



# In Search of Sustainable Security

*Linking National Security, Human Security, and  
Collective Security to Protect America and Our World*

By **Gayle E. Smith**  
June 2008

## **The Sustainable Security Series from the Center for American Progress**

Our increasingly integrated and rapidly changing world demands that we modernize our approach to national security in order to protect and defend American interests but also to enable America's renewed global leadership. The papers in this Series provide analyses of and practical recommendations for our "sustainable security," a new approach that combines national security, human security, and collective security. Papers in the Series include:

### **In Search of Sustainable Security**

#### ***Linking National Security, Human Security, and Collective Security to Protect America and Our World***

by Gayle E. Smith

June 2008

### **Humanity as a Weapon of War**

#### ***The Role of the Military in Global Development***

by Reuben E. Brigety II

June 2008

### **The Cost of Reaction**

#### ***The Long-Term Costs of Short-Term Cures***

by Andrew Sweet and Natalie Ondiak

July 2008

### **The Price of Prevention**

#### ***Getting Ahead of Global Crises***

by Gayle E. Smith and Andrew Sweet

August 2008

### **A National Development Strategy for the United States**

by Gayle E. Smith and Reuben E. Brigety II

September 2008

### **Getting it Right**

#### ***America and Global Development***

by Gayle E. Smith

October 2008

# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY</b>
2	The New Realities of the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century
3	Sustainable Security Is the Answer
5	Sustainable Security in Practice
<b>6</b>	<b>HUMAN SECURITY UNDER THREAT</b>
6	A Vicious Cycle and Downward Spiral
9	A Different Take on “Us” and “Them”
<b>9</b>	<b>CHALLENGES TO OUR COLLECTIVE SECURITY</b>
10	The Power of Weak States
<b>11</b>	<b>OUR SHARED INTERESTS</b>
<b>12</b>	<b>SHIFTING TO SUSTAINABLE SECURITY</b>
13	Development Earns Widespread Support
14	But Development Gets Short Shrift
15	The System is Broken
18	The Pentagon Steps Up to the Plate
<b>20</b>	<b>THREE STEPS TOWARD SUSTAINABLE SECURITY</b>
21	Prioritize, Integrate, and Coordinate Development
22	Modernize our Foreign Aid System
23	Re-enter the International Arena
<b>25</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b>
<b>26</b>	<b>ENDNOTES</b>
<b>29</b>	<b>ABOUT THE AUTHOR AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>



---

# In Search of Sustainable Security

*Linking National Security, Human  
Security, and Collective Security to  
Protect America and Our World*

By Gayle E. Smith

## **INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY**

Not long ago I conducted an informal survey during a trip to East Africa, asking everyone I met how they view America. My interlocutors were from Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. They were, in the main, educated and working in the private sector, the policy world, or government. Many of them hold dual passports.

Their answers were strikingly similar. Most of them said in one way or another that the “idea” of America has changed for the worse, and most asserted that they are less interested in traveling to, working in, or working with the United States now than in the past. But most disconcerting was the hope, expressed with striking consistency, that China would soon attain its full power so that American hegemony could be brought in check.

This was not for any love of China’s ideology or even the aggressive aid and investment strategies Beijing is deploying in the developing world. It was, as a young woman attorney explained, because “America used to be the champion for all of us, and now it is the champion only for itself.”

That much of the world has lost faith in America bodes ill for our national security because our role in the world is secured not simply by our military power or economic clout, but also by our ability to compel other nations to follow our lead. The next president will have the opportunity to craft a modern national security strategy



that can equip the United States to lead a majority of capable, democratic states in pursuit of a global common good—a strategy that can guide a secure America that is the world’s “champion for all of us.”

But positioning America to lead in a 21<sup>st</sup> century world will take more than extending a hand to our allies, fixing a long list of misdirected policies, or crafting a new national security strategy that is tough but also smart. With globalization providing the immutable backdrop to our foreign policy, America is today competing on a global playing field that is more complex, dynamic, and interdependent and thus far less certain than in the past.

