III

***Can the FCC Muzzle Rush Limbaugh?***

By Charles Oliver  
Investors Business Daily  
08/16/93

**The United States of Entertainment**

What's the difference between 'Thelma and Louise' and Nightline?-Not much  
BY James Morgan  
Washington Post Magazine  
7/25/93

**How Cable-TV Firms Raised rates in Wake of Law to Curb Them**

The 1992 Act was Drawn Up Without Industry Help, and FCC Was Hobbled  
But Some Consumers Benefit  
Washington Post  
9/28/93

**GOP Scorches Democrats over rising Cable Charges**

By Edmund L.Andrews  
New York times  
9/29/93

**Washington Watch**

Rate regulation  
Edited by Kim McAvoy  
Broadcasting and Cable Magazine  
10/04/93

**Who's to Blame for Cable Re-Reg. Mess?**

Market says it's the FCC, but Republicans point finger at Markey and other architects of 1992 Cable Act  
By Kim McAvoy  
Broadcasting and Cable Magazine  
10/04/93

**Tyrants and technocrats**

The Ghost of the executed engineer: Technology and the Fall of the Soviet Union  
By Fredrick Starr  
The New Republic  
12/06/93

**Why Your Cable Bill Is So High**

By Thomas W. Hazelett  
Washington Journal  
09/24/93

"The re-regulation of cable rates was an inept attempt to put a lid on market forces without freeing those potential competitors that are willing and able to move monopolists out of the consumers way"

**#1 Fake Blood: Why nothing gets Done about Media Violence**

By Martha Bayles

Attached is a letter asking you to respond in 300 words

10/15/93

**#2 Screen violence: It's Killing Us**

By David Barry

Harvard Magazine

11/93

**#3 Stamping out TV Violence: A Losing Fight**

Wall Street Journal

By Elizabeth Jensen and Ellen Graham

10/26/93

**#4The Porn is Green**

Full Frontal Punditry

By William Saffire

12/25/93

**#5 Violence on Screen: Desiring What Disgusts Us**

By Mario Cuomo

New York Times

1993

**Debate Over Universal Access Rights Will Shape Rules for Governing the Future of Communications**

By Daniel Pearl

Wall Street Journal

1/14/94

**PBS, Forgetting it First Name**

By Jonathan Yardly

The Washington Post

1/17/94

**Policy vs. TV**

By Jessica Mathews

Washington Post

3/08/94

**Letter from Bruce Owen**

Yes, the Hazlett article is generally accurate. Unfortunately it minimizes OTP's role because the accomplishments of 1978-80 .....Phil Verveer and Charlie Ferris.

4/17/95

**The Twilight of Television**

By Lloyd N. Morrisett

President's Essay

15 pages

December 1994

**A Threat to Media Diversity**

"The telecommunications Bill that the House will vote on this week takes a good idea-deregulation-and carries it to destructive extremes.

New York Times

7/31/95

**Republicans Flunk Tech 101**

Telecom technology can't be controlled or micromanaged-not by Congress, not by the FCC and not even by the industry's biggest players

By George Gilder and Frank Gregorski

The Wall Street Journal

7/31/95

**Commissioners Diverge on Digital**

ATV Proposal raises issues of flexibility, public interest

By Chris McConnell

7/31/95

**TV Ratings: I for Independence**

By Newton Minow and Craig La may

**White House: hands Off the Internet**

By Will Rodger  
Interactive Week  
12/02/96

**Limiting Cable Porn, Privately**

By David Andrew Price

**FCC Seeks Voluntary TV Ban on Liquor Ads**

Yahoo-Reuters  
11/09/96

**Industry gives Thumbs up to New Bill**

By Rich Brown  
Broadcasting and Cable Magazine  
2/5/96

Telecommunications executives poised to enter new markets, increase portfolios

**Spectrum Action Still Looms**

Broadcasting and Cable Magazine  
2/5/96

"Dole gets assurances the FCC will not award digital TV channels without congressional review"

**Wireless' Wild Wild North**

Suddenly, there's a rush for the spectrum's upper reaches

By Mark Lewyn  
Business Week

3/11/96

Article about Winstar

\*\*Chart of businesses using frequencies

NOTE (Leo I George learned a lot about the ways of Washington as a top outside lawyer for MCI in the early 1970's. MCI drove a wedge into the century old Bell system with a handful of intricate microwave links it got for free from the FCC. )

**The FCC Is Besieged as it Rewrites rules in Telecommunications**

By Bryan Gruley

3/29/96

"Executives, Lobbyists Cram the agency's schedule and offer lots of advice" "Porridge with Mr. Murdoch"

