

*Report of the
Defense Science Board Task Force*
on
Strategic Communication



September 2004

*Office of the Under Secretary of Defense
For Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics
Washington, D.C. 20301-3140*



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
3140 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-3140

DEFENSE SCIENCE
BOARD

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHAIRMAN, DEFENSE SCIENCE BOARD

SUBJECT: Final Report of the Defense Science Board (DSB) Task Force on Strategic Communication

The DSB Task Force on Strategic Communication has completed its work and a final report is attached. The report emphasizes that the ability of the US to credibly communicate to populations throughout the world is critical for achieving our national objectives. The topic of strategic communication was previously examined by the DSB in October 2001. The recommendations of the current study are in harmony with the previous effort and are even more relevant today.

The Task Force met with representatives from the National Security Council, White House Office of Global Communications, Department of State, Department of Defense, Broadcast Board of Governors and the academic and private sectors. Based on extensive interaction and discussion the Task Force concludes that US strategic communication must be transformed. Strategic communication is vital to US national security and foreign policy. We are engaged in a global struggle of ideas similar in magnitude to what we faced throughout half of the twentieth century. Succeeding in this struggle requires leadership from the President on down. The US has tremendous communication capability in all the various private sector media and academic communities. The Task Force believes these resources can be leveraged while maintaining independent analysis and thought.

The new recommendations emphasize the scope of change required across US Government departments and agencies in order for strategic communication to be effective. These recommendations are delineated in the attached report. The Task Force urges the senior leaders of the US Government to implement the recommendations at the earliest opportunity.

Vincent Vitto
Task Force Chairman

Executive Summary

The Defense Science Board Summer Study on the Transition to and from Hostilities was formed in early 2004 (the terms of reference are contained in Appendix A) and culminated in the production of a final report and summary briefing in August of 2004. The DSB Task Force on Strategic Communication conducted its deliberations within the overall Summer Study schedule and revisited a topic that was addressed in October 2001.¹ Task Force members and Government advisors are identified in Appendix B. The current Strategic Communication Task Force re-examined the purposes of strategic communication and the salience of recommendations in the earlier study. It then considered the following questions:

- (1) What are the consequences of changes in the strategic communication environment?
- (2) What Presidential direction and strategic communication means are required?
- (3) What should be done about public diplomacy and open military information operations?

The Task Force met with representatives from the National Security Council (NSC), White House Office of Global Communications, Department of State (DOS), Department of Defense (DOD), Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), and the private sector (the schedule of meetings, briefings and discussions is contained in Appendix C). Based on extensive interaction with a broad range of sectors in the government, commercial, and academic worlds, as well as a series of highly interactive internal debates, we have reached the following conclusions and recommendations.

This Task Force concludes that U.S. strategic communication must be transformed. America's negative image in world opinion and diminished ability to persuade are

¹ Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on *Managed Information Dissemination*, October 2001, <http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb/>. The report was briefed to the Secretary of Defense, the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, the Under Secretary of State for Management, and the National Security Council's Senior Advisor for Strategic Communications and Information and Senior Advisor for Democracy, Human Rights, and International Operations.

consequences of factors other than failure to implement communications strategies. Interests collide. Leadership counts. Policies matter. Mistakes dismay our friends and provide enemies with unintentional assistance. Strategic communication is not *the* problem, but it is *a* problem.

Understanding the problem. Strategic communication is a vital component of U.S. national security. It is in crisis, and it must be transformed with a strength of purpose that matches our commitment to diplomacy, defense, intelligence, law enforcement, and homeland security. Presidential leadership and the bipartisan political will of Congress are essential. Collaboration between government and the private sector on an unprecedented scale is imperative.

To succeed, we must understand the United States is engaged in a generational and global struggle about ideas, not a war between the West and Islam. It is more than a war against the tactic of terrorism. We must think in terms of global networks, both government and non-government. If we continue to concentrate primarily on states (“getting it right” in Iraq, managing the next state conflict better), we will fail. *Chapter 2 of this report examines the complex nature of this new paradigm and implications for sustained and imaginative action.*

Strategic communication requires a sophisticated method that maps perceptions and influence networks, identifies policy priorities, formulates objectives, focuses on “doable tasks,” develops themes and messages, employs relevant channels, leverages new strategic and tactical dynamics, and monitors success. This approach will build on in-depth knowledge of other cultures and factors that motivate human behavior. It will adapt techniques of skillful political campaigning, even as it avoids slogans, quick fixes, and mind sets of winners and losers. It will search out credible messengers and create message authority. It will seek to persuade within news cycles, weeks, and months. It will engage in a respectful dialogue of ideas that begins with listening and assumes decades of sustained effort. Just as importantly, through evaluation and feedback, it will enable political leaders and policymakers to make informed decisions on changes in

strategy, policies, messages, and choices among instruments of statecraft. *Chapter 3 of this report addresses ways in which strategic communication can be generated and managed with effect.*

We need to move beyond outdated concepts, stale structural models, and institutionally-based labels. Public diplomacy, public affairs, psychological operations (PSYOP) and open military information operations must be coordinated and energized. *Chapter 4 of this report recommends changes in the strategic communication functions and structures of the Departments of State and Defense, U.S. embassies and combatant commands.*

Leadership from the top. A unifying vision of strategic communication starts with Presidential direction. Only White House leadership, with support from cabinet secretaries and Congress, can bring about the sweeping reforms that are required.

Nothing shapes U.S. policies and global perceptions of U.S. foreign and national security objectives more powerfully than the President's statements and actions, and those of senior officials. Interests, not public opinion, should drive policies. But opinions must be taken into account when policy options are considered and implemented. At a minimum, we should not be surprised by public reactions to policy choices. Policies will not succeed unless they are communicated to global and domestic audiences in ways that are credible and allow them to make informed, independent judgments. Words in tone and substance should avoid offence where possible; messages should seek to reduce, not increase, perceptions of arrogance, opportunism, and double standards. These objectives mean officials must take full advantage of powerful tools to measure attitudes, understand cultures, and assess influence structures – not occasionally but as an iterative process. *Policies and strategic communication cannot be separated.*

Swift and sustained Presidential direction is also required to connect strategy to structure. In 1947, America confronted new threats and opportunities as well. The President with bipartisan support in Congress carried out policy and organizational initiatives that shaped U.S. national security for two generations. Today, we face challenges of similar

magnitude, made more formidable by a world where geography, military power, and time to react are no longer sufficient to ensure our security. Strategic communication and other 21st century instruments of statecraft require changes different in kind but similar in scale to the National Security Act of 1947 and the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986. These changes will occur only with sustained, enthusiastic, and deeply committed Presidential leadership – and the collaborative and bipartisan support of the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees of Congress.

