



CREATING A INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION ORGANIZATION FOR AMERICA

BUSINESS PLAN

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
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Table of Contents

Executive Summary	2
The Challenge	5
Our Solution.	11
What SAGE Will Do.	13
The SAGE Business Model.	20
Budget	24
How SAGE Will Define Success	26
Where Resources Will Come From	27
A Call to Action	30
Appendices	31
Endnotes	39



Executive Summary

What foreign publics think matters more than ever, yet America is scrambling for ways to more effectively communicate with them. According to one report, an individual blogger can today reach more people globally than could the BBC or the Voice of America 30 years ago.ⁱⁱ

Technology is revolutionizing the way people communicate, empowering individuals and helping to spark actual political revolutions in ways never even imagined a decade ago. Even a phenomenon as inspiring as the Arab Spring reminds us that populations that have been fed generations of anti-American propaganda, often by their own governments, may soon be driving their nation's foreign policy choices.

“Everyone has the potential not only to be a consumer of information but a creator.”ⁱ

Bob Boorstin Director, Corporate and Policy Communications, Googleⁱ



(Image: Essam Sharaf)

The Challenge

The United States cannot isolate its own prosperity and security from the global system, and we are not alone in trying to deploy “soft power” to promote our national interests. We are competing with many nations, including a more assertive China that is investing heavily in developing countries to gain influence and raw materials. We are also competing with global broadcasters like Al Jazeera, and terrorist networks like al-Qaida, that use a broad range of communications vehicles to promote their agenda.

The Opportunity

New technology provides tremendous low cost opportunities to engage with the rest of the world. Americans invented this technology; we can now leverage it in all sorts of innovative ways to reach foreign populations directly, circumventing anti-American media, opinion leaders and governments.

A bipartisan working group of over 80 thought leaders and practitioners from across geographic, business and political sectors (list Appendix 2) contributed time and expertise to develop this business plan for an independent, nonprofit, nonpartisan organization to inform, engage and influence foreign audiences.

For all the strengths of government, non-governmental organizations can often act more quickly, more nimbly, more widely and in ways government never could in order to engage foreign publics. SAGE (working name) will be a nexus for public and private sectors to **Strengthen America's Global Engagement**. It will compliment government public diplomacy by serving as a flexible, entrepreneurial and tech-savvy partner, able to work in situations that official bodies (justifiably) avoid, and collaborate, support and enhance initiatives where its role as a bridge between government and the private sector can make a difference.

“Our long-term security will come not from our ability to instill fear in other peoples, but through our capacity to speak to their hopes. And that work will best be done through the power of the decency and dignity of the American people — our troops and diplomats, but also our private sector, nongovernmental organizations, and citizens. All of us have a role to play.”

President Barack Obama

National Security Strategy, May 2010

Mission

To foster engagement between U.S. society and the rest of the world with a view to promoting shared values and common interests, increasing mutual understanding and respect and enhancing America's standing in the world.

SAGE will be primarily, but not exclusively, a grant-making organization to promote American ideals above American policy. It will leverage the power of the private sector — where the bulk of American ingenuity, creativity, technological innovation and resources rest — to strengthen communications with foreign publics, in support of U.S. national interests.

Geographic Focus

For proof of concept, the focus will be on **Egypt, Pakistan, Turkey and Russia**. Each has a significant youth population, concerns about America's global leadership and sizable majorities that believe the U.S. does not consider their interests in making policy.

SAGE Legal Structure

A 5013c non profit private corporation corporation, independent of government, nonpartisan, and transcending presidential administrations.

Impact

The nature and scale of specific activities will be determined by its board of directors and the resources SAGE will attract. But here are five areas where SAGE can have a positive impact:

- Promoting moderate voices to counter violent extremism and ideologies
- Promoting innovative ways to build ties between Americans and the rest of the world
- Promoting sustainable independent media entities in the developing world
- Promoting the application of new technology for public diplomacy purposes
- Promoting public-private partnerships and the free exchange of ideas and information

Budget

Initially we will start with a \$10 million budget as proof of concept, \$8.5 million of which will be devoted to programming, primarily through grant-making. An initial staff of six will launch the organization and the staff will expand as resources permit.

Funding Sources

SAGE seeks to raise the necessary start-up funds as follows: \$4.5 million from corporate sector, \$2.0 million from individual major donors and \$3.5 million from private foundations. After proof of concept, the organization also will pursue government contracts and grants, and over time will develop one or more dedicated revenue sources. These would include, for example, distribution rights for productions financed or co-financed by SAGE or revenues from investments in the development of technology for public diplomacy applications.

“The American people are some of our nation’s best ambassadors. We must find ways to utilize their talents and skills more effectively... And we need more of our citizens involved in our public diplomacy.”

President George W. Bush, September 9, 2005

The Challenge

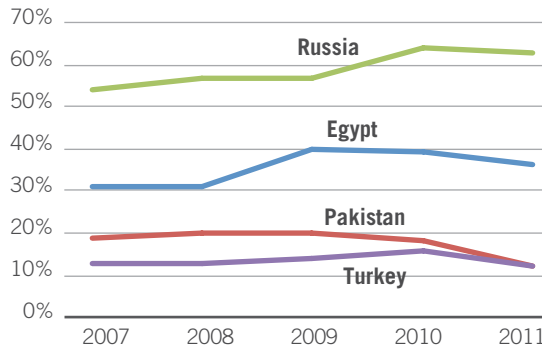
“Whether the U.S. seeks to... win votes in international organizations or undermine support for terrorists, anti-American attitudes obstruct the achievement of national interests.”

Voices of America, U.S. Public Diplomacy for the 21st Century, **Kristin M. Lord**, Brookings Institution, 2008

U.S. strategic communication strategy and tactics cannot be developed in a vacuum. There are several global trends that at once pose challenges to and opportunities for effective U.S. public diplomacy and strategic communication efforts. These trends include:

- America’s image continues to suffer in predominantly Muslim countries.ⁱⁱⁱ In the Middle East, the “Arab Spring” is totally changing the political, economic, security and social dynamics of the region.
- The world has witnessed a dramatic rise in the amount of information available to citizens as a result of the:
 - proliferation of media sources
 - rise of the Internet
 - explosion of mobile technology
 - rapid adoption of social networking tools
- There has been a dramatic rise in youth populations throughout the developing world who have had limited direct engagement with the U.S. and American citizens.

Favorable View of Americans



Pew Research Center Q38

Poor Grades in Arab & Muslim Nations

A Pew Global Attitudes Survey released in May 2011 shows Indonesia as the only predominantly Muslim nation surveyed where a majority view the U.S. favorably. Decisive majorities in all but Jordan are somewhat or very worried that the U.S. could become a military threat to them.

Information Explosion

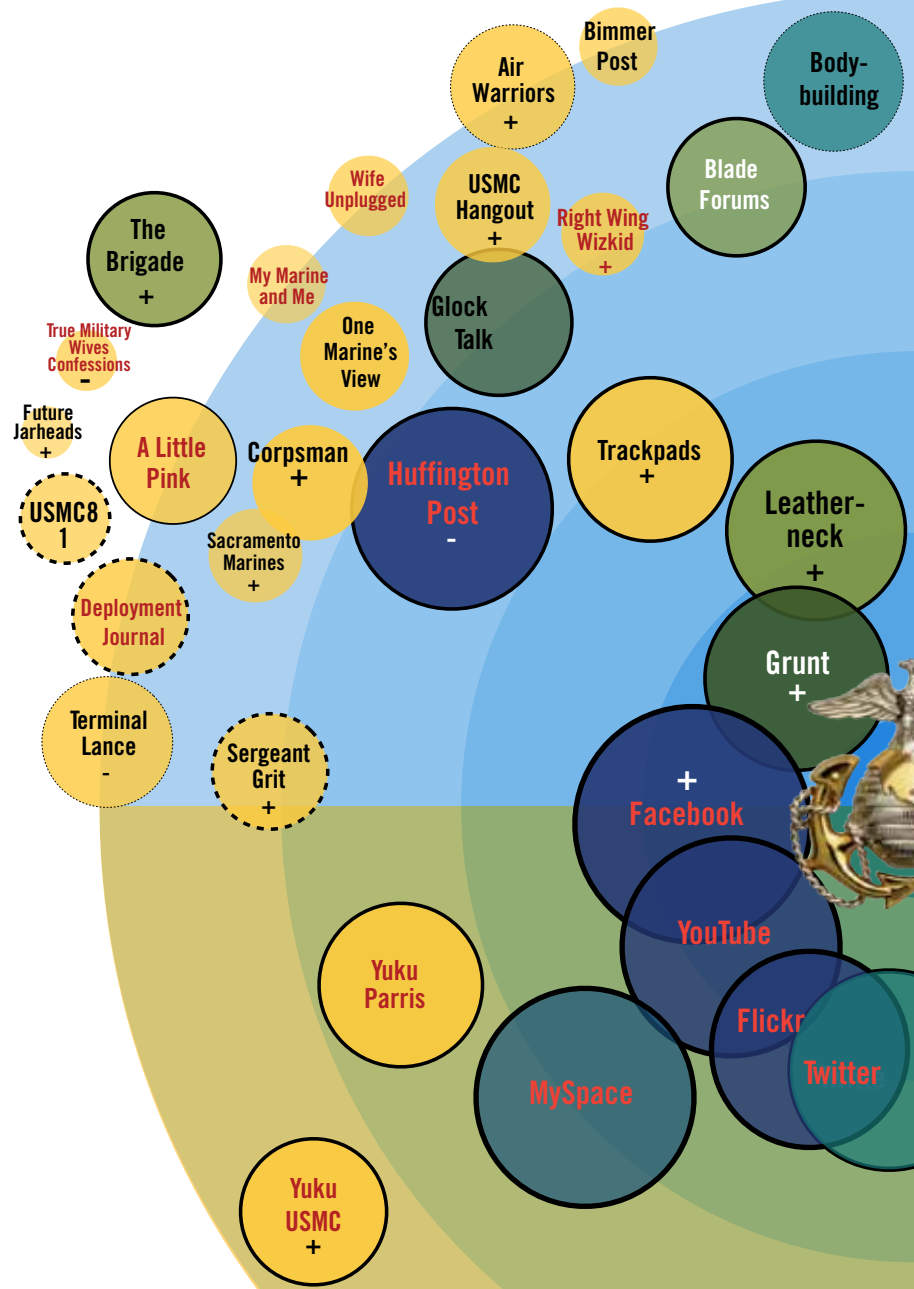
New technology has made it easier and cheaper to reach mass audiences both within and across geographic borders. But it has also blurred the distinction between official and unofficial news sources, making it increasingly difficult to control messaging.