**Telecom AM news bulletin 4/05/96**

- States, Industry concerned over FCC Micromanagement
- EON, win join hands on road to National IVDS Network
- Matsushita joins Hughes for Japanese satellite system

**The Digital -TV Disaster**

By John C. Dvorak

PC Magazine

10/22/96

"The U.S. Government is on the verge of selling the public down the river to Japanese TV manufacturers...because the computer industry does not represent itself well in Washington"

**Media Hype**

By Lisa Gubernick

Forbes 4/22/96

Commentary on the capitol of major media companies

**Telecom AM news bulletin 4/24/96**

-spectrum bill may demand b'cast channel auctions

-AT&T inks deal with caps to bypass RBOC networks

-RIM plans to offer Free Middle ware on Web Site

***Pushmepullyou***

Something between TV and Internet is bound to happen

The Economist Review

11/16/96

***Behind Media-ownership Fight, an Old Power struggle is Raging***

As TV networks get bigger, local affiliates fear a loss of autonomy

By Matt Rose and Joe Flint

**The Land Grant of the Airwaves**

By Newton N. Minow and Craig Lamay

Before the 1996 Telecom bill passed

Three suggestions for Dole and company

**Review and Outlook *Off the Dole***

"The TV industry seems to want all benefits of the public service designation, with none of the obligations"

"Senator Dole's speech indicates that the digital giveaway, which everyone Washington had assumed to be a done deal, isn't set in concrete after all."

1996

***FHO receives the Big Bucks from Big Bird and Barney?***

The beloved children's programs, though financed by tax dollars, are leaving taxpayers holding the bag

By John Berlau

Insight

06/02/97

**Televisions New boss**

As the audience gets smaller, it will also get more powerful

The Economist

08/23/97

**The Survival of the Left**

Discredited elsewhere, the nostrums of the left live on in public television

By Thomas Sowell

Forbes magazine

09/08/97

**Escape from Nerdistan**

Artistic types run with the Geeks in the New Centers of Multimedia

By Joel Kotkin'

Washington Post

11/14/97



**When It Comes to the Web, the ACLU is clueless**

By Jake Kirchner

PC Magazine

10/07/97

“The knee jerk anti-censorship crowd is making it harder to limit children’s access to harmful information online”

***Judicial Activism May Lower Your Phone Bill***

By Robert W. Crandall

1/07/98

Wall Street Journal Interactive

“Judge Joe Kendall declared unconstitutional those provisions of the 1996 telecommunications Act that bar local Bells companies entry into long-distance service until the Bells pass a tortuous set of regulatory hurdles.”

**An Attack on Broadcasters Rights**

By Nat Hentoff

Washington Post

3/04/98

On the fairness doctrine and Bill Kennard

***Digital TV Demystified***

Answers to the Most common questions

By Jim Barry

Stereo Review

July '98

***UK's ONdigital to begin Broadcasting in November***

By Bill Mcintosh

9/29/98

***New Definitions For Television***

“The big battle in television isn’t between Letterman and Leno, its behind the scenes war over digital TV.

Equip: Buzz

***FCC Responds to Digital TV Critics***

By Joel Brinkley

New York Times

9/16/98

***Meanwhile Back on the Hill***

Washington Post

Robert Samuelson

9/17/98

***UK-ITC Favors Terrestrial Over Satellite Digital***

By

Newspage.com

9/16/98

***Digital TV Demystified***

Answers to the Most common questions

By Jim Barry

Stereo Review

July '98

***UK's ONdigital to begin Broadcasting in November***

By Bill Mcintosh

9/29/98

***New Definitions For Television***

"The big battle in television isn't between Letterman and Leno, its behind the scenes war over digital TV.

Euip: Buzz

***FCC Responds to Digital TV Critics***

By Joel Brinkley

New York Times

9/16/98

***Meanwhile Back on the Hill***

Washington Post

Robert Samuelson

9/17/98

***UK-ITC Favors Terrestrial Over Satellite Digital***

By

Newspage.com

9/16/98

***What the U.S. Film Industry can Teach the Europeans***

Book by David Puttnam

Washington Times

12/12/98

***The Entertainment Glut***

9 page article

**Companies spend more and more on content but the audience is continually more fragmented**

By Elizabeth Stevens and Ronald Grover

Business Week

02/16/98

***That Sinking Feeling***

The dropping costs of laying transatlantic cable-with a map

Forbes ASAP

11/29/99

***The Public Square***

On John Summerville's "How the News makes us dumb", whose concepts are expanded in a book:

*The Death of Wisdom in an Information Society*

By Richard John Neuhaus

***The Idea of Moral Progress***

By Richard John Newhaus

On reference in the text to Henry Luce's "American century"

And Robert Nisbet's "History of the Idea of Progress"

**The Critical Open Entry Decision**

Determining Winners in the Satellite race

By Robert N. Wold

VIA Satellite 06/99

7 pages

**Beyond the Information Revolution**

By Peter Drucker

The author uses history to gauge the significance of e-commerce" a totally unexpected development" and to throw the future of "the knowledge worker", his own coinage

Atlantic Monthly

10/99

**It Didn't Begin With Sesame Street**

A review of Public radio and television in America: A Political History, by Ralph Engleman

By Jesse Walker

11/08/99

***In Ivory Tower that Spins Pure Gold***

As the R&D arm of Lucent technology, Bell labs has a big hand in profits

Timeline of Bell's breakthroughs

Business Week

4/19/99

***TV's Racial Divide Reflects the Real World***

Cable has reversed trend of integration between actors and audiences

By Clarence Page

Washington Times

1/03/99

***Schools in Brief –***

***Culture is local, so why are the news and entertainment increasingly global?***

**Who Really Invented Television?**

Revisionists history says RCA, but in truth it was a Mormon farm boy named Farnsworth. His struggles presaged the battle between Bill Gates and Netscape.

By Evan Schwartz

Technology Review

September/October 2000

**Wondrous Contrivances: Technology at the Threshold** book by Merritt Lerley

“Breathless Accounts of early adopters

Wired Magazine

February 2000

**Earth Stations Faster, Cheaper, Better**

By Peter Brown

May 2001

**On Media Giantism**

By William Saffire

New York Times

2001

**Masters of the Media**

By William F. Baker

Nixon and Networks

**Conqueror in the Carnage**

Most Telecom start-ups are doomed. Clark McLeod will survive to own their assets

By Quentin Hardy

Forbes

3/05/01

**As Businesses Innovate, Regulators must follow Suit**

You can almost feel sorry for Microsoft Corp.

By Alan Murray

Wall Street Journal

08/23/01

**Messier Days at Vivendi**

By Brian M Carney

Another one bites the dust

Wall Street Journal

July 2002

**The Digital Dividend**

Bridging the digital divide will pay off for business *and* government,

By Staurt Brotman

Technology Review

March 2002

**Turmoil of the Week**

PBS’s “Washington Week in Review” had a bad year

By Georgie Anne Geyer

3/13/02

**Paths of Learning**

Life and death in the consumer electronics and computer industries

By Walter Friedman  
Harvard Magazine  
July-August 2002

**Too Many Debts; Too Few Calls**

The telecom industry is a mess. What went wrong, and how can it be fixed?  
Economist  
07/20/02

**The Myth of '18 to 34'**

This audience has transformed our culture. But the premise behind it is bunk.  
By Jonathan Dee  
New York Times Magazine  
10/13/02

**Bernie (Ebberts) Bites the Dust**

By Andrew Kessler  
Wall Street Journal  
5/01/02

**The Great Triumph: How five Americans made Their Country a World Power**

A book by Warren Zimmerman  
Reviewed by Peter A. Jay

**TV'S bad reception**

Competition from other media, skittish networks make for lukewarm fall season.  
(Chart of Network s slipping since '99)  
By Gary Levin  
USA TODAY 3 page packet

**Massive Media bogeyman**

A heated debate over the relaxation of media ownership rules that artificially restrict media ownership rules is set to culminate in a ruling by the FCC  
By Adam Thierer  
Washington Times  
06/01/03

**The Man Who Built Big Blue**

A book review of "The Maverick and his Machine" by Kevin Maney  
Review by Roger Lowenstein  
Wall Street Journal  
2003

**Sounds Familiar for a Reason**

Radio has been the test case for media consolidation  
By Marc Fisher  
Washington Post  
5/18/03

**Freeing the Airwaves**

Should radio spectrum be treated as property, or as a common resource?  
Economist  
5/31/03

**Michael Powell and the FCC: Giving Away the Marketplace of Ideas**

By Tom Shales  
Washington Post  
06/02/03

**How Electricity came to be: Its Innovators and Their Sparks**

Book review of Fleet Fire; Thomas Edison and the Pioneers of the Electric Revolution by J.L. Davis  
Review By Woody West  
Washington Times

**The Mogul Left His Mark**

Book review of "When Hollywood had a King" by Connie Bruck  
On Lew Wasserman, MCA Inc.  
Review by John Lippman  
6/06/03

**The Only News Bigger Than Martha**

On the democratic candidates and the FCC decision  
By Daniel Henninger  
Wall Street Journal  
06/06/03

**FCC Media Rule Blocked in House in a 400-to-21 Vote**

In a rule that would permit the nation's largest television networks to own more stations  
BY Stephen Labaton  
New York Times  
7/24/03

**Bush's Four Horsemen**

Can you eliminate excessive regulation and have diversity and competition?