Government-private sector partnership. Finding new ways to harness strategic communication to the flexibility and creative imagination of the private sector will be central to successful strategic communication in the 21st century. The commercial sector has a dominant competitive edge in multi-media production, opinion and media surveys, information technologies, program evaluation, and measuring the influence of communications. Academic and research communities offer vast untapped resources for education, training, area and language expertise, planning and consultative services.

Effective sharing between government and society in the conduct of strategic communication is not new. Government grants to private organizations have long been a way to carry out international educational and cultural exchanges, foreign opinion polling, democratization and media training programs, and much of U.S. international broadcasting. Grants extend the reach of government programs and capitalize on the expertise and flexibility of non-government partner organizations.

Recent study groups, including the October 2001 Defense Science Board Task Force, have recommended more extensive collaboration. These observers see value not only in leveraging private sector competencies but in new structures and a *degree of distance* that attracts credible messengers with non-government resumes, creative thinkers and talented communicators uncomfortable working with government agencies, and skilled, language-qualified professionals available for temporary crisis deployment.

Collaboration between government and the many benefits of private sector thinking and skills should be strongly encouraged. The complexity of strategic communication problems calls for balanced coordination of effort. Independent analysis is required in a wide range of fields: cultures and values, international intellectual engagement, communications studies, and applied science. Teamwork among civilian agencies and military services will be necessary to draw effectively on the seminars of universities, professional skills of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and imagination of the media production industry. Appropriate controls and risk assessment will be needed. For all their strengths, private organizations represent particular interests. Investments in strategic communication must be grounded in the public interest as determined by appropriate executive branch and Congressional authorities.

Election cycles and episodic commitment have shaped implementation of U.S. strategic communication for more than half a century. New thinking and new collaborative structures hold promise of a transformed and continuous strategic communication capability that serves America's interests.

The Task Force has made a set of recommendations listed below which we believe will make a significant difference. The time line and scale of their impact is difficult to quantify but we will not succeed in revitalizing Strategic Communication if we tinker around the edges. Given the enormous challenges we face, we can succeed only if we use all the instruments of national power. We should expect to see some progress within a year but we are dealing with at least a decade to have a significant impact. US public diplomacy efforts in the Cold War, the creation of the Peace Corps and the launch of a new brand or product within the private sector in a highly competitive environment are examples of efforts that have required comparable time scales and the challenges we face today are potentially more complex. We must begin and maintain our intensity and focus until we succeed.

Recommendations

(1) The Task Force recommends that the President issue a directive to: (a) strengthen the U.S. Government's ability to understand global public opinion, advise on the strategic implications of policymaking, and communicate with global audiences; (b) coordinate all components of strategic communication including public diplomacy, public affairs, international broadcasting, and military information operations; and (c) provide a foundation for new legislation on the planning, coordination, conduct, and funding of strategic communication.

(2) The Task Force recommends that the President should establish a permanent strategic communication structure within the NSC and work with Congress to create legislation and funding for a:

- *Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication;*
- *Strategic Communication Committee within the NSC; and an*
- *Independent, non-profit, non-partisan Center for Strategic Communication*

The Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication should chair a Strategic Communication Committee. Its members should have the equivalent of under secretary rank and be designated by the Secretaries of State, Defense and Homeland Security; the Attorney General; the Chief of Staff to the President; the Director of the Office of Management and Budget; the White House Communications Director; the Director of Central Intelligence; the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; the Director of the Agency for International Development; and the Chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors. Unlike previous coordinating mechanisms with nominal authority, this Strategic Communication Committee should have authority to assign responsibilities and plan the work of departments and agencies in the areas of public diplomacy, public affairs, and military information operations; concur in strategic communication personnel choices; shape strategic communication budget priorities; and provide program and project direction to a new Center for Strategic Communication.

(3) The Task Force recommends that the President work with Congress to create legislation and funding for an independent, non-profit and non-partisan Center for Strategic Communication to support the NSC and the departments and organizations represented on its Strategic Communication Committee. The Center should be a hybrid organization modeled on federally funded research and development centers (FFRDCs), such as the Rand Corporation, and the National Endowment for Democracy. It should be a tax-exempt private 501(c)(3) corporation that would receive an annual appropriation approved by Congress as part of the Department of State budget. The NSC's Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication and the members of the Strategic Communication Committee should provide program and project direction to the Center. The Center for Strategic Communication should be governed by an independent nonpartisan Board of Directors that would include distinguished Americans drawn from relevant professions and members of Congress appointed on a bipartisan basis. The NSC's Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication should be an ex officio member of the Board. The Board of Directors should appoint the Center's Director and ensure mission coherence and quality of performance.

The Center should be guided by three purposes:

- Provide information and analysis on a regular basis to civilian and military decision-makers on issues vital to U.S. national security including global public opinion; the role of culture, values, and religion in shaping human behavior; media trends and influences on audiences, information technologies, the implications of all source intelligence assessments, and non-departmental, non-political advice that will sharpen their judgment and provide a basis for informed choices.*
- Develop mandated and self-initiated plans, themes, products and programs for the creation and implementation of U.S. communications strategies that embrace diplomatic opportunities and respond to national security threats.*

- *Support government strategic communications through services provided on a cost-recovery basis that mobilize non-governmental initiatives; foster cross-cultural exchanges of ideas, people, and information; maintain knowledge management systems, language and skills inventories, and procedures to recruit private sector experts for short term assignments, deploy temporary communications teams; augment planning, recruitment, and training; and continually monitor and evaluate effectiveness.*

(4) The Task Force recommends that the Secretary of State redefine the role and responsibility of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs to be both policy advisor and manager for public diplomacy. The Under Secretary should serve as the Department's principal on the NSC's Strategic Communication Committee; have adequate staff for policy advice, program direction, and evaluation; direct the Department's foreign opinion and media research activities; approve senior public diplomacy assignments; and review the performance ratings of public diplomacy office director and embassy public affairs officers. All foreign policy initiatives and directives should have a public diplomacy component approved by the Under Secretary. The Department's current resources (personnel & funding) for public diplomacy should be tripled from current levels and placed under the control of the Under Secretary. The Department should provide a core funding grant to the Center for Strategic Communication in the amount of an annual appropriation in the Department's budget.

