



From: Broadcasting Board of Governors
Date: April 14, 2011
Subject: **Minutes of the BBG Meeting of April 14, 2011**

The Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) met today at Radio Free Asia headquarters in Washington, D.C. The meeting was open and streamed on the BBG website.

The meeting was attended by the following Board members:

Chairman Walter Isaacson
Governor Victor Ashe
Governor Michael Lynton (via telephone)
Governor Susan McCue
Governor Michael Meehan
Governor Dennis Mulhaupt
Governor Dana Perino
Governor S. Enders Wimbush

Under Secretary Judith McHale was not in attendance at the meeting.

Other persons in attendance are listed at the end.

The agenda of the meeting is set forth in Attachment 1.

Chairman Isaacson called the meeting to order and stated that the open meeting was being held in compliance with the requirements of the Government in the Sunshine Act. He added that the Board tries to hold at least one meeting each year at the headquarters of each of the BBG-sponsored international broadcasting entities. This meeting of the Board was being held at Radio Free Asia (RFA) in Washington, D.C., and was being streamed live over the Internet on the BBG website – www.bbg.gov.

The Board thanked and applauded RFA President Libby Liu for the hospitality. The Chairman noted that the Board had an opportunity to meet with the RFA staff and to thank them for their excellent work.

The Chairman stated that the Board received a briefing that morning from Quintan Wiktorowicz, National Security Council (NSC) Senior Director for Global Engagement and Strategic Communications and thanked the NSC for the continuing coordination between the NSC and BBG.

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Chairman Isaacson, on behalf of the Board, expressed deep appreciation to Agency staffs for working hard to develop plans to deal with the challenges of a potential government shutdown.

The Chairman noted that the Board has devoted much time reviewing the structure and organization of U.S. international broadcasting through the work of the Governance Committee, chaired by Governor Mulhaupt, and the Strategy and Budget Committee, co-chaired by both Governors Wimbush and Meehan. The Board will be prepared to unfold a new strategic plan in the near future.

The Board voted to approve the minutes of the March 2011 Board meeting which had taken place at the Office of Cuba Broadcasting in Miami, FL.

The Board heard a brief report from Governor Lynton (via phone) on his recent visit to RFE/RL's headquarters in Prague, Czech Republic. Governor Lynton provided highlights of his visit, including discussions with senior staff on the RFE/RL President search, the Board's commitment to ensure that RFE/RL continues to provide quality broadcasts and journalism, and the impact of the dollar's decline in value. Chairman Isaacson explained that the currency fluctuation issue is very complicated as there is no consistent policy across the federal government for a funding source to deal with the issue. Acting CEO and Chief Financial Officer of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) Michael Marchetti expressed his appreciation for Governor Lynton's visit and the Board's commitment to assist RFE/RL. The Chairman commended Governor Mulhaupt for leading the methodical and highly professional search for a new RFE/RL President.

Governor Wimbush gave an update on the work of the Strategy and Budget Committee's year-long review of BBG strategy, which began in September 2010. The Committee held a formal meeting on April 13, 2011 to conduct the regional reviews of Eurasia, South Asia, and Central Asia. These reviews were divided into six regional groupings: South Asia, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Belarus/Moldova/Ukraine, Russia, and Central Asia with advance sessions held in late March and early April. He referred the Board to the Committee's reports for additional information. Each session consisted of a two-hour joint roundtable between RFE/RL and Voice of America (VOA) senior management, followed by a two-hour expert panel discussion. The Committee was briefed by International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB), VOA, and RFE/RL senior management on the media environment, current BBG programming, and proposed initiatives. The review allowed Committee members and entity senior management to clarify opportunities for substantial cooperation and coordination between VOA and RFE/RL in following areas: Sharing of stringer networks, common platforms and protocols for content sharing and management, sharing and rationalization of the distribution network, and optimizing the mix of languages used in programming in selected regions. Governor Wimbush noted that "strategic maps" for each of the six regions were produced as draft documents, showing the connection between U.S. foreign policy objectives and national interests in a particular region and the programming initiatives of BBG broadcasters, as well as suggested future implementation strategies. Governor Wimbush concluded his report with details on the schedule May 2011 regional reviews including both China and East Asia and the Middle East.

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The Board heard a Governance Committee report from Governor Mulhaupt, including a review of recommendations from its recent meeting held on April 13, 2011 in which issues dealing with the future organization of the BBG were covered. Governor Mulhaupt stated that the Committee had a productive discussion of the complicated issues associated with rationalizing and optimizing U.S. international broadcasting, and that these complex issues will require continued discussion and consideration by the Governance Committee. His report also covered some pending issues from the February 22 Governance Committee.

Governor Mulhaupt also provided recommendations for improving the Agency's management structure, including clarifying and enhancing the authorities of the IBB Director to act as the day-to-day executive of U.S. international broadcasting in overseeing implementation of the Board's strategic decisions. The Board approved the Committee's recommendations. Following the Board's vote, Governor Meehan stated that the measure would serve as an interim solution while the Board continues its year-long strategic review, during which it will continue to look into the overall management structure of the Agency. The Chairman agreed that this action would allow the Board to focus on the strategic plan while it continues to work on improvement in the operations of the Agency.

Governor Ashe proposed a resolution to the Board concerning the possible consolidation of BBG-sponsored offices and bureaus for cost savings and efficiency. Chairman Isaacson commented that this proposal could be part of the ongoing strategic review. There followed comments from a few Governors suggesting that this notion should be part of the broader strategic review and should not be a separate or additional undertaking by the staff. Governor Meehan suggested that the resolution could be amended to fit it within the context of the strategic review.

IBB Director Lobo reported that the Agency was about to receive \$10 million in FY 2011 for Internet circumvention activities. Chairman Isaacson commended the IBB Information Technology Director (Mr. Ken Berman) and acknowledged that the funding was due to Congress' recognition of IBB's expertise in Internet circumvention technology. Mr. Lobo also noted the IBB's efforts to overcome jamming of the BBG's satellite transmission signals into certain countries, such as Iran. Mr. Lobo announced that in March, VOA's main news website had over 19 million visits compared to seven (7) million visits last March. In conclusion, Mr. Lobo thanked all the staffs involved in the planning for possible government shutdown.

VOA Director Dan Austin updated the Board on the roll-out of the Citizen Global project, a tangible demonstration of the Board's commitment to the use of social media to engage with BBG audiences overseas. Governor McCue commended VOA staff for getting the project off the ground and stated that the project is an exciting opportunity to have stories told by women in the Congo so that other people in the world could hear and view. Governor Perino commented that the project is a cost effective way to try something new that may have a bigger impact and could be replicated in other places. The Board saw a demonstration of the project, explained by VOA Africa Division Director Gwendolyn Dillard.

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RFA President Liu reported on RFA's special coverage of the Tibetan elections which included a week-long series of ten debates and town hall meetings with participation of 31 candidates for the prime minister and parliamentary for the Tibetan exile government. The Board then viewed a one-minute clip of the special coverage. In closing, Governor Meehan congratulated RFA staff for the recent Office of Inspector General's (OIG) report on the inspection of RFA which contains no formal recommendation. He commended the staff for the progress made from the previous OIG report and for all the work in making those improvements.

Middle East Broadcasting Networks President Brian Conniff played a brief video that summarizes Alhurra's coverage of the Arab democratic movement. Mr. Conniff commented that while Alhurra provides coverage of breaking news, its new challenge will be to respond with programming that is useful to the audience and facilitates or contributes to the democratic movement. Governor Wimbush thanked Mr. Conniff and his staff for making their stories/products available for use by other broadcasting networks such as VOA. Chairman Isaacson mentioned a recent visit at Alhurra where he participated in one of the interactive shows and was impressed with the show's integration of television, blogging, and new media.

Chairman Isaacson announced that the next meeting will be held at BBG headquarters in Washington in June at which time a meeting is scheduled with the Secretary of State who is an ex-officio member of the Board. In addition, the Board plans to structure its open meeting so as to permit public participation. He thanked RFA again for hosting the Board meeting.

The Chairman then announced the conclusion of the open meeting.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors agreed to the following decision elements:

1. Adoption of March 11, 2011 Minutes. Governor Ashe made a motion for the adoption of the minutes of the March 11, 2011 meeting set forth in Attachment 2. Governor Mulhaupt seconded. The Board unanimously adopted the minutes of March 11, 2011 meeting.
2. Strategy and Budget Committee Recommendations. The Board heard a briefing from Governor Wimbush regarding the observations and recommendations of the Strategy and Budget Committee from its meeting held on April 13, 2011 for the regional reviews for South Asia; the Balkans; the Caucasus; Belarus/Moldova/Ukraine; Russia; and Central Asia. Governor Wimbush moved to approve the Committee's report as set forth in Attachment 3, Governor Meehan seconded, and the Board unanimously agreed to adopt the Committee's report of April 13, 2011.
3. Adoption of Governance Committee Recommendations. The Board heard a briefing from Governor Mulhaupt regarding the Governance Committee meetings held on February 22 and April 13, 2011. The Board adopted the following Governance Committee recommendations:

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- a. Adoption of February 22, 2011 Committee Report. Governor Mulhaupt moved for the adoption of the February 22, 2011 Governance Committee Report as set forth in Attachment 3, noting that the Board has already adopted several of the Committee's recommendations at the Board's March 11, 2011 meeting. Governor Ashe seconded. The Board unanimously agreed the following recommendations from the February 22, 2011 Governance Committee Report:
 - i. Governance Committee Leadership. The plenary Board noted that Governor Ashe expressed a desire to resign as co-chair of the Governance Committee, but remain a Committee member. The plenary Board recognizes Governor Mulhaupt as the chair of the Governance Committee and confirms Governor Ashe's continued membership.
 - ii. Grantee Fundraising. The BBG staff is directed to prepare proposed guidelines for permissible forms of grantee fund-raising, for further consideration by the Governance Committee. The guidelines should incorporate advice provided by the BBG General Counsel in a memorandum describing the law and policy pertaining to grantee fund-raising. The advice concludes that BBG grantees are not prohibited from fund-raising *per se*, although grantees are prohibited from using any federal funds to finance their fundraising efforts. However, fundraising might be directed to specific purposes, such as travel, training, or special events.
 - iii. Harmonization of Grantee By-Laws. The chief legal officer of each BBG-sponsored grantee should seek to harmonize the grantees' respective by-laws in order to eliminate any substantive differences across the organizations.
 - iv. Agency Gift Authority. The BBG staff is directed to propose a draft policy on acceptance of conditional and unconditional gifts by the BBG for further consideration by the Governance Committee. The policy should incorporate advice provided by the BBG General Counsel in a memorandum describing the law and policy of fund-raising by the federal agency. The advice states that BBG has authority to accept unconditional and conditional gifts, although it cautions that conditional gifts should not be accepted if the conditions are contrary to BBG's mission or authority. The policy should include a protocol for the acceptance of substantial gifts, including case-by-case review by the Governance Committee.
4. Enhancement of IBB Director's Authorities.
- a. At Governor Mulhaupt's recommendation, the Board noted that since July 2010, significant efforts have been made to define and clarify the management structure of United States international broadcasting (USIB) and that, while these efforts have arguably improved USIB, the Agency remains hampered because of the absence of a full-time executive charged with implementing the Board's strategic vision and managing USIB on a day-to-day basis.

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- b. Governor Mulhaupt moved for the adoption of the following steps to improve the day-to-day management of the U.S. international broadcasting. Governor Wimbush seconded. The Board unanimously agreed to adopt the following:
 - i. The Board directs that the staffs of the International Broadcasting Bureau and the BBG staff should be merged. The IBB Director should be the head of the merged staff and all of the offices and functions within the BBG staff and the IBB should report to the IBB Director. The IBB Director should report back to the Board on a recommended staffing structure to implement this decision.
 - ii. The Board adopts the draft delegation of authority as set forth in Attachment 5 to clarify and enhance the role, functions and authority of the IBB Director that is consistent with these decisions. The Board notes that the delegation gives the IBB Director the authority to identify, evaluate and resolve strategic trade-offs and conflicts among the broadcasting entities, consistent with the broad strategic guidelines established by the Board and subject to the Board's continuing oversight.
 - iii. Governor Mulhaupt also moved to adopt the delegations of authority to the VOA and OCB Directors, which were submitted to the Governance Committee by BBG staff in order to implement the Board's March 2011 decisions. Governor Ashe seconded. The Board adopts the draft delegations of authority to the VOA and OCB Directors as set forth in Attachments 6 and 7, respectively, which were submitted to the Governance Committee by BBG staff in order to implement the Board's March 2011 decisions.
5. Adoption of Resolution for Consolidation of BBG Offices/Bureaus. The Board noted Governor Ashe's proposed resolution to the Board concerning the possible consolidation of BBG-sponsored offices and bureaus as set forth in Attachment 8. Governor Meehan moved to amend the resolution in the context of the ongoing strategic review by the Strategy and Budget Committee. Governor McCue seconded. The Board agreed to adopt the amended resolution so that the matters discussed in this resolution be directed to the IBB Directorate and Strategy and Budget Committee and considered as part of the Committee's ongoing strategic review.

Other Attendees:

The following persons were also present during all or part of the meeting: BBG Executive Director Jeffrey Trimble, BBG Acting General Counsel and Board Secretary Paul Kollmer-Dorsey, Chief Financial Officer Maryjean Buhler, Director of the Office of Strategic Planning & Performance Measurement Bruce Sherman, Special Projects Officer Oanh Tran, Congressional Coordinator Susan Andross, Director of Public Affairs Letitia King, and Senior Strategist Paul Marszalek; Michael Marchetti, Acting CEO and Chief Financial Officer of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL); Libby Liu, President of Radio Free Asia (RFA); Brian Conniff, President of the Middle East Broadcasting Networks (MBN); Danforth Austin, Director of the Voice of America (VOA); Richard Lobo, Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB); Steve Redisch, VOA Executive Editor; Gwendolyn Dillard, VOA Africa Division

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Director; Sheila Gandji, VOA Senior Advisor; Steven Ferri, VOA International Broadcaster (Internet); Andre Mendes, IBB Director of Technology, Services, and Innovation; John Lindburg, RFE/RL General Counsel & Secretary; Dan Southerland, RFA Vice President of Programming/Executive Editor; and Lynne Weil, Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy & Public Affairs.

Approved:

Walter Isaacson
Chairman

Witnessed:

Paul Kollmer-Dorsey
Secretary

Attachments:

1. Agenda for April 14, 2011 Meeting
2. Minutes of March 11, 2011 meeting
3. Strategy and Budget Committee Report from April 13, 2011 Meeting
4. Governance Committee Report from February 22, 2011 Meeting
5. Draft Delegation of Authority to the IBB Director
6. Draft Delegation of Authority to the VOA Director
7. Draft Delegation of Authority to the OCB Director
8. Resolution for Consolidation of BBG Offices/Bureaus (as amended)

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ATTACHMENT 1

BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS April 2011 Meeting Agenda

Thursday, April 14

RFA Address: 2025 M St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: 202.530.4900

4 - 5:00 Broadcasting Board of Governors' Meeting

I. Open Session

Chairman's Remarks

- A. Adoption of Minutes of March 11, 2011 Meeting
- B. RFE/RL Headquarters Visit Report
- C. Strategy & Budget Committee Report
- D. Governance Committee Report
- E. Resolution for Consolidation of BBG Offices/Bureaus Sponsored by Governor Ashe
- F. IBB Director's Report
- G. VOA Director's Report
 - Citizen Global Project: *The Congo Story, Women War and Rape*
- H. RFA President's Report
 - Tibetan Elections
- I. MBN President's Report
 - Update on Latest Middle East Coverage
- J. Other Items for Consideration at Next Board Meeting

5:00 Meeting Adjourned

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ATTACHMENT 2

From: Broadcasting Board of Governors
Date: March 11, 2011
Subject: **Minutes of the BBG Meeting of March 11, 2011**

The Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) met today in Miami, FL at the Office of Cuba Broadcasting headquarters. The meeting was open and streamed on the BBG website.

The meeting was attended by the following Board members:

Chairman Walter Isaacson
Governor Victor Ashe
Governor Michael Lynton
Governor Susan McCue
Governor Michael Meehan
Governor Dennis Mulhaupt
Governor Dana Perino
Governor S. Enders Wimbush
Under Secretary Judith McHale

Other persons in attendance are listed at the end.

The agenda of the meeting is set forth in Attachment 1.

Chairman Isaacson called the meeting to order, noted a quorum of the Board, and stated that the open meeting was being held in compliance with the requirements of the Government in the Sunshine Act. He added that the meeting was being held in Miami, FL at the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (OCB). On behalf of the Board, the Chairman thanked OCB Director Carlos Garcia-Perez and all of his staff for their hospitality and for the impressive work that they do. He explained that, as part of its strategic review, the Board is examining OCB's broadcasting to Cuba, VOA's Latin America broadcasting, and the relationships between them. Although the Board has not held a formal meeting since December 2010, the Board's Committees, and in particular the Strategy and Budget Committee, have been busy with the strategic review.

The Chairman commended the employees of the Middle East Broadcasting Networks (MBN) who had performed well and courageously in Cairo, Libya and elsewhere. At the Chairman's invitation, Governor Wimbush described MBN's effectiveness during the crisis, particularly Alhurra TV, which enjoyed a substantial audience, and its importance to U.S. international broadcasting. Chairman Isaacson commented that, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton appeared on Alhurra and its coverage had been cited or given credit by other broadcasters or news services.

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Governor Wimbush gave an update on the work of the Strategy and Budget Committee. He summarized the regional reviews of Africa and Latin America which occurred in January and February 2011, respectively. He referred the Board to the Committee's reports for additional information. Through the regional reviews, the broadcasters in each region are encouraged to bring their ideas for improving BBG programming and asked to "own their budgets" and to make concrete suggestions for improvement based on existing resources. Governor Wimbush concluded his report with details on the schedule for March and April 2011 regional reviews including South Asia, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Ukraine/Belarus/Moldova, Russia (including Tartarstan/Bashkortostan and North Caucasus) and Central Asia. Under Secretary of State McHale noted the importance of and close coordination between U.S. State Department and U.S. international broadcasting, as pointed out in Secretary Clinton's recent remarks.

The Board heard a briefing from Governors Mulhaupt and Ashe regarding the Governance Committee meeting held on February 22, 2011. The Board also considered the Committee's recommendations that are listed at the end. The Chairman requested that the Committee's amended Terms of Reference along with other documents be made available at the bbg.gov website.

The Board considered the draft minutes of the December Board meeting in the briefing book.

Referring to the briefing book, the Chairman introduced the first resolution that confirms the Board's clear and ongoing commitment to a workplace that is free of sexual harassment. The resolution states without equivocation that "managers and supervisors will be held responsible for ensuring that the workplace is free from sexual harassment and that appropriate action is taken" when allegations of violations of the Agency's sexual harassment policy are brought to their attention. The Chairman also introduced a resolution which confirms the Board's commitment to equal opportunity in employment and noted that the BBG's is strongly committed to identifying and eliminating any discriminatory practices and promoting the full realization of equal opportunity in employment.

The Board considered a resolution on interference with BBG broadcasts. BBG Executive Director and International Broadcasting Bureau Director Dick Lobo gave examples of interference with BBG broadcasts, including broadcasts to China and Iran. The resolution on interference affirms its core principle that every individual is entitled to "seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." This principle is enshrined in BBG's founding legislation and in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The right to receive and communicate ideas and information is under siege by various governments which attempt to interfere with BBG broadcasts/networks or threaten their journalists.

Governor Mulhaupt introduced a BBG resolution for Jeffrey Gedmin for Board consideration. Governor Ashe proposed an amendment to the resolution expressing the Board's appreciation for Governor Mulhaupt's work in overseeing the process for Mr. Gedmin's successor and during the transition of leadership at RFE/RL. The Board approved the amendment and adopted the resolution, as amended.

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Chief Financial Officer Maryjean Buhler gave a brief budget update. Ms. Buhler reported that a continuing resolution had been extended for a short term. In reviewing the continuing resolution procedures, the Office of the CFO recognized that the Agency's shutdown plans needed to be updated and was working with the Administration in doing so. With respect to FY 2012, the budget was submitted to Congress for approximately \$757 million. More information on the FY 2012 Budget Request is available at the BBG's website. On behalf of the Board, Chairman Isaacson thanked Mr. Trimble, Ms. Buhler and her staff, IBB staff, and the Office of General Counsel's staff for their hard work through many weekends on the budget issues as well as on the Agency's shutdown plans.

Governor Ashe stated that he had been impressed by the dedication and commitment of the employees through his visits with the language services and suggested that it would be appropriate for the Board to commemorate significant milestones through Board resolutions and follow up with plaques at the appropriate moment. Governor Ashe introduced three resolutions: VOA Creole Service 25th anniversary, VOA Tibetan Service 20th anniversary, and RFA 15th anniversary. On the RFA resolution, RFA President Libby Liu (via telephone) thanked the BBG, IBB, broadcasting entities and outside supporters for the 15 years of impact and expressed her gratitude for the recognition.

IBB Director Dick Lobo updated the Board on the project related to Internet censorship circumvention through the \$1.5 million provided by the U.S. Department of State. In response to Chairman Isaacson's question, Mr. Lobo explained the procurement process for the project. Mr. Lobo summarized a town hall meeting that was held on February 24 with IBB, VOA and OCB staffs, and noted that majority of the questions from employees centered on the BBG's FY 2012 budget for shortwave service into China by VOA. He announced that the next meeting of the IBB Coordinating Committee would be scheduled in late April and focused on content management system and new media activities at the Agency.

Governor McCue reported on a recent BBG-sponsored "new media" event on the Capitol Hill in which new distribution technologies were exhibited and their potential role in advancing BBG's mission was discussed. She noted that a social media project was being planned for Africa that will inform and engage the audiences. The BBG's exploration of new technologies had included experts in the private sectors and would eventually include an advisory council of key technology members.

Chairman Isaacson concurred in a recommendation by Governor Ashe to hold a BBG town hall meeting in June in the Cohen Building where the employees could tell the Board what is being done at the Agency in the area of new media and social media.

