Statement of the Honorable Lee H. Hamilton
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before

The Subcommittee on Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies
Committee on Appropriations
United States House of Representatives

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Mr. Chairman, Mr. Simpson, and distinguished Members of the Subcommittee: It is a pleasure and distinct honor for me to appear before you on behalf of the Woodrow Wilson Center as you consider budget requests for Fiscal Year 2011.

At the outset, I want to thank the Congress and the Subcommittee for its strong support of the Woodrow Wilson Center over the last decade. We are deeply appreciative of, and benefit enormously from, the dialogue we have with the Congress.

The Wilson Center is a public-private institution: we know we need to continue raising more funding from private sources, but since its founding 42 years ago, the Center has counted on its appropriation for core support to sustain the Center and as leverage to increase private funding. The appropriation remains vital for Center operations.

The President's Budget request for the Woodrow Wilson Center for FY 2011 is $9.922 million which represents a $2.303 million or a19 percent reduction from the $12.225 million appropriation received in Fiscal Year 2010.

The Fiscal Year 2010 appropriation provided funding for additional programming on Asia, including the work of the Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, as well as for outreach initiatives. In addition, the Fiscal Year 2010 budget provided increases for the Center's base for payroll adjustments related to the Federal pay increases and increases associated with stipend payments to fellows and scholars.

The President's Budget request for Fiscal Year 2011, provides support for 52 Federal employees while necessitating substantial reductions in nearly every aspect of the Center operations. The President's Budget does not provide funding for the Public Service and Outreach New Initiatives embarked on in FY2010, which supported Asia Initiatives and the Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, with the exception of providing staff funding for one Kissinger Institute assistant. The President's Budget provides: $210 thousand in Public Policy Scholar support, a 59% reduction in public policy scholars; $1.496 million for the Fellowship Program, a reduction of $186 thousand from the Fiscal Year 2010 actual and an 80% reduction in scholar support, leaving $54 thousand for limited fellowship recruitment/advertising efforts and

independent panel review of applications process; and $200 thousand for conference support within the Outreach and Communications budget area, a 53% reduction.

The President's Budget provides funding for 3 library employees and reduces funding for library operations. Library reductions include, but are not limited to the cancellation of subscriptions to major research data base and inter-library loan relationships as well as reductions in publication purchases – all vital research tools for the 150 scholars visiting the Center annually.

The Center's visiting scholars, roughly one-third of whom are supported federally, are a large part of the lifeblood of this institution, and bringing pre-eminent scholars to Washington to learn from, and interact with, the public and private sectors here is a core reason this presidential memorial was created forty-two years ago. The Center raises funds for two-thirds of the scholars who are in residence and the funds are raised for restricted purposes: the one-third of the scholars supported federally enables a merit-based, unrestricted program, allowing for the rigorous international competition of the fellowship program. The President's FY2011 Budget will support 12 Public Policy Scholars versus 40 being supported currently with the FY2010 Appropriation.

Roughly one-third of the Wilson Center's staff positions are federally funded and are essential if the Center is to keep up with the added demands of vastly expanded programmatic activities and regulatory requirements, while focusing on other new and important outreach initiatives the Congress has urged the Center to emphasize. The President's Budget does not provide funding for these new initiatives.

With the move to the Ronald Reagan Building eleven years ago, the Wilson Center has significantly increased its visibility and become a vibrant institution. The level of activity at the Center is at an intense pace, and our meeting and conference rooms have been in nearly constant use; the output of the more than 150 scholars who visit and are in residence at the Center annually is substantially greater; and the Center's outreach – through enhanced branding, its website, the webcasting of hundreds of events, its monthly newsletter, *Centerpoint*, its journal, *The Wilson Quarterly*, television and radio broadcasting, and a variety of other publications – is reaching more people and new constituencies throughout the country and overseas.

In short, the Center is making the kind of mark on this town and the nation, and I might add – the world –, of which Woodrow Wilson would approve. In its work, the Center is constantly focused on its mission: to commemorate the ideals and concerns of Woodrow Wilson by providing an essential link between the worlds of ideas and policy and by addressing current and emerging challenges confronting the United States and the world. The Center promotes policy-relevant research and dialogue to increase understanding and enhance the capabilities and knowledge of leaders, citizens, and institutions worldwide. At its core, the Center remains a neutral forum for free, open, and informed dialogue.

The year 2009 was an extraordinarily active one at the Center, averaging 15-20 events a week most of the year. It is a great challenge and distinct honor for me to help lead this important institution and very lively presidential memorial.