Percentage Very/Somewhat Worried that U.S. Could Become Military Threat

	2003	2005	2007	2009	2010	2011
Palestinian Territories	NA	NA	73%	75%	NA	91%
Indonesia	74%	80%	84%	77%	76%	71%
Pakistan	72%	71%	72%	79%	65%	67%
Turkey	71%	65%	76%	54%	56%	59%
Lebanon	58%	60%	57%	57%	56%	59%
Egypt	NA	NA	64%	51%	56%	54%
Jordan	56%	67%	67%	48%	52%	46%

Pew Research Center Q90

Blogs & Communities



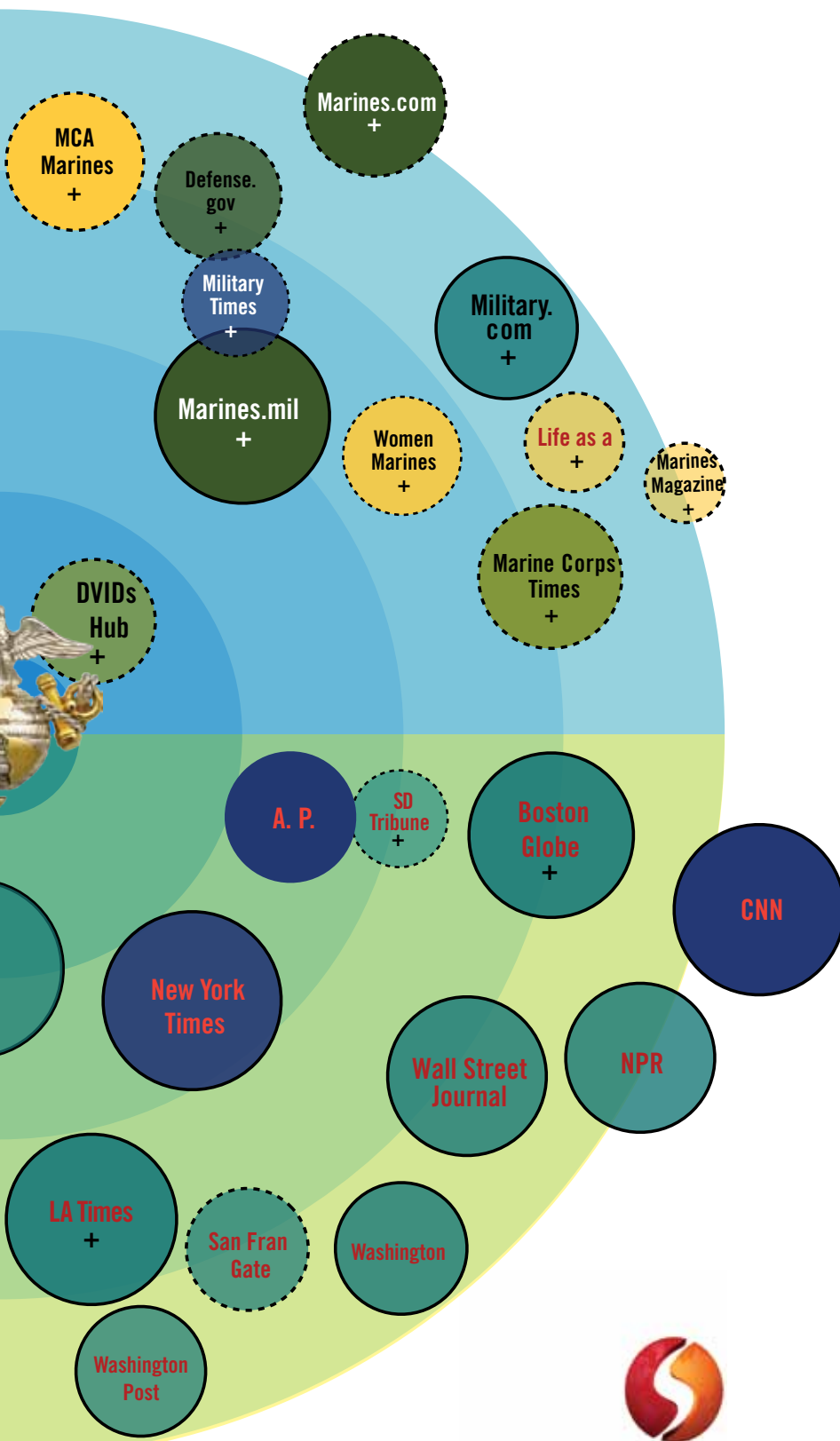
The Proliferation of Media Sources

MCRC ORBIT REPORT[®] JULY-DECEMBER 2010

A quick look on the Internet at where conversations are being held about joining the U.S. Marines shows significant discussions underway through blogs, online communities and social networks beyond the websites of traditional media.

Social Frameworks

Industry Media



ORBIT™ Key

The ORBIT™ Score combines a variety of factors to assess the total impact of a site and its content on the broader conversation about a subject on the Internet. It is represented by the **size of each sphere**: the larger the sphere, the higher the site's ORBIT™ score.

Onsite Engagement: The shape of the line around each sphere shows the site's Onsite Engagement. Solid lines mean high engagement, dotted lines, medium, and no lines, low.

Reach: The color of the sphere represents reach, or audience size. "Blue" reach is high, green is medium, and yellow is low. The "high," "medium," and "low" brackets are based on the current size of the Marine Corps, approximately 250,000 members.

Bias: The "+" and "-" symbols in each site's sphere represent bias. A "+" means a site has positive bias, a "-" means a site has negative bias, and the absence of a sign means bias is neutral.

Influence: The opacity of each sphere represents the site's influence. The more opaque the sphere, the greater the site's influence on the Web.

Topical Frequency: The proximity of each sphere to the center symbolizes how frequently the site publishes on-topic content. The closer to the center, the higher the topical frequency.



Traditional Media

“Culture has become a more and more important source of national cohesion and creativity and a factor of growing significance in the competition in overall national strength.”

Chinese President **Hu Jintao** to the 17th Communist Party Congress in 2007

Youth Bulge

The youth bulge across the Middle East, as well as in the developing countries of Asia and Africa, is taxing education and health care systems, natural resources and labor markets. As was seen in Egypt, Tunisia and Iran, the result can be politically explosive. In Egypt, university graduates have the highest unemployment rates, and they were the Egyptians who were in the vanguard of the revolution.^{iv}

Given the sheer numbers of youth in developing countries around the world, the need to focus on improving their well-being, their limited exposure to the U.S. and American citizens, and their innate openness to new ideas, global engagement initiatives must make the youth segment a priority in order to have an impact over the longer term.

We're Not Alone

The U.S. is not the only country trying to promote its policies, ideas and culture to the rest of the world by engaging, informing and influencing foreign audiences, the practice commonly known as public diplomacy. It also must now compete with non-state actors including global terrorist networks like al-Qaeda.

Some of the most aggressive public diplomacy outreach is currently being undertaken by **the Chinese**, who allocated \$8.7 billion in 2009–2010 to strengthen their “external publicity work.”^v While its viewership is relatively low, Chinese television is gaining quickly in some markets. CCTV 9 has displaced CNN as the prime foreign feed in several

African markets, including Kenya, and Radio Beijing is rapidly accumulating local affiliates to rebroadcast on the FM wave band as Africa moves away from shortwave.^{vi}

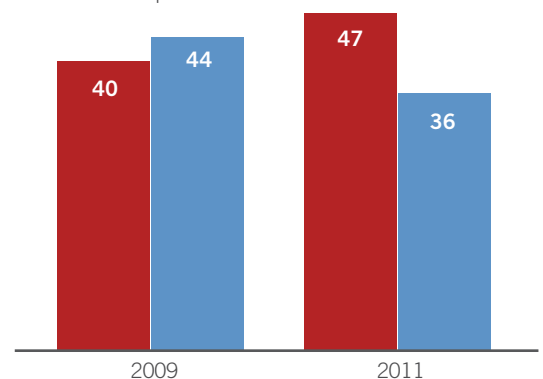
Confucius Institutes and Confucius Classrooms are the most recent additions to China’s public diplomacy mix. By the end of 2010 it had 71 Institutes and 37 Classrooms in the U.S.^{vii} By comparison, the U.S. has five similar American Centers in China to service a population of 1.3 billion people, and faces stiff Chinese resistance to opening any more.