(5) The Task Force recommends that public diplomacy office directors in the Department of State should be at the level of deputy assistant secretary or senior advisor to the Assistant Secretary. Officers promoted to Chief of Mission positions or the Senior Foreign Service should have served at least one tour in a public diplomacy assignment in the Department or in an interagency assignment relevant to public diplomacy. The Bureau of International Information Programs should be directed by an Assistant Secretary.

(6) The Task Force recommends that the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy should act as the DOD focal point for strategic communication and serve as the Department's principal on the NSC's Strategic Communication Coordinating Committee. The Under Secretary for Policy should coordinate strategic communication activities with the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs and the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence. The Under Secretary of Defense for Policy should extend the role and responsibility of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs to act as the Department's focal point for military support of public diplomacy and create a new Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs to coordinate all activities associated with military support for public diplomacy; and provide adequate staff for policy advice, program direction, and evaluation.

(7) The Task Force recommends that the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and the Joint Chiefs of Staff ensure that all military plans and operations have appropriate strategic communication components, ensure collaboration with the Department of State's diplomatic missions and with theater security cooperation plans; and extend U.S. STRATCOM's and U.S. SOCOM's Information Operations responsibilities to include DoD support for public diplomacy. The Department should triple current resources (personnel & funding) available to combatant commanders for DoD support to public diplomacy and reallocate Information Operations funding within U.S. STRATCOM for expanded support for strategic communication programs.

Chapter 4 – Strategic Communication: Direction, Coordination, Support, and Execution

4.1 Linking Purpose to Process

Presidential efforts to plan and coordinate U.S. strategic communication since World War II have employed White House and cabinet department models. Presidents typically have used the NSC or the Department of State. Each has advantages and disadvantages. Neither has been consistently successful.

The NSC's Presidential imprimatur gives it more clout with line departments and agencies. The NSC "thinks" in interagency terms, and it is more suited to dealing with civilian/military and inter-agency rivalries. On the other hand, the NSC is susceptible to the pressures of election cycles. Its staff has less continuity. The NSC normally is not operational, and it has weak tasking authority. The NSC's strategic communication senior advisors and policy planning committees come and go. Two Presidential directives, often cited as models to emulate (PDD 68, President Clinton; NSDD 77, President Reagan), contained elegant formal authorities but proved weak in sustained impact.³⁴

Cabinet departments in contrast have more continuity, operating budgets, and contract authority. On balance they are less susceptible to the demands of election cycles. However, cabinet departments properly advance their own interests and tend not to "think" in interagency terms. The State Department delegates interagency strategic communication coordination to an Under Secretary with minimal planning and staff support at the bureau level. Under Secretaries rarely advise Presidents directly and are

³⁴ The bipartisan Presidentially-appointed U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy in its 1989 report concluded: "The elaborate public diplomacy coordinating mechanism established by National Security Decision Directive (NSDD 77) in 1982 has not worked well. The Senior Planning Group (SPG), chaired by the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and its four subordinate committees have met infrequently and have not played the role expected of them" (p. 27). The Advisory Commission's conclusion applies equally to PDD 68 on International Public Information signed by President Clinton in 1999 and the Strategic Communication PCC created by National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice in 2002.

much less suited to dealing with interagency turf battles than the NSC. State occasionally has planned and coordinated strategic communication well on single issues (e.g., during the 1991 Persian Gulf war), but it has failed to do so successfully on a consistent basis when it has had the responsibility.

The U.S. Information Agency (USIA) was an independent executive branch agency from 1953 until it was merged with the Department of State in 1999. USIA's core competencies were information dissemination and managing educational and cultural exchanges overseas. Until the Broadcasting Act of 1994, U.S. international broadcasting services were independent grantees (RFE/RL) and linked organizationally, albeit tenuously, to USIA (Voice of America). USIA was flexible and responsive. USIA's mission and critical mass gave it a level of strength in the execution of public diplomacy that so far has eluded the Department of State.

USIA seldom developed communications strategies or coordinated interagency activities at the strategic level, however, despite statutory advisory responsibilities. USIA's Directors by law reported directly to and served as the "principal advisor to the President, the NSC, and the Secretary of State."³⁵ Some USIA directors were invited occasionally to attend NSC meetings; some were not. The degree of participation depended almost always on personal relations between a President and a Director. Only rarely did it demonstrate appreciation of the value of understanding public opinion, other cultures, and communication strategies in making and implementing foreign policy.

For sixty years strategic communication planning and coordination has been ephemeral and usually treated with indifference. The United States can no longer afford a repetitious pattern of hollow authorities, ineffectual committees, and stifling turf battles in strategic communication. The White House Office of Global Communications and a NSC PCC now have formal authorities relating to strategic communication coordination.

³⁵ Section 2, Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977. The USIA Director's legal authority as "statutory advisor" was contained in the Agency's enabling legislation. USIA's advisory role was analogous, at least formally, with the advisory authorities of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Joint Chiefs of Staff as provided in the National Security Act of 1947. For example, "The Joint Chiefs of Staff are the principal military advisers to the President, the NSC, and the Secretary of Defense." 10 U.S.C. 141(b).

Their practical influence is marginal at best, non-existent at worst. Their authorities should be rescinded. Given ample evidence that traditional NSC and cabinet models have not worked, these entities should be replaced with new structures grounded in legislation that address 21st century realities.

America needs a revolution in strategic communication rooted in:

- Presidential direction reinforced and made permanent with bipartisan Congressional funding and support and the backing of cabinet secretaries and agency heads who will build strong cooperative institutional capabilities.
- Direction, planning, and coordination led by a new statutory Deputy National Security Advisor and an interagency Strategic Communication Committee.
- Support from an orchestrated blend of public and private sector components dedicated to addressing critical challenges and providing operational support through an independent non-profit and nonpartisan Center for Global Strategic Communication.

There is no such thing as a “perfect” planning and coordinating structure. The success or failure of new structures ultimately will be determined by the skill and integrity of the people involved. But substance and structure are integrally related. Good organizations can help shape good outcomes.

4.2 Presidential and NSC Direction

A unifying Presidential vision and broad bipartisan Congressional support are the critical starting points in transforming America’s strategic communication. Only Presidential direction and the focused actions of Congressional leaders can create the political will needed to build the long-term strategic communication capabilities America needs. Incremental changes to structures designed generations ago are not the answer. We need a new vision, new structures, and new Congressional authorities. Leadership from the top must drive widespread understanding that 21st century foreign and national security policies will fail unless interlinked with strategic communication.