The Center is continuing to review and challenge many of the assumptions of its past and current operations. These reviews involve outreach activities and mechanisms, fellow and scholar recruitment techniques, the best functional use of its limited space, organizational structure, an examination of alternatives for increasing private sources of funding, and a look at all aspects of diversity for the Center, including staff, speakers, scholars and audiences we seek to attract to the Center. The Center is currently involved in a bottom-up strategic planning exercise which is likely to extend through 2010. In all these efforts, our objective is to maximize our effectiveness, broaden our scope, produce higher quality work, and make a more efficient use of all our resources.

The Wilson Center's strengths include not only a talented staff of close to 150 people, many of whom produce significant scholarship, but also an engaged Board of Trustees under the able leadership of Ambassador Joseph Gildenhorn that plays a pivotal role in the Center's governance with other Presidentially-appointed private members in addition to those who serve *ex officio*. By statute, the Board of Trustees of the Wilson Center also includes the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Education, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Librarian of Congress, the Archivist of the United States, the Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

The Wilson Council, now with more than 100 members, also plays a vital role in the life of the Wilson Center, and under its president, ABC Washington News Correspondent Sam Donaldson, we believe the Council will continue to provide essential leadership on many of the Center's crucial development initiatives and to maintain its commitment to excellence in the Center's work.

Congressional Priorities

The Center values greatly the advice and counsel it receives from the United States Congress. There are three key Congressional directives to which the Center continues to give highest priority.

First, the Congress has wanted the Wilson Center to raise more private money for its operations. I am pleased to say that over the last decade the percentage of the Center's budget coming from the appropriation has been reduced from about two-thirds of the Center’s budget to roughly 35 percent, meaning that close to two-thirds of the Center's current budget now comes from non-appropriated sources.

It is clear that the future growth of the Center is conditional in large part on the Center's ability to raise the requisite private funding – from foundations, individuals, and the business community. The Center counts on an annual appropriation to help leverage that private support, while providing mission enhancing support to sustain the Center.

The Center is finding that donors often want to have their funds targeted for specific initiatives, and while traditional Washington-focused programming is still supported, many donors are increasingly interested in programming outside of Washington, and are often unwilling to cover the indirect costs or administrative costs associated with such funding. These activities are broadening the scope of the Center's work in many beneficial ways, but they also stretch to the maximum the Center's small, but highly effective, administrative infrastructure.

The Center will continue to depend on raising annually $3-4 million in unrestricted trust money, the toughest money to raise, but absolutely essential for the effective operation of the Center. In the current tougher fund-raising environment, fund-raising dinners, the key to fund-raising for the Center in the recent past, have now been complemented with greater efforts to raise funding from individuals and corporations and maintain strong support from foundations. Whereas we used to have 20 fund-raising dinners a year, there are now closer to 15, including four of them for restricted purposes.

In addition to this unrestricted trust money raised annually, the Center's 23 Programs and Projects also secure funding, close to $14 million last year, from a variety of sources to support non-federal staff, programmatic and outreach activities.

Second, the Congress continues to want the Center to give priority to its outreach. People are constantly asking me: "How can I connect with all the good work being done at the Center?" The Center is putting emphasis on all forms of outreach. The consolidation of the Center's databases, more effective and Center-wide branding, a user-friendly website, and more comprehensive webcasting of events, the production of more focused and better coordinated publications, new brochures, and a new format for the Annual Report are all designed to help the Center reach out to wider and more diversified audiences. And the Center's flagship journal, *The Wilson Quarterly*, which is now entering its 34th year with a new design and format, continues to maintain a strong readership with an overall circulation of well over 70,000, an audience composed overwhelmingly of lay readers, evenly distributed across the country, rather than academics. This is no small feat when many similar journals are experiencing marked reductions in readership and deficits more severe than that of the *Quarterly*. Another important project being completed in 2010 is the redesign of the *Quarterly*'s web site, www.wilsonquarterly.com.

There are other outreach initiatives as well. The *Centerpoint* monthly newsletter – which reaches over 13,000 people here and abroad – is well-designed, well-edited, focused and pithy, and it provides a good, current snapshot of the Center's array of activities. The Center's website now receives an average of 125,000 unique visitors each month. There is an alumni section in which former fellows and scholars can keep in touch with the Center and with one another. More than 12,000 people subscribe to the Center's monthly e-newsletter, *Wilson Center Update*. With private funding raised, the Center is completing this summer the redesign of its website with the new www.wilsoncenter.org scheduled for launch in the fall of 2010.