Recent high-profile international events, such as the 2008 Olympics in Beijing and the 2010 World Expo in Shanghai, have provided platforms to project Chinese culture and history to foreign audiences. The U.S. recently lost bids to host the 2012 and 2016 Olympics, and the 2022 World Cup, and currently has no official standing to bid on hosting a future world expo.

Between 2009 and 2011 Pew found the median percentage saying China has or will replace the U.S. as the world’s leading superpower increased seven points across 18 countries surveyed, while the median percentage saying China will never replace the U.S. fell eight points.^{viii}

China Increasingly Seen as Replacing U.S.

■ Has already or will eventually replace U.S.
■ Will never replace U.S.



Median % across 18 countries surveyed in 2009 and 2011
Pew Research Center Q28.

The British are perhaps best known for the BBC World Service, with a listening and viewing audience of 180 million a week across TV, radio, online and mobile devices.^x But budget cuts are forcing it to close five of its 32 language services and slice its online budget by 25 percent.^x

Al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations tap an entire network of jihadist media outfits and a broad range of communications vehicles to promote their agenda, including video games and a steady stream of propaganda broadcasts and recruitment videos. Many of their websites are essentially virtual training grounds with detailed instructions on how to kill U.S. soldiers; others serve as recruiting and fund-raising tools. The Associated Press reported last summer that at least one al-Qaeda affiliate is planning what some have called a Disney-like animated cartoon to recruit children.^{xi} Al-Qaeda Organization in the Arabian Peninsula publishes a slick English-language magazine with helpful articles such as “Make a Bomb in the Kitchen of Your Mom.”^{xii}

The global broadcaster **Al Jazeera** is steadily increasing its influence, reach and audience share. It now has more than 65 bureaus worldwide, reaches more than 200 million households in over 100 countries, and claims to be the most viewed news channel on YouTube.^{xiii} Arabs consider Al Jazeera a more trustworthy source of information than government and foreign channels like America’s Al Hurra. Its global footprint continues to expand, with plans for a Turkish-language news channel and an Urdu-language channel catering to Pakistan.

**Most Do Not Believe
Arabs Carried Out 9/11 Attacks**

	Believe	Don't Believe	DK
Lebanon	28%	60%	11%
Israel	27%	59%	14%
Jordan	22%	64%	14%
Palest. Terr.	22%	68%	10%
Egypt	21%	75%	4%
Indonesia	20%	58%	23%
Pakistan	12%	57%	31%
Turkey	9%	73%	18%

Asked of Muslims only. (Pew Research Center Q95)

While our government has an increasing appreciation for the value and importance of public diplomacy, this is not something government can do alone.

Governments are inherently bureaucratic, cautious, focused on the short term and under-resourced.

The aggregate amount that we devote to communicating the American vision to the rest of the world, about \$1.2 billion, is less than half of what some individual American companies, such as Ford or Pepsi, spend on advertising each year. Overhead like salaries and benefits further limits the amount of money available for actual programming.

As of 2009, there were fewer than 3,100 public diplomacy positions at the Department of State, about the size of one Army Brigade, and many of them were vacant.^{xiv} Public diplomacy officers explain and defend U.S. foreign policy, our culture and our values to audiences that are often skeptical, if not outright hostile, to U.S. government platforms and messages. But their professional training is in how to be a diplomat, not how to market an idea. These officials are also hampered by restrictive procurement and security requirements, the whims of political decision makers, and constant rotation to other assignments.

Why Business Must Care

U.S. multinational corporations have a vested interest in helping to improve America's global engagement. They now have customers, employees and business partners all over the world. With trillions of dollars crossing international borders in both directions, the stability of international relationships becomes increasingly important to U.S. competitiveness and economic stability. The private sector has everything to gain from cooperative governance and more effective diplomacy.

- Anti-Americanism and violent extremism threaten the commercial and investment climate for U.S. businesses in countries that are essential energy sources and potentially significant markets.^{xv}
- The effect of the European debt crisis on U.S. markets demonstrates just how interconnected our economies are and how vulnerable the well-being of every individual and firm can be to the actions of others almost anywhere in the world.
- While technology has enabled instantaneous global communications, opened up global markets and presented tremendous

opportunities to business, crossing normative cultural, national and judicial boundaries can also present tremendous challenges to maintaining well-regulated, orderly markets.

- For the first time companies will have a unique entity dedicated to helping them put their best foot forward in public arenas and in front of non-traditional audiences. SAGE will enable companies to leverage other resources while building good and new relationships.
- Corporate engagement with the world adds another dynamic to how people and countries learn about America's values and character. By promoting those values above American policy, SAGE will contribute to more stable markets where American business can thrive.
- SAGE will focus on actively engaging the private sector and civil society in America's strategic communication and public diplomacy activities, bring additional resources to the table, and undertake things government can't do, or that can be done more effectively outside of government.

“By recognizing the advantages of interdependence and converging interests, domestically and internationally, we gain the strategic flexibility to sustain our national interests without compromising our values.”

“A National Strategic Narrative,” by **Captain Wayne Porter**, USN (SAGE Working Group) and **Colonel Mark Mykleby**, USMC

Our Solution

In September 2010, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars convened a bipartisan public diplomacy working group of over 80 experts and practitioners (Appendix 2) from across the nation, business sectors and political ideologies, to write a business plan to create and operationalize SAGE.

As SAGE Initiative member and Harvard professor Joe Nye, has said, part of “the new public diplomacy” is about “building relationships with civil-society actors in other countries and facilitating networks between nongovernmental parties at home and abroad.”^{xvi} SAGE’s independence from government will provide a means for the private sector and individual citizens to actively develop and participate in initiatives that impact their future, America’s competitiveness and national security. SAGE can:

- Do things government by its nature has difficulty doing, such as retaining the long view, adapting quickly to changing circumstances, investing in high-risk enterprises and partnering with civil-society organizations both domestic and international that may be hesitant to work directly with government
- Pool funds from multiple sources and have more flexibility with respect to procurement and business conduct than public sector organizations



MTV Networks Vice President Matt Speilman addresses a plenary session of the SAGE working group. (Image by David Hawxhurst / Wilson Center)

- Quickly leverage new opportunities to engage foreign publics because of its organizational and programmatic flexibility, political autonomy, entrepreneurial and innovative staff, and a streamlined decision-making process
- Avoid the limitations on U.S. diplomats who can only represent official U.S. government positions
- Develop or support initiatives that otherwise might not survive a change in presidential administrations or even a change in policy-makers within an administration

Once established, a SAGE priority will be an unprecedented effort to drive and support large-scale, virtual, peer-to-peer (P2P) diplomacy by enlisting the immense talent, idealism and energy of Americans, especially young people, to further its goals.

It will leverage both traditional and new communications technologies to connect peers — individuals and groups — in online exchanges that promote understanding and trust, counter misperceptions and stereotypes, and foster collaborations to address urgent global problems.

This effort will be open, multiplatform, innovative and participatory, and promote a wide range of interactions. Ultimately, these interactions, directly or indirectly, are intended to enhance understanding and appreciation by Americans of foreign publics and by foreign publics of American ideals and traditions.

One strategic goal will be to create an environment through building trust relationships where the recipients are familiar enough with the character of the U.S. to give us the benefit of the doubt when hearing or seeing something negative about our country.



SAGE Subcommittee on Target Countries, Markets & Networks. (Image by David Hawxhurst / Wilson Center)

SAGE will not duplicate or hinder government or nongovernmental initiatives. Its goal is to collaborate, support and enhance such initiatives where its role as a bridge between government and the private sector can make a difference. For example, the final episode of a Turkish soap opera that openly discussed issues like women's rights and tolerance for the marginalized clocked 85 million viewers from Syria to Morocco.^{xvii} SAGE could duplicate this effort with silent sponsorship from the private sector. Such activities are not in the purview of the U.S. government but of interest as they promote universal values like peace, tolerance and understanding.



SAGE Subcommittee on Programs & Activities. (Image by David Hawxhurst / Wilson Center)

What SAGE Will Do

SAGE's activities will be conducted in three primary ways: the administration of grants to other organizations, in-house projects, and support for research to better inform and support its other activities. While the nature and scale of specific activities will be determined by its board of directors and the resources SAGE will attract, the SAGE working group identified five areas where SAGE can have immediate impact:

1. Promoting Moderate Voices to Counter Violent Extremism and Ideologies
2. Promoting Innovative Ways to Build Ties Between Americans and the Rest of the World
3. Promoting Sustainable, Independent Media Entities in the Developing World
4. Promoting the Application of New Technology for Public Diplomacy Purposes
5. Promoting Public-Private Partnerships and the Free Exchange of Ideas and Information Between Public and Private Sectors.

America ranks first as host of the largest number of international migrants in the world.

There are 62 million first — and second — generation diaspora communities in the U.S.