The Task Force recommends a Presidential directive that will (1) strengthen the U.S. government's ability to understand global public opinion, advise on the strategic implications of policymaking, and communicate with global audiences; (2) coordinate all components of strategic communication including public diplomacy, public affairs, international broadcasting, and military information operations; and (3) provide a foundation for new legislation on the planning, coordination, conduct, and funding of strategic communication.

To achieve these goals the President should establish a permanent strategic communication structure within the NSC and work with Congress to create legislation and funding for a:

- Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication;
- Strategic Communication Committee within the NSC; and an
- Independent, non-profit, non-partisan Center for Strategic Communication (described in Section 4.3 below).

The Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication should be equivalent in rank to a deputy head of a cabinet department and report to the National Security Advisor and to the NSC. The NSC Deputy for Strategic Communication would also serve as the President's principal advisor on all matters relating strategic communication. This should be a highly experienced individual with a close relationship to the President, superb political communication skills, the stature to work at the highest levels of government, sensitivity to the cultures of civilian and military departments of government, and strong ties to the private sector.

The Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication should chair a Strategic Communication Committee. Its members should have the equivalent of under secretary rank and be designated by the Secretaries of State, Defense and Homeland Security; the Attorney General; the Chief of Staff to the President; the Director of the Office of Management and Budget; the White House Communications Director; the Director of Central Intelligence; the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; the Director of

the Agency for International Development; and the Chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors.

The Strategic Communication Committee (SCC) should be given the strategic direction, coordination, and evaluation authorities that now exist in Executive Order 13283 establishing the White House Office of Global Communications and the NSC Memorandum of September 10, 2002 establishing the NSC's Strategic Communication Policy Coordinating Committee. Unlike previous coordinating mechanisms with nominal authority, the new Strategic Communication Committee also should have authority to plan the work of line agencies in the areas of public diplomacy, public affairs, and military information operations. The SCC should assign operational responsibilities, but not direct execution. It should provide program and project direction to the new Center for Strategic Communication.

The Deputy National Security Advisor should have the right to concur in the choices of personnel leading operating entities in the SCC's departments and agencies including the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs for Strategic Communication, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, and the Chair of the Broadcasting Board of Governors. The Deputy National Security Advisor also should work with the Director of the Office of Management and Budget in developing strategic communication budget priorities.

Most of today's strategic communication instruments were constructed during and after World War II. Missions and interagency coordinating structures reflect Cold War models. Just as an earlier generation of Americans created new ways to meet the national security challenges of the 1940s and 1950s, we must make changes on a similar scale today, and we must ground these changes in legislation.

Recommendation 1

The Task Force recommends that the President issue a directive to (1) strengthen the U.S. government's ability to understand global public opinion, advise on the strategic implications of policymaking, and communicate with global audiences; (2) coordinate all components of strategic communication including public diplomacy, public affairs, international broadcasting, and military information operations; and (3) provide a foundation for new legislation on the planning, coordination, conduct, and funding of strategic communication.

Recommendation 2

The Task Force recommends that the President should establish a permanent strategic communication structure within the NSC and work with Congress to create legislation and funding for a:

- *Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication,*
- *Strategic Communication Committee within the NSC, and an*
- *Independent, non-profit, non-partisan Center for Strategic Communication*

The Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication should chair a Strategic Communication Committee. Its members should have the equivalent of under secretary rank and be designated by the Secretaries of State, Defense and Homeland Security; the Attorney General; the Chief of Staff to the President; the Director of the Office of Management and Budget; the White House Communications Director; the Director of Central Intelligence; the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; the Director of the Agency for International Development; and the Chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors. Unlike previous coordinating mechanisms with nominal authority, this Strategic Communication Committee should have authority to assign responsibilities and plan the work of departments and agencies in the areas of public diplomacy, public affairs; and military information operations; concur in strategic communication personnel choices; shape strategic communication budget priorities; and provide program and project direction to the new Center for Strategic Communication.

4.3 Center for Strategic Communication

In seeking ways to enhance government-private sector collaboration in support of strategic communication, the Task Force examined roles, functions, and organizational structures. We concluded that direction, planning, and coordination is a government responsibility requiring change at the White House and NSC level. We also concluded that America's interests would be well served by creating a Congressionally-mandated independent, non-profit, non-partisan Center for Strategic Communication (CSC).

The Center should be a hybrid organization modeled on federally funded research and development centers (FFRDCs), such as the Rand Corporation, and the National Endowment for Democracy. The Center should be a tax-exempt private 501(c)(3) corporation. The Center's authority should enable it to provide services to government departments on a cost-recovery basis and contract with academic, commercial, and other non-government organizations.

The NSC's Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication and the members of the Strategic Communication Committee should provide program and project direction to the Center. The Center for Strategic Communication should be governed by an independent nonpartisan Board of Directors that would include distinguished Americans drawn from relevant professions and members of Congress appointed on a bipartisan basis. The NSC's Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication should be an *ex officio* member of the Board. The Board of Directors should appoint the Center's Director and ensure mission coherence and quality of performance.

The Center should be guided by three purposes:

- (1) Provide information and analysis on a regular basis to civilian and military decision-makers on issues vital to U.S. national security including global public opinion; the role of culture, values, and religion in shaping human behavior; media trends and influences on audiences, information technologies, the implications of all source intelligence

assessments, and non-departmental, non-political advice that will sharpen their judgment and provide a basis for informed choices.

(2) Develop mandated and self-initiated plans, themes, products and programs for the creation and implementation of U.S. communications strategies that embrace diplomatic opportunities and respond to national security threats.

(3) Support government strategic communications through services provided on a cost-recovery basis that mobilize non-governmental initiatives; foster cross-cultural exchanges of ideas, people, and information; maintain knowledge management systems, language and skills inventories, and procedures to recruit private sector experts for short term assignments, deploy temporary communications teams; augment planning, recruitment, and training; and continually monitor and evaluate effectiveness.

The Center would perform functions in seven critical areas:

(1) Audience polling and analysis including ethnographic, psychographic, demographic, behavioral and tracking research; hypothesis testing (e.g. focus groups); and other “listening” and assessment techniques used in political campaigns.

(2) Cultural influence analysis including values, religion, entertainment, and education.

(3) Analysis of media influences on audiences including content analysis, agendas, political/social tendencies, relevance and credibility, and media organization structure, ownership, and business models.

(4) Foster cross cultural exchanges of ideas, people, and information.

