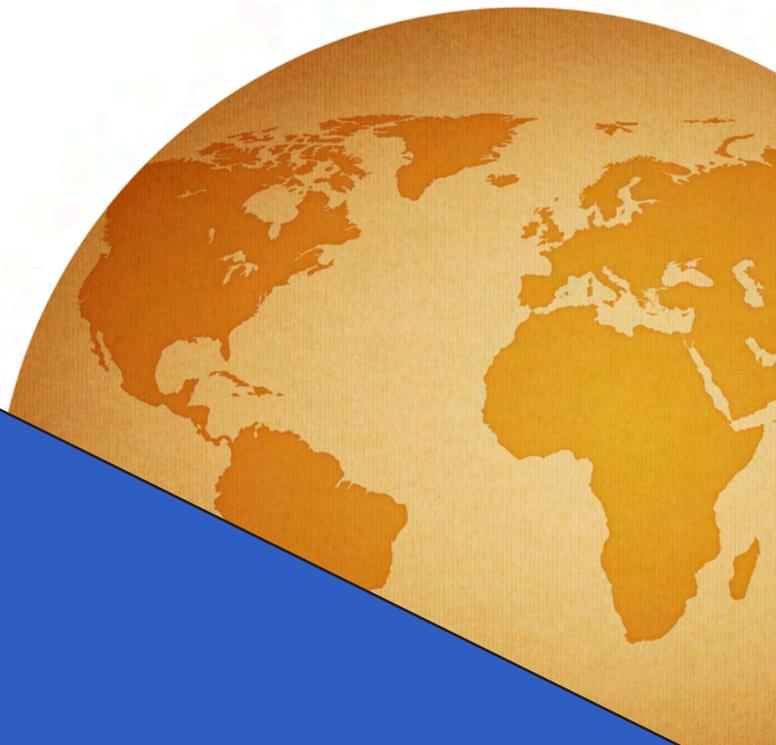


Report on Reports

An analysis of over 20 recent reports on revitalizing
America's civilian capacity in global affairs

Putting 'Smart Power' to Work

***An Action Agenda for the
Obama Administration and the 111th Congress***



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About the Center

The Center for U.S. Global Engagement, the educational arm of the U.S. Global Leadership Campaign, unites business, civic, military, faith-based, and political leaders around the country to broaden understanding of America's interests in building a better, safer world. The Center works to educate and inspire support among the American public, opinion leaders and policymakers for greater and more effective investments in "smart power" – elevating development and diplomacy alongside a strong defense.

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INTRODUCTION

President Barack Obama has inherited the most difficult set of foreign policy and national security challenges of any President in a generation, as highlighted by America's involvement in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, continuing tensions in the broader Middle East, the recent terrorist attacks in Mumbai, and the increasing poverty and instability in developing countries as a result of food shortages and the global economic recession. Yet the 44th U.S. President is also the beneficiary of a growing, bipartisan consensus on the need to modernize and strengthen America's civilian capabilities to tackle these and other complex 21st century global challenges.

Over 2000 pages and 500 expert contributors in more than 20 reports released over the past two years have concluded that America needs to strengthen its civilian capacity as a critical part of our foreign policy and national security strategy. Increasingly this is defined in policymaking circles as a "smart power" approach that puts greater emphasis on global development and diplomacy alongside a strong defense. These hundreds of experts – including Members of Congress, former Cabinet Secretaries, military, business and non-profit leaders, Democrats and Republicans – broadly agree that in today's world of transnational challenges such as poverty, infectious disease, regional political instability, terrorism, refugees, and climate change, America's security and prosperity are more linked than ever to the prosperity and security of other nations and their people. These diverse experts are in strong agreement that America must elevate and strengthen the civilian elements of our national security toolbox.

This "Report on Reports" identifies major points of consensus across these reports on the issue of strengthening America's civilian capacity for global engagement. The reports highlighted in this analysis were selected on the basis of their timeliness, depth and breadth of analysis and recommendations, and their focus on using U.S. civilian capacities to advance our national interests. In most cases, the reports chosen also included a range of contributors and advisers. In preparing this paper, the Center for U.S. Global Engagement reviewed over 50 relevant reports, articles, books, policy briefs and other documents issued in recent years on how America should revamp its foreign policy and national security agenda. The full list of documents reviewed is available at www.usglobalengagement.org.

President Obama and Secretaries Clinton and Gates have recognized the new 21st century global realities and have embraced this bipartisan call for smart power as the central thrust of U.S. foreign and national security policy. The challenge now is implementation. The Center's aim with this "Report on Reports" is to provide the Administration and Congress with a roadmap of consensus and priority action items and flag those issues that still require further debate.