Office of Global Partnerships, U.S. Department of State

1. Promoting Moderate Voices to Counter Violent Extremism and Ideologies

Extremists around the world fundamentally reject democracy, equality, pluralism and freedom of expression. They perceive our values and freedoms as a direct threat to their radical agenda. SAGE can:

- Facilitate the ability of anti-extremist writers and thinkers from around the world to disseminate information, network and communicate with each other
- Facilitate exchanging culture-related documentaries between private broadcasters and/or commission original programs and productions, or co-finance productions with other partners in return for distribution rights in key regions
- Support the translation/distribution of controversial works governments may find politically unpalatable, or works by non-Americans (such as a moderate Muslim cleric in Indonesia) whose writings should receive more exposure worldwide. According to the U.N., fewer than 10,000 foreign books have been translated into Arabic in the past millennium — about the same number translated into Spanish each year^{xviii}
- Reach mass audiences, including those most prone to recruitment by extremists, through original programs and productions that can be distributed via broadcasting, publications, theaters or online. A soap opera about life in America, a comic book about U.S. soccer, video games or documentaries are all possibilities

2. Promoting Innovative Ways to Build Ties Between Americans and the Rest of the World

There are many thousands of Americans eager to be of service to their country in a way that promotes peace and mutual understanding, and facilitates the kind of global collaboration urgently needed to solve the most pressing problems of humanity.

IhearU

Because the technology to establish virtual relationships is both scalable and cost-effective, SAGE proposes “IhearU” (working name), an unprecedented effort to drive and support large-scale, sustainable, P2P diplomacy between Americans and foreign audiences. “IhearU” would be a virtual network of “cyber diplomats” developing ongoing relationships with people around the world and productive collaborations on global issues of mutual concern. For example, SAGE is exploring a partnership in Egypt with the Federation of Economic Development Associations (FEDA), a country-wide, grassroots umbrella organization of over 120 local business associations, to develop dialogue between Egyptian and American small-business owners.

America’s universities are among the best in the world and have enormous potential to bring global societies to a better understanding of their differences and develop leaders capable of solving international issues and conflicts. Many believe that higher education is the purest form of public diplomacy, and it would play a strong role in SAGE initiatives like “IhearU.”

Initially, “IhearU” would focus on P2P communications between the U.S. and the four priority countries — Egypt, Pakistan, Turkey and Russia — with university students and young adults as the primary demographic target. But after proof of concept, the network would be expanded to other constituencies and countries, with a large emphasis on engaging diasporas living in the U.S., especially those with language skills and special expertise in bridging cultures. Arabic, for example, is spoken in almost 800,000 American homes and Russian in close to 900,000 homes.^{xix}

SAGE would provide, either directly or through partnerships, resources for the selection and training of the cyber diplomats and facilitators to assist them, and an online platform to support their organizational activities.

Americans tend to be perceived abroad as arrogant and ignorant of other cultures but certain we have all the answers. Therefore, *listening* would be a key component of the training for the Americans, and much of the dialogue would be on issues defined by the foreign participants. The Americans would be encouraged to become facilitators of learning for other Americans about foreign cultures.

Many cyber diplomats would go beyond dialogue to develop collaborative projects around global issues, such as violent extremism, climate change, building democratic institutions, or the rights and empowerment of girls and women in partnerships with foreign institutions, organizations or individuals. Collaborating on such projects would showcase America’s values, ingenuity and technological prowess

while engaging Americans in efforts by foreign citizens to better their own lives, build their own nations and transform their own futures. After establishing the international linkages, in-country partnerships would be developed with local leaders to help reach the larger population.

The “IhearU” network would:

- Catalyze and drive P2P diplomacy to include a wide range of individuals and organizations — civic, press, religious, environmental, agricultural, business, technical and artistic — through a state-of-the-art global platform that is simple and easy to access anywhere in the world and can be expanded in the future. The U.S. has a critical advantage in this area given that most “engagement technology” comes from the U.S.
- Recruit and train cyber diplomats through a large, compelling outreach campaign and a high-level call to action (similar to President Kennedy’s call for a Peace Corps) to attract the “best and the brightest,” which will give its recruits special status and a sense of pride in and commitment to an exciting, new volunteer enterprise. This bipartisan call to action will involve leaders from both political parties as well as celebrities. A presidential call to action will ideally follow the pilot period as the project expands its scale and reach
- Actively leverage diaspora communities living in the U.S. whose language skills and ties to their homelands are powerful assets
- Establish partnerships with entities such as Internet2, the foremost U.S. advanced-networking consortium, and MTVU, the

Peabody and Emmy Award winning, 24-hour college network, to launch the initial pilot program, tapping its on-campus channels to recruit and promote the network. Also partner with associations like the International Youth Federation’s YouthActionNet alumni; and global communications and technology companies for technological support, employee participation and/or other in-kind contributions such as equipment and software

- Provide the infrastructure for mobilizing rapid response by cyber diplomats in crisis situations to counter misinformation or the impact of actions by Americans (e.g., Koran burning) that are in opposition to core American principles, such as religious tolerance
- Provide small grants through SAGE for collaborations developed by individuals who meet through the network

If regular, meaningful, sustained communications can be achieved through projects created by “IhearU” volunteers, SAGE can deliver significant positive and measurable impact over time. Success for the program can be measured through the number of P2P connections made and time spent (broadband use) on those connections. The outcome is the power of influence being exerted by the community’s members. Outcome can be measured by reviewing changes in attitudes towards the U.S. over time relative to the level and type of penetration the P2P connections have made.

3. Promoting Sustainable Independent Media Entities in the Developing World

Free, independent and open news media are crucial to building democratic and accountable governments. The only way to ensure the long-term delivery of independent high-quality content is by supporting the transition of budding news outlets into sustainable businesses. Yet the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers says demand for capital with no editorial conditions attached far outstrips supply. Many news outlets that are committed to delivering free and independent news are unable to access the necessary financing to develop into sustainable businesses. And many are run by passionate journalists with no business experience.* SAGE can:

- Provide grants to regional and local media loan funds like the Association of Independent Regional Publishers in Russia, which provides loans to its members, or a loan fund in Indonesia operated by a radio news agency that provides loans (up to \$10,000) to radio stations that are part of its network
- Support independent news outlets in keeping pace with technology
- Support business training for journalists running news operations who lack the business skills and financial experience required to run a profitable company



“The possibilities are many: on-person devices that instantly translate speech, text or handwriting from any of the world’s 6,000 languages; contact lenses with Internet connections capable of displaying subtitles in the wearer’s field of vision; texting by thinking; electronic paper; video leaflets; 3D printing; holographic wall screens; and actually “being” in a video game.”

4. Promoting the Application of New Technology for Public Diplomacy Purposes

Connection is critical to having meaningful communication in an Internet world where there is an explosion of conflicting messages. By the time President Obama officially announced the death of Osama bin Laden from the White House it was already old news on social networking sites — sites that didn’t even exist at the time of the 2001 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington. By 2020, the world will have 5 billion Internet users, and Web 3.0 will bring the next step change in Internet technology with wireless-enabled pervasive computing.

As technology advances, SAGE will leverage its forward-looking entrepreneurial culture to identify potential public diplomacy applications for establishing trust networks which can operate in real time, to spark dialogue and help users sort reality from what may be stated in fixed media formats such as news broadcasts. The possibilities are many: on-person devices that instantly translate speech, text or handwriting from any of the world’s 6,000 languages; contact lenses with Internet connections capable of displaying subtitles in the wearer’s field of vision; texting by thinking; electronic paper; video leaflets; 3D printing; holographic wall screens; and actually “being” in a video game. SAGE can:

- Invest in technologies with potential public diplomacy applications
- Serve as a clearinghouse for best practices
- Promote the next generation of Exchange 2.0 initiatives — that is, technology-enabled programs embedded in curricula and with a cross-cultural educational purpose
- Support experimentation and development of new, state-of-the-art methods of measuring success that can benefit the entire public diplomacy community

5. Promoting Public-Private Partnerships and the Free Exchange of Ideas and Information Between Public and Private Sectors.

Strengthening America's global engagement necessitates new public-private partnerships. SAGE will be the nexus for bringing the public and private sectors together to promote U.S. interests, such as participation in World Expos. As noted in a recent report issued by the minority staff of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "Many Americans now view World Expos as antiquated affairs. The rest of the globe does not, and U.S. ambivalence towards participation unduly offends the host nations."^{xxi}



The U.S. pavilion in Shanghai (designed by a Canadian) won mixed reviews at best. It showed films that said a lot about the diverse nature of America and its tolerance for all types of cultures, but the Senate report noted that "although large crowds streamed in, many were disappointed by the low-tech and rather ordinary exhibits inside which failed to demonstrate American technological, scientific and commercial expertise."^{xxii}

Congress does not fund U.S. participation in World Expos, so the creation of any American exhibits is contracted out and dependent on private-sector contributions to foot the bill. As a permanent organization specifically incorporated to enhance America's public diplomacy,

"More than 7 million Chinese visited the U.S. pavilion at the 2010 Shanghai Expo, an audience over 10 times the size of the number of Chinese who visit the United States in a single year."

SAGE could:

- Provide ongoing leadership and coordination between the public and private sector to maximize the public diplomacy value of America's participation in future world expositions
- Rejoin the Bureau of International Expositions (annual dues: \$25,000) from which the U.S. withdrew in 2001, enabling America to bid on hosting future expositions

SAGE will support the free exchange of ideas between the public and private sectors, serving as an honest broker that provides a neutral forum around which experts and practitioners can convene to share information and research, discuss common issues and identify areas of cooperation.

