

Date: Wed, 19 Jan 2011 11:35:16 -0500

To: "Dr. Baruch Fischhoff - Chair, National Academy Committee on Improving Intelligence" <baruch@cmu.edu>, "Dr. Kwame Anthony Appiah - Chair, Exec. Committee, American Council of Learned Societies" <kappiah@Princeton.EDU>

From: Lloyd Etheredge <lloyd.etheredge@policyscience.net>

Subject: 205. Red Team: Do National Security Planners Understand the World's Youth Cultures? A (Proposed) New *Realpolitik*.

Dear Dr. Fischhoff, Dr. Appiah, and Members:

The world is changing, and (in some areas) more quickly than the \$80 billion/year DNI system is rethinking its assumptions. An important area for a Red Team/National Academy of Sciences challenge to conventional assumptions is the cultural influences on the future of world politics, and especially the potential causal pathways affected by the world's youth cultures.

Five Reasons to Understand the Sociology/Psychology of the World's Youth Cultures

There are five reasons why understanding the psychology and sociology of the world's youth cultures - especially as they are shaped by education and by music (and other creative and performing arts) - will give us additional insight to build a better, more secure world:

1.) We have arrived at a unique point in world history, with a confluence of: a.) huge "youth bulge" generations in much of the world and b.) abundant and new communications technologies that, jointly, allow the growth of youth cultures and internal networks more independent from traditional influences.

2.) The new *Realpolitik*. If you want to shape today's policies, talk to governments. If you want to shape tomorrow's world, engage young people. . . . Conventional *Realpolitik* analysis notwithstanding, an answer to the question "Who will rule the world?" is "Today's young people."

3.) While it is conventional to think about formal political dramas of nation-state personae, young people (especially when there is vision and a talent for organizing) can act and change their contemporary world without waiting decades. The American Founding Fathers were, at the time, very young and the Marquis de Lafayette, when he arrived to bring vital French assistance for the new American cause was 19 (aka Mark Zuckerberg). Alexander the Great had organized his armies and started his military campaign to conquer the known world when he was 22. Today - whether in the streets of Tunisia or the intifada or recruited to the Taliban or al-Qaeda - young people also can be political actors while they are young.

4.) While the Bush/Cheney Administration had no interest in youth cultures, good analysis and options will be timely in the Obama Administration. President Obama (who spent part of his youth as an activist community organizer), and Secretary of State Clinton (who was drawn, as a student in the 1960s, to the idealism, challenges and opportunities for accomplishment in public policy), may more readily see, and want to support, the mechanisms and options that a Red Team analysis can identify and create. <1>

5.) Small changes can have large effects. The violence that concerns national security planners can, for young people at the beginning, be only a small step from an idealistic and peaceful pathway. The late Donald Campbell emphasized, in a classic article ("Ethnocentric and Other Altruistic Motives" (1965)), the compound of elements that may come to fuel violence. Thus, if you open pathways to channel idealism, commitment, desires to make a difference and to see other people treated with dignity and respect, and wider identities, the political future may unfold in a better way.

A Red Team project might include two specific areas for fresh and bold thinking:

I.) The Evolution of Cosmopolitan/Universalist Cultures via Education

A Red Team should review the globalization of higher and professional education and opportunities to create a Davos-like sensibility and cosmopolitan culture for global stewardship. (This can, combined with the liberal arts tradition, also make students braver and stronger. Science, also, provides its own cultural support for cooperation and good values). US plans in this area do not appear to be nearly as rational and bold, or as well-funded, or moving as rapidly as they should. And the challenge/opportunity should be addressed for the youth populations of other G-20 players and globally.

II.) Cultural Effects of Creative and Performing Arts

Culture - as Americans use the term - may seem to be in its own world and to have only a weak effect on American foreign policy. But this limited causation may be a special case (even if it is correctly perceived): It has been said that, in Russia, to have a great novelist alive and writing was to have a second government. Music, too, can be a political argument in many of the world's cultural and political circumstances: Western rock and roll and jazz gave generations of young people behind the Iron Curtain a touchstone about the nature of freedom and self-expression (and the West) and a sense of human solidarity to advocate human rights and challenge governments: the Czech band *Plastic People of the Universe* (heavily influenced by Frank Zappa) was a political weapon and at the forefront of building Prague's underground culture.

MTV has become one of the first and most popular of global television/cable channels. Something is happening, and it might be deeper than time-wasting entertainment driven by opportunities for large profits.

A worthwhile experiment, that a Red Team could help to design, is that supporting opportunities for the growth of the creative and performing arts in youth cultures will be one of the healthiest, far-sighted investments in a better world. Conflict-oriented politicians may strengthen fear and group divisions. By contrast, new musicians and other

artists may help to strengthen human dignity, and navigate and strengthen a pluralist world, by creatively responding to, and including, whatever is authentic and alive in any tradition to which they are exposed.<1>

Are Funds Available?