“REPORT ON REPORTS” OVERVIEW

More than 20 reports issued in the last two years by a diverse group of experts and institutions reflect broad agreement that many of the security threats facing the United States today do not lend themselves to traditional military and security approaches, and the new Administration must use new, or previously underutilized, tools to address these challenges more strategically. The prominent strategic themes across these reports include:

There is widespread agreement on seven actions to elevate and strengthen America’s civilian capacity, and on these points it is time to move forward.

- ◆ Weak and failing states will pose an increasing danger to the United States in the short- and long-term.
- ◆ America must focus not only on challenges presented by states, but also on transnational threats from non-state actors and from destabilizing conditions within states.
- ◆ Reducing poverty, advancing education and good governance, and promoting human rights and the rule of law should play a more central role in our foreign policy and national security strategy.
- ◆ America must modernize its foreign assistance to achieve greater effectiveness and ensure accountability and transparency.
- ◆ A smart power strategy that comprises an array of military and nonmilitary tools is an effective and necessary approach to address instability, extremism and terrorism around the globe.

These experts concur that such a shift in strategy will be necessary to improve America’s image in the world and make our global engagement efforts more effective. A majority of the reports conclude that the undisputed decline in America’s reputation in most parts of the world in recent years is a real and significant threat both to our national security and prosperity.

There was an impressive consensus on seven actions the United States should take to address these strategic challenges, representing a modernized approach to how America engages in the world and utilizes its civilian capacity. These seven actions are:

- ◆ **Formulate a comprehensive national security or global development strategy that articulates and elevates the role of development and diplomacy alongside defense**
- ◆ **Increase substantially funding and resources for civilian-led agencies and programs, especially through USAID and the State Department**
- ◆ **Elevate and streamline the U.S. foreign assistance apparatus to improve policy and program coherence and coordination**
- ◆ **Reform Congressional involvement and oversight, including revamping the Foreign Assistance Act**
- ◆ **Integrate civilian and military instruments to deal with weak and fragile states**
- ◆ **Rebalance authorities for certain foreign assistance activities currently under the Department of Defense to civilian agencies**
- ◆ **Strengthen U.S. support for international organizations and other tools of international cooperation.**

The reports arrive at these common conclusions often from diverse analytical frameworks. Some of the reports provide unique commentary on the military’s role; others focus on particular geographic areas or country challenges; some give powerful historical analysis; others delve deeply into the potential of particular government agencies and budgetary requirements; some provide in-depth research into specific aid programs and obstacles, including earmarks, that affect the efficacy of aid; still others suggest major departures from current practice and programs.

While the reports broadly agree on a large number of strategic aims that will advance a smart power approach, there remain differing views on some of the specific tactics. For example, should there be a new, stand alone national strategy for global development, or should this be part of the national security strategy? Is development more likely to be elevated through a new Cabinet-level global development agency, within the mandate of the State Department, or through another model? What are the “right-size” budget and staffing levels for the civilian affairs agencies? What are the appropriate roles and authorities for the military in humanitarian, development and public diplomacy activities? These and other areas of debate are explored in the following section.

Despite these tactical differences, the path ahead is clear. The empirical and analytical work on the rationale, principles and parameters of a new approach to U.S. global engagement is now broad, deep and bipartisan. There is widespread agreement on the seven consensus points listed above to elevate and strengthen America’s civilian capacity, and on these points it is time to move forward. In essence, the work has been done, the scope of the debate has been narrowed, and there is a well-developed framework of tactical options for consideration by policymakers. This “Report on Reports” is intended as a tool for the Obama Administration and the Congress to take action on implementing a comprehensive and forceful new smart power strategy.

POINTS OF CONSENSUS¹

The following analysis highlights where there is consensus across these reports on the seven key actions for advancing America’s civilian capacity for global engagement. We present here some of the leading tactical recommendations which have attracted the broadest support, and other proposals of note. A detailed matrix of relevant points from these reports under these seven headings is available at www.usglobalengagement.org.

1. FORMULATE A COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL SECURITY OR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY THAT ARTICULATES AND ELEVATES THE ROLES OF DEVELOPMENT AND DIPLOMACY ALONGSIDE DEFENSE.

Many substantial threats facing the United States today— including climate change, economic instability, fragile states, infectious diseases, poverty and nuclear proliferation— do not lend themselves to a simple military solution. America must focus on how our civilian-led tools of global development and diplomacy serve our national interests, and how they complement our military tools to enhance our national security.