- SAGE will establish a research council to consist of leading members of the international public-opinion/market-research community from both the private and public sectors and universities to share audience and market research. Multinational companies spend billions more dollars on such research than the government, but there is currently no ongoing venue through which non-proprietary data can be shared with government officials and vice versa.
- It will be a network hub for collaboration among government agencies, civil society, businesses, and academia. A 2007 GAO report found that "efforts to coordinate and share audience research data are hampered, among other things, by a dedicated forum to periodically bring key research staff together to discuss common concerns across all topics of interest."^{xxiii}
- SAGE will ring together the best minds to build broader consensus in the research community about how to answer timely questions such as "What do the Egyptians think?" or "Why exactly has U.S. favorability improved in Indonesia?"

Ultimately the SAGE board of directors and president will determine the specific initiatives the organization will undertake. In its start-up phase, SAGE will not have the staff to undertake all of the initiatives and activities suggested above, but as it builds out its activities, staff will be added as resources become available. Initially, two program officers in year one will be hired to develop and launch the SAGE grants program.

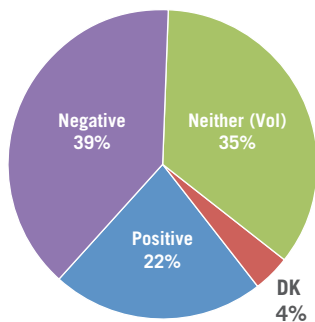
Priority Countries

For every challenge posed by the broad global trends in public opinion, technology and demographics noted earlier, there is an opportunity for positive global engagement. Indeed, an underlying proposition of SAGE is precisely to respond to these challenges and take advantage of the opportunities to enhance existing strategic communication efforts.

SAGE has identified four priority countries in which to demonstrate successful proof of concept in the first three years: Egypt, Pakistan, Turkey and Russia. Each has a sizable youth population, questions about American leadership in the world, and has sizable majorities that believe the U.S. does not consider their interests in making policy.^{xxiv}

Egypt As the most populous Arab nation and traditional leader of the Arab world, what happens in Egypt is critical to the future of the region and to American strategic interests. With the recent political revolution, the U.S. has an opportunity to reset its relations with the Egyptian people at the very time Egypt is mapping a new future. A plurality of Egyptians believe the U.S. had a negative impact on their revolution, fewer than a quarter say the U.S. considers their interests in formulating its foreign policy, and only a small minority wants closer ties with the U.S.^{xxv}

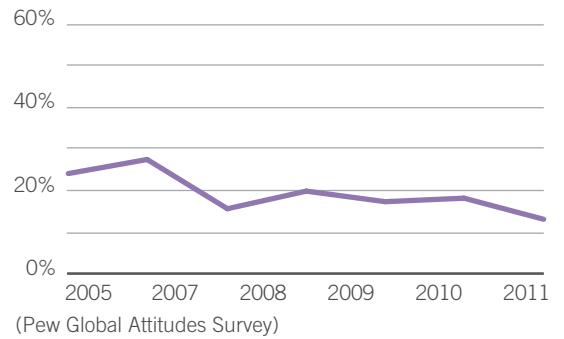
Impact of U.S. Response on Situation in Egypt



Pew Research Center QEGY10

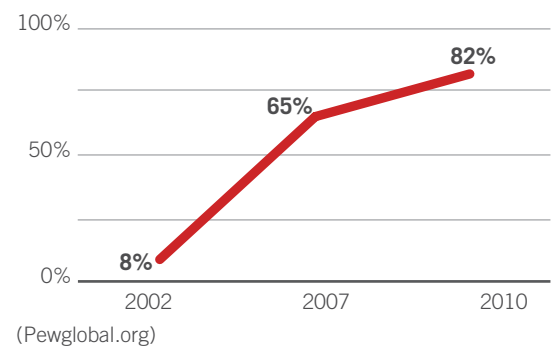
Pakistan This country is key to combating extremists and to success in Afghanistan. The killing of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan and stepped-up drone attacks are but the latest strain in a complex and tense diplomatic relationship with the U.S. Of the priority countries, it has the largest youth population but the smallest percentage of cell phone owners and usage of the Internet.^{xxvi} Given the poor perceptions of Americans here, initiatives that promote P2P dialogue and mutual understanding should be a priority.

Pakistan: Favorable View of the U.S.



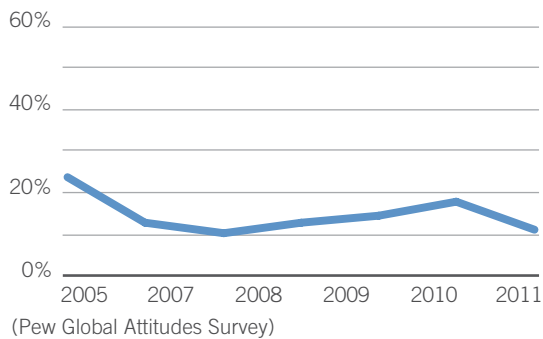
Russia From nuclear security, arms control and counterterrorism to economic development, energy and space cooperation, maintaining and strengthening ties with Russia is of critical importance as the country continues to assess its role, identity and importance in a post-Cold War world. Of SAGE's priority countries, it is the only BRIC country and the only country whose citizens currently have a favorable opinion of Americans. Cell phone ownership has skyrocketed in the past decade, and Internet usage has become more widespread. The country would be an excellent laboratory for initiatives like "IhearU."

Percentage of Russians Who Own a Cell Phone



Turkey Our NATO ally gave the U.S. its lowest favorability rating in every Pew Global Attitudes survey between 2005 and 2009. Today, only about one in 10 Turks have a favorable opinion of the U.S., and 59 percent are somewhat or very worried that the U.S. could become a military threat.^{xxvii} Turks were strongly against the second Gulf War, causing the Turkish Parliament to deny U.S. troops access from Turkey to Iraq, a classic example of why what foreign publics think matters — and must matter to us.

Turkey: Favorable View of the U.S.



Select Country Characteristics

	Egypt	Pakistan	Russia	Turkey
Approve of U.S. Leadership (2011 Gallup)	19%	18%	23%	26%
Favorable View of Americans (2010 Pew)	39%	18%	64%	16%
Agree U.S. Considers Their Interests (2010 Pew)	15%	19%	30%	9%
Press Freedom (2010 Freedom House)	Partly Free	Not Free	Not Free	Partly Free
Agree Most People Are Better Off in a Free Market (2010 Pew)	51%	57%	60%	64%
Internet Penetration (Internet World Stats)	21.2%	10.4%	42.8%	45%
% Muslim Population (2009 Pew)	94.6%	96.3%	11.7%	98%
% Youth Population Age 14-24 (U.N. World Youth Report)	32.7%	35.4%	15.2%	26.6%
% of population who own a cell phone (2010 Pew)	65%	38%	77%	82%
% of Internet population who use social networking sites (2010 Pew)	75%	44%	68%	76%

Initiatives like “IhearU” would be launched in all four countries. Other initiatives would be tailored to each country’s unique characteristics. For example, given that Internet and cell phone usage in Pakistan is much lower than in the other three countries, initiatives like broadcast productions or book translations would be priorities to counter extremist messages.

The criteria for target selection will be reviewed annually after the first two years to reflect changing global trends and strategic priorities.

The SAGE Business Model

Legal Status

- SAGE will be a tax-emempt, nonprofit, private corporation as defined in section 501(c)3 of the internal Revenue Code. Articles of Incorporation and bylaws will be filed with the appropriate government agency as required.
- The articles will reflect that SAGE will be perpetual, have no voting members and be governed by a bipartisan board of directors. Program and project funding will largely come from private sources to include foundations, corporations and individuals, and, after “proof of concept,” from various government agencies.
- Pro bono legal counsel will be obtained to draft the Articles of Incorporation and proposed bylaws.

Board of Directors

- Bylaws will specify the makeup of the SAGE governing board consisting of individuals elected in accordance with the bylaws. The initial Board of Directors shall have 15 voting members, made up largely of eminent private individuals as follows: (2) social entrepreneurs; (2) representatives from technology companies; (2) venture capitalists; (2) former members of Congress; (1) former senior diplomat; (1) foundation representative; (1) NGO representative; (1) philanthropist; (1) corporate public relations or advertising executive; (1) academic; and (1) journalist. The board will be carefully balanced in terms of party and ideology, and shall be responsible for electing its successors.
- The initial board will consist of five members who serve a one-year term, five who serve a two-year term, and five who serve a three-year term. Board membership will be term limited.
- The officers of the corporation will be a Chairman and Vice Chairman, who will serve as members of the Board; a President, Secretary and Treasurer; and such other officers as the Board may appoint from time to time. The Board shall meet no fewer than three times per year.

“SAGE will operate openly; provide relevant information on programs and operations to the public; and ensure that funds are spent wisely, efficiently and in accordance with all relevant regulations.”

“SAGE will be extremely cognizant not to overburden grantees with reporting requirements that impede the actual work that must be completed.”

- All major policy and funding decisions shall be made by the Board of Directors. The primary statement of SAGE's operating philosophy, general principles and priorities shall be adopted by the Board at its first meeting. The Board shall set the organization's long-term strategic goals, regularly update its mission and program plan, and appoint and regularly evaluate the SAGE president, as well as fund-raise, and solicit and review program evaluations.
- Insurance coverage for directors and officers will be purchased, as will liability coverage for the organization.