The Woodrow Wilson Center Press continues to publish 15-18 new titles each year presenting important research done at the Center in a final polished form to a worldwide readership which includes scholars and other specialists, as well as the general reader. This brings the total number of annual publications to well over 100.

In 2009, the Wilson Center continued development of a multimedia portal on which the entire Center's audio and video files of meetings will be archived; again ensuring that Wilson Center programming will have a longer shelf-life and reach beyond the Beltway. Wilson Center On Demand, a tremendous value added addition to the Center's website, became a reality and was launched January 5, 2009 as the Center's new home for all of the Center's multimedia programming.

The Wilson Center has also recently entered into a video-sharing partnership with FORA.tv, a website that delivers "discourse, discussions and debates on the world's most interesting political, social and cultural issues, and enables viewers to join the conversation." This increasingly popular site offers video that it gathers from its content providers and partners which include many organizations around the world that host events.

In addition to all these outreach efforts, the Center produces both an award winning weekly television and radio program called *dialogue*. Over the years, more than 1,000 *dialogue* programs have aired. *dialogue* radio is broadcast on approximately 100 public and commercial radio stations in the United States and is available on CD in 36 college libraries across the country. Abroad, the radio program is available to 50 million listeners in Europe and Japan, through distribution on NPR Worldwide, with additional international distribution via the Armed Services Radio Network and 1 worldspace digital satellite service.

dialogue television is available throughout the Washington, D.C. metro area on MHz NETWORKS, and nationally via the MHz Worldview Channel in more than 30 cities via cable and broadcast affiliates. The program is, in addition, available nationally on Direct TV, and the GlobeCast World TV digital satellite. *dialogue* is also available to television stations nationally via the PBS plus satellite service. The program is broadcast internationally throughout Canada on the digital satellite and cable channel ichannel. Both programs are also available to the public as they are archived on the Wilson Center's website. And it is available as a free download on iTunes.

The Center opened the doors to a Woodrow Wilson Memorial Exhibit in the Ronald Reagan Building in the fall of 2008. The exhibit is permanently housed next to the Woodrow Wilson Center's Memorial Hallway. Memorabilia, historical information, and a short film are among the exhibit's main features. We have had an average of 500 people a month coming to the exhibit to learn about our 28th president and the Wilson Center. We're planning to invite the concierge association members and tour operators to visit the exhibit, encouraging them to add the Memorial Exhibit to their lists of those attractions one must see when visiting Washington.

Educational outreach is a key focus of the Center's communications work. The Center has reestablished a more active program with the Close Up Foundation and is bringing student groups to the Center for presentations from program directors. We've also featured students on our dialogue broadcasts. We are establishing a partnership with the Consortium of Washington Programs, an organization that represents 70 colleges and universities that conduct Washington semesters and coordinate internship programs. Additionally, we are working with other student and general public education groups such as The American Civics Center, The American Councils, and the American Bar Association Division for Public Education. One of the more interesting groups to visit the Center as a result of this initiative was a group of Eurasian students, participants in the FLEX (Future Leaders Exchange) program conducted by the State Department . As many of you recall, FLEX was established in 1992 under the FREEDOM Support Act.

Third, the Congress wants the work of the Center to be coordinated, focused, and relevant to the key public policy issues of the day. We are constantly asking the question: Does this activity help inform or elucidate an important public policy issue? And I think the answer is in the affirmative.

To bring greater coherence and focus to its work, the Center is devoting considerable attention to several broad thematic areas the Center considers central to adequate coverage of the key issues of the day. The Center seeks to advance research and the exchange of ideas in the following theme areas as well as examine issues relating to their appropriate historical context:

a) governance, including issues related to the development of democratic institutions, civil society, and citizen participation;

b) the United States' role in the world, including the issues of partnership and leadership: and

c) fundamental and future challenges confronting the United States and the world, including the issues of environment, economic and financial stability, the impact of nanotechnologies, information technology, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, global terrorism, and the ability of international institutions to deal with ethnic and regional conflicts. The focus of some of the Center's work in these areas shifted in the last decade as a result of the events of September 11, 2001, but these themes remain crucial for the work the Center does.