The United States needs a modern and overarching strategic framework for global engagement to ensure we are utilizing effectively all of our tools of national power.

All of the reports provide recommendations in line with preparing a new national strategy that will articulate a broad vision with clear goals for U.S. global engagement. This strategy should connect the “3D” tools of smart power - development, diplomacy, and defense – and clarify how together they advance U.S. interests around the globe. A new strategic framework should guide policy development and resource allocation, promote greater coherence and increased inter-agency coordination in global affairs, enhance the federal government’s cooperation with non-governmental actors, and increase the effectiveness of both our civilian and military efforts.

Leading recommendations²:

- ♦ **National Global Development Strategy.** A significant number of reports call for a national strategy for global development that will prioritize and articulate America’s interests and goals in global development and poverty reduction (*Administrators, Brookings- Security, CAP/ENOUGH, CGD, MFAN, and SFRC*). Alternatively, many reports advocate for elevating and incorporating a global development strategy as a critical component of a new national security strategy (*CNAS, CSIS-Integrating, CSIS-Steep, HELP, PNSR, and Stanley/CNAS*).
- ♦ **Civilian Quadrennial Review.** Several reports suggest following the lead of the Defense Department’s QDR, and call for the U.S. to conduct a systematic and comprehensive assessment of civilian tools of national power (*CGD, PNSR, Stanley/CNAS*). The Smart Power Commission specifically calls for a Quadrennial Smart Power Review that covers both civilian and military efforts.
- ♦ **National Security Budget.** In addition to the strategy, many reports call for the creation of a National Security Budget combining Defense and International Affairs spending (*CSIS-Steep, HELP, PNSR, RAND-AAD, Stanley/CNAS*).
- ♦ **Monitoring and Evaluation.** Many reports emphasize that any strategic framework for the U.S. role in global development should aim to increase accountability and transparency of aid programs by placing

¹ Recommendations cited in this “Report on Reports” do not necessarily reflect the views of the reports’ sponsoring institutions, and cited reports are not necessarily the first or only ones to articulate a similar recommendation. It should also be noted that not all of the contributors supported all of the recommendations highlighted here.

² For space purposes, citations in parentheses are either acronyms or shortened titles for the sponsoring organizations or authors. See key and appendix of “Reports Analyzed” at end of this report.

greater emphasis on monitoring and evaluation (*ACTD, AED, Brookings-Security, CGD, HELP, MFAN, SFRC, Smart Power*).

Other notable recommendations: Adopt a new “business model” for foreign assistance based on local ownership, partnership, impact and accountability (*AEI, HELP*); and conduct a comprehensive review of what each U.S. government agency is doing in the realm of public diplomacy and strategic communication and set clear guidelines for each agency’s role (*Brookings-Voices*).

These recommendations demonstrate that the challenges of today’s world have changed significantly in recent years and outstripped the government’s ad hoc policy apparatus for addressing them. The United States needs a modern and overarching strategic framework for global engagement -- either through a new global development strategy or a new national security strategy which integrates development and diplomacy -- to ensure we are utilizing effectively all of our tools of national power. The strategy and its implementation should be reviewed on a regular basis to adjust to changing realities at home and abroad.

2. INCREASE SUBSTANTIALLY RESOURCES FOR CIVILIAN-LED AGENCIES AND PROGRAMS, ESPECIALLY THROUGH USAID AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

U.S. civilian agencies are gravely underfunded and understaffed relative to the challenges of the 21st century. As three former USAID Administrators note, USAID has roughly half the number of staff as compared to 1980 during the height of the Cold War.³ Meanwhile, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have exposed the severe constraints in the civilian capacity in both USAID and State to respond to the demands for humanitarian and development programs that the military commanders believe are essential to achieving stability. The global economic crisis also greatly increases the need for humanitarian and development assistance in many areas of the globe to address the resulting rise in poverty and instability.

Nearly all of the reports recommend substantial increases in the resources for our civilian instruments, either for programs, staffing or both. Both military and non-military experts repeatedly stress that America must prioritize rebuilding civilian agencies and programs to augment our national security and achieve greater aid effectiveness.