Governor Ashe reported on his trip to East Asia, including Bangkok, Phnom Penh and Hong Kong, and asked that his trip report be made available at the bbg.gov website. He noted that his written trip report contains two recommendations which will be taken up at the next RFA Board of Directors' meeting, including visit by U.S. Ambassadors at RFA and VOA offices at least once during their tours and communication or sharing of information among the RFA and VOA

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offices. Finally, Governor Ashe suggested that there be a review of possible bureau/office consolidation in the future.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors agreed to the following decision elements by unanimous consent:

1. Adoption of December 17, 2010 Minutes. Governor Mulhaupt made a motion for the adoption of the minutes of the December 17, 2010 meeting set forth in Attachment 2. Governor Meehan seconded. The Board unanimously adopted the minutes of December 17, 2010 meeting.
2. Adoption of 2011 BBG Policy Statements on Sexual Harassment & Equal Employment Opportunity. Governor Mulhaupt made a motion for the adoption of the policy statements on sexual harassment and equal employment opportunity set forth in Attachment 3. Governor Ashe seconded to both policy statements. The Board formally adopted the policy statements that were approved in January 2011 by notation vote.
3. Adoption of Resolution on Interference with BBG Broadcasts. Governor Ashe made a motion for the adoption of the resolution on interference with BBG broadcasts as set forth in Attachment 4. The Board unanimously adopted the draft resolution condemning interference with BBG broadcasts.
4. Adoption of Resolution for Jeffrey Gedmin. Governor Mulhaupt made a motion for the adoption of a draft resolution for Jeffrey Gedmin set forth in Attachment 5, recognizing his distinguished service as RFE/RL President. Governor Ashe proposed the following amendment to the draft resolution for Jeffrey Gedmin: "Be it further resolved that the BBG commends Governor Dennis Mulhaupt who serves as chair of Radio Free Europe for his leadership in managing the transition of leadership at RFE and wishes him well as the process proceeds and we confirm our confidence in him." Governor McCue seconded to the amendment and the amended resolution. The Board then unanimously adopted the amendment and amended resolution.
5. Adoption of Resolutions Recognizing Anniversaries of Broadcast Services. Governor Ashe made a motion for the adoption of the resolutions recognizing anniversaries of the broadcast services as set forth in Attachments 6, 7, and 8. Governor Mulhaupt seconded to the resolution for VOA Creole Service 25th Anniversary. Governor McCue seconded to the resolution for VOA Tibetan Service 20th Anniversary. Governor Meehan seconded to the resolution on RFA 15th Anniversary. The Board unanimously agreed to adopt these resolutions.
6. Adoption of Strategy and Budget Committee Recommendations. The Board heard a briefing from Governor Wimbush regarding the observations and recommendations of the Strategy and Budget Committee from its meetings held on January 13, 2011 for the Africa Regional Review and February 22, 2011 for the Latin America Regional Review. Governor Wimbush moved to approve the Committee's reports as set forth in

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Attachments 9 and 10, Governor Meehan seconded, and the Board unanimously agreed to adopt the Committee's reports of those meetings.

7. Adoption of Governance Committee Recommendations. The Board considered the following Governance Committee recommendations:
 - a. Adoption of November 2010 Committee Report. Governor Mulhaupt moved for the adoption of the November 18, 2010 Governance Committee Report as set forth in Attachment 11, noting that the Board has already adopted several of the Committee's recommendations at the Board's November 19, 2010 meeting. Governor Ashe seconded. The Board unanimously agreed to adopt the report.
 - b. Amended Terms of Reference. Governor Mulhaupt moved for the adoption of the amended Governance Committee Terms of Reference as set forth in Attachment 12. Governor Ashe seconded. The Board unanimously agreed to adopt the revised Terms of Reference incorporating the following changes:
 - i. Include, as a Committee mandate, oversight of the federal agency's authority to accept gifts from outside sources.
 - ii. Include, as a Committee mandate, oversight of the overall structure and use of human capital within BBG-funded United States international broadcasting (including, without limitation, issues of staff morale and management structures).
 - c. Improved Firewall Policy. Noting that the Board's firewall policy has a statutory basis in the United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (as amended) and pertains to individual Governors, the Secretary of State, and the Inspector General, as well as other Executive Branch agencies, Governor Mulhaupt moved for the adoption of the revised firewall policy as set forth in Attachment 13. Governor McCue seconded. The Board unanimously agreed to adopt the revised firewall policy.
 - d. Crisis Management Policy.
 - i. The BBG staff is directed to develop and propose a crisis management policy based on a definition of "crisis" that is comprised of a physical threat to a journalist or the destruction of BBG facilities (as distinguished from foreign policy crises, which may require a surge in BBG broadcasting).
 - ii. In the event of a foreign policy crisis, the Strategy and Budget Committee should develop recommendations for proposed actions, including a surge in BBG broadcasting.
 - iii. BBG staff is directed to develop a revised crisis protocol based upon these recommendations.
 - e. Individual Governor Contributions to Meeting Agendas. In light of the public notice requirement of the Government in Sunshine Act, the individual Governors are

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encouraged to raise agenda items and resolutions for discussion at least seven (7) days prior to a meeting of the Board of Governors, except in urgent circumstances.

- f. Protection of Sensitive But Unclassified Information. Noting a need to develop a confidentiality policy for “sensitive but unclassified” information, the BBG staff is directed to develop and recommend ways to protect from disclosure and public distribution of information and materials which the Board deems to be “sensitive but unclassified” that are consistent with federal law and regulation and consistent with the precedents established by other federal agencies.
- g. Functions and Authorities of BBG, VOA, OCB, and IBB. Governor Mulhaupt moved for the adoption of the Committee’s recommendations on the functions and authorities of BBG, VOA, OCB and IBB. Governor Lynton seconded. The Board unanimously agreed to adopt the following recommendations:
 - i. The functions of the IBB Director within the federal agency were clarified in a functional authorities diagram adopted by the Board at its December 2010 meeting. The Board confirms that, in order to properly execute the IBB functions – as manager of key functions of the federal Agency, manager of the BBG’s global distribution network and chair of the IBB Coordinating Committee – the IBB Director must have the authority to identify, evaluate and resolve strategic trade-offs and conflicts among the broadcasting entities, consistent with the broad strategic guidelines established by the Board and subject to the Board’s continuing oversight.
 - ii. The Board hereby clarifies that the VOA and OCB Directors report to the IBB Director with respect to these key day-to-day operational functions and report to the Board only with respect to their respective programming.
 - iii. BBG staff is directed to develop proposed delegations of authority to the BBG Executive Director, IBB Director, VOA Director, and OCB Director to clarify the responsibilities of each position and ensure the proper delegation of functions across the four positions. The Board directs that each delegation of authority should clearly specify the nature and extent of the functions for which each respective director is responsible, the reporting relationships of each respective director, and, where applicable, the functions with respect to which each such director may be subordinate to another director.
- h. Agreements and Relationships with Other International Broadcasting Entities and Governments. Governor Mulhaupt moved for the adoption of the Committee’s recommendations regarding interactions with non-USIB entities. Governor Perino seconded. The Board unanimously agreed to adopt the following recommendations:
 - i. The Board hereby designates the BBG Executive Director as the principal point of contact and the chief representative of the BBG in relationships with other international broadcasting entities and governments (including such informal groups as the DG-5). The Board may delegate this authority to other members of

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the federal agency, including, but not limited to, the IBB Director and the VOA Director, to provide representation at various conferences and events.

- ii. The BBG Executive Director's representational authority is not intended to curtail the IBB Director's authority to conduct discussions regarding commercial and intergovernmental relationships necessary to distribute BBG programming globally. The IBB maintains many such international relationships to build and maintain facilities, develop affiliate relations and distribute BBG programming around the world. These relationships should continue to be managed under the supervision of the IBB Director.
8. East Asia Trip Report. The Board heard a report from Governor Ashe of his trip to East Asia on which he was accompanied by RFA Vice President of Programming/Executive Editor Daniel Southerland to Bangkok, Phnom Penh and Hong Kong (Attachment 14 hereto).

Chairman Isaacson announced the conclusion of the open meeting.

Other Attendees:

The following persons were also present during all or part of the meeting: BBG Executive Director Jeffrey Trimble, BBG Acting General Counsel and Board Secretary Paul Kollmer-Dorsey, Chief Financial Officer Maryjean Buhler, Director of the Office of Strategic Planning & Performance Measurement Bruce Sherman, Special Projects Officer Oanh Tran, and via teleconference, Congressional Coordinator Susan Andross, Director of Public Affairs Letitia King, Senior Strategist Paul Marszalek, and President Management Fellow Emily Tyler; Michael Marchetti, Acting CEO and Chief Financial Officer of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), via teleconference; Libby Liu, President of Radio Free Asia (RFA), via teleconference; Brian Conniff, President of the Middle East Broadcasting Networks (MBN), via teleconference; Danforth Austin, Director of the Voice of America (VOA), via teleconference; Richard Lobo, Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB); Steve Redisch, VOA Executive Editor, via teleconference; Irvin Rubenstein, OCB Director of Administration; and Lynne Weil, Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy & Public Affairs.

Approved:

Walter Isaacson
Chairman

Witnessed:

Paul Kollmer-Dorsey
Secretary

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ATTACHMENT 3

REPORT OF THE BBG STRATEGY AND BUDGET COMMITTEE

April 13, 2011

9:00 AM – 12:00 PM

BBG Headquarters, Washington D.C.

Members

Governor Michael Meehan, Co-Chair
Governor Enders Wimbush, Co-Chair
Governor Dennis Mulhaupt
BBG Chairman Walter Isaacson (*ex officio*)

SUMMARY OF COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS

The Strategy and Budget Committee held a meeting on April 13, 2011 at BBG headquarters in Washington, D.C. The meeting was attended by Governor Wimbush, Governor Meehan, Governor Mulhaupt, and Governor Ashe. Chairman Isaacson, Governor Perino, Governor McCue, and Governor Lynton were not in attendance.

The agenda of the meeting is set forth in Attachment 1 to this report.

The Committee makes the following recommendations to the Board of Governors.

Eurasia, Central Asia, and South Asia Regional Reviews

- **Strategic Context**
 - That the plenary Board note that the BBG strategic review process has allowed the Committee to take a look at U.S. international broadcasting as a whole, rather than entity by entity. That the plenary Board further note that each entity's capabilities have been extended as a result of these discussions. U.S. international broadcasting will be greatly strengthened by this type of coordination.
 - That the plenary Board note that the Committee is continuing the regional review process, one phase of the overall BBG strategic review, with an in-depth look at BBG programming and distribution in Eurasia, Central Asia, and South Asia, involving both the Voice of America (VOA) and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL).
- **External Consultant Panels**
 - That the plenary Board note that as part of the regional review process, panels of external consultants were convened for each of six regional groupings in order to gain value-added insight and bring diverse, relevant perspectives to the Eurasia, Central Asia, and South Asia regional reviews.

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- **South Asia:** A South Asia expert panel was convened on March 28, 2011. See Attachment 2 for bios of panel participants and notes from the panel discussion.
 - **Balkans:** A Balkans expert panel was convened on March 30, 2011. See Attachment 3 for bios of panel participants and notes from the panel discussion.
 - **Caucasus:** A Caucasus expert panel was convened on April 1, 2011. See Attachment 4 for bios of panel participants and notes from the panel discussion.
 - **Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine:** An expert panel on Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine was convened on April 4, 2011. See Attachment 5 for bios of panel participants and notes from the panel discussion.
 - **Russia:** A Russia expert panel was convened on April 6, 2011. See Attachment 6 for bios of panel participants and notes from the panel discussion.
 - **Central Asia:** A Central Asia expert panel was convened on April 11, 2011. See Attachment 7 for bios of panel participants and notes from the panel discussion.
- That the plenary Board express its gratitude to the panel participants for providing analysis and insight and bringing their diverse perspectives to the Broadcasting Board of Governors review of broadcasting to Eurasia, Central Asia, and South Asia.
- **United States International Broadcast Programming**
 - That the plenary Board note that as part of the Eurasia, Central Asia, and South Asia regional reviews, senior managers from VOA and RFE/RL participated in roundtable discussions via video conference in Washington, D.C. and Prague.
 - **South Asia:** Roundtable discussion was held on March 28, 2011.
 - **Balkans:** Roundtable discussion was held on March 30, 2011.
 - **Caucasus:** Roundtable discussion was held on April 1, 2011.
 - **Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine:** Roundtable discussion was held on April 4, 2011.
 - **Russia:** Roundtable discussion was held on April 6, 2011.
 - **Central Asia:** Roundtable discussion was held on April 11, 2011.
 - That the plenary Board take note of the charts labeled Strategic Overview of BBG Broadcasting (the “strategic maps”), which have been prepared as draft documents subject to further study and review. Once finalized, these strategic maps will provide, from a BBG-wide perspective, a global strategic framework for the region and will serve as the basis for country-by-country implementation activities.
 - That the plenary Board note that the regional reviews allowed the Committee members and entity senior management to clarify opportunities for substantial cooperation and coordination between VOA and RFE/RL.
 - That the plenary Board request that VOA and RFE/RL, in coordination with IBB, investigate opportunities of cooperation and consolidation in the following areas:
 - sharing of stringer networks;
 - common platforms and protocols for content sharing and management;

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- sharing and rationalization of the distribution network; and
 - optimizing the mix of languages used in programming in selected regions.
- **United States International Broadcasting Distribution and Technology**
 - That the plenary Board note that as part of the Eurasia, Central Asia, and South Asia regional reviews, representatives from the IBB Coordinating Committee attended joint VOA-RFE/RL roundtable discussions, held on March 28, 2011, March 30, 2011, April 1, 2011, April 4, 2011, April 6, 2011, and April 11, 2011, to discuss current, regional distribution strategies and ideas for moving forward.

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ATTACHMENT 1

MEETING OF THE BBG STRATEGY AND BUDGET COMMITTEE

April 13, 2011

9:00 AM – 12:00 PM

BBG Headquarters, Washington D.C.

Members

Governor Michael Meehan, Co-Chair
Governor Enders Wimbush, Co-Chair
Governor Dennis Mulhaupt
Chairman Walter Isaacson (*ex officio*)

AGENDA

South Asia Regional Review (30 minutes)

South Asia's Strategic Context

United States International Broadcasting Programming for South Asia

- Current Programming Efforts of VOA and RFE/RL
 - VOA: Bangla, Dari, Pashto, and Urdu
 - RFE/RL: Dari and Pashto
- Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

United States International Broadcasting Distribution and Technology for South Asia

- Overview of Distribution Platforms
- Discussion of Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

Balkans Regional Review (30 minutes)

Balkans' Strategic Context

United States International Broadcasting Programming for the Balkans

- Current Programming Efforts of VOA and RFE/RL
 - VOA: Albanian, Bosnian, Croatian, Greek, Macedonian, and Serbian
 - RFE/RL: Balkans (including Albanian to Kosovo, Bosnian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Serbian)
- Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

United States International Broadcasting Distribution and Technology for the Balkans

- Overview of Distribution Platforms
- Discussion of Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

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Caucasus Regional Review (30 minutes)

Caucasus' Strategic Context

United States International Broadcasting Programming for the Caucasus

- Current Programming Efforts of VOA and RFE/RL
 - VOA: Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Georgian
 - RFE/RL: Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Georgian
- Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

United States International Broadcasting Distribution and Technology for the Caucasus

- Overview of Distribution Platforms
- Discussion of Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine's Regional Review (30 minutes)

Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine's Strategic Context

United States International Broadcasting Programming for Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine

- Current Programming Efforts of VOA and RFE/RL
 - VOA: Ukrainian
 - RFE/RL: Belarusian, Romanian to Moldova, and Ukrainian
- Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

United States International Broadcasting Distribution and Technology for Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine

- Overview of Distribution Platforms
- Discussion of Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

Russia Regional Review (30 minutes)

Russia's Strategic Context

United States International Broadcasting Programming for Russia

- Current Programming Efforts of VOA and RFE/RL
 - VOA: Russian
 - RFE/RL: Russian, Russian to North Caucasus, and Tatar-Bashkir to Tatarstan and Bashkortostan
- Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

United States International Broadcasting Distribution and Technology for Russia

- Overview of Distribution Platforms
- Discussion of Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

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Central Asia Regional Review (30 minutes)

Central Asia's Strategic Context

United States International Broadcasting Programming for Central Asia

- Current Programming Efforts of VOA and RFE/RL
 - VOA: Uzbek
 - RFE/RL: Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen, and Uzbek
- Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

United States International Broadcasting Distribution and Technology for Central Asia

- Overview of Distribution Platforms
- Discussion of Strategic Initiatives and Proposals

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ATTACHMENT 2

BIOS OF PANEL PARTICIPANTS FOR SOUTH ASIA

Malou Innocent

Malou Innocent is a Foreign Policy Analyst at the Cato Institute. She is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and her primary research interests include Middle East and Persian Gulf security issues and U.S. foreign policy toward Pakistan, Afghanistan, and China. She has appeared as a guest analyst on CNN, BBC News, Fox News Channel, Al Jazeera, Voice of America, CNBC Asia, and Reuters. Innocent has published reviews and articles on national security and international affairs in journals such as *Survival*, *Congressional Quarterly*, and *Harvard International Review*. She has also written for *Foreign Policy*, *Wall Street Journal Asia*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Armed Forces Journal*, the *Guardian*, *Huffington Post*, the *Washington Times*, and other outlets both in the United States and overseas. She earned dual Bachelor of Arts degrees in Mass Communications and Political Science from the University of California at Berkeley, and a Master of Arts degree in International Relations from the University of Chicago.

Lisa Curtis

Lisa Curtis is Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center at the Heritage Foundation. Since joining Heritage in August 2006, Curtis has appeared on major broadcast networks, including CNN, Fox News, PBS, and BBC, to comment on developments in South Asia and testified over a dozen times before Congress on topics related to India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and U.S. engagement with Muslim communities. Her commentary has appeared in *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Times*, National Public Radio, and National Review Online, and in South Asian publications such as *The Mint*, *India Outlook*, *The Friday Times*, and *The News*. She co-chaired the Pakistan Policy Working Group, an independent, bipartisan working group made up of a handful of U.S.-based experts that published a report in September 2008 titled *The United States and Pakistan: The Next Chapter*. Before joining Heritage, she was Professional Staff Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, handling the South Asia portfolio for then Committee Chairman, Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN). From 2001 to 2003, Curtis served as Senior Advisor in the State Department's South Asia Bureau, where she advised the Assistant Secretary on India-Pakistan relations. In the late 1990s, Curtis served in the Central Intelligence Agency as a political analyst on South Asia. She also served as a political officer to the U.S. embassies in Islamabad and in New Delhi from 1994 to 1998. During her tour in Islamabad, she earned a meritorious honor award from the State Department for her contribution to a year-long, four-nation endeavor to free hostages held by militants in Kashmir. She also received honors from the CIA for her analytic work on India-Pakistan relations in 1999. Ms. Curtis travels frequently to the region. She was in Pakistan in mid-February to participate in a civil society dialogue hosted by the U.S.-Muslim Engagement Initiative and then travelled to India, where she launched a book, *Counterterrorism in South Asia*, as part of a joint project of the Heritage Foundation and the Indian think tank the Observer Research Foundation. In July 2009, she participated in a NATO-sponsored trip to Afghanistan. Curtis served as an advisor on South Asia issues for the McCain-Palin campaign in 2008. She has a bachelor's degree in

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economics from Indiana University and lives with her husband and two children in Herndon, Virginia.

Jehangir Khattak

Jehangir Khattak began his journalism career in 1986 in Pakistan working for a variety of English daily newspapers before becoming news editor of *The Frontier Post*. During the 1990s, he covered the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the subsequent civil war, the rise of the Taliban and upheavals in Pakistan. He remained president of the largest press club in northwestern Pakistan, and worked for international organizations like Reporters Sans Frontiers. He immigrated to the United States in 1999 and worked for different Pakistani community Urdu and English-language publications. He writes a weekly Urdu column and regularly appears as an analyst on radio and television programs. His English-language articles appear in the English daily *Dawn* in Pakistan. He joined New York Community Media Alliance as communications manager in April 2009 and has been working in this position ever since.

Matthew Warshaw

Matthew Warshaw is the Vice President of D3 Systems, Inc. D3 Systems, Inc. is a full-service market and social research company which has served the research needs of an international clientele since 1985. D3 has particular expertise at providing global research solutions for audience and media measurement, news organizations, public policy formulation, and international development and assistance programming. D3 has conducted regional and country-specific research in more than 105 countries worldwide, with focus in the Middle East, the European Union, Russia and the former Soviet Union, and China.

Mr. Warshaw has an M.A. from Georgetown University and fourteen years experience conducting public opinion surveys, media research and evaluation, and providing research support for various international organizations. He has extensive experience in setting up research operations, logistics and foreign personnel management in post and current conflict settings such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Chechnya, Haiti, Iraq, Kosovo, Nigeria and Pakistan. Mr. Warshaw has served as managing director of ACSOR-Surveys, D3's Afghan research subsidiary, since 2005 and takes responsibility for financial oversight, quality assurance, and staff training. He is also an active participant in research design, analysis, and presentation on behalf of D3 and ACSOR.

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SOUTH ASIA EXPERT PANEL

March 28, 2011

10:00 AM – 12:00 PM EST

BBG Conference Room

On March 28, 2011 a panel of experts on South Asia convened to discuss the media landscape of the region and the potential impact that the BBG can have in the region. This interdisciplinary panel is a critical component of the South Asia regional review and it brings diverse, relevant perspectives to the table.

Panel participants included:

- Lisa Curtis, Senior Research Fellow for South Asia at the Heritage Foundation
- Malou Innocent, Foreign Policy Analyst at the Cato Institute
- Jehangir Khattak, Communications Manager at New York Community Media Alliance (Joined discussion via conference call)
- Matthew Warshaw, Vice President, D3 Systems Inc.

The panel was organized around a series of questions for the panelists to address to focus their analysis. Questions and a summary of the panel participants' responses follow.

1. What powerful forces are likely to shape the South Asian political, economic, social, and ideological landscape for the next decade?