(5) Sub-contract to the commercial and academic sectors for a range of products and programs that communicate strategic themes and messages to appropriate target audiences. Broad themes and messages would include respect for human dignity and

individual rights; individual education and economic opportunity; and personal freedom, safety, and mobility. Examples of products would be a children's TV series (Arabic Sesame Street); video and interactive games; support for the distribution and production of selected foreign films; and web communications including BLOGs, chat rooms, and electronic journals. Programs might include training and exchanges of journalists, support for selected foreign television documentaries; maintenance of databases of third party validators and supporters for conferences; and the design and implementation of country and regional campaigns to support themes and messages and de-legitimize extremism and terrorism.

(6) Mobilize non-government initiatives including temporary communication teams, coalition building partnerships and deployment of language-qualified global messengers.

(7) Continually monitor and evaluate effectiveness, efficiency, and message continuity to adapt themes, products, and programs as directed by the Chair of the Strategic Communications Committee and its members.

The Center should receive core funding that supports steady state operations through a Congressional line item in the Department of State's annual appropriation. Funds appropriated to the Center should be placed in a revolving fund in the U.S. Treasury without fiscal year limitation.

The Center's core funding would support basic operations (staff and administration), information and analysis (polling, media research, cultural studies), maintenance of databases and skills inventories, and self-initiated projects and programs. The Task Force estimates that at least \$100 million would be necessary to sustain the Center's core mission and operations. An additional \$150 million is recommended for projects and programs the Center would develop through contracts with the commercial and academic sectors as directed NSC's Deputy Advisor for Strategic Communication. Additional funding for projects and programs would be provided through contracts and task orders from the Strategic Communication Committee's departments and agencies.

The Center's success will depend on its ability to serve as a central source of independent, objective expertise safeguarded from special pleadings of organizational interests. Structures and methods that are agile, adaptable, and cutting edge; that are multi-disciplinary and fuse capabilities from a variety of sources; that respect past gains as they lay a strong foundation for the future. Regular critical feedback to key decision-makers based on polling and research, and longer term independent analyses that help refocus and reassess policy and strategic communication initiatives will be essential.

Recommendation 3

The Task Force recommends that the President work with Congress to create legislation and funding for an independent, non-profit and non-partisan Center for Strategic Communication to support the NSC and the departments and organizations represented on its Strategic Communication Committee. The Center should be a hybrid organization modeled on federally funded research and development centers (FFRDCs), such as the Rand Corporation, and the National Endowment for Democracy. It should be a tax-exempt private 501(c)(3) corporation that would receive an annual appropriation approved by Congress as part of the Department of State budget. The NSC's Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication and the members of the Strategic Communication Committee should provide program and project direction to the Center. The Center for Strategic Communication should be governed by an independent nonpartisan Board of Directors that would include distinguished Americans drawn from relevant professions and members of Congress appointed on a bipartisan basis. The NSC's Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication should be an ex officio member of the Board. The Board of Directors should appoint the Center's Director and ensure mission coherence and quality of performance.

The Center should be guided by three purposes:

(1) Provide information and analysis on a regular basis to civilian and military decision-makers on issues vital to U.S. national security including global public opinion; the role

of culture, values, and religion in shaping human behavior; media trends and influences on audiences, information technologies, the implications of all source intelligence assessments, and non-departmental, non-political advice that will sharpen their judgment and provide a basis for informed choices.

(2) Develop mandated and self-initiated plans, themes, products and programs for the creation and implementation of U.S. communications strategies that embrace diplomatic opportunities and respond to national security threats.

(3) Support government strategic communications through services provided on a cost-recovery basis that mobilize non-governmental initiatives; foster cross-cultural exchanges of ideas, people, and information; maintain knowledge management systems, language and skills inventories, and procedures to recruit private sector experts for short term assignments, deploy temporary communications teams; augment planning, recruitment, and training; and continually monitor and evaluate effectiveness.

4.4 Department of State — Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy in the Department of State is carried out by the Secretary of State, the Deputy Secretary, officials and diplomats throughout the Department, American ambassadors, and officers in U.S. embassies around the world. In today's world, public diplomacy is not only the core function of a few specialists. It should be in the position description of every Department of State officer engaged in the conduct of diplomacy.

Organizationally, public diplomacy is the responsibility of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs; the Bureaus of International Information Programs, Educational and Cultural Affairs, and Public Affairs; public diplomacy offices in State's regional and functional bureaus, the Office of Foreign Opinion Research in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research; and all U.S. missions abroad. In 1999, the U.S. Information Agency was abolished. Its functions, other than international broadcasting, were distributed among these State Department elements.

U.S. international broadcasting services including the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia, and Radio/TV Marti were placed under an independent federal entity, the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG). The BBG also directs Radio Sawa and the Al Hurra satellite TV channel, two new U.S. Arabic language services, and Radio Farda, a Persian language service broadcasting primarily to Iran.

Together the Department of State and the Broadcasting Board of Governors spend approximately \$1.2 billion annually on public diplomacy programs. The State Department's public diplomacy budget totaled an estimated \$628 million in fiscal year 2004. About 51 percent, \$320 million, is spent on Fulbright Scholarships and other educational and cultural exchange programs. Of the remaining 49 percent, approximately \$240 million is spent on embassy public diplomacy activities managed by the Department's regional bureaus and approximately \$70 million funds the Bureau of International Information Programs and related activities including opinion and media research (\$6 million). The Broadcasting Board of Governors budget for fiscal year 2004 is somewhat in excess of \$600 million with recent funding initiatives for Radio Sawa, Al Hurra, and Radio Farda.³⁶

More than fifteen studies since 9/11 have proposed major changes in the State Department's conduct of public diplomacy. In addition to these studies and this Task Force report, the Department's Inspector General has drafted reports recommending changes in the Department's Bureaus of International Information Programs and Education and Cultural Affairs. The General Accountability Office is conducting a study of interagency coordination of public diplomacy. Recommendations in the 9/11 Commission's report address public diplomacy, U.S. international broadcasting, and "the struggle of ideas" in the conflict against Islamist terrorism.

³⁶ *U.S. Public Diplomacy: State Department and Broadcasting Board of Governors Expand Efforts in the Middle East but Face Significant Challenges*, Statement of Jess T. Ford, Director of International Affairs and Trade, U.S. General Accountability Office before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations, Committee on Government Reform; House of Representatives, February 10, 2004, pp. 5-6.

Public diplomacy clearly falls far short of its potential usefulness and needs to be strengthened. The Task Force has identified five areas in which re-evaluation and action is needed in the Department of State's conduct of public diplomacy.