Leading recommendations:

- ◆ **Rebuild Human Capacity.** The majority of the reports call for substantially increasing human resources, especially for the Foreign Service, Civil Service, and USAID. For example, several reports called for increasing the number of Foreign Service and Civil Service staff by 100 percent over 10 years (*ACTD, Brookings-Plan, Brookings-Voices*). PNSR and AAD/Stimson propose a more ambitious 5 years time horizon; PNSR proposes increases in annual increments while AAD/Stimson calls for a total increase of nearly 5,000, including 1,250 for USAID. The Smart Power Commission recommends increasing the Foreign Service staff by more than 1,000.
- ◆ **Increase Development Assistance Funds.** Most of the reports called for increasing overall development funding (*AAD/Stimson, ACTD, Administrators, Brookings-Index, Brookings-Plan, Brookings-Security, CAP/ENOUGH, CFR, CGD, CSIS-Steep, CSIS-Integrating, HELP, MFAN, SFRC, Smart Power, RAND/AAD, Stanley/CNAS*). About half of the reports recommend general increases in development funds without specifying amounts or programs. The most ambitious recommendation was for doubling official U.S. development assistance spending to \$44 billion in FY10 (*CFR*).
- ◆ **Ensure Adequate Funding for Emergencies.** Many reports focused on the need for additional resources for emergency funding (*AAD/Stimson, ACTD, Brookings-Security, CAP/ENOUGH, CGD, CSIS-Integrating, CSIS-Steep Hill, HELP*). As one example, to permit ambassadors to respond more effectively to

³ *Foreign Affairs, “Arrested Development.”* See ‘Administrators’ in appendix.

humanitarian and political emergencies, AAD/Stimson calls for increases in funding by \$125 million in FY10 and \$75 million annually.

- ◆ **Invest in Training and Professional Incentives.** Nearly half of the reports call for increasing resources to provide training and professional development opportunities for State Department and USAID staff (AAD/Stimson, ACTD, Administrators, CAP/ENOUGH, CFR, CSIS-Integrating, HELP, RAND/AAD, SFRC). One specific recommendation was a call to dramatically increase the USAID operating account, which pays for training along with salaries, building costs and technology (Administrators). The HELP Commission suggested that USAID should accept mid-career hires, unpaid sabbaticals and other flexible employment practices.

Other notable recommendations: Include allocating larger budgets for international educational and professional exchanges (AAD/Stimson, Brookings-Voices, and Smart Power) and establish a National Security Professional Corps to create a cadre of national security professionals specifically trained for inter-agency assignments (PNSR).

Nearly all of the reports recommend substantial increases in the resources for our civilian instruments, either for programs, staffing or both.

There is strong and broad agreement by experts on the importance of increasing resources for diplomacy and development, particularly human resources. This is a consensus reinforced by President Obama's pledge to double the budget for foreign assistance and increase the human capacity for civilian-led international initiatives, including a 25 percent increase in Foreign Service staffing⁴ and doubling the size of the Peace Corps.⁵ Achieving smart power

requires that the United States rebuild the capacity of and give adequate resources to civilian agencies that have been underfunded for years, especially USAID and the State Department.

3. ELEVATE AND STREAMLINE THE U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE APPARATUS TO IMPROVE POLICY AND PROGRAM COHERENCE AND COORDINATION.

The myriad U.S. Executive Branch agencies engaged internationally are not well coordinated to meet the risks and opportunities of a changing world. Dozens of agencies are involved in overseas programs that are often duplicative, contradictory, or operating on parallel tracks. America must modernize and improve the inter-agency process to ensure greater transparency, accountability and effectiveness of U.S. foreign assistance efforts.

Nearly all of the reports offer recommendations for improving coherence and coordination of foreign assistance policies and programs. A majority of the reports focus specifically on how to elevate development within the inter-agency process and many also recommend consolidation of foreign assistance efforts.

Leading recommendations:

- ◆ **Consolidate Programs/Agencies.** While nearly all of the reports urge improving *coordination* of foreign assistance programs, many of the reports also call for some form of *organizational consolidation* (Administrators, Brookings-Security, CAP/ENOUGH, CGD, CFR, CSIS-Integrating, HELP, MFAN, PNSR, SFRC, Stanley/AAD, Stanley/CNAS). As a starting point, some suggest bringing together three of the largest aid mechanisms- USAID, the President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief and the Millennium Challenge Corporation- under one roof (Administrators, CFR, MFAN, Stanley/CNAS).