- *Ms. Innocent:* The main force to shape the South Asia landscape for the next decade will clearly be the U.S. Foreign Policy. We are not getting out of Afghanistan (at least until 2014) and most likely will be involved there for much longer.
- *Ms. Curtis:* I would also look at the demographics. This is going to significantly impact the region, the way people access information. Young people looking for jobs. Another trend to follow is the extremist ideology in the region that is deepening. There is a sense that liberal thinkers are in retreat, while extremist ideology is running deep. Here is the need for this kind of programming (BBG programming) to play a role. Anti-US sentiment in Pakistan will persist so long as U.S. forces are in Afghanistan and drone strikes continue. Massive use of cell phone (over 100 million cell phones in Pakistan), thus people have more access to information and more quickly. Sometimes news that does not get attention here gets picked up in this part of the world, i.e., Koran burning last Sunday. More cell phones means more possibilities for rapid mobilization of civil society. And in Pakistan, we also have the anti-Americanism trend, which we are going to need to counter.
- *Mr. Warshaw:* Part of what will shape the future will depend on who is offering opportunities to these young people. You also have the immense challenge of needing to be extremely high tech, but also very low tech, depending on the audience.

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- *Mr. Khattak:* Low literacy, political instability, economic inequality, religious extremism, and terrorism have created several centers of power that dictate the overall composition of political, economic, social, and ideological landscape. A high concentration of extremism has made the population vulnerable. The people of FATA have little choices when it comes to sources of information. They have to rely on the right-leaning mainstream media, which has traditionally been instrumental in promoting anti-American sentiment in the region – may it be the drone attacks, or Pakistan’s war on terror. Secondly, Pakistan’s mainstream media has largely neglected the plight of FATA as it is more focused on national issues. As a result there is nothing that really represents the true sentiments of FATA and the Pashtuns at large. The Pak-Afghan situation is also nurturing an ideological rift, if not war. Low literacy, lack of political empowerment, and stagnated process of development have created a huge space for special interest groups, predominantly comprised of politicians representing landed aristocracy and business interests, the clergy, the military, and the militants. A change in the ground realities in the region especially in Afghanistan and Pakistan, will largely depend on:
 - Peace and stability
 - Economic development, fair distribution of wealth and higher literacy
 - Positive and constructive political culture and better political choices
 - Strengthening of democratic institutions and continuity of democratic process
 - Rule of law and individual liberties
 - Availability of alternate political parties and competing economic programs
 - Lesser interference from the military and foreign powers

Given the complicated security environment of the region, especially in Afghanistan and Pakistan, movement towards peace and stability, economic and social equality, and political empowerment is likely to be slow, directly affecting governance. It is also unlikely to significantly weaken the hold of current major actors who are influencing and shaping the realities on the ground in the region in the next at least 5 years.

(Follow-up question to *Mr. Khattak:* What kind of programming would counter the extremist ideology?)

First of all, we should go there as a news buyer, not a news seller. You have to decide before even going into the media market whether you want to enter it as a buyer or a seller or both. Entering media market as a seller or a buyer entail totally different media paradigms. If you are going there as a seller of U.S. foreign policy, that does not go over well, but if you go there and take the reality on the ground into account when you design U.S. foreign policy, that’s different. The second thing I would say the more (air) time you give them, the better. And there are pockets that are not addressed in terms of supplying information.

- *Ms. Curtis:* It is very important to establish credibility in the target area. We also need to think about the security issue. Getting information from informed people here (Washington, D.C) is empowering to people, in addition to reporting on the ground.

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(Follow up question: Is there a choice between reporting from the ground and reporting on American policy. Can you be both?)

- *Mr. Warshaw:* You never have an either/or proposition. You have to have both. Your mission is to air free values. When people think you are listening, they will turn to you, even when they do not agree with you. If you do only one or only the other, you are doing a disservice.
- The experts said that how people receive and view media is country specific. While talking about Bangladesh, they said although the country does not represent the same urgent challenges as Afghanistan and Pakistan, Bangladesh is very important and the U.S. should continue to watch it. They also cautioned that Bangladesh is kind of caught in the middle of many forces: Mideast and Afghanistan among them, and that the political situation is a mess.
- One of the topics that came up was the impact of other forces in the region on these target areas. *Mr. Khattak* said that, “you really have to look at the bigger picture. China, India, Iran have a role. I have seen very little debate in your broadcasting about the role these countries have in the region.” He wondered whether this is because it is a foregone conclusion (that they have a role) or because it is not being taken into consideration. He said that there are three perspectives to consider 1) local; 2) regional; and 3) global and that if you are not covering one of them you are leaving an empty space.

2. How might you describe the South Asian information consumer – or the variety of consumers – in the next five years? What sort of relationship will they want with their media?

- *Ms. Innocent:* The next step is more interaction with the audience. You should use polls and other forms to engage the audience. And from what I saw in the materials for BBG, there is a discrepancy between what people want and what they actually get. There should be more programming on America. Although there might be discontent with the policies, people still would like to come and live here so that indicates that they would welcome information on life in the United States. With 2012 approaching, people will want more news about the presidential campaign. Also, since the audience is very technology oriented, you could probably talk about the call centers that employ many in the target audience, or you could interview people from Google or Facebook.
- *Mr. Warshaw:* I don't think people want to know how democracy works but they want to know how we fix things when they go wrong. They might want to know what happens when a mayor is corrupt. People are frustrated to just be told how the system works, but they might want to know what to do when it doesn't.
- *Ms. Curtis:* More people are likely to get their information from their cell phones. FM and AM radio is likely to remain important source of news, especially in tribal border areas, but internet radio is likely to be accessed more often in urban areas. (BBG should) team up with some of the best private broadcasters. And I also want to go back to the empowerment issue. If we do not talk about sensitive issues, no one will.

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- *Mr. Khattak:* Political, economic, and social transformations always change the dynamics of an information consumer market. Socio-economic and political transformations also change the information needs and raise the bar for information quality. Because of its striking disparities, the South Asian region has a very diverse information consumer. The media market has traditionally depended on people's access to the sources of information. But technological advancement and availability has generally improved people's access to modern sources of information such as radio, TV, internet, and social media. One thing is common in all types of information consumers – they all want authentic, fair, and timely news and analysis. Not just that, they also expect an information system in which they can believe in and to which they can relate themselves to. Thus, the news source must expand sense of ownership among its users. The South Asian news consumer has traditionally showed greater trust and confidence in foreign news sources, largely because of state controls on the media in the region. However, this scenario has also changed a lot. The increasing consolidation of fairly independent media has created more choices for end-user audiences and new challenges for the foreign media. The biggest niche that the foreign media has or the information customer expects from it is the timeliness, reliability, detail, style, depth, and extensive reach. News availability on social media is also a growing expectation in societies that are fast reaching certain level of wireless, or net connectivity. Foreign media's online presence will be another area that could attract significant traffic. The foreign media will have to be more interactive and must develop an ability to feel more like local then foreign. It will have to root itself and contextualize the events in a way that gives the people enough traction and sense of ownership.
- 3. What do you think South Asian audiences see as our unique value proposition? What do and can we offer them that they get nowhere else?**
- *Mr. Warshaw:* BBG has the opportunity to marry the different kinds of media together, to cross-promote, even if people are not yet able to access one kind of media. Everyone should be reminded of the different platforms. The unique value that BBG offers is providing people with objective information, the ability to be less controlled. You have research and information access in Washington D.C. that no one has, and in addition you can go back and get the reflection of this information on the ground. This is unique: to be able to bring the information from Washington and in turn have the local reaction to that.
 - *Ms. Curtis:* VOA has strong brand name for reliable reporting. What works well are VOA TV collaborations with local TV stations for programs that involve both U.S. and local experts (i.e., "The Platform" or "On-the-Line"). In Pakistan, where viewers are being fed a steady diet of anti-American conspiracy theories, the VOA TV programming is increasingly important. The VOA radio programming in the tribal border areas also is important. RFE/RL Pashto service increasingly important.
 - *Ms. Innocent:* The unique proposition that BBG offers is objectivity. People understand the value of the information that BBG offers. And we should not forget that they want to learn more about America, they want to hear about the human element.

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- *Mr. Khattak:* In terms of program value proposition, the dynamics of programming change with the internet. The most significant and unique proposition of U.S. international broadcasters, including VOA and RFE, is its reach, ability to extensively cover issues, and give space to the voices of its services users. However, because of its limited time of programming, especially in Pakistan, there remains a huge room for expansion and further improvement. BBG's own data shows that it has a huge television audience. However, its penetration into the Pashto language television market is zero despite the fact that there is only one Pashto language television channel in that region. This is especially true in the face of the fact that use of television is also growing at faster pace in the Pashtun belt of Pakistan. Technology and resources, along with superior program quality, will automatically give an edge to U.S. international broadcasters, including VOA and RFE in television, if it decides to explore this medium. The biggest benefit that digital age offers is the people's ability to create their own sources of news if the mainstream media fails to give them space on the airwaves.
- 4. What should we consider our most important impact and how should broadcasting encourage outcomes that we value? (e.g., understanding of current events, information freedom, and democratic change)**
- *Mr. Khattak:* Opinion making is the name of competitive argument and effective outreach. The more convincing the argument, the farther the outreach, and the most attractive presentation, the better results. The most important impact of VOA and RFE broadcasts in South Asia, and especially in Pakistan, could be a turnaround in public opinion and a better understanding of American foreign policy, political values, and the promise that it offers to backward regions. A favorable public opinion will be a huge step in reducing militancy. Broadcasting can really encourage outcomes of your choice if the airwaves are intelligently populated in a nuanced fashion. High journalistic standards and program quality will also make a huge difference. Therefore, U.S. international broadcasters, including the VOA and RFE, must be leaders rather than followers in news reporting. The news should not be a slippery slope of random facts, rather it should create traction with the listeners and viewers by creating a context for it. VOA and RFE should be a trend setter rather than a camp follower in quality and timing. It should monetize its reporting style to stay different and ahead of its competitors. It should air scripted news and well researched follow up and backgrounder pieces. The new reality of information revolution is the social media. When a news source becomes a trusted information hub, it can play a decisive role in shaping public opinion. Refreshing VOA's online presence and adding opinion content to the news will reinforce its editorial strength. Quality and most trusted content brings a credibility that can truly transform a news portal into an information clearing house, and that should be the ultimate objective of any news media, which can become a reality if the right strategy is adopted. The U.S. international broadcasters, including VOA and RFE, could take a first step in this direction by making their Pashto websites translatable into English. BBG should push back against the conspiratory media in Pakistan. It can also have an impact by covering diaspora populations and telling people in the target area about their lives.

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- *Mr. Warshaw:* The biggest impact you can have is to take account of the fact that people have local interests when it comes to stories, so draw a connection between their lives and our goals and what the global impact should be. Another impact is your ability to connect all the pieces. And (this impact amplifies) if you “manipulate” media: people can use a crank radio and connect a cell phone to it. If they text a message, you post that message on your Facebook page and the message is amplified and there is a cross-promotion between platforms.
- *Ms. Curtis:* BBG programming’s greatest value-added is bringing Washington’s perspective to in-depth debates on foreign policy to local foreign audiences. CNN and Fox News are the first out of the gate with stories, but BBG programming can target specific audiences overseas and provide more in-depth coverage of an issue over a longer period of time. BBG provides the NPR-type of programming that provides an essential public service. It’s more important to be a valuable news source with a Washington perspective than an entertainment source. BBG programs can discuss the difficult issues that moderates in Pakistan are increasingly scared to discuss, i.e., assassinations, persecution of religious minorities, and terrorist attacks. BBG programming in Pakistan is now more important than ever to provide voices that understand and can share experiences of the importance of concepts of democracy and religious freedom and that can help empower Pakistanis who share these values to voice them.

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ATTACHMENT 3

BIOS OF PANEL PARTICIPANTS FOR THE BALKANS

Tom Gjelten

Tom Gjelten is a Correspondent for NPR. He covers a wide variety of global security and economic issues for NPR News. He brings to that assignment many years covering international news from posts in Washington and around the world. Gjelten's overseas reporting experience includes stints in Mexico City as NPR's Latin America correspondent from 1986 to 1990 and in Berlin as Central Europe correspondent from 1990 to 1994. During those years, he covered the wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Colombia, as well as the Gulf War of 1990-1991 and the wars in Croatia and Bosnia. With other NPR correspondents, Gjelten described the transitions to democracy and capitalism in Eastern Europe and the breakup of the Soviet Union. His reporting from Sarajevo from 1992 to 1994 was the basis for his book *Sarajevo Daily: A City and Its Newspaper Under Siege* (HarperCollins), praised by the *New York Times* as "a chilling portrayal of a city's slow murder." He is also the author of *Professionalism in War Reporting: A Correspondent's View* (Carnegie Corporation) and a contributor to *Crimes of War: What the Public Should Know* (W. W. Norton). Prior to his current assignment, Gjelten covered U.S. diplomacy and military affairs, first from the State Department and then from the Pentagon. He was reporting live from the Pentagon at the moment it was hit on September 11, 2001, and he was NPR's lead Pentagon reporter during the war in Afghanistan and the invasion of Iraq. Gjelten has also reported extensively from Cuba in recent years, visiting the island more than a dozen times. His 2008 book, *Bacardi and the Long Fight for Cuba: The Biography of a Cause* (Viking), is a unique history of modern Cuba, told through the life and times of the Bacardi rum family. The *New York Times* selected it as a "Notable Nonfiction Book," and the *Washington Post*, *Kansas City Star*, and *San Francisco Chronicle* all listed it among their "Best Books of 2008." Since joining NPR in 1982 as labor and education reporter, Gjelten has won numerous awards for his work. His 1992 series "From Marx to Markets," documenting the transition to market economics in Eastern Europe, won an Overseas Press Club award for "Best Business or Economic Reporting in Radio or TV." His coverage of the wars in the former Yugoslavia earned Gjelten the Overseas Press Club's Lowell Thomas Award, a George Polk Award and a Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award. He was part of the NPR teams that won an Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Silver Baton for Sept. 11 coverage and a George Foster Peabody Award for coverage of the war in Iraq. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. In addition to reporting for NPR, Gjelten is a regular panelist on the PBS program *Washington Week*. A graduate of the University of Minnesota, he began his professional career as a public school teacher and a freelance writer.

Michael Haltzel

Dr. Michael Haltzel is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at Johns Hopkins University SAIS and Senior Advisor to the consulting firm McLarty Associates. From 1994 to 2005, he was European foreign policy advisor to U.S. Vice President (then-Senator) Joseph R. Biden, Jr. and lead Democratic Senate staffer on Balkan affairs. His other positions have included Chief of the European Division of the Library of Congress, Director of West European Studies at the Woodrow Wilson Center, and Vice President for Academic Affairs of Longwood

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University. He is the author or editor of ten books on European history and international relations. Dr. Haltzel has been decorated by seven countries of the European Union: Austria, Hungary, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, and Sweden. He received a B.A. from Yale and an M.A. and Ph.D., both from Harvard.

Robert Hand

Mr. Hand is a Policy Advisor for the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission). He joined the Commission staff in 1983 and serves as a Balkan specialist tasked with monitoring and reporting on Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. His responsibilities have included serving on U.S. delegations to many OSCE meetings, the Secretariat to an OSCE Ministerial Meeting in New York City, and the OSCE Mission to Kosovo, Sandzak, and Vojvodina, as well as participation on numerous human rights monitoring delegations and approximately 30 election observation missions. He also serves as Secretary of the U.S. Delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. Mr. Hand earned a B.A. in International Relations and Russian/USSR Area Studies with a minor in Economics from the School of International Service, American University, 1983. He has some knowledge of Russian and German.

James Hooper

James Hooper is a Managing Director of the Public International Law & Policy Group. He previously served with Radio Sawa, a congressionally-funded initiative by the Broadcasting Board of Governors to broadcast to the Middle East after September 11, 2001 which he helped to create and launch as its founding general manager. He is the former director of the Washington office of the International Crisis Group (ICG), an independent non-government global advocacy organization that focuses on conflict early alert, prevention and containment. He also directed ICG's Balkan programs. In his prior capacity as executive director of the Balkan Action Council, a Washington-based non-profit organization, he analyzed the Balkan situation for the media in interviews with the Lehrer Newshour, CNN, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Bosnian television, BBC, Voice of America, National Public Radio, Radio Free Europe, and numerous other broadcasting outlets plus frequent interviews with major U.S. and foreign newspapers and news magazines. His frequent public speaking appearances included occasional testimony before Congress. He was the subject of a feature article in the New York Times "Public Lives" series in 1999. Previously, as a career United States diplomat with the Foreign Service for 25 years, Mr. Hooper served at assignments in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, during the 1973 October War; Beirut, Lebanon; Damascus, Syria, during the Lebanon civil war and formative years of the Arab-Israeli peace process; Tripoli, Libya, during the Qadhafi-inspired mob attacks against the American Embassy; London, England; Kuwait, where as Deputy Ambassador he negotiated and implemented the naval protection agreement for reflagged Kuwaiti oil tankers; and Warsaw, Poland, where as Deputy Ambassador he led the effort to prepare Poland's post-communist government and military for NATO membership. He also served as the State Department's director of Canadian Affairs and as diplomat-in-residence at the Political Science Department of the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado. While serving as deputy director of the office of East European and Yugoslav affairs from 1989-91, he was responsible for managing U.S. bilateral relations with the Balkan and Baltic states. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1997. Mr. Hooper has worked on a range of issues for PILPG: efforts to resolve problems in Kosovo, Bosnia, Macedonia and Serbia; leading two election-monitoring

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delegations to Nagorno-Karabakh in the Caucasus; the search for alternative policies to replace the military regime in Burma; and Sri Lankan conflict resolution issues. Mr. Hooper received his Master of International Affairs degree from Columbia University in New York and a Bachelor of Arts degree from the American University's School of International Service in Washington, D.C.

Ivan Vejvoda

Ivan Vejvoda is currently the Vice President of Programs at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. From 2003 to 2010 he served as executive director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy, a project of the German Marshall Fund dedicated to strengthening democratic institutions in Southeastern Europe. Mr. Vejvoda came to GMF in 2003 from distinguished service in the Serbian government as senior advisor on foreign policy and European integration to Prime Ministers Zoran Djindjic and Zoran Zivkovic. Prior to that, he served as executive director of the Belgrade-based Fund for an Open Society from 1998 to 2002. During the mid-1990s, Mr. Vejvoda held various academic posts in the United States and the United Kingdom, including one-year appointments as associate professor at Smith College in Massachusetts and Macalester College in Minnesota, and a three-year research fellowship at the University of Sussex in England. Mr. Vejvoda was a key figure in the democratic opposition movement in Yugoslavia through the 1990s, and is widely published on the subjects of democratic transition, totalitarianism, and post-war reconstruction in the Balkans. He is a member of the Serbian Pen Club and is a board member of American social science journals *Constellations* and *Philosophy and Social Criticism*. Mr. Vejvoda holds a Diploma from Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris and completed postgraduate studies in philosophy at Belgrade University. He speaks fluent English, French, and Italian in addition to his native Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian. He has been awarded the French National Order of Merit in the rank of Officer; the Order of the Italian Star of Solidarity, second rank (Commendatore).

Kurt Volker

Kurt Volker is a Senior Advisor to the International Security Program and member of the Atlantic Council's Strategic Advisors Group. He is a former U.S. Ambassador to NATO. Ambassador Volker is also Senior Fellow and Managing Director of the Center on Transatlantic Relations at the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. Prior to joining SAIS, Ambassador Volker was a career member of the United States Senior Foreign Service, with over 23 years of experience working on European political and security issues under five U.S. Administrations. He served as Ambassador and the 19th U.S. Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) from July 2, 2008 until May 17, 2009, leading the 156-person strong U.S. Mission to NATO. At NATO, Ambassador Volker straddled the transition covering the Bush and Obama Administrations, and oversaw U.S. preparations for NATO's 60th Anniversary Summit, which took place in Strasbourg, France and Kehl, Germany on April 3-4, 2009. He worked to rebuild a stronger sense of community within the Alliance, and to use that renewed solidarity to strengthen support for NATO operations in Afghanistan, relations with Russia and Europe's East, peace and stability in the Balkans, and NATO's role in tackling security challenges in the 21st Century. Prior to his service at NATO, Ambassador Volker served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, from July 2005 until June 2008. As second-in-command of the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, he focused on working with Europe as a whole to

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address the common challenges our nations face, based on our shared democratic values. He was responsible for U.S. policy on U.S.-European Union relations, NATO, the OSCE, working with Europe on global challenges such as climate change, as well as our numerous bilateral relationships. He oversaw strategic planning and congressional relations, and was responsible for management of the Bureau, which included roughly 78 overseas posts, 300 domestic employees, and a budget of \$400 million. Ambassador Volker had previously served as Acting Senior Director for European and Eurasian Affairs at the National Security Council (NSC). He served at the NSC for four years, where as Director for NATO and West Europe, he was responsible for transatlantic relations, NATO policy, and bilateral relations with the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and seven other countries. During his time at the NSC, Ambassador Volker was responsible for U.S. preparations for the 2004 NATO Istanbul Summit and 2002 Prague Summit. From 1999 to 2001, Ambassador Volker was Deputy Director of the Private Office of then-NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson. He was First Secretary at the U.S. Mission to NATO from 1998 to 1999, responsible for the Membership Action Plan and Partnership for Peace issues. As a State Department Legislative Fellow in the U.S. Senate from 1997-1998, Ambassador Volker worked on foreign policy matters for Senator John McCain. His prior Foreign Service assignments include Budapest, London, and several positions in the U.S. Department of State. Ambassador Volker has a B.A. from Temple University and an M.A. in International Relations from the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University. He has studied in Sweden and France and speaks Hungarian, Swedish and French. He is married and has two daughters.

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BALKANS EXPERT PANEL

March 30, 2011

10:00 AM – 12:00 PM EST

BBG Conference Room

On March 30, 2011, a panel of experts on the Balkans convened to discuss the media landscape of the region and the potential impact that the BBG can have in the region. This interdisciplinary panel is a critical component of the Balkans regional review and it brings diverse, relevant perspectives to the table.