Redefine the role and responsibilities of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. The role of the Under Secretary must reflect the reality that public diplomacy is a function of both policy formulation and policy implementation. Today, neither function is adequately served. The Under Secretary must have a mandate to act as:

- Advisor to the Secretary of State, the Department, and Chiefs of Mission on the public diplomacy implications of foreign policy,
- Manager for public diplomacy within the Department of State, and
- The Secretary's principal representative on the U.S. government's highest level interagency strategic communication direction and planning body.

To fulfill this mandate, the Under Secretary must have adequate staff and resources for policy advice, program direction, and evaluation. Unlike other Under Secretary positions in the Department of State, the unique advisory and program characteristics of public diplomacy require that the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs have the capability to *manage and oversee* worldwide public diplomacy programs and operations.

The Department's decision in the summer of 2004 to create a strategic communication planning and resource management staff within the Office of the Undersecretary is an overdue step in the right direction. This staff should be strengthened to ensure the Under Secretary is equipped to give timely policy advice, effective program direction, and comprehensive program evaluation. Currently this staff can provide support for the NSC's Muslim outreach coordinating committee and the fusion teams that act as a clearinghouse for military and other sources of information for the public diplomacy community and a point of contact for resources for all public diplomacy products. This staff is well positioned also to assist the Under Secretary in developing task orders for

information, analysis, and services in support of public diplomacy from the Center for Strategic Communication recommended in Section 4.3 above.

The Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs should serve as the Department's principal representative on the NSC Strategic Communication Committee recommended in Section 4.2 above. The Under Secretary could advise on the implications of foreign public opinion for policymaking by the NSC and its regional and functional bureaus; influence development of strategic communication goals, priorities, themes, and messages; help to create centers of action on key policy issues; and assist the NSC Deputy Advisor for Strategic Communication in providing program and project direction to a new Center for Strategic Communication.

The Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs should direct the State Department's foreign opinion and media research activities. These activities, previously carried out by the U.S. Information Agency, are intended primarily to contribute to understanding foreign public and media opinion for policymaking and public diplomacy purposes. The Office of Foreign Opinion and Media Research, now located in the Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, is valued principally for its contribution to all source intelligence products. It should be located in the office of the Under Secretary. This would strengthen the Under Secretary's representations on the NSC's Strategic Communication Committee, as well as their ability to foster mutually reinforcing opinion and media research activities with the private sector and other government agencies including the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), the BBG, and the DOD. Funds for the State Department's foreign opinion and media research activities should be tripled.

Congress and the Department of State should strengthen the status, functions, and funding of the Bureau of International Information Programs. Congress should provide legal authority for the Bureau to be directed by a Presidentially-appointed Assistant Secretary of State. This would constitute overdue recognition of the Bureau's increasingly important public diplomacy functions and give it standing equivalent to the

other Bureaus reporting to the Under Secretary – the Bureaus of Public Affairs and Educational and Cultural Affairs. The Department should modernize and consolidate its international information functions – e.g., website management, radio and TV broadcasting, library management and reference services. It has been a decade since this experimental “I Bureau” was created in the former USIA. It is time for a thorough reexamination of how the Bureau can best serve U.S. interests in a rapidly changing information environment. The Under Secretary should reinforce its effectiveness through a top-down review of its functions, technologies, methods, management structures, and program evaluation capabilities.

Ensure that all foreign policy initiatives have a public diplomacy component. All major foreign policy directives should have a public diplomacy component approved by the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. A principal goal in merging USIA into the Department was integrating public diplomacy into policy making and policy implementation processes. Some progress has been made. However, substantial changes in the Department’s organizational culture are still necessary. Policymakers should be much more conscious of public diplomacy’s value to effective policies. In turn, public diplomacy officers should be much more informed about policies and the relevance of policy priorities to successful public diplomacy programs.

Public diplomacy considerations in the formulation of all major policies should include:

- Shaping themes and messages and choosing means of delivery to ensure that priorities are clear, overall themes are established, messages are consistent, and resources are used effectively;
- Identifying communication tools that will most effectively reach intended targets with the specific messages indicated by the policy;
- Mapping the results of public opinion polling and media analyses to specific policies and issues;
- Analyzing the potential impact of policies on public attitudes, strongly held personal convictions, and divergent interests;

- Understanding what constitutes “message authority,” the implications of cross-cultural communication, and how messages are “heard” in different cultural environments;
- Determining the nature, extent, and limitations of public influence on official decision-making in a given environment; and
- Evaluating results and providing short term and long term feedback to policymakers and public diplomacy program officers.

Redefine the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs’ relationships within the Department of State to improve public diplomacy planning and implementation. Changes in human resource policies are required to strengthen public diplomacy. The Under Secretary should concur in all senior public diplomacy assignments and review the performance ratings of all public diplomacy office directors in the Department’s geographic bureaus, public affairs officers in major embassies, and the Department’s public affairs advisors assigned to other agencies, combatant commands, and international organizations.

Performance ratings for all Chiefs of Mission and Foreign Service officers in political and economic career paths should include mandatory comment on public diplomacy skills. Within a reasonable period of time, officers promoted to the Chief of Mission and Senior Foreign Service level should have served in a public diplomacy or relevant interagency assignment. Public diplomacy officers should be assigned to responsible positions in the Secretary and Deputy Secretary’s offices, and offices of each of the Under Secretaries. This can begin immediately.

The Department should strengthen the public diplomacy offices in its geographic bureaus and their role in managing public diplomacy operations at U.S. embassies and consulates. Within the Department’s hierarchy, they would be more effective as Deputy Assistant Secretaries or senior advisors reporting directly to Assistant secretaries. These changes would raise the profile of public diplomacy in the geographic bureaus and increase public diplomacy’s influence on policy initiatives management in the field.

Triple resources (personnel and funding) for the Department of State's public diplomacy activities (information programs, educational and cultural exchanges, embassy activities, and opinion research) and place them under the direction of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. The Department's current funding for public diplomacy (approximately \$600 million), is substantially less in real terms than public diplomacy budgets during the Cold War. When combined with the BBG's international broadcasting budget (also approximately \$600 million) the public diplomacy budget totals \$1.2 billion. The Task Force recommends the Department's public diplomacy funding be increased to \$1.8 billion resulting in a total public diplomacy budget of \$2.4 billion. In addition the BBG has requested increases in funding. The Task Force also supports increased BBG funding for web based broadcasting services and those radio and television services where research and program reviews demonstrates significant audiences for news and public affairs programming.