By William Safire  
People are beginning to resent the attempt by the Federal Communications Commission to allow the Four horsemen of Viacom, Disney, Murdoch's News Corporation and G.E. -to gobble up every independent station in sight.  
New York Times  
7/24/03

**UNE Order Unlikely Before August as FCC End Game Drags**

07/25/03

**Unleash the new TV**

By Peter Ferrara  
Washington Times  
11/05/03  
Who is director of the International Center for Law and Economics

**Mad TV**

How to Waste \$100 Billion, hobble the tech industry and make consumers buy things they don't want  
By Scott Wiley  
Forbes  
11/24/03

**Ad Infinitum**

Coming up after these messages from our sponsors: more messages from our sponsors  
By Allison and Peter Kafka  
Forbes

09/29/03

***The Age of Murdoch***

By James Fallows  
Atlantic Monthly  
Sept. 2003

***Powell Muses: Maybe Public Broadcasting Can Help!***

By Norris Dickard  
9/27/03

Benton Foundation site, published in Current

“Perhaps he’d pondered one of the quid pro quo proposals put forth over the years: deregulate commercial media but extract from them a significant dividend for the improvement and support of public broadcasting

***At 97, Irving Kahn is Long on Intelligent ways to Invest***

By Ianthe Jeanne Dugan

***Telling it Straight***

Review by Alan Heil  
Economist  
7/26/03

***Voice of America: A History***

***The Nation in Numbers***

Each economic era has a resource that drives wealth creation.....today it may be the airwaves  
Atlantic Monthly  
Sept 2003

***Apartheid Spy probe Splits South Africa***

Washington Times  
10/23/03

***Pop Program seen giving Teens bad View of US***

By Zachary Goldfarb  
Washington Times  
7/28/03

***The Ascent of the Software Civilization***

Book by Martin Campbell-Kelley  
Review by Steve Lohr

***Presidential Memo on Spectrum Policy***

Email from Henry Goldberg  
6/05/03

***Co-opting the Future***

By John C. Dvorak  
Blogs, or Web logs are the rage I some quarters.  
PC Magazine  
12/09/03

***How The Radio Changed its Spots***

Smart radio: Radios capable of switching from one wireless standard to another, with nothing more than a dose of new software, are at last emerging at the laboratory.  
The Economist Technology Quarterly

12/06/003

**AT&T to Launch Internet-Based Telephone Service**

BY Shawn Young

Wall Street Journal

12/11/03



***Equal time for Hitler?***

by William Saffire

*New York Times*

9/20/01

“Here is why the VOA is the wrong voice in this area in wartime”.....

“...we need an American signal in Afghanistan’s five languages with a clear, truthful message: Bin Laden and his gang are the cause of present and future misery...”

***Warring against Modernity***

Aryeh Neier

*Washington Post*

10/09/01

“The calamitous events of Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> can be seen as a new phase in a long struggle in which tribalists and fundamentalists have identified cosmopolitanism and modernity as their archenemy.”

***Push Comes to Shove***

by William Saffire

*New York Times*

11/01/01

“Most people in Afghanistan—including Taliban soldiers, suffering civilians and wavering warlords—have one link to the outside world—have one link to the outside world: short-wave and AM transistor radio.”

\*\*\*Attached to:

***They can Live Together***

The Economist

11/17/01

“All Muslims, not just Western ones should know that life for them is all right in the West”

***The Word at the White House –Bush formulates his brand of Foreign Policy***

by Peter Slevin

*Washington Post*

6/23/02

“Freedom is the president’s favorite foreign policy term these days, an all purpose word he employs to define a high purpose, defend action on the ground, or parry awkward questions”—comparison with FDR

***Palestine’s Deliverance***

by Foud Ajami

*Wall Street Journal*

6/27/02

“In recent days, a declaration signed by dozens of Palestinian intellectuals and public figures, condemned suicide bombings against Israeli civilians and called upon their young people and paymasters to stop driving young people towards these deeds”

***Voices who speak for (and Against) Us***

by Robert Satloff

*Washington Post*

12/01/02

“Washington’s public-diplomacy designers need to operate on the basis that America is, in fact, at war.”