Panel participants included:

- Tom Gjelten, NPR correspondent, reported from Sarajevo, author of “Sarajevo Daily: A City and Its Newspaper Under Siege”
- Michael Haltzel, Senior Fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies
- Robert Hand, Policy Advisor for the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission)
- James Hooper, Managing Director of the Public International Law & Policy Group
- Ivan Vejvoda, Vice President of Programs at the German Marshall Fund of the United States
- Kurt Volker, Senior Advisor to the International Security Program, former U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Managing Director of the Center on Transatlantic Relations at Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies

The panel was organized around a series of questions for the panelists to address to focus their analysis. Questions and a summary of the panel participants’ responses follow.

1. What powerful forces are likely to shape the Balkans political, economic, social, and ideological landscape for the next decade?

- *Mr. Hooper:* I think the national issue is going to play out. There will be a tendency for border change with Republika Srpska in Bosnia and the Northern Kosovo (an area de facto under Belgrade’s control). These issues will impact directly BBG broadcasting, because its broadcasts are not nationality driven. I also see a rising energy of the Albanian people in the region. The European Union is not interested in addressing this issue. The national issue will be taken up by Albanians, and it carries the potential for tensions and the threat of violence. So, it is very important for the United States to have BBG (VOA and RFE/RL) broadcasting in the area.
- *Mr. Haltzel:* I foresee problems with the weak economy and unemployment. I agree with Jim that there will be ethnic strife, but don’t foresee any border change. The pace to EU integration will be slow, and we are going to have a dicey period. Objectivity should continue to drive BBG broadcasting.

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- *Mr. Vejvoda:* EU and NATO (aspirations) will continue to shape the Balkans continuously. We are moving slowly towards EU and NATO. With regard to the Albanian element, everyone plays with the ethnic card. I think that the weakened European economy will be one of the driving forces. The talks between Belgrade and Prishtina will move forward because everyone knows that if they don't move ahead, the train slows (for progress and integration). We are on the cusp of a solution, and after the BBC closings, the importance of your broadcasters increases.
- *Mr. Hand:* When I read this question, the thing that immediately came to mind was migration. Whether or not there are border changes, migration will be a shaping force, because even as travel to Europe increases, integration remains distant and people want to flee in search of a better life.
- *Mr. Volker:* EU and NATO have the potential to be a dominant and shaping force. The question is: What's their inclination?. Depending on that, a lot can be achieved. The BBG can help connect the U.S. international media with the local media. I also believe that youth will be a strong driving force. Very soon, you will be dealing with a generation born post-conflict and this is very important.
- *Mr. Gjelten:* Unfortunately, the situation in the Balkans has not changed much since the '90s. The political influence in everyday life is very similar to how it was then. There is a tremendous impatience for the governments to do something. However, it is a pivotal time, because there are encouraging developments. The population in these countries is overwhelmingly in favor of EU integration. However, I think it is time for the international community not to turn its back to the Balkans
- *Mr. Haltzel:* We run the risk looking at nationalistic and poisonous statements and thinking that they are pervasive. It is different on the ground. For example, most countries have had free elections. We know there are ultranationalist politicians like (Republika Srpska's Milorad) Dodik and (Kosovo's Behgjet) Pacolli with his statements that imply a Greater Albania. The real question is: what should U.S. international broadcasters do? In this case, they have the same dilemma as the politicians. They have to determine how much to follow and how much to lead. In government funded broadcasting, there should be an element of leading.
- *Mr. Hooper:* I have been struck by elites in those countries, especially by how much they deserve their people. Don't waste your time addressing the elites. Focus on the people a level below, because they are more open to democracy.

(Follow-up question about the probability of border change)

- *Mr. Volker:* You recognize that Northern Kosovo is connected to Serbia, but I don't think that the borders are going to change officially. Forces on the ground are divided among those

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who support disintegration and those in favor of integration. NATO and EU should hold a line on border change.

2. How might you describe the Balkans information consumer – or the variety of consumers – in the next five years? What sort of relationship will they want with their media?

- *Mr. Gjelten:* There is a particular challenge for VOA and RFE/RL, because, in a sense, you represent the traditional media at a time when the news media landscape has changed. Consumers now use other mediums as well. You find yourself in a situation when, on the one hand, the nature of international broadcasting is very important, but, on the other hand, broadcasting itself is not anymore as important.
- *Mr. Volker:* I followed revolutions in North Africa on Twitter. What you had there were tweets from journalists. For example, Al-Jazeera coverage was significant. There was a mix between international media and local media with social media. Here, there is a role for international broadcasters in terms of leveraging local media capabilities.
- *Mr. Hooper:* Social media is important, but what made Al-Jazeera so important was the commitment to the fight for freedom and democracy. Similarly, in the Balkans, the freedom and democracy agenda is very important. Traditional broadcasting can still have an impact and you have great audiences. Don't throw away what you have. Just add more to it. Don't give up on the traditional media.
- *Mr. Volker:* You want to reach out to the young people and you need to play with different platforms. The target isn't the elites, but you still have to confront them, hold them accountable, and make it harder for them to pursue nationalistic views.
- *Mr. Hand:* What they want is a relationship of trust with international broadcasting. In countries like Albania this is very important. I mention Albania because the political landscape is more polarized than anywhere in the region. They want an honest broker.
- *Mr. Haltzel:* Entertainment, if used well, can help.
- *Mr. Vejvoda:* We have to understand that some of the processes take time. As a consumer, it's the market forces that are at play. You also have the local tycoons with advertising muscle and influence on the media environment. However, people turn to VOA to check what they saw or heard in the local newscast. RFE adds nuance and explanation. A very good analyst (Ivan Krastev) has said, "You can tweet a revolution, but you cannot tweet a transition." And we have an interest in the Balkans. This whole region is fully dependent in Western money, and even the nationalists know where the money comes from.

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3. What do you think the Balkans audiences see as our unique value proposition? What can we do and offer them that they get nowhere else?

- *Mr. Hand:* When I observe elections, I go to far-off, little villages and I am always amazed at the fascination with life in the United States. People are intrigued by America. When we give a U.S. perspective, it is a transatlantic perspective. Our allies mostly speak on behalf of their country and their region. We must show that U.S. is a partner with Europe.
- *Mr. Volker:* It is our soft power. I don't see other countries, such as Iran or Russia, having that kind of impact. The biggest influence is the region's relationship with European countries and economics. You offer the uniqueness of the U.S. perspective. The U.S. rallies behind ideas and values, such as rule of law, democracy, and freedom, while other countries tend to have different, national agendas.
- *Mr. Gjelten:* Since BBC closed the Balkans services, BBG has a larger role to convey not only a U.S. perspective, but a Western perspective. The international community should be proactive and insistent on the unacceptability of not respecting the Dayton Accords.
- *Mr. Hooper:* The value that you offer is that you don't have a national program, your authoritative and high quality reporting, and the reliability of your product. The local media level is atrocious. RFE/RL and VOA can leverage on the media standards and identification with U.S. values.
- *Mr. Haltzel:* You bring an outside perspective—a non-European, objective analysis of international trends. There is a growing difference between (for example) the U.S. targeted policy in Bosnia as opposed to an all-over approach from Europe. You should also showcase the challenges and successes of a multi-ethnic society in the United States. Despite the challenges, we have a very positive story to tell. And lastly, we mentioned entertainment, but we should add sports. These people are crazy about the NBA. There are many players from the Balkans who play with U.S. teams and they could be highlighted.
- *Mr. Vejvoda:* The U.S. is still seen as the strongest country and a model society that people aspire to. People will go to VOA and RFE/RL for U.S. news. They turn to the soft power of the U.S.
- *Mr. Hand:* The value that we add is the diversity of the U.S. perspective. We talk about what we like and what we don't like about policies here in the United States, and the policy process is fluid. When we talk about integration, we focus on its reality as opposed to talking about the dream of integration.

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4. What should we consider our most important impact and how should broadcasting encourage outcomes that we value? (e.g. understanding of current events, information freedom, democratic change)

- *Mr. Hooper:* When you interview opinion makers in the United States, it is always picked up by the local media. The serious issues of freedom and democracy can be put in a practical way. Now, you should experiment with the social media, target youth.
- *Mr. Gjeltten:* It is important to keep in mind that VOA and RFE/RL are news organizations. So, you should measure your impact by how you influence the media in the countries of target audience. You should not shy away from controversial topics and should distinguish yourselves from the hyper-nationalistic views.
- *Mr. Haltzel:* In my view, this is not an either/or proposition. For example, stories about Muslims in the United States are real, but, at the same time, they tell an American story. The obvious thing to do is to tell the truth, warts and all. You should also develop youth programs.
- *Mr. Vejvoda:* The transatlantic voice is very important and it shows. It is important to show the plurality of the discussion. These are savvy audiences. Whatever they feel about the United States, they listen to your programs, because they want to be informed. You are doing great work.
- *Mr. Hand:* What distinguishes your broadcasts is reliability. You report things professionally and this goes a long way. You have to extend your reach to young audiences, because youth seems to be frustrated. People want to leave their countries and we should reach them.
- *Mr. Volker:* You already have reach and reliability. Increasing understanding might be harder to achieve. I am not sure that information about the U.S. should be primary. I believe it would be better to answer the question about how to connect to the local media. Increasing critical thinking skills about how democracy works is more important than increasing understanding about the U.S.

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ATTACHMENT 4

BIOS OF PANEL PARTICIPANTS FOR THE CAUCASUS

Lincoln Mitchell

Lincoln Mitchell is an Associate Research Scholar at the Harriman Institute at Columbia University. Before joining Columbia's faculty, he was a practitioner of political development and continues to work in that field now. In addition to serving as Chief of Party for the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in Georgia from 2002-2004, he has worked on political development issues in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, the Caribbean, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. He also worked for years as a political consultant in New York City advising and managing domestic political campaigns. His current research includes work on U.S.-Georgia relations, political development in the former Soviet Union, and the role of democracy promotion in American foreign policy. His book *Uncertain Democracy: U.S. Foreign Policy and Georgia's Rose Revolution* was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 2008. He has also written articles on these topics in *The National Interest*, *Orbis*, *The Moscow Times*, *the Washington Quarterly*, *The American Interest*, *Survival*, *the Central Asian Survey*, *The New York Daily News* and *Current History* as well as for numerous online publications including the online sections of *The Washington Post* and the *New York Times* and *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* and *Transitions Online*. He has been quoted extensively in most major American, Georgian and Russian newspapers and appeared on numerous television and radio programs and podcasts including Fox and Friends, All Things Considered, Lou Dobbs, the Jim Lehrer Newshour, ABC Nightline, the Diane Rehm Show, Up and In: The Baseball Prospectus Podcast, The BBC as well as in Russian and Georgian television. He is also a frequent blogger on *The Huffington Post* where he writes primarily about domestic politics in the U.S. and on *The Faster Times* where he writes about U.S. Foreign Policy and baseball. He is currently working on a book about the Color Revolutions in the former Soviet Union. He earned his Ph.D from Columbia University's department of political science in 1996.

Sam Patten

Sam Patten is Senior Program Manager for Eurasia at Freedom House. He brings a decade of experience in the former Soviet Union together with a background of foreign policy, democratization and communications work at the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Senate. From 2008-9, Patten served as senior advisor for democracy promotion to former Under Secretary of State Paula Dobriansky. In the region, he headed the International Republican Institute (IRI)'s Moscow office from 2001-2004 and re-opened IRI's Kazakhstan program in 2003. Prior to the first free election in Iraq, he directed IRI's political programming out of Baghdad from 2004-5 where he oversaw public opinion research, media development and Get-Out-the-Vote activities. As a private consultant, Patten helped manage the campaigns of democratically-focused political leaders in Ukraine, Georgia, Romania, Albania and Northern Iraq. He has also worked as a foreign policy and defense advisor to U.S. Senator Susan Collins and a speechwriter to U.S. Senator Olympia Snowe.

Thomas de Waal

Thomas de Waal is a writer and analyst on the Caucasus, Russia and the Black Sea region and a Senior Associate with the Russia and Eurasia program at the Carnegie Endowment for

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International Peace in Washington. He is the author of “The Caucasus: An Introduction” published by Oxford University Press in August 2010. From 2002-8 he worked as Caucasus Editor at the Institute for War and Peace Reporting in London. In the 1990s he was a journalist in Moscow for the Moscow Times, The Times of London, and the Economist, specializing in Russian politics and events in Chechnya. He is co-author with Carlotta Gall of Chechnya, A Small Victorious War, (Pan, 1997 and NYU Press, 1998) and sole author of the widely respected book on the Karabakh conflict, Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan Through Peace and War (NYU Press, 2003), which has been translated into Russian, Armenian and Azeri.

William Courtney

Ambassador William Courtney is Director of Strategy and Development at the Computer Sciences Corporation (CSC). He was senior vice president for national security programs at DynCorp from 2000 until CSC acquired it in 2003, and a Foreign Service Officer in the U.S. Department of State from 1972 to 1999. He co-chaired the U.S. delegation to the 1999 OSCE review conference, and previously was an adviser on the reorganization of foreign affairs agencies, special assistant to the President for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia, the first U.S. Ambassador to Kazakhstan, and ambassador to Georgia. Earlier he was U.S. commissioner with rank of ambassador to the implementation commission of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, co-chair of the U.S. delegation in talks with the USSR and then Russia on the safety, security, and dismantlement of nuclear weapons, and deputy U.S. negotiator in the U.S.-Soviet defense and space talks in Geneva. He graduated Brown University with a PhD in economics and was an international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is a member of the Council, the American Academy of Diplomacy, and the board of directors of the World Affairs Council of Washington, D.C.

Steve LeVine

Steve LeVine is a contributing editor at *Foreign Policy* magazine in Washington, D.C., and an adjunct professor of energy and security at the School of Securities Studies at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. He writes a blog called *The Oil and the Glory*, and is the author of a book by the same name, published in 2007 by Random House. He is also the author of *Putin's Labyrinth*, a profile of Russia published in 2008. He has written and spoken about the geopolitics of Eurasian energy and pipelines for 15 years, and was based in the Caspian Sea region for 11 years as a foreign correspondent for *The Wall Street Journal* and before that *The New York Times*. Prior to the former Soviet Union, LeVine was based for three years as a foreign correspondent for *Newsweek* in Pakistan, where he covered the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the subsequent civil war, and the political rise of Benazir Bhutto. Before that, he was based in the Philippines for *Newsday*. In 2003, LeVine took up residence at Stanford University's Institute for International Studies, where he spent two years researching and writing *The Oil and the Glory*, a history of oil through the lens of oil and gas on the Caspian Sea. In 2008, he moved to Washington, D.C., where he became chief foreign affairs writer for *BusinessWeek*. Last year, he joined *Foreign Policy*. LeVine has a bachelor's degree in journalism from California State University at Fresno, and a master's degree from the Columbia University School of Journalism.

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CAUCASUS EXPERT PANEL

April 1, 2011

10:00 AM – 12:00 PM EST

BBG Conference Room

On April 1, 2011, a panel of experts on the Caucasus convened to discuss the media landscape of the region and the potential impact that the BBG can have in the region. This interdisciplinary panel is a critical component of the Caucasus regional review and it brings diverse, relevant perspectives to the table.

Panel participants included:

- Lincoln Mitchell, Associate Research Scholar at the Harriman Institute at Columbia University
- Sam Patten, Senior Program Manager for Eurasia at Freedom House
- Thomas de Waal, writer and analyst on the Caucasus, Russia, and Black Sea region and a Senior Associate with the Russian and Eurasia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington
- Ambassador William Courtney, Director of Strategy and Development at the Computer Sciences Corporation
- Steve LeVine, contributing editor at Foreign Policy magazine, adjunct professor of energy and security at the School of Securities Studies at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service

The panel was organized around a series of questions for the panelists to address to focus their analysis. Questions and a summary of the panel participants' responses follow.

1. What powerful forces are likely to shape the Caucasus political, economic, social, and ideological landscape for the next decade?

- *Mr. Courtney:* We could have not foreseen the Russia-Georgia war. The Black Sea Fleet is in the wrong place and might be likely to relocate. It might be worth it to look at Abkhazia as a strategic interest. We don't talk that much about the situation in the Caucasus, because it is inside Russia's influence zone. The conflict is widening, posing concerns for Georgia and Azerbaijan. Nagorno-Karabakh is a very important issue. And we have a strategic interest in Caspian energy. If Russia fully invades it would cause rapture with Europeans.
 - *Mr. De Waal:* There are long term trends and short term trends. The longer term trends have to do with the economic problems in all three countries, including Azerbaijan. In Georgia, there is high unemployment and foreign investment is down. Armenia had a huge loss in economic growth. Russia is in a strategic retreat from the region, except from Abkhazia. Russia is preoccupied with their own domestic issues. A crisis could also happen in North Caucasus, which is inherently unstable, and it has the potential to spill over into Georgia. Iran is a country to watch because they have a funny relationship with Azerbaijan. Islamic extremism is down the road. In 5-10 years, there is potential for instability with increasing corruption and other problems.
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- *Mr. Patten:* There is an increasing instability in the region. Freedom House has seen increasing authoritarianism and political instability. Although it is rational for Russia to strategically retreat from the region, Russia does not always act rationally. Security issues are going to loom large. There is need for more information from journalists in the region.
 - *Mr. Mitchell:* The region will experience the world becoming multi-polar, with the rise of China and Russia. With Russia playing its cards in the region, there is a need for more soft power. With what is happening in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya, there is the potential for a bi-partisan, non-interventionist view in the U.S. and the rationale for U.S. involvement will be questioned. All these places are strategically important, but the question is “in relation to what?” Right now, in relation to North Africa for example, the Caucasus is not important.
 - *Mr. Courtney:* The Caucasus is becoming more important for Europe than for U.S. national security. It is not easy to predict how the United States will react to a crisis. In Libya, for example, just a few weeks before the intervention, it was clear that the Pentagon did not want to go in. So, I don’t think it would be easy to predict what will happen if the crisis accelerates in the Caucasus.
 - *Mr. LeVine:* We should keep in mind how important energy is when we talk about this region. When oil passed through Baku, the U.S. interest sparked again. U.S. is behind the Nabuko pipeline project, because it sees it as a security issue. I think that the region is not going to lose the U.S. interest, because there are forces pulling from all sides in the area.
- 2. How might you describe the Caucasus information consumer – or the variety of consumers – in the next five years? What sort of relationship will they want with their media?**

- *Mr. De Waal:* I don’t know how much is possible when the government is not permissive. In Georgia, 80-90 % of the people get their information from state TV. There is no question that your food is tastier, so it is all about delivery and finding more ways to do it. Snippets of information through the new media are important, but good journalism still has a premium, is expensive, and it is important.
- *Mr. Courtney:* The Russian impact makes it more important for your services to supply information and remain active.
- *Mr. Patten:* Throughout the region, consumers have a variety of information sources. During the Kyrgyzstan elections, people turned to Russia for news. Internet remains relatively open. For example, Azerbaijan is exploding on internet at 40 percent users.
- *Mr. LeVine:* The most important thing is the quality of product.
- *Mr. Mitchell:* More people will use newer media, but access will be on phones not computers. You should aim for a bigger presence on Twitter, in podcasting, and other similar areas. It is important to know the internet flavors of the month, especially with regard to

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bloggers. Old media, particularly TV, is not going away. Also, we are not the only people with soft power in the region and this will become even clearer as time goes by. There will be less information in general news and fewer opportunities to reach undecided people. Governments will become more sophisticated with media and media will continue to primarily focus on entertainment.

- *Mr. De Waal:* Another issue is what constitutes news. Cover agendas that are not only from politicians. Cover economic and social attitudes. We don't propagate hate news across borders. Nationalism in both Armenia and Azerbaijan is rising. Most of nationalism is generated locally by elites, and they keep it alive.
- *Mr. Courtney:* Everything is situational. There has been debate about what is vital and what is not. Countries in that region think of the United States as a security guarantor. For example, if the Russians invaded the Caspian region, then it becomes high priority.

3. What do you think the Caucasus audiences see as our unique value proposition? What can we do and offer them that they get nowhere else?

- *Mr. Mitchell:* The notion that this is a media that the government does not want you to listen to is important. People seek out news that they want. The number of listeners varies, but people view your information as credible. What you are doing now may seem unglamorous, but it seems worth continuing. You can help people understand the world outside their country. You should follow through on stories that you prepare. The lack of information about what happens there is striking. The niche that you have is real and powerful, and you want to keep it. You should add some added value and get beyond regional gossip and partisanship.
- *Mr. De Waal:* I agree. Presidents of the countries in the region make promises and someone needs to hold them accountable. Also, providing coverage of cross border issues is important. They know far too little about their neighbors. It would also be good to have more debate about particular issues. Focus more on detailed issues rather than big, ideological ones and have discussions that are not purely political.
- *Mr. Patten:* The common denominator for these countries is that the media is extremely polarized. In an environment where many languages are spoken and with political instability, you add a source in the middle. You are like a "one stop shop".
- *Mr. LeVine:* The economic question should be raised. Even if it were retreating politically, Russia is not retreating economically in the region. The uprisings in Middle East were fueled by economic reasons that later became political. In these countries, there is pure local reporting, but it is disconnected by what happens in the other countries. It is important to connect the dots as well as look at the big picture issues.
- *Mr. Courtney:* There should be interactivity and engagement across borders.

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4. What should we consider our most important impact and how should broadcasting encourage outcomes that we value? (e.g., understanding of current events, information freedom, democratic change)

- *Mr. Patten:* In the '90s, what I saw in these countries were people that spoke English. Now, it is different. You are serving in an underserved area and it is hard to gauge the impact.
- *Mr. De Waal:* You should continue with objective and reliable information. The temptation to side with the opposition should be resisted. Keep up the objectivity.
- *Mr. Mitchell:* Just be objective, but also bring real news. Pay less attention to talk about democracy and tell more stories from here.
- *Mr. Courtney:* The broadcasters of VOA and RFE/RL are heroes for them. The ability to predict when a country will go in transition is so low, but what should be continued is objective and balanced news.
- *Mr. LeVine:* I don't see a role in affecting peace in Nagorno-Karabakh or in Ossetia and Abkhazia. The role is in objective reporting and in increasing of the understanding of each other. I strongly advise you not to target the elites.