Management

- The President will be the chief executive officer of the corporation and manage its business under the policy direction of the Board. S/he will be a seasoned executive with strong entrepreneurial instincts, polished leadership and management skills, extensive knowledge of public diplomacy and significant experience heading a nonprofit organization.
- The President will provide policy direction and be responsible for day-to-day management of the organization.
- Given that SAGE will have flexibility to engage and perhaps even partner with controversial individuals or organizations, the President shall be empowered to approve such associations in consultation with the executive committee of the SAGE Board.

- SAGE will operate openly; provide relevant information on programs and operations to the public; and ensure that funds are spent wisely, efficiently and in accordance with all relevant regulations.

Advisory Council

- SAGE will be supported by an advisory council of leaders drawn from the public, private and nonprofit sectors. The Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy; the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy; the Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade; the Chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors; two members of Congress, one from each party; the Executive Director of the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition; the Senior Vice President for International Affairs of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; the President of the American Council on Education; the President of TechAmerica; the Secretary General of the Islamic Society of North America; leaders from partner multinational companies; and at least one representative from each of the priority countries will be included in the advisory council.
- The council will meet at least twice annually to advise the SAGE Board and President on strategy and priorities for global engagement. Bylaws relevant to the establishment and maintenance of this advisory council will be determined by the Board.

Staff

- Initially, SAGE will maintain a modest expert and professional staff with primary responsibility for establishing the organization, launching its grants program, and soliciting public- and private-sector support. It will be augmented as needed by consultants or personnel on short-term contracts. SAGE will be an equal opportunity employer.
- In addition to the President, staff members envisioned in year one include: two program officers to handle the grant-making process, a development officer, an administrative assistant and a bookkeeper. SAGE will contract for legal and accounting services.

Grant-Making process

As a grant-making organization, SAGE will have certain responsibilities that govern its relationship with all potential and actual grantees. Briefly, these are:

- Setting program priorities within the framework of the purposes outlined in SAGE's Articles of Incorporation and guided by the general policy statement of the Board of Directors
- Reviewing and vetting proposals, guided by the general guidelines and selection criteria adopted by the SAGE Board
- Coordinating among all grantees to avoid duplication and to assure maximum program effectiveness
- Negotiating a grant agreement which ensures a high standard of accountability on the part of each grantee
- Financial and programmatic monitoring following the approval and negotiation of a grant, and ongoing and/or follow-up evaluations of programs prior to any subsequent funding of either a particular grantee or a specific program. Grantees will also be expected to monitor projects, to provide regular reports to SAGE on the progress of programs and to inform SAGE promptly of any significant problems that could affect the successful implementation of the project. SAGE will be extremely cognizant not to overburden grantees with reporting requirements that impede the actual work that must be completed
- Offering most grants and contracts competitively, with SAGE employing a formal request for proposals (RFP) process. However, to preserve maximum flexibility and its ability to adapt to changing circumstances, SAGE will reserve the right to streamline the awards process, including the option to make sole-source awards approved by the Board
- Evaluating proposals submitted against criteria established in each RFP, by the professional staff (with the help of external experts / peer reviewers as needed) will evaluate. They will select awardees and how much each will receive, both subject to final Board approval. To award grants on a timely basis, rolling deadlines, monetary thresholds and expedited Board procedures will be applied. Additionally, the issue and reissue of RFPs will be timed such that due dates for submissions allow for a sufficient evaluation period prior to Board meetings

A grant distribution matrix illustrates how SAGE can allocate its efforts among initiatives of varying sizes to heighten its impact without overloading the program officers. (The costs of any in-house projects are reflected as grants for purposes of the distribution matrix)

New Grants								
Size of grant	FY1		FY2		FY3		FY4	
	#	\$ in thousands	#	\$ in thousands	#	\$ in thousands	#	\$ in thousands
1500	0	0	0	0	1	1500	2	3000
1000	0	0	1	1000	1	1000	4	4000
750	0	0	1	750	2	1500	4	3000
500	8	4000	9	4500	9	4500	10	5000
250	9	2250	12	3000	20	5000	20	5000
100	20	2000	20	2000	16	1600	16	1600
25	8	200	8	200	12	300	12	300
micro awards		50		50		100		100
TOTAL	45	8500	51	11500	61	15500	68	22000

Grants under management								
1500	0	0	0	0	1	1500	3	4500
1000	0	0	1	1000	2	2000	6	6000
750	0	0	1	750	3	2250	7	5250
500	8	4000	17	8500	26	13000	36	18000
250	9	2250	21	5250	41	10250	61	15250
100	20	2000	40	4000	56	5600	72	7200
25	8	200	16	400	28	700	40	1000
micro awards		50		50		100		100
TOTAL	45	8500	96	19950	157	35400	225	57300

- A distinguishing strength of SAGE is an agility that will come from its independent status, enabling the organization to respond very rapidly to public diplomacy opportunities as they emerge. Therefore, the budget will include a pool of discretionary funds (between \$50,000 and \$100,000 per year) program officers can draw upon to make small grants (no more than \$5,000 each) for micro projects that hold promise for making a nearly immediate impact. Processes for seeking, awarding and reporting on the micro grants will be very streamlined.
- Both for-profit and nonprofit entities from around the world will be eligible to apply for grants. Grantees should generally be expected to secure funding through multiple sources, with SAGE serving as one partner in a funding collaborative. SAGE will typically contribute no more than one-half of the funds needed for a project, but because SAGE intends to invest for impact, it may underwrite 100 percent of an initiative that is expected to have a significant impact, particularly on mass audiences.

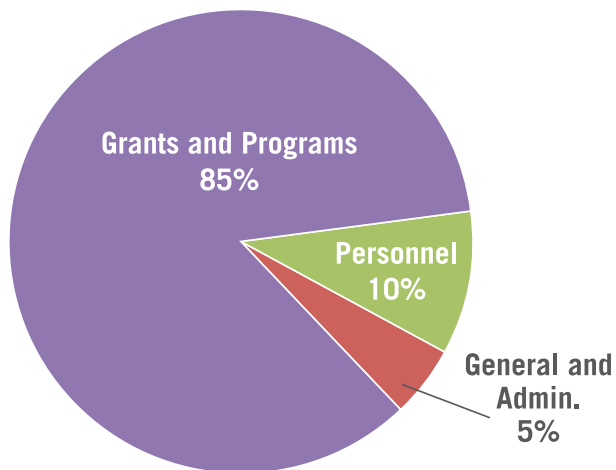
Selection Criteria

In determining where to focus its attention and the types of activities it will support, SAGE will provide its Board and President with broad guidelines to set its priorities (Appendix 3). The initial Board of Directors will determine the weighing of each criterion.

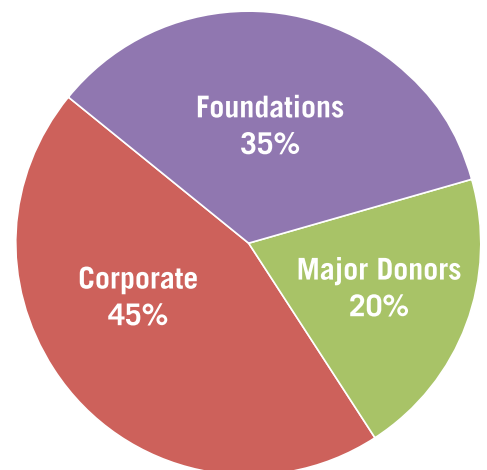
Budget

We plan a startup budget of \$10 million to grow to \$25.1 million by year 4.
(Detailed financials: Appendix 4)

Year-One Expenditures



Year-One Revenues



This plan makes the following assumptions:

- \$8.5 million of the first-year budget is devoted to programs and activities. Our budget becomes more ambitious by year four, assuming \$22 million for programs and activities
- SAGE will undertake a range of activities, with grants or in-house projects ranging in size from \$25,000 to \$1.5 million, in addition to an initial discretionary pool of \$50,000 for micro awards.
- Administrative costs will be kept as low as possible
- The new organization will do everything possible to capitalize on the public diplomacy progress already made by others
- It includes funds to support meetings of the Board of Directors and the SAGE advisory council. Costs to support a Research Council are in the meetings/conferences line item
- \$500,000 in annual dedicated revenue has been identified by year four

Initially, SAGE will seek an umbrella organization from which it can rent space and some services; thus it can expand its physical footprint modestly, without incurring the costs of a move, as it grows during its early years.

Draft Budget	YR 1	YR 2	YR 3	YR 4
Income				
Total Projected Revenue	\$10,000,000	\$13,500,000	\$18,225,000	\$25,103,750
Projected Expenses				
Grant Awards	\$8,500,000	\$11,500,000	\$15,500,000	\$22,000,000
Operations				
Personnel	968,000	1,150,800	1,682,580	2,116,486
G&A	518,000	611,800	723,380	856,198
Total Operations	1,486,000	1,762,600	2,405,960	2,972,684
TOTAL EXPENSE	9,986,000	13,262,600	17,905,960	24,972,684
OPERATING CASH FLOW	14,000	237,400	319,040	131,066

Necessary Annual Reports and Audits

SAGE will publish an annual report on the direction and health of the corporation, its programs and activities, and its financial status. It will engage a reputable certified public accounting firm to conduct an annual independent audit of its financial statements.