⁴ Stephen Losey. "Clinton Says She'll Boost Foreign Service Staffing." (January 19, 2008). *Federal Times*. <http://www.federaltimes.com/index.php?S=3918779>

⁵ www.whitehouse.gov; <http://www.barackobama.com/issues/service/>

- ♦ **Elevate and Coordinate Development Efforts.** Many reports recommend creating an elevated voice for development responsible for inter-agency coordination through a senior post (some call for Deputy-level) in the White House/National Security Council (*Administrators, Brookings-Security, CFR, HELP, MFAN, Smart Power, Stanley/CNAS*) A related idea is to authorize the USAID Administrator to attend meetings of the NSC principals (*CAP/ENOUGH*).
- ♦ **Create Greater Independence for Development Programs.** Some reports call not only for consolidation and elevation but also independence, recommending a Cabinet-level agency for global development along the lines of the UK's Department for International Development (*Brookings-Security, CAP/ENOUGH, CGD, and MFAN*). Others have called for a strong, autonomous agency for development who reports to the Secretary of State (*Administrators*).
- ♦ **Strengthen Public Diplomacy.** Some reports called for an independent organization for public diplomacy (*Brookings-Voices, RAND/AAD, Smart Power*).

Other notable recommendations: A “hybrid model” that includes a modernized and strengthened USAID to lead on relief and development programs together with improved oversight and management of foreign operations at the State Department, a new National Security Council directorate, and periodic meetings of agency and department heads responsible for foreign assistance (*Stanley/CNAS*); reorganize all civilian international affairs functions and funding into a next-generation or super-sized Department of State or Department of International Relations (*HELP, PNSR*); and mandate coordination and leadership of global health efforts in a new subcabinet position (*Smart Power*).

Numerous recommendations made in the reports suggest that the United States will be unable to reap the full benefits of smart power until it consolidates, coordinates, and elevates our civilian foreign assistance agencies and tools. There now appears to be an emerging consensus to move quickly on three fronts - rebuild the capacity of USAID; coordinate, if not consolidate, USAID, PEPFAR and MCC; and elevate the development voice in the inter-agency process through the NSC. As for the issue of final structure, these reports present several suggestions that should be carefully considered in determining how to best achieve an elevated, empowered, and streamlined foreign assistance program.

4. REFORM CONGRESSIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND OVERSIGHT, INCLUDING REVAMPING THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT.

Congressional oversight and involvement must remain an essential element of our foreign policy, but Congress's role must adapt along with needed changes in the Executive Branch. The Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) has been modified many times since it was first enacted in 1961, and with at least 140 broad priorities and 400 specific directives⁶, it is unwieldy and often contradictory, and there is widespread concern that it poses a serious impediment to coordination and oversight and limits aid effectiveness.

There is widespread agreement that reforms must be made to reduce Congressional earmarks and give the Executive Branch greater flexibility to adapt foreign assistance to changing foreign policy and national security needs. At the same time, the Executive Branch must take steps to improve transparency and accountability of foreign assistance programs, so that Congress and the American public can ensure that their taxpayer dollars are being spent wisely.

Leading recommendations:

- ♦ **Rewrite Foreign Assistance Act.** Half of the reports specifically call for rewriting the Foreign Assistance Act (*Administrators, Brookings-Plan, Brookings-Security, CAP/ENOUGH, CFR, CGD, CSIS-Steep, HELP, MFAN, PNSR, SFRC*).

⁶ “Failing the Cardozo Test.” (December 2008). *Oxfam America*.

http://dev.oxfamamerica.org/public_website/en/newsandpublications/publications/briefing_papers/failing-the-cardozo-test

- ♦ **Reform Earmarks.** Several reports specifically talk about the need to reform earmarks (*Administrators, AEI, Brookings-Security, CGD, CSIS-Integrating, CSIS-Steep, SFRC*) presenting many ideas such as CSIS' call for forming a bipartisan House-Senate joint task force to review earmarks, sanctions, notifications and other regular interactions.
- ♦ **Establish National Security Congressional Committees.** Several reports propose creating congressional committees for national security with some calling for Select Congressional Committees on National Security in the Senate and House that comprise bipartisan leadership from the relevant committees (*ACTD, CSIS-Integrating, PNSR, RAND/AAD*).
- ♦ **Grand Bargain with Executive Branch.** Many reports also emphasize that the Executive Branch must concurrently adapt its mechanisms for ensuring accountability (*CGD, CSIS-Integrating, CSIS-Steep, HELP, MFAN, RAND/AAD, SFRC, Stanley/CNAS*). CSIS-Steep recommends establishing a public and transparent system of appropriations and reprogramming including the aggregation of all U.S. government funds (military and civilian) by country. CSIS-Integrating proposes OMB and NSC should be required to document clearly how foreign assistance streams for USAID, State, and the Department of Defense fit together. The HELP Commission recommends creating a single point of contact within the government to report to the public and Congress on financial, program, and budget information.