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ATTACHMENT 5

BIOS OF PANEL PARTICIPANTS FOR BELARUS, MOLDOVA AND UKRAINE

Anders Aslund

Anders Aslund is a Senior Fellow at the Peter G. Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington, DC since 2006. He is a leading specialist on the East European economies, especially Russia and Ukraine. He also teaches at Georgetown University. He served as an economic advisor to the Russian government, 1991-94, to the Ukrainian government, 1994-97, and to the President of the Kyrgyz Republic, 1998-2004. Dr. Aslund is the author of eleven books, including with Valdis Dombrovskis, *How Latvia Came out of the Financial Crisis* (Peterson Institute, 2011), *The Last Shall Be the First: The East European Financial Crisis, 2008-10* (Peterson Institute, 2010), *How Ukraine Became a Market Economy and Democracy* (Peterson Institute, 2009), *Russia's Capitalist Revolution* (Peterson Institute, 2007), *How Capitalism Was Built: The Transformation of the Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), *Building Capitalism* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), *How Russia Became a Market Economy* (Brookings, 1995), *Gorbachev's Struggle for Economic Reform* (Cornell University Press, 1989), and *Private Enterprise in Eastern Europe: The Non-Agricultural Private Sector in Poland and the GDR, 1945-83* (Macmillan, 1985). He has edited sixteen books, most recently *Russia after the Global Economic Crisis* (2010) and *The Russia Balance Sheet* (2009). He has also published widely, including in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Interest*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Financial Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*. He served as a Swedish diplomat in Kuwait, Geneva, Poland, Moscow, and Stockholm. From 1989 until 1994, he was Professor and founding Director of the Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics at the Stockholm School of Economics. He has also been a scholar at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, and at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. From 1994 till 2005, he worked at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, as a senior associate and Director of the Russian and Eurasian Program. In parallel, he was co-directing the program on post-Soviet economies at the Carnegie Moscow Center. Dr. Aslund received his doctorate from Oxford University (St. Antony's College) in 1982. He has a B.A. from the University of Stockholm and a M.Sc. in Economics from the Stockholm School of Economics. He is a Member of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences and an Honorary Professor of the Kyrgyz National University. He was awarded the Golden Sign of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland by President Lech Walesa in July 1991. He is Co-Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Kyiv School of Economics and Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Center for Social and Economic Research (CASE), Warsaw.

David Kramer

David J. Kramer is Executive Director of Freedom House in Oct 2010. Prior to joining Freedom House, he was a Senior Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the U.S. He is also an Adjunct Professor at the Elliott School for International Affairs at George Washington University. Before joining GMF, he served as Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor from Mar 2008 to Jan 2009. He also was Dep. Asst. Secretary of State for European & Eurasian Affairs, responsible for Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus affairs as well as regional non-proliferation issues. Previously, he served as a Professional Staff

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Member in the Secretary of State's Office of Policy Planning. Before that he served as Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs. He also was Executive Director of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy in Washington. Before joining the U.S. Government, he was a Senior Fellow at the Project for the New American Century, Associate Director of the Russian & Eurasian Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Asst. Dir. of Russian and Eurasian Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, all in Washington.

Nadia Komarnyckyj McConnell

Nadia Komarnyckvj McConnell is Founder and President of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation. Through her vision and leadership the Foundation established a presence in Ukraine even before Ukrainian independence. Today Mrs. McConnell directs the development and implementation of projects, and represents the Foundation in all related U.S.-Ukrainian affairs. Prior to establishing the Foundation, she was the president of NKM Associates, a government relations and public affairs firm. While in the private sector Mrs. McConnell was involved in numerous activities related to Ukraine. She established and chaired Ukraine 2000 a Washington-based organization that played an active role in educating the American administration and Congress regarding Ukraine and urged stronger relations between the United States and Ukraine. In 1990 she developed a partnership with Indiana University and through that partnership was able to convince the US government to fund the first ever delegation to the United States of officials from a specific republic of the Soviet Union, Ukraine. That first delegation of the Ukrainian parliamentarians visited Indiana and Washington in April, 1991. She has also held several positions in the United States government during the Reagan Administration, including Director of Congressional Relations for the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and Deputy Assistant Administrator for Legislative Affairs for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) (1983-1987). At NASA among other things she was credited as being one of the key architects for the development of and implementation of the administration's strategy to secure congressional authorization of an American space station. While serving in the Administration, she served in a voluntary leadership capacity in community efforts to secure passage of legislation to establish the Ukrainian Famine Commission, to gain congressional recognition of the Chernobyl disaster and she was a National Chair of the Government Relations Committee of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine effort in the United States. In the private sector, Mrs. McConnell was the Government Relations and Public Affairs Director for the Arizona Multi-Housing Association, Director of Training for the Hecht Company, and Director of Human Resources for Arcoa Int'l. She has spent her 40 year professional career, 10 of it in government service, using her entrepreneurial and executive skills to design and manage programs and organizations with emphasis on strategic policy development. Mrs. McConnell holds a BA in political science from Arizona State University. She has received a number of awards for her community service, an Alumni Achievement Award from Arizona State University and several meritorious citations for her accomplishments in the government. In 2001 Nadia McConnell was awarded by "Distinguished Service Medal" from President of Ukraine L.D. Kuchma. The Ukrainian Technological Society of Pittsburgh presented the 2003 "Ukrainian of the Year" award to Mrs. McConnell. In 2005, Nadia McConnell was named by President George W. Bush as part of the U.S. delegation to attend the inauguration of Ukraine's president,

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Viktor Yushchenko. Mrs. McConnell and her husband Robert live in McLean, Virginia with their two children, Andriy and Deanna.

Roger Potocki

Rodger Potocki is Senior Director for Europe at the National Endowment for Democracy, where he oversees NED's Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova portfolios. Rodger has an M.A. from Yale University in Russian and East European Studies. He is also an adjunct professor at Georgetown University, where he teaches East European history

Vladimir Tismaneanu

Vladimir Tismaneanu is Professor of Politics at University of Maryland (College Park), Director of the University's Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies, and Chair of the Scientific Council, Institute for the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism and the Memory of Romanian Exile. He is the author of "Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel," "Fantasies of Salvation: Democracy, Nationalism, and Myth in Post-Communist Europe," and "Stalinism for All Season: A Political History of Romanian Communism." He is the editor, most recently, of "Stalinism Revisited: The Establishment of Communist Regimes in East-Central Europe" and "Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion, and Utopia." He just completed a book manuscript entitled "The Devil in History: Communism, Fascism, and the Lessons of the 20th Century."

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BELARUS/MOLDOVA/UKRAINE EXPERT PANEL

April 4, 2011

10:00 AM – 12:00 PM EST

BBG Conference Room

On April 4, 2011, a panel of experts on Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine convened to discuss the media landscape of the region and the potential impact that the BBG can have in the region. This interdisciplinary panel is a critical component of the regional review and it brings diverse, relevant perspectives to the table.

Panel participants included:

- Anders Aslund, Senior Fellow at the Peter G. Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington D.C.
- David J. Kramer, Executive Director of Freedom House, Adjunct Professor at the Elliott School for International Affairs at George Washington University
- Nadia Komarnyckyj McConnell, Founder and President of the U.S. – Ukraine Foundation
- Roger Potocki, Senior Director for Europe at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), overseeing NED's Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine portfolios
- Vladimir Tismaneanu, Professor of Politics at University of Maryland, Director of the University's Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies and Chair of the Scientific Council.

The panel was organized around a series of questions for the panelists to address to focus their analysis. Questions and a summary of the panel participants' responses follow.

1. What powerful forces are likely to shape the political, economic, social, ideological landscape in Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine for the next decade?

- *Mr. Aslund:* Ukraine's President should not be underestimated. He will stay in power, censorship will continue, and corruption will continue. Ukraine should remain on the VOA radar.
- *Ms. McConnell:* The other dimension for people to recognize is the environment where VOA and RFE/RL are working. It is not a neutral environment. There is an information war. Russia says that VOA is seen as a relic of the Cold War. There is also war from the regular media and from the Orthodox Church, which really try to shape opinion. The war on opinion and the corrupt governments reinforce each other, and it makes it hard to work. I understand that it is important to have strong relations with Russia (and Ukraine should have good relations with its neighbors), but everything should start with acknowledging the truth. With regard to Belarus and Moldova, the issues in these countries are regional. Ukraine, despite its problems, is one of the brightest stars in the region—a beacon in the whole region. I cannot emphasize enough the importance of media. Media is key, and there is an onslaught of media in Ukraine. With the nuclear crisis in Japan, it is worth highlighting the difference between what is happening there and what happened in Chernobyl—emphasis on the importance of

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what happens in a close society as opposed to an open society. There is a war going on in Ukraine, albeit not one with a no-fly zone.

- *Mr. Tismaneanu:* I will talk about Moldova, but it is really a regional issue. The historical context is fundamental in this region. For example, there is a Russian party in Moldova, and there is a cultural war between those who want to join the West and those who are under the Russian influence. But, there seems to be a historical amnesia about what happened in the past that informs the present. We need to fight forgetfulness. Another very important issue is Transnistria, which is a frozen conflict.
- *Mr. Kramer:* I will make some observations about Ukraine. The government is going in the wrong direction in terms of power consolidation. Pressure on journalists is increasing. The opposition is pretty pathetic and they are fairly young. The civil society is disappointed and dispirited about where the government is going. The West – the United States and European Union – have to deepen their engagement in Ukraine. I think we really can make a difference.
- *Mr. Potocki:* It seems that the Cold War is not over in Belarus. In fact, there is a more stark polarization now. Lukashenko is the longest serving leader in Europe, but you have to keep people believing that change can happen in Belarus. You have to keep fighting the good fight. The poll numbers are falling for Lukashenko. Independent media is fundamental for Belarus. The challenge is to play a role, but to also tell the long term story. We think that things are moving in the right direction in Belarus, but we have to continue our efforts. The region is having an impact in Belarus. Moldova – in our view – is a success story and what happens there should be told to the rest of the region. The internet and new media are the ways to go in Belarus. In our view, the work that you do is crucial.
- *Mr. Aslund:* Belarus could come to a serious crunch in the future and fall into a crisis. If so, media becomes even more important.
- *Mr. Potocki:* There is a crucial role for the Belarus service to play. There is a low level of economic knowledge in Belarus and we need more talk on the economic crisis.
- *Mr. Tismaneanu:* It is important to broadcast the success of Moldova and to tell the story of things that are being achieved. Broadcasters should tell the history of the economic transition in other countries and keep the European project alive.
- *Ms. McConnell:* In Ukraine, the opposition is discredited. And in addition to the culture war, there is an internal war that has to do with corruption, which was seen in the tax protests. In Belarus, there are more political prisoners now than there were in 2006, and the majority of people in Belarus voted in reality against Lukashenko. What VOA and RFE/RL can do is explain the situation to people there. For example, explain the idea of “conflict of interest.” They don’t get what it means. Your services can talk in a non-political, unbiased way.

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2. How might you describe the information consumer in these countries– or the variety of consumers – in the next five years? What sort of relationship will they want with their media?

- *Mr. Aslund:* In Ukraine, there are a couple of TV stations that are influential and TV, in general, is prominent. People are also getting the news on the internet. New media is important, and that's where you should focus your efforts. I don't think that the print media is influential in Ukraine and neither is radio, although the radio could gain importance if the government limits the internet.
- *Mr. Tismaneanu:* The development of the information market is a key issue. The idea of creating a national citizen class is missing in these countries. The problem of special interests that Nadia mentioned is very important. Both civic awareness and accountability are important. When we broadcast, we are talking not only to Lukashenko's opponents, but also to his entourage.
- *Mr. Potocki:* New media is essential, because the government controls all other media in Belarus. Although, the government will start trying to regulate the internet as well. Creating a synergy between radio and the web is crucial. Belarus is schizophrenically separated between Russia and the West. The role of the media in this environment is to lead the debate on this issue. The role of U.S. international broadcasting is to help win the debate.
- *Ms. McConnell:* We need to teach principles of a transparent society and explain concepts such as "conflict of interest." The Middle East shows that the opposition can look different. It might not be organized around a central leader. It can be focused on individual issues, and the media is the best way to explore this. Also, there is some kind of nostalgia about the Orange Revolution, but what we have now are other kinds of protests—protests on individual issues. You should make a point of talking to power elites about these issues. We need to be communicating with them. There is a role to be played in communicating with people, including elites, about societal ills.

3. What do you think the audiences in Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine see as our unique value proposition? What can we do and offer them that they get nowhere else?

- *Mr. Aslund:* Your unique value propositions are quality and intellectual issues. The domestic media is pretty good at doing news. Now, you need to help with the discussion, context, analysis, and move up the quality chain.
- *Mr. Potocki:* Your unique value proposition is to contribute a regional context. The Belarus media covers what happens in the country, but not what happens in the region or in Brussels. I talked to my Ukrainian colleagues about this. What they want is more context and more discussion about why we care about issues such as special interests or corruption. They want more about America; there is a fascination with the United States and with Americans. There is a lack of understanding about America, and you fulfill the need for people to understand who Americans are.

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- *Mr. Kramer:* Your services have great credibility. There are journalists who want to learn about our journalism practices. If there was a way of organizing training, that would be helpful.
- *Mr. Tismaneanu:* Intellectually challenging issues should be discussed because no one else can do this. Explain the intellectual context. Keep the idea of a regional, broad media. Anti-Americanism is a new phenomenon. Look into how and why this is happening. You are the ones to address this issue.
- *Mr. Potocki:* Belarus is an important case, because the service is helping to shape an identity and to develop a new idea in a place where academic freedom does not exist.
- *Ms. McConnell:* You have the resources—VOA and RFE/RL credibility is high, and both have broad reach. You need to provide context to the importance of topics. Show more about Americans and how they cope with economic problems. There is a fascination with Americans—not Washington. The civil society continues to engage and mature, but they need help. Another issue is self-censorship.

4. What should we consider our most important impact and how should broadcasting encourage outcomes that we value? (e.g. understanding of current events, information freedom, democratic change)

- *Mr. Potocki:* Our approach to Belarus has been for Belarus to have regional, broad support across borders. We do see change and RFE/RL has a big role to play in this direction.
- *Mr. Aslund:* There is serious unrest in the region and your role is extremely important in covering and explaining.
- *Ms. McConnell:* Credibility. This is the one institution that has had sustained credibility. Use it to bring transparency to issues in the region and to prevent confrontation.
- *Mr. Tismaneanu:* When you talk about how to tailor impact, history matters, European values matter, and Russia matters. The nationalistic issue has gained prominence. The great news from the revolutions of the Middle East is that people want to be free. VOA and RFE/RL can provide fresh, solid, professional ideas. They have reliability.
- *Mr. Kramer:* In Belarus, you should explain that the West is not out to get the people of Belarus. In Moldova, we should make sure that there is no slippage. And in Ukraine, I worry about Yanukovich's tendency to want to stay in power for a long time and I worry about media control.

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ATTACHMENT 6

BIOS OF PANEL PARTICIPANTS FOR RUSSIA

Paul Goble

Paul Goble currently serves as Director for Studies on the Baltic Countries, Ukraine and Poland at the U.S. Department of State's Foreign Service Institute. He is a longtime specialist on ethnic and religious questions in Eurasia. Prior to that, he was director of research and publications at the Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy. Earlier, he served as vice dean for the social sciences and humanities at Audentes University in Tallinn and a senior research associate at the EuroCollege of the University of Tartu. While there, he launched the "Window on Eurasia" series (www.windowoneurasia.blogspot.com). Prior to joining the faculty there in 2004, he served in various capacities in the U.S. State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and the International Broadcasting Bureau as well as at the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He writes frequently on ethnic and religious issues and has edited five volumes on ethnicity and religion in the former Soviet space. Trained at Miami University in Ohio and the University of Chicago, he has been decorated by the governments of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania for his work in promoting Baltic independence and the withdrawal of Russian forces from those formerly occupied lands.

David Satter

David Satter is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and a fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute of Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He is a former Moscow correspondent, is a long time observer of Russia and the former Soviet Union. Satter was born in Chicago in 1947 and graduated from the University of Chicago and Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar and earned a B.Litt degree in political philosophy. He worked for four years as a police reporter for the Chicago Tribune and, in 1976, he was named Moscow correspondent of the London Financial Times. He worked in Moscow for six years, from 1976 to 1982, during which time he sought out Soviet citizens with the intention of preserving their accounts of the Soviet totalitarian system for posterity. After completing his term in Moscow, Satter became a special correspondent on Soviet affairs for The Wall Street Journal, contributing to the paper's editorial page. In 1990, he was named a Thornton Hooper fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia and then a senior fellow at the Institute. From 2003 to 2008, he was a research fellow at the Hoover Institution. In 2008, he was also a visiting professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He teaches a course on contemporary Russian history at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced Academic Programs. Satter has written three books about *Russia: It Was a Long Time Ago and It Never Happened Anyway: Russian and the Communist Past* (Yale, 2011); *Age of Delirium: the Decline and Fall of the Soviet Union* (Knopf, 1996; paperback, Yale 2001); and *Darkness at Dawn: the Rise of the Russian Criminal State* (Yale 2003). His books have been translated into Russian, Estonian, Latvian, Czech, Portuguese, and Vietnamese. *Age of Delirium* is also being made into a documentary film by the Russian director, Andrei Nekrasov in a U.S.-German-Ukrainian joint production. Satter has testified frequently on Russian affairs before Congressional committees. He has written extensively for the editorial page of The Wall Street

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Journal. His articles and op-ed pieces have also appeared in the Los Angeles Times, The National Interest, National Review, National Review Online, Forbes.com, The New Republic, The Weekly Standard, The New York Sun, The New York Review of Books, Reader's Digest, and The Washington Times. He is frequently interviewed in both Russian and English by Radio Liberty, the Voice of America, and the BBC Russian Service and has appeared on CNN, CNN International, BBC World, the Charlie Rose Show, Al Jazeera, France 24, Fox News, C-Span, and ORT and RTR, the state run Russian television networks.

Christopher Walker

Christopher Walker is Director of Studies at Freedom House, where he oversees a team of analysts and researchers in devising overall strategy for Freedom House's analytical projects, including Nations in Transit: Democratization in East Central Europe and Eurasia; Freedom of the Press: a Global Survey of Media Independence; and Freedom on the Net: A Global Assessment of Internet and Digital Media. He is responsible for generating special studies and analysis, conducting briefings for government officials and at think tanks and research organizations, and responding to news issues through statements and op-eds. His articles and analysis on media freedom and democracy issues have appeared in a wide range of domestic and international publications, including Barron's, Far Eastern Economic Review, Foreign Policy, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Moscow Times, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, and World Affairs. Before joining Freedom House, he was a senior associate at the EastWest Institute. Mr. Walker is an Adjunct Professor of Global Affairs at New York University. He received his undergraduate degree from Binghamton University, State University of New York, and Master's Degree from Columbia University. He speaks German and Czech.

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RUSSIA EXPERT PANEL

April 6, 2011

10:00 AM – 12:00 PM EST

BBG Conference Room

On April 6, 2011, a panel of experts on Russia convened to discuss the media landscape of the region and the potential impact that the BBG can have in the region. This interdisciplinary panel is a critical component of the regional review and it brings diverse, relevant perspectives to the table.

Panel participants included:

- Paul Goble, Director for Studies on the Baltic Countries, Ukraine, and Poland at the U.S. Department of State's Foreign Service Institute
- David Satter, senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and a fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute of Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)
- Christopher Walker, Director of Studies at Freedom House

The panel was organized around a series of questions for the panelists to address to focus their analysis. Questions and a summary of the panel participants' responses follow.

1. What powerful forces are likely to shape Russia's political, economic, social, ideological landscape for the next decade?

- *Mr. Goble:* We should not talk of Russia as one thing, but rather as a multitude of things. It is a country enormously diverse and what happens in Russia overall is important—not only what happens in Moscow. When we talk of Russia, it is not like talking about math, but rather algebra. It is impossible to predict how things can go. We now see the rise of economics as a force, rather than politics. But Russia is still different and politics prevails. In the next 10 years, I expect changes in borders. The economy is in trouble and Moscow is not able to transfer oil through its routes as much as before. Russia is a country in search of itself. There are so many people who don't know who they are, or what their country is. There are a lot of ideological fights on the issue of Russian identity. We declared victory with Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Putin, and Medvedev. We have to keep in mind that Russia is the only country in the world that has the capacity to destroy us. We should continue with the public diplomacy and international broadcasting there.
- *Mr. Walker:* Other countries that Freedom House has labeled "not free" have undergone significant change in a short period of time. So the question to ask is: "How durable do you imagine the Russian system to be today?" Weaknesses include the rule of law, accountability, the judicial system, freedom of media, and so on. At the same time, Russia has a deft regime at manipulation, but I don't think that it will last. Broadcasters know that Russia is an inhospitable environment. The question is not if the change will come, but when. A friend in Russia tells me that there is not a feeling of immediacy, but a sense of restiveness.

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- *Mr. Satter:* The problem of Russia is a question of values. Russia has confused values. Russians understand their situation, but they are not well equipped to understand the source of that situation. There is a distortion of the way the Russians see the individual and the state. What we are facing in the last 10 – 20 years is a worsening of this kind of confusion and the impact it has on people. International broadcasting should address Russia's failure to come to terms with the past. Russia wanted to deform human nature—attempting to force people to live in an unreal world. The consequences are still very prominent. The state is still being put ahead of the individual. To overcome this, Russia should face the past in a way similar to what Germany did after the war. There is no will from the Russian people, society and regime to recognize the crimes and move ahead. The anti-Western propaganda is intended to create the impression that the West does not mean well and that the West is an enemy to Russia. The Russian regime realized that where hostility does not exist, it can be invented. We cannot fail but observe the weakness of the Russian opposition. But, corruption is not the root of Russia's problems. Russia's fundamental issue is the mentality on which the corruption is built. The duty of foreign radio is not to press a certain agenda, but rather create an intellectual space in Russia where intellectual voices can talk about what is happening.