The 9/11 Commission, senior political leaders in both parties, and the findings of recent public diplomacy studies are in agreement on two fundamental assumptions. America is engaged in a "struggle of ideas." Existing levels of investment in public diplomacy are not commensurate with current threats and opportunities. Funds allocated for strategic communications are anemic in contrast to what is spent by corporations and political campaigns. Public diplomacy resources (staff and funding) have eroded by more than 30 percent since 1989. More than 60 percent of the Department's overseas missions today have only one public diplomacy officer. The Department of State should request and Congress should appropriate significant increases in public diplomacy budgets. Within the Department all public diplomacy resources should be under the control of the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs.

Core funding for the Center for Strategic Communication should be appropriated within the budget of the Department of State. As a nonprofit tax-exempt corporation, most of the Center's project and program funds will flow from cost recovery contracts and task orders from the U.S. government agencies who are members of the Strategic

Communication Committee. However, the Congress should appropriate funding to the Department of State to enable the Department to provide an annual grant to the Center for its core operations.

There are existing models for this in public diplomacy. Funding for the National Endowment for Democracy, a nonprofit corporation, derives from an annual grant based on appropriations to the Department of State. Similarly, funding for U.S. international broadcasting's nonprofit corporations – Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia, and Al Hurra – comes in the form of grants based on appropriations to the Broadcasting Board of Governors.

Based on these findings, the Task Force makes two recommendations. The first addresses the roles and responsibilities of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. The second calls for changes in the Department of State's culture, structure, and human resources policies in support for public diplomacy.

Recommendation 4

The Task Force recommends that the Secretary of State redefine the role and responsibility of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs to be both policy advisor and manager for public diplomacy. The Under Secretary should serve as the Department's principal on the NSC's Strategic Communication Committee; have adequate staff for policy advice, program direction, and evaluation; direct the Department's foreign opinion and media research activities; approve senior public diplomacy assignments; and review the performance ratings of public diplomacy office director and embassy public affairs officers. All foreign policy initiatives and directives should have a public diplomacy component approved by the Under Secretary. The Department's current resources (personnel & funding) for public diplomacy should be tripled from current levels and placed under the control of the Under Secretary. The Department should provide a core funding grant to the Center for Strategic Communication in the amount of an annual appropriation in the Department's budget.

Recommendation 5

The Task Force recommends that public diplomacy office directors in the Department of State should be at the level of deputy assistant secretary or senior advisor to the Assistant Secretary. Officers promoted to Chief of Mission positions or the Senior Foreign Service should have served at least one tour in a public diplomacy assignment in the Department or in an interagency assignment relevant to public diplomacy. The Bureau of International Information Programs should be directed by an Assistant Secretary.

4.5 Department of Defense Strategic Communication Responsibilities

The creation of the Office of Strategic Influence (OSI) in October of 2001, and its subsequent implosion four months later, produced a bow wave of effects in the strategic communication arena. The renewed emphasis by the White House and DOD for the need to maintain a firewall between operational and tactical influence efforts (PSYOP) and broader influence efforts like Public Diplomacy (PD), produced a bifurcated interagency process. Two NSC Policy Coordination Committees on information strategy and a new White House Office of Global Communication have proven ineffective thus far in producing an NSC-approved strategic information campaign for the War on Terror.

The Secretary of Defense approved an Information Operations (IO) roadmap in October 2003 aimed at addressing perceived organizational shortfalls within the Department. Among the assigned tasks was to define “lanes in the road” regarding Public Affairs, Public Diplomacy and PSYOP. Work is under way to implement the Secretary’s guidance, but final solutions aimed at assigning responsibilities for what are often overlapping functions have not been established.

Major military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq—followed in each case by a very difficult post-conflict phase—produced unprecedented demands on already undermanned and under equipped PSYOP forces.³⁷ Smaller scale PSYOP programs in support of

³⁷ In both cases, the national radio broadcasting network had been taken down; there was virtually no TV in Afghanistan and limited TV coverage in a few large cities in Iraq. The security environment in both countries prohibited rapid re-establishment of regional or national broadcasting grids, and U.S. PSYOP assets were asked to provide the bulk of Coalition capabilities for several months.

humanitarian crises in Liberia and Haiti have been carried out successfully within current resource constraints.

The Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) Public Affairs' embedded journalist program in Iraq proved to be highly successful; and the Secretary of Defense's frequent press conferences on Afghanistan and Iraq operations served to define the U.S. Government's policies in those regions.

The desire within DOD for a coherent and dynamic interagency process is stronger than ever and progress has been made in important areas over the last year.

U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM) received a significant plus-up in fiscal year 2004 (FY04) for PSYOP and Civil Affairs; \$205 million for the next five years for PSYOP forces and equipment—including a trans-regionally focused PSYOP unit—and significant increases in both reserve and active duty force authorizations for Civil Affairs. A \$45 million Advanced Concept Technology Demonstration (ACTD) is underway, focused on developing better ways to disseminate information, particularly into denied or remote areas.

Two trans-regional PSYOP initiatives have been approved and are in the initial phases of execution. These initiatives are aimed at reinforcing U.S. country teams' ability to assist selected host nations in their struggle to identify terrorists in their region and to exercise better control over territory that is being used, or will inevitably be used, by terrorists as safe havens.

Regional web sites aimed at providing open source information supporting the U.S. Government and Coalition policies have been proposed by U.S. European Command (EUCOM) and U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM).

A process has been developed by the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and the Joint Staff to monitor and analyze Arab broadcast media in near real time based on open

sources and using sophisticated translation, storage and retrieval techniques. A cooperative working relationship with the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and State Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) in this area provides the Deputy Secretary, Combatant Commanders, and the Department of State with a better picture of how the U.S. and its coalition partners are viewed in the Arab world.

The Information Operations (IO) Roadmap

The DOD has developed an Information Operations (IO) roadmap that identifies roles and responsibilities within the DoD. The roadmap designates PSYOP as one of five core elements of IO (which also includes military deception, computer network operations, electronic warfare and operational security). Parallel changes in DOD regulations and the Unified Command Plan (UCP) responsibilities have also occurred. The Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence (USD(I)) has been designated by DOD regulation as the “Principal Advisor to the Secretary of Defense for Information Operations”; the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy (USD(P)) has been designated as the lead for IO interagency coordination.

U.S. STRATCOM has been designated in the UCP as the primary supporting command for IO; U.S. SOCOM has been given the responsibility for integrating and coordinating its PSYOP assets—primarily resourced by the U.S. Army—with those of the Services to provide more effective support to the regional combatant commands.