***On the Radio, Afghans Call Their Nation to a New Duty***

by John F. Burns

*New York Times*

9/04/02

“...the Afghan program is by Afghans, for Afghans, about Afghan issues”

***Is there an Audience for Public Diplomacy?***

by Kim Andrew Elliot

*New York Times*

11/16/02

“Public diplomacy manages information to put the United States and its policies in the best light. In my experience, however, this is exactly the type of pro-government reporting that audiences seek to escape by tuning to foreign broadcasts. However, Arabs will listen to a radio station or watch television channel that provides news that is more comprehensive and reliable than what they get from their domestic media. Well informed, they can make up their own minds about current events. They will be grateful to the U.S. for providing such a service.”

***Pentagon Debates Propaganda Push in Allied Nations***

by Tom Shanker and Eric Schmitt

*New York Times*

12/16/02

***Higher Ambition in Central Asia***

by Georgie Anne Geyer

*Washington Times*

“It turns out that a disproportionate number of problems are found in the mountains. The people are independent and resourceful, but they are also impoverished and apprehensive: they are marginalized by their societies because in most cases they find themselves on the insecure political borders of a number of states.”

***The Silence Signal***

by Jackson Deihl

*Washington Post*

8/05/02

Why Bush must speak to Muslims... “No high-tech satellite television broadcast was needed to get the message across—just the stolid old Voice of America, which relayed the statement in Persian on its Iranian service”

***Opposition groups convene to plot Iraq without Saddam***

*Washington Times*

Opponents of Saddam met in London to map out a future for the country...

***War of Ideas***

by Thomas Friedman

*New York Times*

6/02/02

“And that war within Islam is not really a religious war. It is a war between the future and the past, between development and underdevelopment, between authors of crazy conspiracy theories versus those espousing rationality...”

***Radical Islam Called Worst Foe***

by Bill Gertz  
*Washington Times*  
6/6/02

“The majority of the world’s 1 billion Muslims ‘would like to enjoy the same benefits we do of a free, democratic and prosperous society’, said Mr. Wolfowitz”

***Iran and the War of Ideas***

by Thomas Friedman  
*New York Times*  
6/19/02

“What if theocracy and a democracy had a baby? What would it look like? It would look like Iran

***Young Muslims still favor America***

by Veronique Mistiaen  
*Washington Times*  
6/20/02

“Asked to name ‘the country you think most highly of’, the vast majority of the young Muslims and Arabs surveyed in Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Palestinian territories, Saudi Arabia and Turkey chose the United States.”

***A Flawed Quasi-War***

by Jim Hoagland  
*Washington Post*  
6/23/02

“The continuing problems in the U.S. propaganda war are not a matter of the Muslim audience liking or hating America. Instead, this audience has no basis for trusting the message it is being given.”

***Iraq War Will Divide the World for the Better***

by Daniel Henninger  
*Wall Street Journal*  
03/03

“On this page a few days ago, Spain’s foreign minister Ana Palacio aligned herself with ‘the values and objectives we share with the United States’ and in support quoted Miguel Cervantes on liberty.”

\*\*Writing pen next to that--“free media”

“This model is so internalized that I believe some of the critics are coming very close to suggesting that what the embeds with U.S. troops on the Iraqi front are reporting does not constitute reality.”

***Beware of the Kurds***

by Melik Kaylan  
*Wall Street Journal*  
3/19/03

“In the weeks I’ve been here, I’ve learned the last thing local leaders want, or intend to employ, is democracy and the rule of law.”

***Perceptions Where Al-Jazeera & Co. Are Coming From***

by Mamoun Fandy  
*Washington Post*  
3/30/03

“Indeed the Arabs are watching a different war than we are”—article contrasts Western & Arab style of war reporting.

***Wrong answer to al-Jazeera*** 4/04/03

by Robert Satloff

*Washington Post*

“To combat what is widely viewed as the slanted news coverage of Arab satellite stations, the white House and Congress are joining forces to spend tons-perhaps hundreds-of millions of dollars to launch an official Arabic-language U.S. government competitor. Unfortunately, it has a chance of turning out to be one of this country’s most ill-conceived and wasteful experiments ever in public diplomacy”

***An American Ally--Qatar’s road map to democracy***

by S. Rob Sobhani

*Washington Times*

4/29/03

Qatar is proving to be an ally with significance to The United States far beyond that of military partnership. As a groundbreaker in the application of democratic principles in the Arab world, a patron of scientific and technological breakthroughs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, owner of huge gas natural reserves and ruled by a visionary and compassionate leader, the country of Qatar may be physically small, but its importance to the world could be huge.”