It might be supposed that there are no funds for new experiments, especially when the traditional focus of national security investments has risen to \$80 billion/year of government expenditures for secret intelligence services and \$700 billion/year defense budgets and we have an era of \$1 trillion+ deficits. However I attach a recent letter to Michael Kaiser and his associates at the Kennedy Center, outlining a bold global initiative that, with a light touch of leadership, could organize a cornucopia of new resources to support young people and the creative and performing arts worldwide. Probably, there are many ways to fund good ideas from a Red Team project.

best regards,

Lloyd Etheredge

<1> Also, there are immediate institutional implications for the Obama Administration. The Department of State has an Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs: One reason for an urgent Red Team rethinking is that the confluence of historical changes and new causal pathways seem to indicate new opportunities and benefits from upgrading this area.

<2> Thoughtful analysis and empathy will be needed to understand the world's youth cultures. A team project is indicated: conventional political analysts might analyze the words but miss the tune. And lyrics are not necessarily straightforward.

I have two hesitations about recommending a Red Team/National Academy of Sciences follow up project in this area: First, I am not sure that it will be done as well as it should be - the academic world itself has had only limited content analysis and other capabilities to understand these changes; Second, the instincts of the national security management world are for top-down management and (sometimes) manipulation, which may be an

unwise policy approach in this area.

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[The Policy Sciences Center, Inc. is a public foundation that develops and integrates knowledge and practice to advance human dignity. Its headquarters are 127 Wall St., Room 322 PO Box 208215 in New Haven, CT 06520-8215. It may be contacted at the office of its Chair, Michael Reisman (michael.reisman@yale.edu), 203-432-1993. Further information about the Policy Sciences Center and its projects, Society, and journal is available at www.policysciences.org.]

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December 9, 2010

Mr. Muhtar Kent, Chair - Corporate Fund Board
Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
c/o Coca-Cola Company, Office of the CEO
P. O. Box 1734
Atlanta, GA 30301
and

Mr. Michael M. Kaiser, President
Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
2700 F. St., NW
Washington, DC 20566

Dear Mr. Kent and Mr. Kaiser:

I write to ask if the Kennedy Center, and its Corporate Fund Board, would be willing to provide leadership for a bold project, using new communication technologies, to support the arts on a global scale? The project would underwrite a Cultural Affairs Channel (and Website) to bring a core of high quality programming, from each nation, to global audiences without charge. It would be supported by donations (hopefully, up to 1% of funds currently used for international advertising) by leading corporations.

The project also will help, at a complicated and changing time in world politics, to build a future that binds us together and conveys respect to the creative and performing arts in all cultures.

As the project grows it can provide funds for arts education and - one of the exciting dimensions - stimulate the creative process and the (for-profit) growth of this important sector, linking new artists and new audiences.

My foundation is a small thinktank - and we are dreaming beyond our institutional capacities. However I think that you may know people,

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The Center was founded in 1948 by Myres S. McDougal, Harold D. Lasswell, and George Dession. It may be contacted c/o Prof. Michael Reisman, Chair, 127 Wall St., Room 322, P. O. Box 208215, New Haven, CT 06520-8215. (203)-432-1993.

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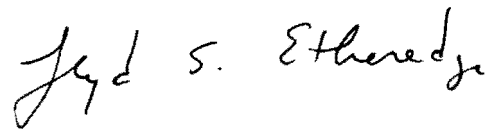
represented on the Kennedy Center Corporate Fund Board, who know how to bring it to life quickly.

I also write against the background of knowing your leadership (Mr. Kent) in the CSIS Smart Global Health Commission vision and your leadership (Mr. Kaiser) in the Kennedy Center Arts Management Institute to support the creative and performing arts, and their economic viabilities, in UDCs.

We also are facing, in most countries of the world, a deeper and continuing crisis for the arts caused by the global recession. In principal, valuable resources already may be available in the \$90+ billion/year of advertising budgets that could, from multinational corporations, find an attractive vehicle in support of a bold, global vision for the 21st century.

I can be contacted in the Washington, DC area (301)-365-5241. I would be delighted to have further conversations with you about how to bring this vision to life.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Lloyd S. Etheredge". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized initial "L".

Dr. Lloyd S. Etheredge, Director
Government Learning Project

Proposal: A Cultural Affairs Cooperative and Website.

It is possible to organize new support for the creative and performing arts on a global scale and provide new inter-cultural resources to people in all countries.

- An attractive project would be to create a Cultural Affairs Channel and Website to provide \$15,000 startup/authoring grants to one leading cultural institution in each country (N=189). In turn, each participating institution would provide five hours/year of current cultural programming, in a standard digital format, to the Cultural Affairs project and its Website. (For example, selections might include concerts or dance recitals; audio-slide presentations of museum or art gallery exhibits; experimental films; or lectures and symposia concerning national history and cultural heritage.) The programming would be available on the Cooperative's website, without charge, for on-demand/non-profit access by people in all countries. Thus each participating country, in return for five hours/year of programming, would obtain access for all of its citizens to 945 hours/year of the best programming from all countries. The startup grants will cost \$2,800,000 (189 x \$15,000).