How SAGE Will Define Success

SAGE plans to open for business, secure the necessary start-up funding and launch its first wave of initiatives by early 2013. Its ability to attract public- and private- sector support, engage more Americans in international affairs, and establish effective public and private partnerships will be initial indicators of organizational success.

“The effect of the European debt crisis on U.S. markets demonstrates just how interconnected our economies are and how vulnerable the well-being of every individual and firm can be to the actions of others almost anywhere in the world.”

SAGE will develop baseline goals and metrics before its pilot projects are launched to aid in the assessment and revision of its activities. (Timeline: Appendix 5) It anticipates the use of both qualitative and quantitative measurements to assess the success of its programs. Projects such as “IhearU” would include significant input and evaluation from the participants in terms of establishing and achieving specific program benchmarks. In a broad sense, SAGE’s goal would be to recruit and train a minimum of 500 American cyber diplomats and launch this initiative in all four countries by late 2013.

An important component of the armory of programmatic evaluation tools and approaches will be the use of impact evaluations to identify changes in outcomes that can be directly attributed to the initiatives SAGE supports. SAGE will also undertake focus groups both domestically and internationally to test themes and approaches. Financial and programmatic monitoring of grant awards will be conducted as noted earlier.

Where Resources Will Come From

Attracting the necessary resources to establish and fund SAGE for the first four years will require a multi-pronged fund-raising strategy that seeks support from business, private foundations and individuals to start and scale up the initiative while also developing one or more dedicated revenue sources. The intention is to have a diverse portfolio of funding with the private sector providing the majority of financial support.

Admittedly, this is a very challenging time to be establishing a new organization. Coming on the heels of the financial crisis, corporations, private individuals and foundations are by necessity scrutinizing expenditures ever more closely while Congress debates which government programs to cut. Early indications are that potential funders care deeply about enhancing America's global engagement and clearly see a direct connection to the long-term security and prosperity of the United States.

Business Sector

The global business community will be asked to contribute \$4.5 million or 45 percent of the initial budget. Target sectors include travel and tourism and consumer-products industries, and major exporters. Companies will be asked to enter into long-term partnerships with SAGE. To attract U.S. firms and multinational companies, we must demonstrate a ROI consistent with their branding. We do not underestimate the difficulty of this task — many U.S.-based multinationals do not brand themselves as U.S. companies; many multinationals view public diplomacy as a government responsibility; many have their own international outreach initiatives; and, companies in general have been slow to spend their capital while the U.S. economy remains fragile.

But global corporate citizenship and corporate social responsibility are receiving increased attention as being important future indicators of corporate performance. SAGE will leverage this trend in making its corporate appeal by emphasizing:

- Anti-Americanism and violent extremism threaten the commercial and investment climate for U.S. businesses in countries that are essential energy sources and potentially significant markets.^{xxviii}
- The effect of the European debt crisis on U.S. markets demonstrates just how interconnected our economies are and how vulnerable the well-being of every individual and firm can be to the actions of others almost anywhere in the world.

- While technology has enabled instantaneous global communications, opened up global markets and presented tremendous opportunities to business, crossing normative cultural, national and judicial boundaries can also present tremendous challenges to maintaining well-regulated, orderly markets.
 - For the first time, companies will have a unique, entity dedicated to helping them put their best foot forward in public arenas and in front of non-traditional audiences. SAGE will enable companies to leverage other resources while building goodwill and new relationships.
 - Corporate engagement with the world adds another dynamic to how people and countries learn about America's values and character. By promoting those values above American policy, SAGE will contribute to more stable markets where American business can thrive.
 - SAGE will focus on actively engaging the private sector and civil society in America's strategic communication and public diplomacy activities, bring additional resources to the table, and undertake things government can't do, or that can be done more effectively outside of government.
- foreign publics. Foundation funding will serve as central investments to this crucial project. It is anticipated that foundation contributions will go into launching the highly visible, bold online global engagement initiatives that SAGE will implement during its first four years of operation.
- SAGE's structure as an independent private corporation provides a more streamlined, apolitical means of collaboration to actively develop and participate in initiatives of critical national importance.
 - Many foundations made large investments in global engagement activities during the Cold War to great effect. Similar, sustained efforts are needed now for challenges that are different but no less important, and they require the same kind of decades-long support such foundations gave during other tough periods in our history.
 - Measuring the impact of the projects and activities it supports, and developing and experimenting with new evaluation and measurement techniques will be a hallmark of SAGE's culture.

Private Foundations

A second major funding source is private foundations with international interests. Broadly speaking, private foundations are funding fewer initiatives but in larger amounts. They are also increasingly interested in collaborating with other funders on projects. Foundations will be asked to engage in long-term partnerships with the organization and contribute \$3.5 million or 35 percent of SAGE's initial budget. The overarching appeal to foundations:

- SAGE will advance the national interest and security of the U.S. by nurturing innovative initiatives to understand, inform and influence

Individuals

To grow SAGE beyond a start-up, it must attract social entrepreneurs or angel investors who care about America's standing in the world and/or efforts to make the world a better place. Obvious prospects include those who have signed the Gates-Buffett Giving Pledge.^{xxix} Individual investments will fund core functions and be leveraged to attract additional funding for programming from other sectors. Individuals will be asked to contribute 20 percent of the SAGE budget. The overarching appeal to individuals:

- Many security threats cannot be confronted effectively with military force alone.

- We need to put the “public” into public diplomacy. It is not something the government can or should be expected to do alone.
- SAGE’s structure provides a way to actively develop and participate in critical initiatives of national importance without endorsing specific political agendas or policies.
- Individual support will leverage additional private-sector and foundation support.
- Effective global engagement is more critical than ever for America’s strategic and national security interests.

Dedicated Revenue Source(s)

SAGE will tap the entrepreneurial nature of its staff, Board and outside advisers to identify potential dedicated revenue sources such as distribution rights for productions financed or co-financed by SAGE or revenues from investments in public diplomacy applications of technology. Our budget assumes \$500,000 in dedicated revenue beginning in year four. Once proof of concept has been demonstrated, we will also seek project funding from relevant government agencies.

Marketing

A strategic marketing plan is currently being developed to support the formal establishment of SAGE. Key components will include:

- Maximizing media coverage of the organization’s creation and leveraging milestones along the way (i.e, incorporation, creation of the Board of Directors, initial funding commitments) to build momentum

“More effective global engagement makes it easier for our allies to support us and to reduce the ‘attractiveness’ of terrorism. And it’s a lot cheaper.”

- Utilizing a combination of traditional and new media tools and tactics, with an emphasis on branding the organization as forward-looking, streamlined and cutting-edge in its use of technology to engage Americans in international relations
- Media events in Silicon Valley and Washington, DC in a manner that conveys innovation

A public education campaign to include briefings, opinion pieces, interviews, endorsements and engaging powerful champions for the organization to build support.

Success will depend on the ability to attract well-known champions from both sides of the aisle; make the case that SAGE can play a role that the government, on its own, cannot; and demonstrate that funding will be leveraged to generate additional and significant resources.

A Call to Action

A soldier in Afghanistan learned of Osama bin Laden’s death from Facebook. A Pakistani tweeted live from Abbottabad as the raid on bin Laden’s compound was in progress. His Twitter “followers” went from seven to over 86,000.^{xxix} As SAGE working group member Philip Seib noted in a recent paper, “The days of stately diplomatic process are long gone, and a public diplomacy initiative that lags too far behind the media flow may be ineffective.”^{xxx} Put another way, as President Obama said in Cairo, “The world has changed and we must change with it.”^{xxxi}

The United States needs to “create an institution outside of government that could help tap into expertise in the private and non-profit sectors to improve U.S. strategic communication from an outside-in approach,” said the Center for Strategic

“America’s best players in public diplomacy have always been its people and its ideas. The United States should get them back into the game instead of standing on the sidelines.”

Senator **Richard Lugar**, Ranking Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee



SAGE Executive Board Member Goli Ameri speaks to the SAGE Working Group. (Image by David Hawxhurst / Wilson Center)

“It is clear we are living through one of the most important transformations in the history of the modern world... This is not time for America to pull back from the world. This is time to step forward.”

Senator **John Kerry**,
Chairman of the Senate
Foreign Relations Committee

and International Studies Commission on Smart Power in 2007, co-chaired by Richard Armitage and working group member Joseph Nye.^{xxxii}

More than a dozen other subsequent studies have made similar arguments.

This plan will do what experts and practitioners of all political and ideological stripes have been urging for years: finally create and operationalize a new tool in America’s strategic communication armory that can link the resources, ingenuity, innovativeness and technology of the public and private sectors to strengthen America’s global engagement.

The time for SAGE is now!