***It Time to Place Some Trust in the Shiites***

by George Melloan

Wall Street Journal

4/29/03

“In other words don’t be guided by prejudices in trying to sort out the politics of a Muslim nation. There are indeed negative forces derived from hatred, blind orthodoxy or political ambition. But there are positive ones as well, driven by normal human desires for peace and prosperity.”

***Bush to Call for Mideast Free-trade pact***

by Bill Simon

Washington Times

5/09/03

Will tie proposal to reforms

***A Digital Marshall Plan***

by David Ignatious

*Washington Post*

5/9/03

“Memo to: Bill Gates, John Chambers, Scott McNealy.....Starting today you should combine forces with each other and the U.S. Government to create a digital Iraq—a new economy built from the ground up with the latest in network systems”

***Iranian Exiles Sow Change Via Satellite*** 6/26/03

by Michael Dobbs

*Washington Post*

Islamic government’s foes tap TV, web and phones to encourage protests

***Afghanistan’s Future, Lost in the Shuffle*** 7/01/03

by Sarah Chayes

*New York Times*

“The most dangerous form of bet hedging has been America’s support for local strongmen.....because they had reaped weapons and cash in the bargain, the warlords were able to impose themselves as provincial governors....”

***Lessons in Jihad for Pakistani Youth***

by John Lancaster

Washington Post

7/14/02

Religious schools resist law to curb extremism

***America's Glossy Envoy***

by Peter Carlson

Washington Post

8/09/03

State funds pop magazine for young Arabs

***52 to 48***

by Thomas Friedman

New York Times

9/03/03

"Show biz, and Arab democracy----about the Arab version of American Idol

***Nation-Building 'Lite'***

by Francis Fukuyama

Wall Street Journal

10/01/03

"Nation building requires a lot more than training indigenous police and military forces to take over their coercive roles from the occupying power "(lessons from Nicaragua)

***For 'New Europe' the Silent Treatment***

by Josh Muravchik

Washington Post

10/21/03

OMB\$ vs. VOA/Radio Free Europe "could there be a worse moment to slash it further and kiss of the few friends who have been standing staunchly with us?"

***How to Win Iraq (A new strategy must be developed)***

by Harlan Ullman

Washington Times

10/29/03

"A sense of coherent society must be created" "If however the administration's spin doctors continue to rely on static statistical metrics to rationalize progress, they will find that the operation may succeed. But the patient surely will not survive"

***Letting Fear Flourish***

by Marcela Sanchez

Washington Post

11/01/03

Funding for "public diplomacy has been declining since the end of the Cold War—Latin America

***VOA Director was undermined by doubts- principled conservative driven out-***

Washington Times

(Robert Reilly) "Mr. Reilly's fatal mistake might have been to upset the oversight board last month with a proposal to close five overseas bureaus, including a major news center on Hong Kong, to help finance a planned Farsi radio service targeting Iran."

**Magazines**

*Who is the enemy?*

Daniel Pipes

Three rings that constitute militant Islam-\*This article is marked up in numerous places

*The Satellite Subversives* 2/24/02 Michael Lewis New York Times Magazine  
“There are 4 million Farsi speakers in the US and Western Europe”  
NITV—Iranians & Atabay, “He wanted to be a media mogul, the Rupert Murdoch of the Farsi speaking world...he tried to accommodate the government to preserve the market...by moving his uplink to New jersey Atabay found he could avoid the signal jammers in Iran”

*Beyond Public Diplomacy* 4/02 David Hoffman Foreign Affairs

*Public Diplomacy and the War on Terror* 10/02 Pete Peterson Foreign Affairs

## News Papers

*Equal time for Hitler?* 9/20/01 William Saffire New York Times  
“Here is why the VOA is the wrong voice in this area in wartime”.....  
“...we need an American signal in Afghanistan’s five languages with a clear, truthful message: Bin Laden and his gang are the cause of present and future misery...”

*Warring against Modernity* 10/09/01 Aryeh Neier Washington Post  
“The calamitous events of Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> can be seen as a new phase in a long struggle in which tribalists and fundamentalists have identified cosmopolitanism and modernity as their archenemy.”