Leading in this new world will require a fundamental shift from our outdated notion of national security to a more modern concept of sustainable security—that is, our security as defined by the contours of a world gone global and shaped by our common humanity. Sustainable security combines three approaches:

- *National* security, or the safety of the United States
- *Human* security, or the well-being and safety of people
- *Collective* security, or the shared interests of the entire world

Sustainable security, in short, can shape our continued ability to simultaneously prevent or defend against real-time threats to America, reduce the sweeping human insecurity around the world, and manage long term threats to our collective, global security. This new approach takes into account the many (and ongoing) changes that have swept our planet since the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union. To understand the efficacy of this new doctrine, though, requires a quick look at this new global landscape.

### *The New Realities of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*

During his presidency, Bill Clinton spoke often and passionately about our global interdependence and of positioning America to cross a “bridge to the 21<sup>st</sup> century.” Once across, however, the Bush administration took a sharp right turn. In the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, the administration narrowly defined the quest for America’s security, distinct from and uninformed by the interests of the larger world we inhabit.

The challenge before us, President Bush asserted, was the struggle between good and evil, our strategy was to wage his so called “war on terror,” and our goal was to shape a “world without tyranny.” Our primary tool was a strong military backed by the resolve to use force without seeking a “permission slip” from the international community. And our object was the “axis of evil,” and the rest of the world was either “with us or against us.” Anyone who suggested that it might not be quite that simple was quickly and effectively discounted as “soft on terrorism.”

Despite ambitious rhetoric about the promotion of our core values—of leading “the long march to freedom” and pursuing the “non-negotiable demands of human dignity”—the Bush administration has culled its allies not from among those countries most committed to democracy, but from among those who have oil. The Bush administration had to leverage all of its diplomatic and economic clout to persuade the so-called “Coalition of the Willing” to participate at all in the invasion of Iraq. Then, the administration offered up not the shining example of an America where human and civil rights prevail, but an America where Guantanamo, Abu Gharaib, and illegal wire-tapping are justified by an elusive, greater purpose.

The United States has for the last five years defined America's role in the world with near exclusive reference to the invasion of Iraq. The deaths of 4,000<sup>1</sup> American soldiers, maiming of tens of thousands more, and the expenditure of well over \$400 billion,<sup>2</sup> has failed to lay the foundations for either stability or democracy. And as defined by the Bush administration, the "War on Terror" has fared no better: Al Qaeda has not been defeated, and Osama bin Laden, its leader and the mastermind of the September 11 attacks, has yet to be captured.

Our losses, however, extend far beyond the edges of a failed Iraq policy or the shortcomings of an ill-defined "war on terror." We have also lost precious time, and are well behind the curve in our now tardy efforts to tackle the global challenges that are already shaping our future—climate change, energy insecurity, growing resource scarcity, the proliferation of illegal syndicates moving people, arms, and money—all of them global challenges that have been steadfastly ignored and in some cases denied by an ideologically-driven Bush administration lodged firmly in its own distinct version of the here and now.

Perhaps most damaging, however, is this: We have lost our moral standing in the eyes of many who now believe that the United States has only its own national interests at heart, and has little understanding of or regard for either global security or our common humanity. Just as potent as the unsustainable federal budget deficit George W. Bush will leave in his wake is the unsustainable national security deficit that he will pass on to his successor. Whoever prevails in November will face a daunting list of real-time national security imperatives, among them:

- A spiraling crisis in Iraq
- Afghanistan's steady implosion

- A fragile Pakistan
- An emboldened Iran
- A raging genocide in Sudan
- The growing insecurity of our oil supplies
- A nuclear North Korea
- An increasingly dangerous Arab–Israeli conflict

Just to name a few. But the next president will also face looming and less tangible threats to our national security in a world where power has grown more diffuse and threats more potent—a world in which our security depends not only on the behavior of states, but also on a host of transnational threats that transcend national borders, such as terrorism, pandemics, money laundering, and the drug trade.

And finally, the next president will be confronted by the more subtle but potent threats and moral challenges arising from sweeping human insecurity in a world divided by sharp disparities between rich and poor, between those nations actively engaged in fast-paced globalization and those left behind, and between people who have tangible reasons to believe in a secure and prosperous world and those who daily confront the evidence that violence is a more potent tool for change than is hope.