These recommendations demonstrate that the challenges of today's world have changed significantly in recent years and outstripped the government's ad hoc policy apparatus for addressing them.

Other notable recommendations: Adopt new rules to empower the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee to formulate and enact annual authorization bills on a regular basis, to reverse the practice whereby authorization has occurred through the appropriations process (*PNSR*); and create new rules to dispense with ambassadorial and other nominations quickly, either through confirmation or timely rejection (*SFRC*).

Although there is ongoing debate as to the extent of political capital required to pass a new FAA, the recommendations across the reports underscore the need both for greater flexibility and greater accountability in order to implement an effective smart power strategy. To that end, Congress and the Executive Branch should work together to revamp redundant oversight structures, cut earmarks, reduce burdensome reporting requirements, improve transparency and reporting, and integrate better monitoring and evaluation systems to achieve measurable results.

5. INTEGRATE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY INSTRUMENTS TO DEAL WITH WEAK AND FRAGILE STATES.

Weak and fragile states are vulnerable to a plethora of security threats. As enumerated in the *Index of State Weakness in the Developing World*, these threats include terrorism, weapons proliferation, organized crime, infectious disease, environmental degradation, and civil conflicts that spill over borders. Both military and civilian-led capabilities are necessary to respond to situations in such fragile environments, but their specific roles and points of intervention will vary depending on the political and security situation, scope of the crisis and humanitarian needs.

The majority of reports call for greater integration of civilian and military agencies involved in crisis response, reconstruction and conflict prevention activities. There is broad consensus that building civilian capacity coupled with bringing civilian and military efforts closer together will improve the prospects for sustainable security in fragile environments.

Leading recommendations:

- ♦ **Civilian Surge Capacity.** A number of the reports argue that the U.S. needs to establish a civilian surge capacity to respond to humanitarian emergencies and promote stability in weak states (*AAD/Stimson, CAP/ ENOUGH, CSIS-Integrating, RAND/AAD*). Several reports call more specifically for Congress to authorize, and appropriate funds for, the State Department Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (*S/CRS*), including the proposed staffing models for an Active, Standby and Reserve Corps (*ACTD, Brookings-Security, CSIS-Integrating, CSIS-Steep, HELP*). *AAD/Stimson* also calls for providing a substantial surge capacity for reconstruction and stabilization efforts under the authority of the Secretary of State.
- ♦ **Inter-Agency Crisis Coordination.** Create a mechanism that will improve inter-agency coordination in crisis situations (*ACTD, CAP /ENOUGH, CSIS-Integrating, HELP, PNSR, RAND/AAD*), including *PNSR's* call for an Interagency, Crisis Task Force to handle crises that exceed the capacities of existing departmental capabilities.
- ♦ **Target Assistance to Secure Weak and Fragile States.** Increase the amount of development assistance we provide to the world's weakest states and target development programs to address unique performance gaps in these countries (*Brookings-Index, Brookings-Security, and CGD*).

Other notable recommendations: Designate a part of the armed forces and police force of each proposed G16 member for international peacekeeping (*Brookings-Plan*); encourage joint Congressional and Executive Branch delegations to fragile states and create a Permanent Fragile States Consultative Group on stabilization and reconstruction operations (*CSIS-Steep*); streamline security assistance decision-making to make certain that there is ready flexibility and means to address emerging threats and unexpected opportunities (*SFRC*); and encourage the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to develop new means of achieving civilian-military cooperation (*Brookings-Plan and RAND/AAD*).

Underpinning these recommendations is the recognition of the need to rebuild our civilian capacity to effectively operate in concert with our military in the most challenging environments around the globe. The capacity of our civilian foreign affairs agencies has atrophied while the global challenges requiring a civilian response have proliferated. Effective coordination and integration of our military and civilian instruments are essential, with each empowered to lead in their respective areas. This comprehensive toolkit is the best approach to deal with the challenges posed by weak and fragile states, and allow the military to withdraw appropriately as stability and security are assured.

6. REBALANCE AUTHORITIES CURRENTLY UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO CIVILIAN AGENCIES FOR CERTAIN FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.

Recent years have seen a growing imbalance between civilian and military agencies. Today, the Department of Defense oversees 16 percent of the funding for development and humanitarian programs – in recent years that figure has gone as high as 25 percent⁷– due to the military's significantly greater capacity and flexibility as compared to our civilian agencies. This trend toward increased resources in the military for traditionally civilian-led foreign assistance programs places a strain on our troops, hampers the use of civilian expertise, and challenges America's image overseas.