*Push Comes to Shove* 11/01/01 William Saffire New York Times  
“Most people in Afghanistan—including Taliban soldiers, suffering civilians and wavering warlords—have one link to the outside world—have one link to the outside world: short-wave and AM transistor radio.”  
\*\*\*attached to:

*They can Live Together* 11/17/01 The Economist  
“All Muslims, not just Western ones should know that life for them is all right in the West”

*The Word at the White House –Bush formulates his brand of Foreign Policy* 6/23/02  
Peter Slevin Washington Post  
“Freedom is the president’s favorite foreign policy term these days, an all purpose word he employs to define a high purpose, defend action on the ground, or parry awkward questions”—comparison with FDR

*Palestine’s Deliverance* 6/27/02 Foud Ajami Wall Street Journal  
“In recent days, a declaration signed by dozens of Palestinian intellectuals and public figures, condemned suicide bombings against Israeli civilians and called upon their young people and paymasters to stop driving young people towards these deeds”

*Voices who speak for (and Against) Us* 12/01/02 Robert Satloff Washington Post  
“Washington’s public-diplomacy designers need to operate on the basis that America is, in fact, at war.”

*On the Radio, Afghans Call Their nation to a New Duty* 9/04/02 John F. Burns New York Times  
“...the Afghan program is by Afghans, for Afghans, about Afghan issues”

*Is there an Audience for Public Diplomacy?* 11/16/02 Kim Andrew Elliot New York Times  
“Public diplomacy manages information to put the United States and its policies in the best light. In my experience, however, this is exactly the type of pro-government reporting that audiences seek to escape by tuning to foreign broadcasts. However, Arabs will listen to a radio station or watch television channel that provides news that is more comprehensive and reliable than what they get from their domestic media. Well informed, they can make up their own minds about current events. They will be grateful to the U.S. for providing such a service.”

*Pentagon Debates Propaganda Push in Allied Nations* 12/16/02  
Tom Shanker and Eric Schmitt New York Times

*Higher Ambition in Central Asia* Georgie Anne Geyer Washington Times  
“It turns out that a disproportionate number of problems are found in the mountains. The people are independent and resourceful, but they are also impoverished and apprehensive: they are marginalized by their societies because in most cases they find themselves on the insecure political borders of a number of states.”

*The Silence Signal* 8/05/02 Jackson Deihl Washington Post

Why Bush must speak to Muslims... "No high-tech satellite television broadcast was needed to get the message across-just the stolid old Voice of America, which relayed the statement in Persian on its Iranian service"

*Opposition groups convene to plot Iraq without Saddam* Washington Times  
Opponents of Saddam met here in London yesterday to map out a future for the country...

*War of Ideas* 6/02/02 Thomas Friedman New York Times  
"and that war within Islam is not really a religious war. It is a war between the future and the past, between development and underdevelopment, between authors of crazy conspiracy theories versus those espousing rationality..."

*Radical Islam called worst foe* 6/6/02 Bill Gertz Washington Times  
"The majority of the world's 1 billion Muslims 'would like to enjoy the same benefits we do of a free, democratic and prosperous society', said Mr. Wolfowitz"

*Iran and the War of Ideas* 6/19/02 Thomas Friedman New York Times  
"What if theocracy and a democracy had a baby? What would it look like? It would look like Iran"

*Young Muslims still favor America* 6/20/02 Veronique Mistiaen Washington Times  
"Asked to name 'the country you think most highly of', the vast majority of the young muslims and Arabs surveyed in Bangedesh, egypt, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Palestinian territories, Saudi Arabia and Turkey chose the United States."

*A Flawed Quasi-War* Jim Hoagland 6/23/02 Washington Post  
"the continuing problems in the U.S. propoganda war are not a matter of the muslim audience liking or hating America. Instead, this audience has no basis for trusting the message it is being given."

*Iraq War Will Divide the World For the Better* 3/03 Daniel Henninger Wall Street Journal  
"On this page a few days ago, Spain's foreign minister Ana Palacio aligned herself with 'the values and objectives we share with the United States' and in support quoted Miguel Cervantes on liberty."  
\*\*writing pen next to that---"free media"  
"This model is so internalized that I believe some of the critics are coming very close to suggesting that what the embeds with U.S. troops on the Iraqi front are reporting does not constitute reality."

*Beware of the Kurds* 3/19/03 Melik Kaylan Wall Street Journal  
"In the weeks I've been here, I've learned the last thing local leaders want, or intend to employ, is democracy and the rule of law."