(Follow-up question about a possible rift between Putin and Medvedev, ahead of next year's elections)

- *Mr. Walker:* In my view, it is more an illusion of choice than a real choice. On the other hand, it is difficult to predict any changes ahead of elections. Events in North Africa, for example, happened outside the election cycles. But in former Soviet areas, events were linked to election cycles.
 - *Mr. Satter:* The idea of a rift seems more than a little comical to me. In terms of the situation in general, the person who was put in charge of anti-corruption efforts had spent 4 million dollars on a stripper.
 - *Mr. Goble:* We talk so much about Putin and Medvedev and about a possible rift, because it is easier to talk about a horse race, rather than underlying problems.
- 2. How might you describe the information consumer – or the variety of consumers – in the next five years in Russia? What sort of relationship will they want with their media?**
- *Mr. Goble:* The most important thing to understand is that we have to use a mix of media for an uneven market. In some areas, internet is more prominent, but in other areas, radio is. We tend to project our trends for other countries. In Russia, you have internet in some areas, major cities use TV, and in North Russia, they listen to radio. Print media is important in some places and not in others. There is not one market. Also, the degree of cynicism about media has increased in Russia, as compared to the '90s.
 - *Mr. Walker:* In the last two years, there have been 13 million more internet users. Most of those users are in urban areas. The notion of interactivity is valuable. The material that we

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will release (Freedom House report on Press Freedom to be released in May) will note a decline in internet freedom. Until now, Russia has followed an a la carte method of censorship, blocking bloggers and regional pages. If the authorities really decide to interfere in the internet, they risk a probability of reverberations. The fact that some of the upwardly mobile and informed people are going to the internet, shows a trend. I think there is more desire in the population to get more information.

- *Mr. Satter:* During the years of the Soviet Union, the regime had total control, but people still talked freely in their kitchens. Internet today is like that kitchen—people let off steam. In its own way, it has the power to reinforce the idea, the illusion of open discussion, which in fact does not exist. It would be a mistake to overestimate the use of the internet.
- *Mr. Goble:* There is an increasing indifference to the media. People watch TV, but they have stopped watching the news. The consequence of media collapse is that intellectuals have no role and could become a revolutionary class. Also, 25-27% of the population is not ethnic Russians and 1/10th to 1/5th do not speak Russian well enough to use it, and those numbers are increasing. The assumption that there is not an ethnic problem is wrong.

3. What do you think the audiences in Russia see as our unique value proposition? What can we do and offer them that they get nowhere else?

- *Mr. Satter:* Some private media outlets are pretty good, but they are not reliable in a crisis. These private outlets in Russia are used to put out disinformation by a government in a moment of crisis. There is a need for international broadcasting. Russia needs a window to the outside world. I am not sure if the regional services are more important than the ones in the cities like Moscow and St. Petersburg.
- *Mr. Walker:* Internet ownership is linked to Kremlin. The reality is that there is diversity in the media market, but there isn't politically consequential, relevant information. It is important that relevant content makes its way into the country. The Russian media is deeply illiberal. You need to find ways to connect with the right audience and provide liberal ideas and democratic values.
- *Mr. Goble:* It is an enormous challenge. The Russian authorities will lie. In case of a crisis, the international media can provide important news. But if there is no crisis, the role is to provide context, analysis, explanation, and not cover the visits of dignitaries. There are a lot of people that think that balance constitutes objectivity. Present the U.S. as a diverse, conflict-ridden society, and highlight the pluralistic debate that Western civilization allows. Also, not everyone in Russia thinks that Western values are universal. To explain this, you have to move beyond news and highlight differences of opinion.

4. What should we consider our most important impact and how should broadcasting encourage outcomes that we value? (e.g. understanding of current events, information freedom, democratic change)

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- *Mr. Walker:* Given the years of assault on ideas in Russia, the value added is to help the Russian society understand why democratic societies are good for them. Discuss the limitations. It is important in the current environment, but it is also important when the environment changes (and we cannot predict when that will happen.)
- *Mr. Goble:* We are going to delude ourselves if we think that international broadcasting can solve everything in Russia. It is hard to find real anti-Americanism in Russia. Broadcasting should be part of a wide strategy, but it is not the decisive one. We liked Cold War. It was simple to understand and we don't like complexity. There are three things to do: (1) We can be a model of real journalism; (2) We have to talk about issues where we see that something is wrong; and (3) We have to show, not tell. Tell the story, because that's the story that people want to hear. If you can come up with good stories, you will have an important contribution.
- *Mr. Satter:* Times are changing. The role of foreign broadcasters is to implicitly, or explicitly, explain values and reflect the intellectual complexity in Russia.
- *Mr. Goble:* One thing that we did wrong in the past was to think that Russia could be a melting pot like the United States. The U.S. has to understand that immigrant societies such as ours are different from those that are not, those that have a deep sense of identity. In an immigrant society, people who come as immigrants have already made the choice to change. You can build a multicultural society in a country like Russia, just not like the one in the United States. We have to be sensitive in societies where identity is the ego and it is very important.
- *Mr. Satter:* I know the numbers have gone down, but I would not get discouraged, because when it comes to ideas it is not only numbers that count.
- *Mr. Walker:* We may see a rethinking and a refocus in soft power.

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ATTACHMENT 7

BIOS OF PANEL PARTICIPANTS FOR CENTRAL ASIA

Rachel Denber

Rachel Denber is Acting Director of the Europe and Central Asia Division at Human Rights Watch. Rachel Denber is Deputy Director of the Europe and Central Asia Division at Human Rights Watch. Prior to her current post, Denber was the head of Human Rights Watch's Moscow office from 1992–97. She earned a bachelor's degree from Rutgers University in international relations and a master's degree in political science from Columbia University, where she studied at the Harriman Institute. She specializes in countries of the former Soviet Union, and speaks fluent Russian and French. She has written about and traveled widely in Russia, the southern Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Baltic states.

Evan Feigenbaum

Evan Feigenbaum is head of the Asia practice group at Eurasia Group, a global political risk consulting firm, and also adjunct senior fellow for Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Initially an academic with a PhD in Chinese politics, his work has since spanned government service, business, and think tanks, and all three major regions of Asia. From 2001 to 2009, he served at the State Department as deputy assistant secretary of state for South Asia (2007-09), deputy assistant secretary of state for Central Asia (2006-07), member of the policy planning staff with principal responsibility for East Asia and the Pacific (2001-06), and as an adviser on China to Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick, with whom he worked closely in the development of the U.S.-China senior dialogue. During the intensive final phase of the U.S.-India civil nuclear initiative from July to October 2008, he co-chaired the coordinating team charged with moving the initiative through the International Atomic Energy Agency Board of Governors and the Nuclear Suppliers Group, and then to Congress, where it became the U.S.-India Nuclear Cooperation Approval and Nonproliferation Enhancement Act. He negotiated agreements with the governments of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan and also has extensive policy experience with North and South Korea and Japan. He received three individual and two group superior honor awards from the State Department. Before government service, Dr. Feigenbaum worked at Harvard University (1997-2001) as lecturer on government in the faculty of arts and sciences and executive director of the Asia-Pacific security initiative and program chair of the Chinese security studies program in the John F. Kennedy School of Government. He taught at the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School (1994-95) as lecturer of national security affairs and was a consultant on China to the RAND Corporation (1993-94). His publications include: *The United States in the New Asia* (CFR, 2009, co-author), *China's Techno-Warriors: National Security and Strategic Competition from the Nuclear to the Information Age* (Stanford University Press, 2003; Chinese edition published as *Zhonggong Keji Xianqu*, Taipei, 2006), and *Change in Taiwan and Potential Adversity in the Strait* (RAND, 1995). His articles have appeared in numerous publications, including the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Harvard Business Review*, *International Security*, *International Herald-Tribune*, *Survival*, *Washington Quarterly*, *China Quarterly*, and *Russia in Global Affairs*. He writes a regular column, "DC Diary," for the *Business Standard*, India's leading financial newspaper, and

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contributes regularly to CFR's blog, Asia Unbound. He is also the author of "Strengthening Fragile Partnerships," a new report on U.S. relations with Central Asia issued by a bipartisan task force chaired by former Deputy Secretary of State Richard L. Armitage. A native of New York City, he received his AB in history from the University of Michigan and his AM and PhD in political science from Stanford University. He has received awards, prizes, and competitive fellowships, including Olin and Belfer fellowships at Harvard University (1997-99), and spent three years as a fellow of Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation (1994-97).

Alisher Khamidov

Alisher Khamidov is a journalist originally from Kyrgyzstan. From June 1998 to July 2001, he served as Director of the Osh Media Resource Center (OMRC), a nonprofit independent media association in southern Kyrgyzstan. He also acted as the regional coordinator of the Central Asian Media Support Project. Khamidov has written a series of articles on religious and ethnic conflict in the Ferghana Valley and political developments in Kyrgyzstan and in Central Asia. He has previously worked at Notre Dame University's Sanctions and Security Project, the NEH Summer Institute on Eurasian Civilizations at Harvard University and at the Foreign Policy Studies Program of the Brookings Institution. Khamidov has a BA in teaching English and German from Osh State University, an MA in International Peace Studies from University of Notre Dame, and a PhD in International Relations from Johns Hopkins University.

Marlène Laruelle

Marlene Laruelle is a Visiting Research Fellow at the Russian and Eurasian Studies Program, Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, Washington DC. In Paris, France, she is an Associate Scholar at the French Center for Russian, Caucasian and East European Studies at the School of Advanced Social Sciences Studies (EHESS), and at the Post-Soviet Studies Department at *Sciences Po*. Her main areas of expertise are nationalism, national identities, political philosophy, intellectual trends and geopolitical conceptions of local elites in Russia and Central Asia. She has expertise in Russian and Central Asian foreign policy think tanks and academia, and in Russian policy towards Central Asia. Her English-language publications include *Russian Eurasianism. An Ideology of Empire* (Woodrow Wilson Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); *In the Name of the Nation. Nationalism and Politics in Contemporary Russia* (Palgrave, 2009); ed. *Russian Nationalism and the National Reassertion of Russia* (Routledge, 2009).

Sébastien Peyrouse

Sebastien Payrouse is a Senior Research Fellow with the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, a Joint Center affiliated with Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, Washington DC, and the Institute for Security and Development Policy, Stockholm. He is a member of the EUCAM team since 2008. In Paris, France, he is an Associated Fellow at the Institute for International and Strategic Relations. He was a doctoral and postdoctoral Fellow at the French Institute for Central Asia Studies in Tashkent (1998-2000 and 2002-2005). His main areas of expertise are political systems in Central Asia, Islam and religious minorities, and Central Asia's geopolitical positioning toward China, India and South Asia. In English, he has published *China as a Neighbor. Central Asian Perspectives and*

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Strategies (Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, 2009) with Marlène Laruelle, and “The Economic Aspects of the Chinese-Central-Asia Rapprochement” (*Silk Road Papers*, 2007).

Sean R. Roberts

Sean R. Roberts is an Associate Professor of the Practice of International Affairs and Director of the International Development Studies Program at George Washington University’s Elliot School of International Affairs. Professor Roberts received his Ph.D. from the University of South California and his expertise includes development theory, democracy development, media and development, culture and politics, indigenous rights, Central Asia, the former Soviet Union, and China.

Joining the Elliott School in 2008 as the Director of the International Development Studies program, Professor Roberts is a cultural anthropologist with extensive applied experience in international development work.

Having conducted ethnographic fieldwork among the Uyghur people of Central Asia and China during the 1990s, he has published extensively on this community in scholarly journals and in collected volumes. In addition, he produced a documentary film on the community entitled *Waiting for Uighurstan* (1996).

In 1998-2000 and 2002-2006, he worked at the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Central Asia on democracy programs, designing and managing projects in civil society development, political party assistance, community development, independent media strengthening, and elections assistance.

During the 2006-07 and 2007-08 academic years, Dr. Roberts was a post-doctoral fellow in Central Asian Affairs at Georgetown University. At the same time, he continued to work on development projects for a variety of NGOs and served as a Senior Program Officer at the Center for Civil Society and Governance at the Academy for Educational Development where he managed a peace-building project in Darfur, Sudan and an anti-corruption project in Moldova.

He is the author of a popular blog on Central Asia, entitled *The Roberts Report on Central Asia and Kazakhstan* (www.roberts-report.com) and frequently comments on current events in Central Asia for the media and the foreign policy community.

Recent publications include "Daily Negotiations of Islam in Central Asia: Practicing Religion in the Uyghur Neighborhood of Zarya Vostoka in Almaty, Kazakhstan" in *Everyday Life in Central Asia, Past and Present*, University of Indiana Press, (2006); "The Dawn of the East: A Uyghur Community Between Central Asia and China" in *Situating the Uyghurs*, Ashgate Publishers (2007); and *Doing the Democracy Dance in Central Asia: The Formal, Informal, and Unintended in U.S. Democracy Assistance to Kazakhstan*, forthcoming (2008).

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CENTRAL ASIA EXPERT PANEL

April 11, 2011

10:00 AM – Noon EST

BBG Conference Room

On April 11, 2011 a panel of experts on Central Asia convened to discuss the media landscape of the region and the potential impact that the BBG can have in the region. This interdisciplinary panel is a critical component of the regional review and it brings diverse, relevant perspectives to the table.

Panel participants included:

- Rachel Denber, Acting Director of the Europe and Central Asia Division at Human Rights Watch (via conference call)
- Evan Feigenbaum, head of the Asia Practice Group at Eurasia Group, adjunct senior fellow for Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations
- Alisher Khamidov, journalist originally from Kyrgyzstan, former director of the Osh Media Recourse Center (OMRC)
- Marlene Laruelle, Visiting Research Fellow at the Russian and Eurasian Studies Program, Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies
- Sebastien Peyrouse, Senior Research Fellow with the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, a Joint Center affiliated with Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies
- Sean Roberts, Associate Professor and Director, International Development Studies Program at George Washington University

The panel was organized around a series of questions for the panelists to address to focus their analysis. Questions and a summary of the panel participants' responses follow.

1. What powerful forces are likely to shape Central Asia's political, economic, social, ideological landscape for the next decade?

- *Ms. Denber:* The key factor to shape the Central Asia landscape will be the pattern that the government in the region will follow and the degree to which the public will challenge the authority. The politics in these countries will be in a state of constant crisis. There is likely going to be increasing oppression, corruption, lack of accountability, and instability. The elites are likely to retain dominance over resources; there will be rising impoverishment and frustration. Among other trends, I would predict a rising level of nationalism, potential for instability, influence of radical Islam, and tide of anti-Americanism.
- *Ms. Laruelle:* I think nationality will be a big issue, especially in Kyrgyzstan. Another force will be migration, because the more people migrate, the more the region is changing. The social fabric of the region changes.

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- *Mr. Peyrouse:* Another element is the generational change. Most of the elites have been in power for about 20 years dating back to the Soviet era, so they are under that influence. Now, we can see a change. The young people may be moving to the upper levels of administration, and they are more open to the West. This new generation is important because it will lead into a change of power in the coming years. We should also pay attention to the situation of women in rural areas.
- *Mr. Feigenbaum:* The forces that will shape Central Asia's landscape are economy, politics, and the role of the United States. On the economic front, there is a combination of a lack of opportunity and the inability to govern in a responsible way. There is a tension between the haves and have-nots. Politically, succession will likely be contested and institutions created to deal with succession are not responsive to the public. And finally, as the U.S. begins to withdraw from Afghanistan, questions will be raised by the elites about the staying power and commitment of the U.S. It is not clear what the presence in Central Asia will be and the elites will have to think about what to do. There will be fewer resources to go around and confusion about what role the U.S. will play in the region.
- *Mr. Khamidov:* One disturbing trend is the disappearance of non-state elites. The consolidation of the economy brought in new elites, but now the state is recentralizing its power by fighting and weakening these new elites. These elites were important because they promoted a different thought. There are also economic and infrastructure problems. These infrastructure problems will have an impact on the media outlets. Russia will continue to have a lot of influence, and we should expect more influence from China, especially in the trade area. Nationalism will increase, but regional cooperation will continue.
- *Mr. Roberts:* The governance issue is incredibly important, because these institutions are not adequate to deal with succession of power. The unemployment situation is a big problem for the future. Corruption is also a huge problem and it only exacerbates other problems in the region. The future of the drug trade is another issue throughout Central Asia. It is a major part of both the economy and politics. We have to consider the role of China in the region. There are questions about the role of the United States and the West, and how that will balance with the influence of China and Russia. What will happen when the balance shifts? Finally, we have to consider the role of Kazakhstan in the region. Thus far, it has been the most stable country in the region, but we should see what strategic role it will play.
- *Ms. Laruelle:* One other factor to consider is the growing illiteracy rate, especially the difference in education levels between the rural and urban areas.
- *Ms. Denber:* There is a growing social polarization in these countries. Other countries might have a problem with Kazakhstan taking a leading role in the region.
- *Mr. Khamidov:* We should also talk about political Islam, and how it is used. Many leaders tell their publics that if they leave, radical Islam will take root. But has been a rise in the influence of moderate Islam.

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- *Mr. Peyrouse:* China is poised to have a political, economic, social, and cultural influence. After Russian and English, Chinese is the third most sought after foreign language to learn in school.
- *Mr. Feigenbaum:* I disagree that China will have a cultural influence, but I agree that it will have an economic one. Chinese lending practices can have a negative effect because of the differences in conditionality than other lenders, which can undercut the leverage of other lenders. But, I don't see the Chinese influence as a problem when it comes to public diplomacy. On the other hand, Russia is a central problem in this respect. You can see it in the lies that were spread about the U.S. role in the Arab Revolutions. Its influence is in Russian language, as well as in local languages. That is why it is important for the U.S. to be present.
- *Ms. Laruelle:* Central Asia is part of the Russian information world. The Russia internet sites are lively, and you can see that Russia is catering to the Russian-speaking Muslim world. There are speeches about Islam in Russian.
- *Mr. Roberts:* I do think that there is a contest between the Russian influence and Islamic influence. Increasingly, the Russian speaking world is decreasing. In the past, U.S. strategy was often focused on Russian speaking elites and their perspective. However, I think we have had less success reaching the local language speaking population and they may reach out to Islam.
- *Mr. Khamidov:* English and Russian learning is an urban phenomenon (generally the children of the wealthy elites) and it is not widespread among rural populations.

2. How might you describe the information consumer – or the variety of consumers – in the next five years in Central Asia? What sort of relationship will they want with their media?

- *Mr. Khamidov:* An average Central Asian media consumer is very narrow-minded, because of the authoritarian governments. Students are not taught critical thinking skills. They are taught to trust the government, especially in rural areas. Although, even urban populations can be narrow minded.
- *Mr. Peyrouse:* People in Central Asia not only need to get news about themselves, but they also need news about the outside world. For example, people thought that what happened in the Arab world was organized by the United States. We need to balance the Russian and Central Asian media, but the focus should be not only on what happens in their country, but explain what happens in the world.
- *Ms. Laruelle:* Again, illiteracy in the rural areas is a big problem. There are no more libraries, people do not read newspapers anymore, and there is very little internet access. The only way you can reach them is by mobile phones. This is one of the only ways to speak to the migrant population.

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- *Ms. Denber:* The mindset of the information consumer involves less critical thinking, because of manipulation of the governments. But, at the same time, there is a profound cynicism among them, depending on the issue. Unfortunately, this cynicism and skepticism extends to U.S. broadcasting.
- *Mr. Roberts:* There is one aspect of narrow-mindedness that is important to point out. There is a certain narrative in these countries that people don't have an agency in the world, that everything has a shadow power behind it. But, they still take Russian media at face value, especially on international, non-Russian topics. There is an increasing number of people who don't speak Russian, and also those who do not necessarily speak the local languages. There is also a handicap with mobile phone use, because of state influence over mobile providers. However, the internet access is better in some areas where it is difficult for the government to control. For example, the governments have difficulty censoring social portals such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube because they don't want to block the entire portal wholesale.

(The experts were asked to mention 2-3 target audience groups in these countries)

- *Mr. Khamidov:* Rural populations and labor migrants in Russia.
- *Mr. Feigenbaum:* Rural populations, youth, and elites.
- *Ms. Denber:* Rural populations and elites (who are very strong RFE/RL consumers).
- *Mr. Peyrouse:* Rural populations, elites, and migrant workers
- *Ms. Laruelle:* Rural populations, elites, and migrant workers
- *Mr. Roberts:* Rural populations and elites, especially elites in these rural areas such as teachers, local government officials, and the people who are most likely to engage with foreign media.

3. What do you think the audiences in Central Asia see as our unique value proposition? What can we do and offer them that they get nowhere else?

- *Mr. Peyrouse:* Your unique value added is providing an understanding of the current events—a general understanding of what happens elsewhere. You should provide balance, so the government does not have a monopoly of telling the population what is happening.
- *Ms. Laruelle:* You can bring information about what happens in China, Russia, and the Muslim world. You can provide information not only about politics, but about youth. The majority of people in Central Asia think that everyone has an agenda and that there is a conspiracy going on. It must always be taken into account that when they hear VOA, they

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think that it's coming from the U.S. government. The problem is that the more you try to explain, the more they will think there is an agenda.

- *Ms. Denber:* Maintain high reporting standards. Set an example. The cynicism will always be there.
 - *Mr. Roberts:* The value added is that VOA and RFE/RL can report and discuss things that are not discussed anywhere else. They are more likely to listen to you on Russian and local events. In many of these countries, people know to come to you when they want to know what happens. Another idea is to cover topics that are discussed on the internet in your broadcasts
- 4. What should we consider our most important impact and how should broadcasting encourage outcomes that we value? (e.g. understanding of current events, information freedom, democratic change)**
- *Mr. Khamidov:* Freedom of press in Central Asia does not mean objective reporting. People are striving for alternative views. The cynicism of consumers is actually a blessing, because it borders on healthy skepticism. It also helps VOA and RFE/RL that they broadcast in their own language. The VOA and RFE/RL programming sets the standard for journalism.
 - *Mr. Feigenbaum:* To the extent that you are providing credible and objective information (whether it is local, global, or U.S. information), you have an impact. You might just measure it existentially and just know that you provide credible and objective journalism.
 - *Mr. Peyrouse:* The aim is not to change things, but to contribute to change.
 - *Ms. Laruelle:* Freedom of the press does not necessarily mean that they will become pro-Western. Your impact is to transmit values without making people think that there is an agenda.
 - *Ms. Denber:* Your most important impact is fact-based, rigorous journalism. Give more information about the U.S., including critical information about the U.S.
 - *Mr. Roberts:* In a crisis situation, the flow of information is important. You have to strive for the ability to cover events and keep the lines of communication open.