A. Global Advertising by Large Corporations Exceeds \$107 Billion/Year

The attached article ("Top 100 Advertisers See World of Opportunity," Advertising Age, December 6, 2010 - Appendix A) reports that the top 100 global advertisers (defined as companies advertising on three or more continents) spent \$107.2 billion/year in 2009, 61% of the total outside the United States. One purpose of their annual advertising is to maintain favorable civic images and name recognition, goals that also could be partly served by support for global, and highly visible, Cultural Affairs projects.

B. Benefits to Global Corporations

Once underway, this Cooperative would become an attractive vehicle for support from international corporations and other donors. In time, it is hopeful (but perhaps reasonable) to expect that leading global advertisers might devote 1% of their annual advertising budgets (= \$1+ billion/year) to support the unique work of the global Cooperative.¹ By their support, corporations would provide: 1.) a highly visible message of equal respect for the cultures of all countries. And 2.) convey respect for the value of inter-cultural understanding and the ability of art to transcend race, religion, nationality, and ethnicity in its appeal to the mind,

body, and soul.

C. Future Growth

As the Cooperative gets underway, and financial support increases, it can provide grants to more institutions. It also can underwrite original programming (including partnerships involving institutions in several countries - e.g., a series of programs concerning Islamic architecture.). The Cooperative also can seek other ways to increase financial support for the creative and performing arts. It can: 1.) Provide living artists with access to global audiences; 2.) Use its Website as a portal to link global audiences to its member institutions and facilitate sales of their publications, recordings, and reproductions; 3.) Defend copyrights, and seek generous payment to living artists for commercial use of donated material; 4.) Assume that the genetic capacity to contribute to, and gain benefit from, the creative and performing arts is universal; and it can support study groups to identify ways to create opportunities for new artists, teacher training and arts education, and access to the arts, especially in UDCs.

Endnotes

1. The international computer and telecommunications industry also could be interested to support this project to accelerate the use of international broadband capability. (The Cooperative might help to assure village/school/library connections in UDCs to assure wide access to annual programming and its online archives.) A company like Google, with expertise in online advertising, also could help to design revenue options for the Website, with any profits being used to support the arts on a global scale.

Appendix A

Top 100 Global Advertisers See World of Opportunity

Markets Outside U.S. Capture 61% of Spending. New No. 3 Ad Market: China

By Bradley Johnson

Advertising Age Published: December 06, 2010

CHICAGO (AdAge.com) -- The United States accounts for 5% of the world's population, 20% of global GDP and 34% of total worldwide advertising, making the U.S. by far the largest ad market. But if you want to reach the remaining 95% of consumers, what do you do? Go global.

The Top 100 global advertisers invested 61% of their measured-media budgets outside the U.S. last year, according to Ad Age's Global Marketers, a study covering 96 countries, territories and regions.

Regardless of their home base, these multinational marketers advertise where they see opportunity for growth.

They are betting big on one country: China. It accounts for 20% of the world's population, 13% of global GDP and -- for now -- just 5% of total worldwide advertising. But ad spending is growing fast. Publicis Groupe's ZenithOptimedia forecasts that China in 2011 will displace Germany as the world's third-largest ad market, coming in behind the U.S. and Japan.

TOP FIVE CATEGORIES For Global 100		
CATEGORY	WORLDWIDE 2009	% U.S.
Personal care	\$24.4	22.4
Automotive	20.3	35.6
Food	15.9	33.4
Drugs	10.2	68.6
Entertainment & media	8.5	63.6
All other	27.8	39.7
Global 100 total	107.2	38.7

On the Global 100 roster, 10 firms -- including Procter & Gamble Co., L'Oréal, Colgate-Palmolive Co., Coca-Cola Co. and PepsiCo -- allocated more than 10% of 2009 measured-media spending to China.

One global advertiser stands out in China: Fast-food seller Yum Brands (parent of KFC) last year allocated 27% of measured spending to that market and generated 31% of its worldwide revenue from mainland China.

Among the 46 U.S.-based marketers on the Global 100 roster, 12 firms do more than half their ad spending abroad, largely tracking with where they generate revenue and expect to find growth. [. . .]

Figures are measured media dollar spending in billions reflecting the primary advertised segment of each company.

Source: ZenithOptimedia's Advertising Expenditure Forecasts, December 2010. Its forecast: 4.6% increase in worldwide spending in 2011, vs. 4.9% gain in 2010 and 10.6% drop in 2009. More info: ZenithOptimedia.com. Numbers rounded. Dollar figures for major media spending in 2010 for all advertisers (including Global 100), followed by percent change vs. 2009 spending. In accompanying story, gross domestic product (2009; purchasing power parity) and population (2010) from CIA's World Factbook; U.S. and China shares of 2010 total worldwide ad spending from ZenithOptimedia.

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