Within USD(P), the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict (ASD SO/LIC) has retained oversight within OSD Policy for operational and tactical PSYOP planning and execution, and the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (ASD ISA) has assumed responsibility for DoD support to public diplomacy in addition to primary responsibilities for policy coordination and planning for regional areas of the globe involved in countering ideological support for terrorism. These activities are led by Deputy Assistant Secretaries

(DASDs) who work with the Joint Staff (J3/J5) and the Combatant Commanders to insure that public diplomacy plans and policy oversight are consistent and are coordinated globally. A new functionally oriented DASD should be established to provide the necessary public diplomacy and PSYOP expertise to these activities and to support the ASD/ISA in representing DOD in the interagency.

The Secretary of Defense recently approved for NSC consideration a strategy for reinvigorating the Global War on Terror. That strategy includes as a significant component countering ideological support for terrorists, with emphasis on Islamic extremists. This proposal advocates increasing senior DOD level representation at key embassies and missions, and increasing senior DOS representation to combatant commands. A principal task for both would be to ensure that a Strategic Communication plan for each region is developed and incorporated into theater security cooperation guidance and made a part of theater contingency planning. Supporting commands (U.S. STRATCOM, U.S. SOCOM) would develop mechanisms to assist in such planning.

Initial actions to develop trans-regional PSYOP and other informational programs should be expanded and institutionalized at regional combatant commands and at key embassies and missions. Informal arrangements such as the Joint Staff J-3/J-5 strategic communication working group and the interagency counterpropaganda coordination panel should be combined. DOS representatives should work with combatant commands to incorporate strategic communication annexes in applicable plans. U.S. STRATCOM and U.S. SOCOM should build on capabilities represented by the Joint Information Operation Center (JIOC) and the Joint PSYOP Support Element (JPSE) to coordinate and support regional web sites and trans-regional PSYOP planning.

The Department's current funding for PSYOP is approximately \$45 million annually. The level of funding by Combatant Commanders for military-to-military exchanges and public diplomacy programs and coordination activities within the regions of responsibility are hard to estimate. An educated estimate would put the funding level at no more than \$75 million for the aggregate across all Combatant Commanders. The Task

Force believes that funding for public diplomacy programs and military exchanges should be tripled. There are plans to increase funding for PSYOP activities and the Task Force supports increased funding to expand activities associated with web based interactive services that are targeted to specific audiences.

The Department should become over time a primary user of the proposed independent Center for Strategic Communication. DOD would bring valuable expertise to its work; and important support for combatant commands in areas such as media mapping, sophisticated measurements of message effectiveness and prototype products for testing and distribution in key geographic regions could result.

In sum, there is much to be gained by the Department preparing, on a priority basis, to act as a full and essential partner in the reconstruction of a capable and effective U.S. Government process for re-capturing the strategic information high ground.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are aimed at furthering internal DOD efforts at organizing for more effective support to both the interagency and combatant commanders.

Recommendation 6

The Task Force recommends that the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy should act as the DOD focal point for strategic communication and serve as the Department's principal on the NSC's Strategic Communication Coordinating Committee. The Under Secretary for Policy should coordinate strategic communication activities with the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs and the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence. The Under Secretary of Defense for Policy should extend the role and responsibility of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs to act as the Department's focal point for DoD support of public diplomacy and create a new Deputy Assistant Secretary to coordinate all activities associated with support for

public diplomacy; and provide adequate staff for policy advice, program direction, and evaluation.

Recommendation 7

The Task Force recommends that the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and the Joint Chiefs of Staff ensure that all military plans and operations have appropriate strategic communication components, ensure collaboration with the Department of State's diplomatic missions and with theater security cooperation plans; and extend U.S. STRATCOM's and U.S. SOCOM's Information Operations responsibilities to include DoD support for public diplomacy. The Department should triple current resources (personnel & funding) available to combatant commanders for DoD support to public diplomacy and reallocate Information Operations funding within U.S. STRATCOM for expanded support for strategic communication programs.

4.6 Recommendations Impact

If we adopt the recommendations of this Task Force and those of the 9/11 Commission and other study groups, will they make a significant difference? No one can say for sure. But we cannot succeed if we tinker at the margins. Given the enormous challenges we face, we can succeed only if we use all the instruments of national power.

America's response in the early days of the Cold War is instructive for 21st century strategic communication. There are of course substantial differences. Conflict between two superpower states with large armies and nuclear weapons -- and competing ideological claims within a shared Enlightenment tradition -- is vastly different from conflict in which terrorism by extremist networks, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and fissures within societies are critical threats in a globalizing world. Disseminating scarce information to closed societies was central during the Cold War. Today, there are few closed societies. Satellite TV, the Internet, computers, and cell phones mean political struggles are about gaining attention and maintaining credibility.

But there are similarities and lessons.

First, the challenges and what we must do about them are comparable in scale. Until now Americans could build information instruments in wartime and allow them to rust when the war was over. We did so after WWI and WWII, and again after the Cold War. Fifty years ago, we developed imaginative new approaches to embassy and military information services, to cross cultural exchanges of people and ideas, and to international broadcasting. Today on a scale not seen since the 1940s we are shaping new approaches to intelligence, military force structures, nation-building, and homeland security. We must devote comparable creativity and energy to strategic communication. The 9/11 Commission and other voices agree. We can't get the job done with intelligence and military force alone.

Second, we understood then that actions are the most credible form of communication. The Marshall Plan sparked imaginations around the world. The Berlin airlift brought supplies to the citizens of West Berlin and hope to millions. Ditto aid to Greece and Turkey. U.S. civilian and military information agencies were needed to draw worldwide attention to these efforts. But their messages were persuasive because they were associated with actions and values that were attractive. What we were doing was seen as legitimate and having moral authority. This is just as important today.

Third, those who shaped overseas information and cultural activities believed the challenges required an American response, not just a government response. It was not a task for diplomats and military commanders only. Writers, film directors, scholars, journalists, poets, playwrights, librarians, scientists, foundation executives, business leaders, and labor leaders became involved directly through temporary service in government and indirectly through exchanges and other means. Organizational arrangements in the 21st century will be different; the need for robust public-private partnership is the same.

Tensions and turf struggles were a reality among lawmakers, policymakers, and bureaucrats then, as they are today. Yet the nation developed the political will for efforts

that over two generations played a critical role in ending the Cold War. We cannot succeed again without comparable vision and commitment.