The experts also stated that Iran has a secondary role in the countries of the region, and that there were high hopes for a larger Turkish involvement two decades ago, but that this did not materialize. One factor that was pointed out was the Turkish investment in education and the fact that you have a Muslim-educated private sector, and an administration that follows the Russian model.

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ATTACHMENT 4

REPORT OF THE BBG GOVERNANCE COMMITTEE

February 22, 2011

1:30 PM – 4:30 PM EST

BBG Conference Room

Members

Chairman Walter Isaacson (*ex officio*)
Governor Victor Ashe, Co-Chair
Governor Dennis Mulhaupt, Co-Chair

Summary of Committee's Recommendations

This meeting of the Governance Committee took place on February 22, 2011 at BBG Headquarters. Governors Victor Ashe and Dennis Mulhaupt were in attendance and co-chaired the proceedings. Governor Enders Wimbush was also in attendance. BBG Chair Isaacson was not in attendance.

The Governors deliberations were assisted by the following attendees; Jeffrey Trimble (Executive Director, BBG), Paul Kollmer-Dorsey (Board Secretary and BBG Deputy General Counsel), Oanh Tran (Special Projects Officer) and Emily Tyler (Presidential Management Fellow). Other meeting attendees are listed at the end of this document.

The agenda of the meeting is set forth in Attachment 1 to this report.

Based on its deliberations, the Governance Committee makes the following recommendations to the Board:

Introductory Matters

- **Governance Committee Leadership**
 - Noting that Governor Ashe has expressed a desire to resign as co-chair of the Governance Committee, but remain a Committee member, that the plenary Board recognize Governor Mulhaupt as the chair of the Governance Committee and confirm Governor Ashe's continued membership.

- **Adoption of November 18, 2010 Governance Committee Report**
 - That the plenary Board adopt the Governance Committee recommendations from the November 18, 2010 Governance Committee Report, noting that the plenary Board has already adopted several of the Committee's recommendations at the Board's November 19, 2010 meeting.*

* Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

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- **Adoption of Revised Governance Committee Terms of Reference**
 - That the plenary Board adopt the revised Governance Committee Terms of Reference, incorporating the following changes:
 - An amended provision permitting members of the Governance Committee and the BBG Board Secretary to propose amendments to the Governance Committee Terms of Reference.
 - Adding the Executive Director to the list of BBG officers with respect to whom the Committee will provide recommendations and proposals on the management of performance reviews, salary, and awards.
 - Include, as a Committee mandate, oversight of the federal agency's authority to accept gifts from outside sources.*
 - Include, as a Committee mandate, oversight of the overall structure and use of human capital within BBG-funded United States international broadcasting (including, without limitation, issues of staff morale and management structures).†
 - That the plenary Board approve the revised Terms of Reference in Attachment 2.‡

Board Operations and Responsibilities

- **Modifications to Existing Firewall Policy**
 - Noting that the Board's firewall policy has a statutory basis in the United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (as amended) and pertains to individual Governors, the Secretary of State, and the Inspector General, as well as other Executive Branch agencies, that the plenary Board adopt a revised firewall policy based upon the draft policy set forth in Attachment 3.§
- **Modifications to Existing Crisis Management Policy**
 - That the BBG staff be directed to develop and propose a crisis management policy based on a definition of "crisis" that is comprised of a physical threat to a journalist or the destruction of BBG facilities (as distinguished from foreign policy crises, which may require a surge in BBG broadcasting).** In the event of a crisis, the matter must be reported to the Governance Committee and the following parties should convene to determine necessary action and provide recommendations to the Board: BBG Executive Director, Chair of the Governance Committee, lead Governor for the entity in question, the relevant entity head, and the IBB Director.

* Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

† Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

‡ Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

§ Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

** Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

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- That the plenary Board direct that, in the event of a foreign policy crisis, the Strategy and Budget Committee should develop recommendations for proposed actions, including a surge in BBG broadcasting*, after considering input from the BBG Executive Director, Co-Chairs of the Strategy and Budget Committee, lead Governor for the entity in question, the relevant entity head, and the IBB Director.
- That the BBG staff be directed to develop a revised crisis protocol based upon the Committee's proposed recommendations.†
- **Proposed Format of Entity Monthly Reports on Programming Achievements**
 - [Deferred to future meeting.]
- **Individual Governor Contributions to Board and Committee Meeting Agendas**
 - In light of the public notice requirement of the Government in Sunshine Act, that the plenary Board encourage individual Governors to raise agenda items and resolutions for discussion at least seven (7) days prior to a meeting of the Board of Governors, except in urgent circumstances.‡

Grantee Oversight

- **Grantee Fund-Raising**
 - That the plenary Board note the memorandum prepared by the BBG Office of General Counsel, set forth in Attachment 4, describing the legal and policy parameters of prospective grantee fund-raising from external sources, which prohibit the grantees from using any federal funds in their fundraising efforts.
 - That the BBG staff be directed to prepare for the Governance Committee's further consideration, guidance on permissible forms of grantee fund-raising, including fundraising that might be for specific purposes, such as travel, training, or special events.
- **Grantee Participation in Board Deliberations**
 - That the plenary Board note the memorandum prepared by the BBG Office of General Counsel, set forth in Attachment 5, describing the legal and policy parameters of grantee participation in Board deliberations. Federal regulations prohibit the release of the budget to non-federal entities in advance of the budget's

* Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

† Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

‡ Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

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publication, and prohibit the release of any confidential communications between OMB and the federal agency to non-federal entities, unless OMB waives the confidentiality requirement.

- **Protection of Confidential Information Exchanged during Board Deliberations**
 - That the plenary Board note the need to develop a confidentiality policy for “sensitive but unclassified” information^{*} to remind people of their responsibilities to the federal agency.
 - That BBG staff be directed to develop and recommend ways to protect from disclosure and public distribution of information and materials which the Board deems to be “sensitive but unclassified” that are consistent with federal law and regulation and consistent with the precedents established by other federal agencies.[†]
- **Harmonization of Grantee By-Laws**
 - That the Board recommend to each grantee that its chief legal officer should seek to harmonize the grantee by-laws in order to eliminate any substantive differences across the organizations.

Entity Authority

- **Functions and Authorities of BBG, VOA, OCB, and IBB**
 - That the plenary Board further clarify reporting relationships between and among the Board, IBB, VOA, and OCB in light of the IBB Director’s functions as manager of the worldwide distribution network which serves all elements of BBG-sponsored United States international broadcasting (both within and outside the federal agency), manager of certain key operations of the federal agency, and chair of the IBB Coordinating Committee.[‡]
 - That the IBB Director must have the authority to execute the functions set forth in the BBG statute or delegated to the IBB by the Board. In order to properly execute such functions, the IBB Director should have the authority to identify, evaluate and resolve strategic trade-offs and conflicts among the broadcasting entities consistent with the broad strategic guidelines established by the Board and subject to the Board’s continuing oversight.[§]

^{*} Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

[†] Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

[‡] Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

[§] Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

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- That the BBG Office of General Counsel be directed to research and prepare a legal memorandum concerning the intent of Congress regarding the relationships between and among the Board, IBB, VOA, and OCB.
- **Delegations of Authority to the BBG Executive Director, IBB Director, VOA Director, and OCB Director**
 - That the BBG staff be directed to develop revised delegations of authority to the BBG Executive Director, IBB Director, VOA Director, and OCB Director to clarify the responsibilities of each position and ensure the proper delegation of functions across the four positions. And that the Board directs that each delegation of authority should clearly specify the nature and extent of the functions for which each respective director is responsible, the reporting relationships of each respective director, and, where applicable, the functions with respect to which each such director may be subordinate to another director.*
- **Agency Gift Authority and Fund-Raising Opportunities**
 - That the plenary Board note the memorandum prepared by the BBG Office of General Counsel, set forth in Attachment 6, describing the legal and policy parameters of prospective fundraising by the federal agency. The BBG has authority to accept unconditional and conditional gifts. Conditional gifts should not be accepted in the event that the gift conditions are contrary to BBG's statutory mission or authority.
 - That the BBG staff be directed to propose a draft policy on acceptance of conditional and unconditional gifts by the BBG, consistent with applicable laws and regulations and other relevant policy considerations. The policy should contain protocol for the acceptance of a substantial gift, which includes a case by case review by the Governance Committee.

Interaction with Non-USIB Entities

- **Agreements and Relationships with Other International Broadcasting Entities and Governments**
 - That the plenary Board designate the BBG Executive Director as the principal point of contact and the chief representative of the BBG in relationships with other international broadcasting entities and governments. The Board may delegate this authority to other members of the federal agency, including, but not limited to, the IBB Director and the VOA Director, to provide representation at various conferences and events. Noting, however, that the BBG Executive Director's representational authority is not intended to curtail the IBB Director's authority to conduct discussions regarding commercial relationships necessary to distribute BBG programming globally.†

* Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

† Adopted by the Board at the March 11, 2011 Board Meeting

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Closed Session

Attendees

Jeff Trimble, BBG Executive Director
Richard Lobo, IBB Director
Paul Kollmer-Dorsey, Deputy General Counsel and Board Secretary
Maryjean Buhler, Chief Financial Officer
Oanh Tran, Special Projects Officer
Emily Tyler, Presidential Management Fellow
Bernadette Burns, RFA General Counsel
Michael Marchetti, RFE/RL Vice President of Finance
John Lindburg, RFE/RL General Counsel
Anne Noble, MBN General Counsel
Dan Austin, VOA Director
Barbara Brady, VOA Chief of Staff
Marie Lennon, IBB Chief of Staff

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ATTACHMENT 1

MEETING OF THE BBG GOVERNANCE COMMITTEE

February 22, 2011

1:30 PM – 4:30 PM EST

BBG Conference Room

Members

Walter Isaacson, Chair of the Broadcasting Board of Governors (*ex officio*)

Governor Victor Ashe, Committee Co-Chair

Governor Dennis Mulhaupt, Committee Co-Chair

AGENDA

Agenda Topic 1

Introductory Matters

- Adoption of November 18, 2010 Governance Committee Report
- Adoption of Revised Governance Committee Terms of Reference
- Status of Current Continuing Resolution and Contingency Planning for Government Shutdown

Agenda Topic 2

Board Operations and Responsibilities

- Modifications to Existing Firewall Policy
- Modifications to Existing Crisis Management Policy
- Proposed Format of Entity Monthly Reports on Programming Achievements
- Individual Governor Contributions to Board and Committee Meeting Agendas

Agenda Topic 3

Grantee Oversight

- Grantee Fund-Raising
- Grantee Participation in Board Deliberations
- Protection of Confidential Information Exchanged During Board Deliberations
- Harmonization of Grantee By-Laws

Agenda Topic 4

Federal Entity Authority

- Functions and Authorities of BBG, VOA, OCB, and IBB
- Delegation of Authority to the BBG Executive Director
- Delegation of Authority to the IBB Director
- Agency Gift Authority and Fund-Raising Opportunities

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Agenda Topic 5

Interaction with Non-USIB Entities

- Agreements and Relationships with Other International Broadcasting Entities and Governments

Agenda Topic 6

Closed Session – Personnel and Other Matters

- Report of Executive Director on Personnel Matters
- Board Member Travel
- Assessment of “Board Member Responsibilities,” as Described by Prior Board
- Assessment of Agency Management: Mechanisms for Assessing and Implementing Best Federal Practice

Agenda Topic 7

Governors-Only Session

Attendees

Jeff Trimble, BBG Executive Director
Richard Lobo, IBB Director
Paul Kollmer-Dorsey, Deputy General Counsel and Board Secretary
Maryjean Buhler, Chief Financial Officer
Oanh Tran, Special Projects Officer
Emily Tyler, Presidential Management Fellow
Bernadette Burns, RFA General Counsel
Michael Marchetti, RFE/RL Vice President of Finance
John Lindburg, RFE/RL General Counsel
Anne Noble, MBN General Counsel
Dan Austin, VOA Director
Barbara Brady, VOA Chief of Staff
Marie Lennon, IBB Chief of Staff

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ATTACHMENT 2

BBG GOVERNANCE COMMITTEE Proposed Revisions - Terms of Reference

Purpose

The objective of the Governance Committee is to develop and recommend governance rules and practices to the plenary Board that will enable Board deliberations to be orderly and focused on discharging the non-delegable Board authorities set out in the BBG statute, including setting the strategic tone and direction of United States international broadcasting and providing appropriate oversight for the entities involved in broadcasting operations. The committee should seek to organize and optimize the roles, responsibilities, and operations of the Board and its interactions with staff, both at the BBG level and in the broadcasting entities.

Background

The International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (as amended) leaves certain rules of Board operations and key governance questions open for the Board of Governors to decide. These open questions are complex and should be considered in light of the operating history and requirements of the Board and the federal and nonfederal elements of US international broadcasting.

Members

The Governance Committee will be composed of three (3) Governors selected by the plenary Board. A Committee Chair will be appointed by the Chair, subject to the Board's approval.

Support for Committee Operations

The operations of the Governance Committee will be organized and supported by the Secretary of the BBG Board and by a support team recommended by the BBG Executive Director and approved by Committee members. The support team should consider input from BBG staff, the International Broadcasting Bureau, and each of the federal and nonfederal programming entities.

Administrative Provisions

The Governance Committee should be a standing committee of the Board. The Chair of the Governance Committee should establish a meeting schedule and select meeting venues.

Amendments to the Governance Committee Terms of Reference may be proposed by Committee members or the Secretary of the BBG Board. Amendments may be approved at any meeting of the Committee members.

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Committee Mandate

The Governance Committee should consider and submit recommendations and proposals to the plenary Board concerning the following:

1. Desirability of creating By-Laws to guide the activities and operation of the Board to address rules and procedures of Board operations, including:
 - a. documentation of Board decisions and voting,
 - b. possible creation of additional Board leadership structures or mechanisms,
 - c. mechanisms for a majority of Board members to call extraordinary meetings of the Board,
 - d. mechanisms for Board evaluation of the executive director, and
 - e. assignment of additional matters to the Board's Committee by the plenary Board or the Chair or as determined by the relevant Committee chair.
2. Role and duties of the BBG Chair, including reviewing the plenary Board's formal delegation of authority dating from January 2000.
3. Structure and timing of meetings of the plenary Board, Board committees and operating entity Boards of Directors, including the appropriate venues for such meetings, e.g. in Miami, Prague, etc.
4. Delegation of BBG operational authorities to the IBB Director, as well as the supervisory role of IBB vis-à-vis the federal programming entities and the role of IBB coordinating committee required by the BBG statute.
5. Governance of non-federal grantees, including composition of grantee Boards, delegations of authority to grantee management, conditions and verification of grant compliance.
6. Role of the BBG staff, including the role and duties of, and delegation of authority to, the executive director of the BBG, vis-à-vis the Board and the federal and nonfederal elements of US international broadcasting.
7. Relationship of the Board and USIB entities, including the appropriate roles and levels of participation of USIB entities in Board deliberations and other appropriate mechanisms to facilitate and increase cooperation and consultation between the Board, the BBG staff, and other USIB elements.

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8. Agreements and relationships with other international broadcasting entities and governments and for monitoring such agreements and relationships on behalf of the Board. The Committee will work cooperatively with the Strategy and Budget Committee as necessary and appropriate to fulfill this responsibility.
9. Management of performance reviews, salary, and awards for the BBG Executive Director and VOA, OCB, and IBB directors and recommendations for the same for RFE/RL, RFA, and MBN.
10. Management of the BBG Executive Director and oversight of the BBG Executive Director's management of the BBG staff.
11. Oversight of the overall structure and use of human capital within BBG-funded United States international broadcasting, including, without limitation, issues of staff morale and management structures.
12. Oversight of the federal agency's authority to accept gifts from outside sources.
13. Other matters assigned to the Committee by the plenary Board or the Chair.

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ATTACHMENT 3

DRAFT OF FEBRUARY 22, 2011 – FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY

BBG FIREWALL POLICY

The United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (as amended) contains safeguards to preserve the journalistic independence and integrity of BBG programming. The Act expressly obligates the Secretary of State, the Board of Governors, and the Inspector General to respect the professional independence and journalistic integrity of the broadcasters. In addition, the Act authorizes the Board to monitor and evaluate the professional integrity of United States international broadcasting and to ensure that broadcasts comply with the highest standards of broadcast journalism, including accurate and objective news reporting.

The firewall policy of the Broadcasting Board of Governors incorporates the Act's safeguards and addresses both external and internal threats to BBG's journalistic independence or credibility. The scope of the BBG firewall policy is not limited to the activities of the federal agency, but extends to the activities of BBG-funded grantees.

The following protocol shall be followed when addressing a possible firewall violation.

1) Identifying a firewall violation:

A firewall violation arises when any U.S. government official—including individual Governors, the Secretary of State or the Inspector General—attempts to influence the content or editorial choices of one of the broadcasting entities in a manner that is not consistent with the highest standards of professional broadcast journalism or takes any other action that may tend to undermine the journalistic credibility or independence of the BBG or its broadcasters.

2) Reporting a possible violation:

- a. BBG-sponsored journalists who experience a firewall violation should not attempt to mediate the situation themselves. Journalists should immediately notify his or her supervisor and entity senior management.
- b. When entity senior management receives notification of a possible firewall violation, management should immediately notify the Board of Governors through the BBG Executive Director.
- c. The Board may be notified by sending a message with relevant details to BBGfirewall@bbg.gov. The supervisor may also contact the BBG Executive Director directly via the BBG Office at 202.203.4545.

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3) Addressing a firewall violation:

Upon learning of a possible firewall violation, the BBG Chair or the Chair's designee, the BBG Executive Director, and entity senior management should immediately convene telephonically, or if possible, at BBG headquarters in Washington, D.C., to determine if a firewall violation has or is continuing to occur and to determine the necessary action to remedy the violation.

DRAFT OF FEBRUARY 22, 2011 – FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY

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ATTACHMENT 4

February 11, 2011

To: BBG Governance Committee
From: Paul Kollmer-Dorsey
Sheila Rajabiun
Office of General Counsel

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ON THE GRANTEE'S ABILITY TO RAISE FUNDS FROM NONFEDERAL SOURCES FOR USE IN GRANTEE OPERATIONS

This document presents a brief overview of issues related to possible endeavors by BBG-funded grantees to raise funds from nonfederal sources for use in grantee operations.

This document should be treated strictly as a starting point for further discussion and does not constitute legal or policy guidance. It should be emphasized that grantee fundraising initiatives may entail trade-offs that are beyond the control of the grantees or the BBG. Any fundraising proposal should be carefully examined in light of such tradeoffs.

STATUTORY AUTHORITIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING ACT

- BBG funds grants to RFE/RL and RFA pursuant to the authorities set forth in the United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (as amended) (the "BBG Statute"). The BBG Statute contains no express prohibition or restriction on RFE/RL or RFA's ability to take part in outside fundraising activities. The appropriations statute that form the basis for BBG's funding of MBN also contain no such prohibitions.
- With respect to the RFA grant, the BBG Statute states: "It is the sense of the Congress that administrative managerial costs for operation of Radio Free Asia should be kept to a minimum and, to the maximum extent feasible, should not exceed the costs that would have been incurred if RFA had been operated as a Federal entity rather than as a grantee." This provision would have to be interpreted in considering supplementing BBG grant funding with outside sources of income which might arguably allow RFA to operate at costs that exceed that of a federal entity.
- The BBG Statute requires RFE/RL to justify in detail of proposed expenditures of BBG grant funds. The Statute gives the Agency no other explicit oversight role over the outside funding source.

GRANTEE CORPORATE AND TAX CONSIDERATIONS

- Grantees as nonprofit organizations may need to be careful of state and federal laws, including tax laws, and the implications of various fund raising or business ventures may have on nonprofit or tax status.

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POLITICAL TRADE-OFFS AND CONSIDERATIONS

- In the current political and budget climate, if the grantees were to raise funds from sources outside of the BBG, Congress and the President might decide to reduce the amount of BBG grant funding to the grantees based upon the amount of outside income or funding a grantee may accrue in one year. Depending upon the activity, this funding may not be consistent to make up the shortfall of grant funding in all years. Given that the federal government budget cycle begins almost 18 months before money is actually appropriated, it may be difficult for a grantee to absorb the appropriation of less grant funding in some years.
- There is always a possibility that Congressional appropriators may be unhappy with BBG grantees developing non-appropriated resources that are out of the reach of Agency and Congressional oversight. In taking action, they could further restrict the grant funding as to amount and purpose characteristics or provide some other statutory requirements on Agency and grantees

POSSIBLE AGENCY CONSIDERATIONS

- BBG would have no direct agency oversight of outside grantee funding sources. BBG would need to safeguard against grantee use of funding or funding sources that pose conflicts of interests for our agency or affect our ability to maintain a relationship with the grantee.
- Board members must act in accordance with their fiduciary duties to each organization. For example, the Directors of the Board of a grantee must use the funding in a manner that best suits the grantee. Under certain circumstances, this may present some conflicting fiduciary duties with the Directors' roles when they are acting as Governors of the federal agency.

PROPER USE OF BBG FUNDING BY GRANTEEES

- Under principles of federal grant and appropriations law, grant funding may not be used to solicit funds, or for the exclusive use of developing activities that are outside the grant agreement; this includes developing outside funding sources or fundraising activities. Resources may, however, be used to the extent that they are incidental to the grant.
- For example, could a grantee use BBG grant funds to hold a reception for the sole purpose of attracting gift donations from external sources? No, BBG grant funds cannot be used for the purpose of raising revenue for an outside organization.
- Could the President of a grantee answer an inquiry from a potential donor about the organization? Yes, to the extent that this is incidental to the duties of the officer of the organization and does not incur expense.