*Perceptions Where Al-Jazeera & Co. Are Coming From* Mamoun Fandy 3/30/03 Washington Post  
"Indeed the Arabs are watching a different war than we are"—article contrasts Western & Arab style of war reporting.

*Wrong answer to al-Jazeera* 4/04/03 Robert Satloff Washington Post  
"To combat what is widely viewed as the slanted news coverage of Arab satellite stations, the white House amd Congress are joining forces to spend tons-perhaps hundreds-of millions of dollars to launch an official Arabic-language U.S. government competitor. Unfortunately, it has a chance of turning out to be one of this country's most ill-conceived and wasteful experiments ever in public diplomacy"

*An American Ally--Qatar's road map to democracy* 4/29/03 S. Rob Sobhani Washington Tmes  
Qatar is proving to be an ally with significance to The United States far beyond that of military partnership. As a groundbreaker in the application of democratic principles in the Arab world, a patron of scientific and technological breakthroughs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, owner of huge gas natural reserves and ruled by a visionary and compassionate leader, the country of Qatar may be physically small, but its importance to the world could be huge."



*It Time to Place Some Trust in the Shiites* 4/29/03 George Melloan Wall Street Journal  
“In other words don’t be guided by prejudices in trying to sort out the politics of a Muslim nation. There are indeed negative forces derived from hatred, blind orthodoxy or political ambition. But there are positive ones as well, driven by normal human desires for peace and prosperity.”

*Bush to Call for Mideast free-trade pact* 5/09/03 Bill Simon Washington Times  
Will tie proposal to reforms

*A Digital Marshall Plan* 5/9/03 David Ignatious Washington Post  
“Memo to: Bill gates, John Chambers, Scott McNealy.....Starting today you should combine forces with each other and the U.S. Government to create a digital Iraq—a new economy built from the ground up with the latest in network systems”

*Iranian Exiles Sow Change Via Satellite* 6/26/03 Michael Dobbs Washington Post  
Islamic government’s foes tap tv, web and phones to encourage protests

*Afghanistan’s Future, Lost in the Shuffle* 7/01/03 Sarah Chayes New York Times  
“The most dangerous form of bet hedging has been America’s support for local strongmen.....because they had reaped weapons and cash in the bargain, the warlords were able to impose themselves as provincial governors....”

*Lessons in Jihad for Pakistani Youth* 7/14/02 John Lancaster Washington Post  
Religious schools resist law to curb extremism

*America’s Glossy Envoy* 8/09/03 Peter Carlson Washington Post  
State funds pop magazine for young Arabs

*52 to 48* 9/03/03 Thomas Friedman New York Times  
“Show biz, and Arab democracy----about the Arab version of American Idol

*Nation-Building ‘Lite’* 10/01/03 Fukuyama Wall Street Journal  
“Nation building requires a lot more than training indigenous police and military forces to take over their coercive roles from the occupying power”(lessons from Nicaragua)

*For ‘New Europe’ the Silent Treatment* 10/21/03 Josh Muravchik Washington Post  
OMB\$ vs. VOA/Radio Free Europe “could there be a worse moment to slash it further and kiss of the few friends who have been standing staunchly with us?”

*How to Win Iraq (A new strategy must be developed)* 10/29/03 Harlan Ullman Washington Times  
“a sense of coherent society must be created” “If however the administration’s spin doctors continue to rely on static statistical metrics to rationalize progress, they will find that the operation may succeed. But the the patient surely will not survive”

*Letting Fear Flourish* 11/01/03 Marcela Sanchez Washington Post  
Funding for “public diplomacy has been declining since the end of the Cold War—Latin America

*VOA Director was undermined by doubts- principled conservative driven out-* Washington Times

(Robert Reilly) "Mr. Reilly's fatal mistake might have been to upset the oversight board last month with a proposal to close five overseas bureaus, including a major news center on Hong Kong, to help finance a planned Farsi radio service targeting Iran."

**Magazines**

*Who is the enemy?* Daniel Pipes

Three rings that constitute militant Islam-\*This article is marked up in numerous places

*The Satellite Subversives* 2/24/02 Michael Lewis New York Times Magazine

"There are 4 million Farsi speakers in the US and Western Europe"

NITV—Iranians & Atabay, "He wanted to be a media mogul, the Rupert Murdoch of the Farsi speaking world...he tried to accommodate the government to preserve the market...by moving his uplink to New jersey Atabay found he could avoid the signal jammers in Iran"

*Beyond Public Diplomacy* 4/02 David Hoffman Foreign Affairs

*Public Diplomacy and the War on Terror* 10/02 Pete Peterson Foreign Affairs