Part of the work the Center is doing on future challenges is to find, encourage, and coordinate the work of groups within the federal government which seek to plan ahead. In this effort, the Center seeks to bring together people in government who work on future planning, to discuss experiences with planning in the federal system, and to explore ways it can be improved. In recognition of the leadership role the Center has played in bringing attention to current issues which have huge future implications, for example, the Pew Charitable Trusts awarded the Wilson Center several years ago two

multi-million dollar grants to develop a Project on Emerging Nanotechnologies, and in the last year, the Sloan Foundation started to support important work at the Center on synthetic biology.

Finally, the Center is focused on other broad interests of President Wilson, including government reform and an open trading system. In 2008, The Wilson Press published *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson,* edited by John Milton Cooper, Jr. of the University of Wisconsin, the foremost historian of the 28th President today. This book emanated from an all-day conference held in 2006 with the leading scholars on Woodrow Wilson, an effort assessing his contributions and the relevance of his work for public policy issues we confront. The occasion for the conference and the book was the sesquicentennial of Woodrow Wilson's birth. As the recognized leading authority on Woodrow Wilson, John Milton Cooper continues to be a key source for the Center, and he speaks at the Center at least once a year.

Related Center Priorities

The Center is now close to entering its tenth year of Director's Forums, a series of one-hour meetings with leaders in a variety of areas. These sessions, averaging more than two a month, are fashioned to provide the speakers a memorable visit to the Center and positive interaction with the audience – good and fair, but tough, questions are raised and comments made. The Director's Forums have tended to fill our small auditorium to its capacity of about 120 people, and many times we have needed to use additional rooms at the Center for overflow crowds, or have held the Forum elsewhere in the Ronald Reagan Building. The Wilson Center webcasts almost all of the Director's Forums.

An extraordinarily diverse group of people have spoken at and for the Center. Among the speakers at the 2009 Director's Forums were: The CEOs of Exxon Mobil and Shell Oil; F.W. de Klerk, the former State President of South Africa and founder of the Global Leadership Foundation; Wangari Maathai, Nobel Prize Laureate and founder of the Green Belt Movement; the Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the President of Colombia and the President of El Salvador; and the new Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Speakers at Director's Forums also included cabinet secretaries, several Members of Congress, among them Committee Chairs, leading physicians, prominent business and Non-Governmental Organization CEOs, ministers and leading ambassadors as well as some Speakers of Parliaments.

Another priority for the Center bas been to increase the number of pre-eminent fellows and public policy scholars brought to the Center's residential program annually. Last year's competition yielded some 300 applicants for the 24 annual Fellowships awarded, the majority of their appointments began in September 2009 and will culminate in May 2010. The Fellowship Program is the flagship scholar program at the Center and, together with the Public Policy Scholars, they constitute fully a third of the total of more than 150 scholars who come to the Center during a year. The FY2011 President's Budget will support 19 Fellows and 12 Public Policy Scholars, a reduction of approximately 4 Fellows and about 23 Public Policy Scholars when compared to FY2010.

Recent Developments

I would also like to mention five other important areas of new developments and refinements in the programming conducted at the Center – changes and revamping made possible largely through private fund-raising.

First, the Center has been able to continue to expand and strengthen theme-related, cross-regional, multi-discipline programming which brings the Center's various projects and programs into joint activities. A great deal of this activity has centered on issues of globalization, the United States role in the world, and future challenges. In the post-September 11th period, the opportunities for coordinated work have multiplied in such areas as post-conflict peace-building, Islam, preventive action, migration, disaster mitigation, and the war on terrorism. The real benefit of such programming is the added coherence, and greater focus and coordination among the parts of this institution for the benefit of a greater whole.

Second, the Center, with substantial outside individual and foundation support, added new work or ensured the longevity of some recent initiatives. Several examples to mention are: a Canada Institute; a Mexico Institute; a Brazil Institute; and a China Environment Forum that is working hard to strengthen the dialogue with China and reduce the friction on contentious environmental issues; a Wilson Center on the Hill program that brings roughly 25 programs a year to Capitol Hill for staff; a North Korean International Documentation Project emphasizing issues on the Korean Peninsula; and a Science and Technology Innovation Program doing extensive work on future challenges and long-term planning in the government, now buoyed by the national leadership role it is playing on nanotechnology and synthetic biology.