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ATTACHMENT 5

February 11, 2011

To: BBG Governance Committee
From: Paul Kollmer-Dorsey
Sheila Rajabiun
BBG Office of General Counsel

GRANT MANAGEMENT, OVERSIGHT AND COOPERATION STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS AND THE FOUR COMMON RULES

The Federal Grant and Cooperative Agreement Act (FGCAA) was enacted to provide criteria to federal agencies in selecting between a procurement vehicle or contract and a federal assistance vehicle, including grants and cooperative agreements.* Although the act provides no separate authority to enter into grants, it does provide guidance for agencies that have the authority to provide federal assistance through grants and other assistance vehicles. According to this statute, a grant should be used when the principal purpose of the relationship is to transfer a thing of value to the recipient “to carry out a public purpose of support or stimulation authorized by law of the United States instead of acquiring property or services for the direct benefit or use of the United States Government.” Substantial involvement is not expected between the agency administering the grant and the recipient in performance of the activity contemplated in the grant agreement. 31 U.S.C. § 6304. Unlike a contract, a federal agency must have specific statutory authority to obligate federal funds via a grant vehicle and must issue all grants within the limitations of that statutory authority.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors has the authority “[t]o make and supervise grants for broadcasting and related activities in accordance with” the limitations in its authorizing statute. Consistent with this authority, BBG currently administers significant grants to three nonprofit organizations—Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), Radio Free Asia (RFA), and Middle East Broadcast Network (MBN). Each of these grant relationships are governed by not only the parameters set forth in the authorizing statute, but other requirements set forth in federal laws and regulations, which provide limitations and guidance regarding permissible grant activities of these grantee organization and the duties and requirements of the BBG in administrating and supervising its grants.

BBG Grantee Specific Statutory Requirements

BBG’s authorizing statute contains specific requirements for making grants to RFE/RL and RFA. There are no comparable statutory requirements for MBN. The grants made to MBN were originally supported by congressional directives in appropriations acts[†] and corresponding

* Another federal assistance vehicle recognized by the FCGAA is a cooperative agreement. Unlike a grant, a cooperative agreement is issued when the federal agency is expected to have substantial involvement in the performance of the activity contemplated in the agreement.

[†] See, e.g., Pub. L. No 108-11.

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conference report* language providing funds to BBG “to make and supervise grants for radio and television broadcasting to the Middle East” and specifically for MBN.

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Limitations on grants to RFE/RL are contained in 22 U.S.C. § 6207. Restrictions include organizational restrictions on RFE/RL before a grant may be executed. Organization limitations include:

- RFE/RL Board of Directors must “consist of the members of the Broadcasting Board of Governors” and the Board must make all policy determinations of operations and appoint and fix compensation for managerial officers and employees to extent necessary to administer purposes of grant.
- RFE/RL headquarters and senior administrative and managerial staff must be located in a place that ensures economy, operational-effectiveness and accountability to the Board.

The statute also requires certain provisions within the grant agreement. There is no statutory requirement that the grant agreement is limited to the following provisions:

- Grant to be used only for activities determined by the Board to be within the authorized purposes.
- Duplication of language services and technical operations between RFE/RL and IBB be reduced as determined by the Board.
- Grant funds may only be used for proposed expenditures justified by RFE/RL in detail. Funds may only be used for other purposes if the Board gives prior approval in writing.
- Failure to comply with statutory requirements may result in termination or suspension of the grant.

The statute also provides specific prohibitions on the use of grant funds by RFE/RL. These restrictions include:

- Salary and compensation restrictions of RFE/RL employees.
- Lobbying activity designed to influence the passage or defeat of legislation in Congress.
- Certain severance payments to voluntary separation for employees.
- First class travel for employee or relatives of employees.
- Compensate free-lance contractors without Board approval.

The statute also provides specific instructions regarding reports on management practices of RFE/RL and special audit requirements.

Radio Free Asia

BBG’s authority to make grants to RFA are specifically authorized for carrying out radio broadcasting to China, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, North Korea, Tibet, and Vietnam pursuant to 22 U.S.C. § 6208. Grant agreements shall be subject to the following limitations and provisions:

* See, e.g., H.Conf.Rep. 108-401.

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- Location of RFA headquarters and senior management staff must be located to ensure economy, operational effectiveness and accountability to Board of Governors.
- All RFA contracts must specify that its obligations are not assumed by the United States.
- All RFA lease agreements must be assignable to the United States government.
- Failure to comply with grant agreement provision may result in the termination of the grant.

In addition to these requirements, the statute indicates an expression of congressional intent that the administrative and managerial costs of Radio Free Asia should be kept to a minimum and should not exceed the costs that would have been incurred if RFA had been operated as a federal agency.

Appropriations Law Restrictions and Expenditure Requirements

BBG may only provide a grant to the extent authorized by law and available appropriations. The availability of an appropriation for a particular grant will be further limited by three elements of availability of an appropriation—purpose, amount and time. In accordance with the purpose element, grant funds may only be obligated and expended for authorized grant purposes as determined by both authorizing legislation and appropriations acts. For grants funded out of a lump-sum appropriation that is available for a variety of purposes or for several grant programs, an agency may reallocate amounts within an appropriation as long as it uses the funds within an authorized purpose under the applicable appropriations act. Funds provided for specific grants in the form of earmarked line-item appropriations cannot be diverted to other purposes. For fiscal year 2010, specific amounts for grants to BBG's three grantees were incorporated by reference into the annual appropriation act. BBG is restricted by law from reallocating amounts designated by Congress for grants to RFE/RL, RFA, and MBN without providing notification to the Appropriations and Authorizing Committees.

Appropriated funds must be obligated by BBG within the period of availability of BBG's appropriation for international broadcasting activities or one fiscal year. Generally, once the grant is awarded, the funds are considered obligated and expended in terms of federal agency budgetary accounting purposes. While the time availability of grant appropriations governs the BBG's obligation and expenditure, it does not limit the time in which the BBG's grantee must use the funds once it has received them. The period of time in which a grantee may draw down funds may be limited to the time limitations imposed by the grant agreement.

The Single Audit Act

The Single Audit Act places requirements on grant recipients to undergo a single or program-specific audit pursuant to generally accepted government auditing standards. 31 U.S.C. §7502(a). The SAA requires each federal agency to monitor all non-Federal entity use of grant awards. 31 U.S.C. § 7504. After award, federal agencies are required to monitor the use of funds to ensure that they are used consistently with the purpose of the grant agreement and the authorized uses of the appropriations funding the grant. Grant funds that are misapplied must be recovered by the grantor agency. The Director of OMB prescribes regulations and guidance to federal agencies and grant recipients to implement the requirements of SAA. The SAA and supporting OMB regulations established uniform requirements for audits of federal awards to all nonfederal

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entities that expend equal to or in excess of \$500,000. The federal agency that provided the federal award must review the audit to determine whether prompt and corrective action has been taken regarding any audit findings. 31 U.S.C. § 7502(f).

Common Rule for Grants-OMB Circulars and Agency Regulation

The “common-rule system” for grants is a structure that developed through OMB government-wide guidance and agency regulation addressing numerous administrative and management requirements for grantor agencies and grantees. Currently there are four “common rules”:

- OMB Circular A-110, relocated to 2 C.F.R. Pt 215, contains uniform administrative requirements for grants with institutions of higher learning, hospitals, and other nonprofit organizations. Provides specific guidance on Pre-Award Requirements, Post-Award Requirements, and After-Award Requirements. This includes rules on grantee financial and program management, procurements, property standard, and record retention.
- OMB Circular A-133. Prescribes guidance and rules on audit requirements pursuant to the Single Audit Act. The circular specifically defines the responsibilities of grant awardees, audit standards, and the management responsibility of the awarding agency to review audits and take action on audit findings.
- Byrd Anti-Lobbying Amendment, codified in 31 U.S.C. § 1352. Prohibits the use of grant funds for lobbying activities. BBG regulations issued specific agency regulations implementing the Byrd Amendment. 22 C.F.R. Pt. 519. In relevant part, the prohibition on use of grant funds is as follows:

“None of the funds appropriated by any Act may be expended by the recipient of a Federal . . . grant . . . to pay any person for influencing or attempting to influence an officer or employee of any agency, a Member of Congress, an officer or employee of Congress, or an employee of a Member of Congress in connection with . . . [t]he making of any Federal grant [or] the extension, continuation, renewal, amendment or modification of any . . . grant.”

- Non-procurement suspension and debarment and Drug-Free Workplace Act common rule. Provides for suspension and debarment of a person or entity from receiving federal assistance or benefit due to certain prohibited activity and requires federal grantees to take measures to provide a drug-free workplace in accordance with 41 U.S.C. § 702.

Grantee Participation in Board Deliberations

The structure of BBG-funded international broadcasting contemplated by the United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (as amended) involves cooperation and collaboration on the part of the Agency and our three grantees. The non-federal entity status of RFE/RL, RFA, and MBN, Inc., however, provides some challenges to achieving full cooperation and collaboration between the BBG and its grantees, especially in connection with the federal budget formulation process. Various sections of title 31 of the U.S. Code clearly state that the budget request is, by law, the President’s budget request and shall be prepared in accordance with the

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form s/he prescribes. Two sections in particular are noteworthy:

- Section 1104(e) “Under regulations prescribed by the President, each agency shall provide information required by the President in carrying out this chapter.”
- Section 1108(b)(1) “The head of each agency shall prepare and submit to the President each appropriation request for the agency. The request shall be submitted in the form prescribed by the President...”

OMB Circular A-11 provides the President’s regulations regarding the formulation of the budget request, in accordance with 1104(e). The confidentiality of Budget deliberations is clearly outlined in section 22 of that circular and M-01-17 that is incorporated by reference.

Section 22.1 provides:

“The nature and amounts of the President’s decisions and the underlying materials are confidential. Do not release the President’s decisions **outside of your agency** until the Budget is transmitted to the Congress. The materials underlying those decisions should not be released at any time, except in accordance with this section.”

M-01-17 further states that

“[I]t is important that the Executive Branch’s internal deliberations regarding the various issues and options that were considered in the process leading to the President’s decisions should remain a matter of internal record. Examples of confidential budget information are an agency component’s budget requests to the agency, the agency’s budget request to OMB, and OMB’s passback to the agency.”

Providing the grantees with a more active role in which they would be privy to budget formulation of the BBG would violate the regulations and guidance provided by OMB in accordance with title 31.

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ATTACHMENT 6

February 11, 2011

To: BBG Governance Committee
From: Paul Kollmer-Dorsey
Sheila Rajabiun
Office of General Counsel

BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS AUTHORITY TO ACCEPT GIFTS AND OTHER RELATED ACTIVITIES

- As a general rule, an agency may not augment its appropriations from outside sources without specific statutory authority to do so.
- The Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) has specific statutory authority to accept both conditional and unconditional gifts, including monetary and non-monetary donations. 22 U.S.C. § 2697. Amounts collected pursuant to this authority are available to BBG for agency operations without further appropriation and without fiscal year limitation. 22 U.S.C. § 2607(b).
- In accordance with this statutory authority, BBG may accept conditional gifts so long as those conditions are not contrary to BBG's statutory authority or regulatory provisions and that such gifts will be used in the furtherance of the BBG Mission.*
- Conditional gift acceptance authority would also allow BBG to compete for and accept nonfederal grants in furtherance of BBG's mission. Expenses incurred in competing for nonfederal grants may also be charged to BBG's appropriation as a necessary expense if the Board, as head of the agency, determines that competitive grant will facilitate the mission of the agency.†
- BBG has no appropriated funds or authority to solicit gifts or donations. Only federal agencies that have specific authority may use appropriated funds to solicit for gifts or donations.‡
- The rule on solicitation does not bar the Board from discussing the limits of our statutory authority and mission with potential donors. On the contrary, agencies have been directed to develop policies and procedures regarding working with donors to ensure that they consider

* See B-303689, Sept. 30, 2005.

† See B-255474, Apr. 3, 1995.

‡ Cf. B-B-211149, June 23, 1983 (Holocaust Memorial Counsel could use appropriated funds to hire a fund raiser to solicit gifts where the solicitation of gifts is a statutorily authorized function).

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all statutory and regulatory imposed restrictions on any conditional gifts they may consider making to the agency.*

- In addition to gift acceptance authority, BBG's annual appropriation act[†] provides for limited authority to augment annual appropriations with certain receipts, including \$2,000,000 from advertising and revenue from business ventures, \$500,000 from cooperating international organizations, and \$1,000,000 from privatization efforts of the VOA and IBB. Amounts collected pursuant to this authority are available without fiscal year limitation for authorized activities of BBG.
- There is a risk that raising funds through gifts or other measures may lead Congress to reduce the amount of appropriated funds made available to the Agency.

* See B-303689.

[†] See, e.g., Pub.L.No. 111-117, Div. F, title I, 123 Stat. 3304, 3332 (Dec. 16, 2009).

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ATTACHMENT 5

DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING BUREAU

Pursuant to the authority vested in us as the Board of Governors of the Broadcasting Board of Governors (“the Board”) under the United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994, as amended (22 U.S.C. §6201, et seq.) (the “International Broadcasting Act”), and any and all statutes incorporated therein by reference, including certain titles of the United State Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, the Foreign Affairs Consolidation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105-277), the Board hereby delegates the following functions to the Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB):

Section 1. Delegation of Functions

- 1) To operate as an extension of the Board to assist the Board in carrying out the Board’s responsibilities for decisions and oversight for United States international broadcasting and provide the Board with technical, professional, and administrative support as well as strategic guidance and oversight of selected agency programs.
- 2) With respect to non-delegable authorities reserved by §6204(b) of the International Broadcasting Act to the Board, (i) to assist and monitor, and when so directed by the Board, to oversee implementation of the Board’s decisions and compliance with relevant statutory mandates by the elements of United States international broadcasting (i.e., the International Broadcasting Bureau, the Voice of America, the Office of Cuba Broadcasting and, as permitted by law, the grantees of the Broadcasting Board of Governors); (ii) to gather and coordinate the reporting and analysis of information from the elements of United States international broadcasting and make recommendations to the Board as necessary to inform the Board’s decision-making processes and facilitate the Board’s statutory oversight role; and (iii) when so directed, to represent the Board to the U.S. Congress, other Federal agencies, the press and relevant third parties.
- 3) To carry out all nonmilitary international broadcasting activities supported by the United States Government other than those that are (i) described in §§6207 and 6208 of the International Broadcasting Act; (ii) expressly reserved to Board of Governors, the Secretary of State or any other person or entity under the provisions of such Act; or (iii) expressly delegated to some person or office other than the IBB Director pursuant to a decision of the Board of Governors. This function includes the authority to identify, evaluate and resolve strategic trade-offs and conflicts among the broadcasting entities, consistent with the broad strategic guidelines established by the Board and subject to the Board’s continuing oversight.
- 4) To provide for the general administrative management of the federal agency known as the Broadcasting Board of Governors, including without limitation, by exercising any

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authority provided for in the International Broadcasting Act, except those non-delegable authorities reserved by §6204(b) of such Act to the Board.

- 5) To chair the IBB Coordinating Committee as described in §6206(c) of the United States International Broadcasting Act.
- 6) To appoint members of a professional Board staff for such positions as the Board may determine are necessary (including an Executive Director, Office of the Chief Financial Officer, an Office of General Counsel, an Office of Strategic Planning and Performance Management, an Office of Public Affairs and a Congressional Liaison) and to manage, review and evaluate on an annual basis the performance of such staff members. The appointment of the Executive Director, chief financial officer and chief legal officer shall be subject to approval by the Board.
- 7) To serve as the principal day-to-day liaison for the Board with other U.S. government agencies, foreign governments, and private-sector organizations.

Section 2. General Provisions

- 1) Notwithstanding any other provision of this order, the Governors may at any time exercise any function or authority delegated or reserved by this delegation of authority, acting pursuant to §6203(f) of the International Broadcasting Act. Functions herein delegated are subject to the continuing oversight and supervision of the Board.
- 2) The Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau will provide oversight and direction to the Executive Director of the Broadcasting Board of Governors, the Director of the Voice of America, the Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, and other employees of the federal agency with respect to all functions specifically delegated by the Board in Section 1, including the management of a global distribution network for U.S. nonmilitary international broadcasting activities and general administrative management functions such as human resource, Equal Employment Opportunity, procurement, security, information technology, new media, administrative, graphics, research, editorial, training, marketing, and program evaluation services.
- 3) Functions delegated by this delegation of authority may be redelegated, to the extent consistent with law.
- 4) Any reference in this delegation of authority to any act, order, determination, delegation of authority, regulation, or procedure shall be deemed to be a reference to such act, order, determination, delegation of authority, regulation, or procedure as amended from time to time.
- 5) This delegation shall be published in the Federal Register.
- 6) This Delegation Order supersedes all prior delegations of authority to the Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau.

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ATTACHMENT 6

DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA

Pursuant to the authority vested in us as the Board of Governors of the Broadcasting Board of Governors (“the Board”) under the United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994, as amended (22 U.S.C. §6201, et seq.) (the “International Broadcasting Act”), and any and all statutes incorporated therein by reference, including certain titles of the United State Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, the Foreign Affairs Consolidation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105-277), the Board hereby delegates the following functions to the Director of the Voice of America (VOA):

Section 1. Delegation of Functions

- 1) To supervise the development of programming for the Voice of America and to ensure that broadcasts are a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news.
- 2) To ensure compliance with the VOA Charter, and the Broadcasting Board of Governors’ statutory mandate, to provide “accurate, objective, and comprehensive” broadcasts which “represent America” and “present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively,” as described in §6202(c) of the International Broadcasting Act.
- 3) To develop long-term strategies and goals to improve the quality and reach of Voice of America broadcasts, and provide recommendations to the Board to advance the future of U.S. international broadcasting.

Section 2. General Provisions

- 1) Notwithstanding any other provision of this order, the Governors may at any time exercise any function or authority delegated or reserved by this delegation of authority, acting pursuant to §6203(f) of the International Broadcasting Act. Functions herein delegated are subject to the continuing oversight and supervision of the Board.
- 2) The Director of the Voice of America will provide direction to the Executive Director of the Broadcasting Board of Governors, the Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau, the Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, and other employees of the federal agency with respect to all functions specifically delegated by the Board in Section 1, including programmatic decisions and strategies of the Voice of America.
- 3) Functions delegated by this delegation of authority may be redelegated, to the extent consistent with law.
- 4) Any reference in this delegation of authority to any act, order, determination, delegation of authority, regulation, or procedure shall be deemed to be a reference to such act, order,

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determination, delegation of authority, regulation, or procedure as amended from time to time.

- 5) This delegation shall be published in the Federal Register.
- 6) This Delegation Order supersedes all prior delegations of authority to the Director of the Voice of America.

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ATTACHMENT 7

DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF CUBA BROADCASTING

Pursuant to the authority vested in us as the Board of Governors of the Broadcasting Board of Governors (“the Board”) under the United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994, as amended (22 U.S.C. §6201, et seq.) (the “International Broadcasting Act”), and any and all statutes incorporated therein by reference, including certain titles of the United State Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, the Foreign Affairs Consolidation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105-277), the Board hereby delegates the following functions to the Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (OCB):

Section 1. Delegation of Functions

- 1) To supervise the development of programming for Radio and TV Martí, and to ensure that broadcasts are a consistently reliable and authoritative source of accurate, objective, and comprehensive news.
- 2) To ensure compliance with the Office of Cuba Broadcasting’s statutory mandate, to provide “news, commentary and other information about events in Cuba and elsewhere to promote the cause of freedom in Cuba,” as detailed in §1465 of the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act and §1465aa of the Television Broadcasting to Cuba Act.
- 3) To develop long-term strategies and goals to improve the quality and reach of Radio and TV Martí broadcasts, and provide recommendations to the Board to advance the future of U.S. international broadcasting.

Section 2. General Provisions

- 1) Notwithstanding any other provision of this order, the Governors may at any time exercise any function or authority delegated or reserved by this delegation of authority, acting pursuant to §6203(f) of the International Broadcasting Act. Functions herein delegated are subject to the continuing oversight and supervision of the Board.
- 2) The Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting will provide direction to the Executive Director of the Broadcasting Board of Governors, the Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau, the Director of the Voice of America, and other employees of the federal agency with respect to all functions specifically delegated by the Board in Section 1, including programmatic decisions and strategies of Radio and TV Martí.
- 3) Functions delegated by this delegation of authority may be redelegated, to the extent consistent with law.

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- 4) Any reference in this delegation of authority to any act, order, determination, delegation of authority, regulation, or procedure shall be deemed to be a reference to such act, order, determination, delegation of authority, regulation, or procedure as amended from time to time.
- 5) This delegation shall be published in the Federal Register.
- 6) This Delegation Order supersedes all prior delegations of authority to the Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting.

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ATTACHMENT 8

CONSOLIDATION OF BBG OFFICES AND BUREAUS April 14, 2011

WHEREAS it is important that BBG always look carefully at effective ways to save taxpayers' dollars while providing congressionally mandated services;

WHEREAS, the Voice of America, Office of Cuba Broadcasting, International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB), Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia and Middle East Broadcasting Networks have various offices around the world and in many cities, there are separate offices in the same city;

WHEREAS, locating offices together in the same city and office space may result in significant cost savings at a time when budgets are being reviewed for reductions;

WHEREAS, locating offices together in the same space may produce better communications and cooperation between sister entities all funded by the American taxpayer while cutting needless duplication;

WHEREAS, the BBG desires to secure more information on the feasibility and desirability of bringing these separate offices together and recognizes this will need to be done on a city by city basis and the process may be immediate in some cities and prolonged in other cities both for logical and/or legal reasons; and

WHEREAS, the IBB has already, under the able leadership of IBB Director Dick Lobo, begun to pull together information on this subject, and in Kabul, Afghanistan all are located together in the same office space;

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the Broadcasting Board of Governors directs that the matters discussed in this resolution be directed to the IBB Directorate and the Strategy and Budget Committee and considered as part of the Committee's ongoing strategic review.

Be it further resolved that the three corporate entities known as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia and Middle East Broadcasting Networks are requested to cooperate fully with the IBB directorate in providing all information sought by IBB and avoiding any actions, such as long-term lease extensions, during this review process of the study, which might impede the consolidations should BBG decide to move towards consolidation of offices in various cities around the world as financial resources for BBG become more limited.

Be it further resolved that the Strategy and Budget Committee is requested to keep BBG Board informed on a periodic basis on the progress of the study.

Be it further resolved that the IBB Director is requested to send a copy of this resolution to all three corporate entities and the heads of Voice of America and Office of Cuba Broadcasting.