Appendices

1. List of Studies Recommending Creating Organization
2. List of Working Group Members
3. Broad Criteria for Program Selection
4. Financials
5. Timeline

Appendix 1: Studies recommending a new PD/Strategic Structure or Organization

Brookings Institution

Lord, Kristin M., *Voices of America: U.S. Public Diplomacy for the 21st Century*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2008. http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2008/11_public_diplomacy_lord/11_public_diplomacy_lord.pdf

Hady Amr, *The Need to Communicate: How to Improve U.S. Public Diplomacy with the Islamic World*, (Washington, DC : Brookings Institution, 2004). http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2004/01islamicworld_amr/amr20040101.pdf

Business for Diplomatic Action

America's Role in the World: A Business Perspective on Public Diplomacy. (New York: Business for Diplomatic Action, 2007). http://www.businessfordiplomaticaction.org/learn/articles/bdwhitepaper_oct07final.pdf

Center for the Study of the Presidency

D'Hoop, Phyllis, ed., *An Initiative: Strengthening U.S.-Muslim Communications*. Washington, D.C.: Center for the Study of the Presidency, 2003. <http://www.thepresidency.org/publications/post-911-studies/an-initiative-strengthening-us-muslim-communications>

Council on Foreign Relations

Independent Task Force on Public Diplomacy Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations. *Finding America's Voice: A Strategy for Reinvigorating Public Diplomacy*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2003. http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/public_diplomacy.pdf

Peter G. Peterson, ed., *Public Diplomacy: A Strategy for Reform, Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations*, (Washington, D.C.: Council on Foreign Relations, 2002). http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/pmt/exhibits/579/Task-force_final2-19.pdf

Center for Security and International Studies:

Armitage, Richard L. and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., eds., *CSIS Commission on Smart Power: A Smarter, More Secure America*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, November 2007. http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/071106_csissmartpowerreport.pdf

Defense Science Board

Defense Science Board, *Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication*, Washington, D.C., September 2004. http://www.businessfordiplomaticaction.org/action/2008_01_strategic_co_1c55f0.pdf

———, *Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication*, Washington, D.C., January 2008. <http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb/reports/ADA428770.pdf>

Heritage Foundation:

Helle C. Dale, Patrick Cronin and Stephen Johnson, “Strengthening U.S. Public Diplomacy Requires Organization, Coordination, and Strategy,” *The Heritage Foundation*, Backgrounder #1875 (2005), http://s3.amazonaws.com/thf_media/2005/pdf/bg1875.pdf

Public Diplomacy Council

A Call for Action on Public Diplomacy, January, 2005

Rand Corporation

“*Wither Strategic Communication? A Survey of Current Proposals and Recommendations*”
Christopher Paul; Rand Corporation, 2009. http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/2009/RAND_OP250.pdf

U.S. Department of State

Report of the Secure Borders and Open Doors Advisory Committee: Preserving our Welcome to the World in an Age of Terrorism, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security and U.S. Department of State, 2008). http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/hsac_SBODACreport508-compliant_version2.pdf

2005 Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural Diplomacy: The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 2005). <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/54374.pdf>

Edward Djerejian, ed., *Changing Minds, Winning Peace: A New Strategic Direction for U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim World*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of State, 2003). <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/24882.pdf>

Appendix 2: SAGE Public Diplomacy Initiative Executive Board

Brad Minnick Project Director

Honorary Co-Chairs

The Honorable William Perry
Former U.S. Secretary of Defense

The Honorable Condoleezza Rice
Former U.S. Secretary of State

Members

Ambassador David Abshire
President, Center for the Study of the
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Cindy Williams
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Andrew Walworth, *President, Grace Creek Media*

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Barry Fulton, *Senior Consultant, PRO-telligent LLC*

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*Some individuals have assumed new positions since the project launch in September, 2010, in some cases preventing current, or continuing, participation.

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Steven Kull, *Director, Program on International Policy Attitudes, WorldPublicOpinion.org*

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Appendix 3: Broad Criteria for Program Selection

Criterion	Description
1. Complementary	the degree to which the proposed activities complement those of the USG (don't duplicate efforts)
2. Receptive	how likely the selected area/participants are to be receptive to the funded activities (e.g., high, medium, low hostility toward the U.S.)
3. Accessible	how accessible the selected groups are to the funded activities in terms of factors such as media use, socioeconomic status, security, etc.
4. Feasible	how feasible the targets are given the political, economic, media, security environments, etc. (be able to work with the country, not just get inside)
5. Reciprocal	the degree to which Americans benefit from the funded programs, in addition to the target populations
6. Inclusive	the degree to which the programs will involve other actors beyond the direct targets, such as partner institutions and other funders
7. Multipliable	the real and potential impact of the funded activity to achieve a multiplier effect beyond the direct targets
8. Sustainable	likelihood that the activities will continue for the longer-term without additional funding support

Appendix 4: Financials

Personnel

Administration						
Personnel	FY 1	FY 2	FY 3	FY 4	Growth Rate	Notes
Employee Payroll						
Executive Director	\$ 225,000	\$236,250	\$248,063	\$260,466	5%	
COO/Deputy Director				157,500		
CFO			150,000	157,500	5%	
Admin Assistant	75,000	78,750	82,688	86,822	5%	
Development Officer	100,000	105,000	110,250	115,763	5%	
Congressional Liaison			110,250	115,763	5%	
Sr. Program Officer 1	150,000	157,500	165,375	173,644	5%	
Program Officer 2	100,000	105,000	110,250	115,763	5%	
Program Officer 3		105,000	110,250	115,763	5%	staff added in FY3
Program Officer 4			110,250	115,763	5%	staff added in FY4
Program Officer 5				115,763		
Bookkeeper	75,000	78,750	82,688	86,822	5%	
PAYROLL TOTAL	725,000	866,250	1,280,063	1,617,329		
Taxes & Benefits (28%)	203,000	242,550	358,418	452,852	5%	
Consultants						
Legal	30,000	31,500	33,075	34,729	5%	incorporation, contracts, etc.
Accounting	10,000	10,500	11,025	11,576	5%	tax preparation, consulting
CONSULTANTS TOTAL	40,000	42,000	44,100	46,305		
TOTAL PERSONNEL	968,000	1,150,800	1,682,580	2,116,486		

Assume 5% annual salary increase

Assume taxes and benefits are 28 percent of payroll

General & Administration

Administration						
G&A	FY 1	FY 2	FY 3	FY 4	Growth Rate	Notes
Consultants	\$60,000	\$72,000	\$86,400	\$103,680	20%	various specialists required for operations — for example, graphic artists to develop fundraising materials,
Board/Advisory Council Expense	50,000	55,000	60,500	66,550	10%	board travel, expenses & per diem
Publications/Marketing	75,000	90,000	108,000	129,600	20%	fund-raising materials & support
Meetings/Conferences	65,000	78,000	93,600	112,320	20%	travel and fees for staff to meetings and conferences
Travel	60,000	72,000	86,400	103,680	20%	travel for fundraising
Audit/Legal	25,000	30,000	36,000	43,200	20%	annual audit
Facilities						
Rent/Utilities	72,000	86,400	103,680	124,416	20%	includes rent, utilities, staff parking, probably for sub-tenant or shared office space.
Telephone	10,000	12,000	14,400	17,280	20%	includes office phones, cell, internet.
Office Supplies	15,000	18,000	21,600	25,920	20%	various supplies and equipment
Insurance	12,000	14,400	17,280	20,736	20%	
Equipment	12,000	14,400	17,280	20,736	20%	computers and some audiovisual equipment
Website & New Media	48,000	52,800	58,080	63,888	10%	development of institution's website and other new media applications; for example, over-the-box channel distribution like ROKU, AppleTV, etc.
Postage & Delivery	8,000	9,600	11,520	13,824	20%	includes postage, overnight delivery and courier
AV Duplication	6,000	7,200	8,640	10,368	20%	duplication of audio and video materials, probably mostly for fundraising & reporting purposes
TOTAL	518,000	611,800	723,380	856,198		

Income

Projected Revenues	YR 1	YR 2	YR 3	YR 4
Corporate Funding	\$5,175,000	\$6,986,250	\$9,431,437	\$12,732,441
Foundation Funding	3,025,000	4,083,750	5,513,063	7,442,635
Individual Giving	1,800,000	2,430,000	3,280,500	4,428,676
Dedicated Revenue				500,000
Total Projected Revenue	10,000,000	13,500,000	18,225,000	25,103,752

Grants

	#	FY 1	FY 2	FY 3	FY 4
\$25K to \$1.5M awards	45	\$8,450,000	\$11,450,000	\$15,400,000	\$21,900,000
Discretionary fund for micro awards	0	50,000	50,000	100,000	100,000
TOTAL	45	8,500,000	11,500,000	15,500,000	22,000,000

Appendix 5: Timeline

March–December 2012

- solicit private-sector funding commitments to announce in conjunction with incorporation
- public release of business plan
- recruit board members
- draft Articles of Incorporation, proposed bylaws, statement of operating procedures and general principles

November 2012

- file Articles of Incorporation and for tax-exempt status with IRS
- briefing for key constituencies, i.e. administration officials, congressional staff, etc.
- corporation & foundation donor conferences
- hire initial staff

December 2012

- media event re: incorporation of SAGE

January 2013

- launch of public education campaign
- meeting of initial Board of Directors: adopt bylaws, elect officers, appoint President
- develop baseline goals & metrics for pilot projects
- begin recruiting Advisory Council

February 2013

- begin programming
- first RFPs issued
- launch recruitment for “IhearU” initiative

April 2013

- first discretionary grants announced
- begin training of U.S. cyber diplomats
- Board meeting/first Board approved grants announced
- begin recruiting Research Council

May 2013

- launch of “IhearU” platform

June 2013

- “IhearU” up & running in Russia, Turkey
- first Advisory Council meeting
- first meeting of Research Council

August 2013

- “IhearU” up & running in Egypt

September 2013

- second meeting of Research Council
- “IhearU” up & running in Pakistan
- tax-exempt status secured

October–December 2013

- board Meeting & Advisory Council meeting
- second batch of Boardapproved grants announced
- first-year review: what’s working, what’s not



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