Third, the Center is continuing to engage in joint venturing with other institutions around the country and overseas – joint venturing that is mutually beneficial and that extends the reach and the effectiveness of the Center's work. Examples include: numerous Latin American Program conferences co-hosted with a variety of Latin America-based institutions on such topics as Haiti, Cuba, U.S.-Mexican relations, and peace building in Colombia; the Kennan Institute working with four major American foundations to hold an important conference in Russia on the importance of civil society and the key role civil institutions must play in pluralistic societies; the Middle East Program's conferences co-sponsored with several institutions on Islamism, gender issues, and transparency and accountability in Muslim countries; and the convening of a number of university groups, business groups, and non-governmental organization representatives with government officials from several agencies to assess the balance between access and security and to discuss a myriad of problems that can affect getting foreigners into the United States. Since 2004, the Center has also conducted a Terrorism and Homeland Security series of monthly meetings co-sponsored with the Rand Corporation as well as a bimonthly series on non-proliferation issues with the Los Alamos Laboratories.

In addition to and in conjunction with the fund-raising dinners mentioned earlier, the Wilson Center continues to bring its programming to diverse new audiences through a

series of joint venture seminars in the cities where dinners are held. Through partnerships with local organizations, including the University of Tulsa, the Saltman Center for Conflict Resolution at the University of Nevada Las Vegas, Belmont University in Nashville, Tennessee, the World Affairs Council in Dallas, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and Wits University in South Africa, the Wilson Center hosted topic-specific symposia in 2009, which ranged from developments in Iran to nuclear issues to environmental concerns. Such co-hosted activities help to highlight the Wilson Center's considerable convening powers and provide a marvelous opportunity for the Center to reach a wider spectrum of people in the United States and abroad

A **fourth** enhancement at the Center includes important new initiatives by the more established Programs and Projects. Many of the Center's 23 Programs and Projects, with remarkable reputations both in academia and in government circles, are deftly adjusting their programs to ensure that what they do stays at the cutting edge of the public policy issues that need a fuller dialogue. Examples abound:

- a Latin American Program that gives priority to citizen security, the rise of the new left in Latin America and what is happening in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, and Colombia, and what it means for the United States;

- a Kennan Institute that is enormously respected in Russia and had for a decade played a pivotal role in managing, advising, and implementing the collective multi-million dollar effort of three major American foundations to enhance the work and performance of Russian scholars and universities at a time when support for higher education in Russia is diminishing and when it is essential for Russian educational institutions to prepare adequately the next generation of leaders; and

- an Asia Program that focuses on Japan, the Koreas, Taiwan, Southeast Asia and South Asia, doing recently much useful programming on India and Pakistan. China is now covered by the Kissinger Institute on China and the United States.

Such initiatives enable the Center to play an expanding role on an array of key policy issues confronting the United States, while fostering a non-partisan haven for full, fair, and open debate.

Finally, the Center has used foundation support to expand significantly the work of the newer and smaller Middle East and Africa Programs. The Africa Program is designed to provide a sustained dialogue that informs and educates policymakers and the wider public about African issues and about United States policy toward Africa. In addition, the Africa Program has raised significant resources here and internationally to help with programmatic activities aimed at assisting with building leadership and state capacity and promoting peace and stability.

A vastly more active Middle East Program has organized numerous meetings on current issues in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Central Asia, including the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States, the role of Islam efforts at democratization, the role of women, and key issues in the Middle East peace process.

Africa and the broad Middle East regions are of enormous importance to the United States and deserve commensurate attention of scholars and policymakers. Several private sector grants have been awarded to these two Programs, and several other proposals are pending. It is the Center's fervent hope that more private sector and foundation funding can be obtained for these two key regions, thereby ensuring the continued well-being of the Center's work in these areas, so fundamentally important to the national interests of the United States.

Conclusion

Organizations such as the Woodrow Wilson Center can't be complacent, can't stand still: they either move forward in their agenda, mission, and purpose or they quickly lose focus and become less effective. That is one reason why we are engaged in a lengthy strategic planning exercise.

The hardest challenges now are quite varied: continually revising our agenda to be sure that we focus on the most important public policy issues; obtaining the essential private and public funding to ensure our ability to undertake relevant activities without having foundations determine priorities; maintaining the Center's current level of staffing; being able to continue to attract pre-eminent scholars; and being able to retain excellent staff members when they have to operate at a feverish pace in all aspects of their work, including fund-raising, merely to keep up. The Center remains an extraordinarily popular venue for researching and writing books, and our space is in constant demand. For every writer who can come, there are several the Center cannot accommodate.

My commitment as Director is to ensure that we deal as effectively as we can with these tough challenges, and I am determined to do all I can to have adequate resources for the Woodrow Wilson Center to remain vibrant and relevant.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, this concludes my prepared statement. I and other members of the Center's staff here are available to answer your questions.

Thank you for this opportunity to testify.