The majority of reports argue that the U.S. must strike the appropriate balance between civilian and military involvement in certain foreign assistance activities by rebuilding civilian capacity and transferring appropriate authorities back to those civilian agencies with the relevant expertise. Much of the analysis and debate has focused on the authorities through Sections 1206 of the Defense Authorization Act, which empowers DoD to train and equip foreign countries for security and stability operations, and

⁷Steve Radelet, Rebecca Schutte, and Paolo Abarcar. (December 2008). "What's Behind the Recent Declines in U.S. Foreign Assistance." *Center for Global Development*. <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/1416837>

Section 1207, which allows DoD to transfer funds to the State Department for civilian stabilization, security and reconstruction activities.⁸ Reports also talk about the future of the Coalition Support Funds, the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs), and the Commander’s Emergency Response Program (CERP) in Iraq and Afghanistan; expansion of the Combatant Command Initiative Fund to cover humanitarian, civic, and reconstruction assistance; and including stabilization in the Overseas Humanitarian Disaster and Civic Aid program.

Leading recommendations:

- ♦ **Shift Appropriate Authorities.** A majority of the reports recommend shifting authorities for certain foreign assistance programs to civilian agencies (*Administrators, AAD/Stimson, Brookings-Security, CAP/ENOUGH, CGD, CFR, CSIS-Integrating, CSIS-Steep, HELP, RAND/AAD*). More specifically, many suggest shifting Section 1206 authority to State (*AAD/Stimson, CAP/ENOUGH, CSIS-Integrating, and RAND/AAD*). Some, such as CSIS-Integrating, emphasize the need for a gradual process, arguing that 1206 authority should be extended for three to five years but phased out over time and replaced with a substantial, flexible, cross-government contingency fund. AAD/Stimson also specifically recommends repeal of Section 1207 authority and appropriation of funds directly to the State Department.
- ♦ **Integrate CERP Funding.** Some reports emphasize integrating civilian expertise into projects funded by CERP and ensuring that use of CERP funds is subject to coordination with the local U.S. ambassador (*CGD and RAND/AAD*).

Effective coordination and integration of our military and civilian instruments are essential, with each empowered to lead in their respective areas.

Reports conclude that civilian-led efforts in stabilization and reconstruction are often the best investment to achieve sustainable security, and authorities for these activities should be gradually shifted back from the military to civilian agencies. Increasing a civilian face forward in U.S. global engagement efforts wherever security permits, whether through skilled diplomats and Foreign Service officers on the ground or through USAID, NGOs or private sector development experts, will reduce the burden on our troops, enhance America’s image in the world and enhance success of our missions abroad. Defense Secretary Robert Gates and current and former military leaders have spoken out strongly in favor of increased civilian capacity to respond to emerging transnational threats; however, some in DoD believe these authorities are critical in providing the military with the resources they need to advance our national interests.⁹

7. STRENGTHEN U.S. SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHER TOOLS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

America must strengthen its partnerships with other nations by working through international institutions to enhance global security and prosperity. Working through multilateral channels wherever possible will serve the important goal of burden sharing and making each U.S. aid dollars go further by aligning and leveraging our monies with those of other donors. In addition, re-engaging on a multilateral basis will build the trust and support of our allies and partners abroad.

Most of these reports offer recommendations to improve America’s cooperation with the international community and support for international organizations. Reports vary in their emphasis on specific tactics such as the U.S. increasing its assistance to specific multilateral agencies and joining with the international community to strengthen international peacekeeping and tackle specific global challenges.

⁸ US Global Leadership Campaign. “Briefing Note on Section 1206 and 1207 Authorities.” www.usglc.org

⁹ In his testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on January 27, 2009, Secretary Gates said that sections 1206, 1207 and 1208 should remain DoD-run programs. On the same date, DoD announced the formation of a civilian expeditionary force to support military missions worldwide.

Leading recommendations:

- ◆ **Improve Donor Harmonization.** Many of the reports focused on the need for the United States to harmonize our development assistance policies and practices with other donors (*AEI, Brookings-Index Brookings-Security, CFR, HELP, MFAN, Stanley/CNAS*).
- ◆ **Promote International Law and Human Rights.** Several reports recommend that America take the lead in pursuing instruments and agreements that lead to a strong international legal order (*ACTD, Brookings-Plan, CNAS, Smart Power*). ACTD recommends strengthening the State Department's capacity to monitor and drive the development of international law and practice. The others highlight the need to erase the perception that the United States has double standards when it comes to abiding by international law.
- ◆ **Strengthen Peace Operations.** Several reports recommend we augment the capacity of international institutions to address armed conflict (*Brookings-Index, Brookings-Plan, CNAS, RAND/AAD, and Smart Power*). Brookings-Plan recommends that the United States increase international investment in conflict management.
- ◆ **Bolster UN Capacity.** Several reports advocate for the United States to invest in strengthening UN capacity and effectiveness in a number of areas, including peacekeeping and stabilization activities as noted above (*CAP/ENOUGH, RAND/AAD and Smart Power*). More broadly, CAP/ENOUGH calls for covering U.S. arrears to the United Nations within the first year of the new Administration, while Smart Power notes that failure to pay UN dues has hurt America internationally. Some reports suggest the United States should play an active role in reforming the UN to be more effective (*Brookings-Plan, Smart Power*).
- ◆ **Cooperate on Climate Change.** Several reports recommend ensuring that developing countries have the resources and tools needed to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions and prepare for the effects of climate change (*Brookings-PLAN, CNAS, Smart Power, Stanley/CNAS*).

Other notable recommendations: Commit that at least 25 percent of any increase in foreign aid will go through multilateral channels (*CGD*); and lead G8 nations in supporting major improvements in the World Health Organization capacity to detect and respond to pandemics (*CFR*).

The reports acknowledge that international institutions are not perfect, yet they concur on the strategic importance of constructive engagement through multilateral channels on areas of mutual interest. As the global economic crisis has demonstrated, the United States cannot adequately address its economic and security challenges in isolation. America's support for capable international institutions and other tools of international cooperation can help to advance U.S. interests.

CONCLUSION

These 20 plus reports represent a powerful, bipartisan consensus on implementing a new “smart power” strategy to elevate and strengthen our civilian capacities, particularly in development and diplomacy, as essential tools for advancing U.S. interests alongside a strong defense. To accomplish this, the United States must adopt a new national security and/or global development strategy, increase human and programmatic resources for our civilian foreign affairs institutions, streamline the foreign assistance apparatus to improve coherence and coordination, reform Congressional involvement and oversight, better integrate and balance our civilian and military instruments, and strengthen America’s support for international organizations and other tools of international cooperation.

This will require a multi-year effort, but the seven action items and the options highlighted in this “Report on Reports” can serve as an initial roadmap for the Obama Administration and for the 111th Congress to begin to tackle this major challenge of advancing civilian capacity and narrow the issues that require further debate. Pursuing this seven-pronged smart power strategy is essential during this time of enormous global uncertainty, in order to renew America’s global leadership role and help Americans become more secure and prosperous in the years to come.

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REPORTS ANALYZED

AAD/Stimson	American Academy of Diplomacy & The Stimson Center. <i>A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future: Fixing the Crisis in Diplomatic Readiness</i> (October, 2008).
ACTD	Advisory Committee for Transformational Diplomacy. <i>Final Report of the State Department in 2025 Working Group</i> (2008).
Administrators	<i>Foreign Affairs</i> , "Arrested Development: Making Foreign Aid a More Effective Tool." J. Brian Atwood, M. Peter McPherson, & Andrew Natsios (November/December 2008).
AEI	American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, <i>Foreign Aid: What Works and What Doesn't</i> . Carol C. Adelman & Nicholas Eberstadt (October 2008).
Brookings-Index	Brookings Institution. <i>Index of State Weakness in the Developing World</i> . Susan E. Rice & Stewart Patrick (2008).
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CSIS-Integrating	Center for Strategic and International Studies, <i>Integrating 21st Century Development and Security Assistance</i> , Task Force on Nontraditional Security Assistance (January 2008)
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HELP	HELP Commission Report on Foreign Assistance Reform, <i>Beyond Assistance</i> (December 2007)
MFAN	Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network, <i>New Day New Way: U.S. Foreign Assistance for the 21st Century</i> (June 2008)
PNSR	Project on National Security Reform, <i>Forging a New Shield</i> , (November 2008)
RAND/AAD	RAND Corporation & the American Academy of Diplomacy, <i>Integrating Instruments of Power and Influence: Lessons Learned and Best Practices</i> (2008)

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Smart Power	Center for Strategic and International Studies, Commission on Smart Power, <i>A Smarter, More Secure America</i> , Richard L. Armitage & Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (November 2007)
Stanley/CNAS	Stanley Foundation & Center for New American Security, <i>Improving U.S. National Security: Options for Strengthening U.S. Foreign Operations</i> , Anne C. Richard & Paul Clayman (June 2008)

A complete appendix of reports considered during the course of this review is available at www.usglobalengagement.org



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