### *Sustainable Security Is the Answer*

The world has changed profoundly during the last 50 years, but our concept of national security has not. The concept of national security came into being after World War II, and has had as its primary focus a world dominated by the nation state. In this new era of globalization, we continue to rely upon the narrow definition offered by George Kennan, who in 1948 described our national security as "the continued ability of the country to pursue the development of its internal life without

# A modern concept of national security demands more than an ability to protect and defend the United States.

serious interference, or threat of interference, from foreign powers.”<sup>3</sup> While Kennan’s definition might have been relevant to the era of containment, it is insufficient in today’s integrated and interdependent world.

A modern concept of national security demands more than an ability to protect and defend the United States. It requires that we expand our goal to include the attainment of *sustainable* security.

The pursuit of sustainable security requires more than a reliance on our conventional power to deflect threats to the United States, but also that we maintain the moral authority to lead a global effort to overcome threats to our common security. With its global scope, sustainable security demands that we focus not only on the security of nation states, but also of people, on *human* security. An emerging concept borne of multidisciplinary analyses of international affairs, economics, development, and conflict, human security targets the fundamental freedoms—from want and from fear—that define human dignity.

National security and human security are compatible but distinct. National security focuses on the security of the state, and governments are its primary clients, while human security is centered on the security

of individuals and thus on a diverse array of stakeholders. National security aims to ensure the ability of states to protect their citizens from external aggression; human security focuses on the management of threats and challenges that affect people everywhere—inside, outside, and across state borders.

A national security strategy is commonly crafted in real time and focused on tangible, proximate threats, while a human security strategy aimed at improving the human condition assumes a longer-term horizon. Sustainable security combines the two, thus allowing for a focus on the twin challenges of protecting the United States while also championing our global humanity—not simply because it is the right thing to do, but also because our security demands it.

For a majority of the world’s people, security is defined in the very personal terms of survival. The primary threats to this *human* security have far less to do with terrorism than with poverty and conflict, with governments that cannot deliver or turn on their own citizens, and with a global economy that offers differentiated access and opportunities to the powerful and the powerless. For literally billions of the world’s people, weapons of mass destruction are not nuclear bombs in the hands of



Iran, but the proliferation of small arms. For them, freedom is not defined simply by the demise of dictators, but also by the rise of economic opportunity.

Ensuring our security in today's world, however, also requires a focus on collective security. Among the major challenges that the United States will face over the coming decades are climate change, water scarcity, food insecurity, and environmental degradation. These are challenges that will threaten the economic well-being and security of all countries on earth, and by dint of their global nature, their effects cannot be overcome unless we adopt a global perspective and strategy.

Take the example of the world food crisis that emerged in the spring of 2008. No single cause triggered the near doubling of world food prices. Indeed, the causes included the skyrocketing price of oil, the growth of the middle class in the developing world (and thus rising demand in China and India), droughts in Australia and Ukraine, a weak dollar, and the expansion of biofuels production in the United States and Europe.

The consequent rise in food prices triggered riots or protests in Europe, Mexico, Egypt, Afghanistan, and several other countries, and plunged millions in the developing world into abject poverty. In the United States, the number of Americans seeking assistance from food banks rose 20 percent to 25 percent.

Or consider "transnational threats," such as money laundering, terrorism, and international drug and crime syndicates, all of which transcend state borders. These are threats that pose risks to the United States, but also to the well-being of our allies, to global stability, and to the world economy.

A national security approach seeks to prevent or reduce the effects of these trends

and threats to the United States; a collective security approach, in contrast, assumes that the United States must act globally—in partnership with allies and in coordination with international institutions—to prevent or manage them.

### *Sustainable Security in Practice*

Crafting a sustainable security strategy requires three fundamental steps. The first is to prioritize, integrate, and coordinate the global development policies and programs pursued by the United States. While our military power provides a critical and effective tool for managing our security, our support for the well-being of the world's people will not only provide us with a moral foundation from which to lead but will also enhance our ability to manage effectively the range of threats and trends that shape the modern world.

Second, we must modernize our foreign aid system in order to allow the United States to make strategic investments in global economic development that can help us to build capable states, open societies, and a global economy that benefits the world's majority. Third, we must re-enter the international arena, stepping up to the plate to lead the reform of international institutions that have not kept pace, and to create new institutions that are needed to manage our collective security.

In the pages that follow, this paper will present the challenges that threaten our national, human, and collective security in order to show just how important it is for the next president to embrace these sustainable security policies. As this report will demonstrate, changing course will be difficult, but changing course is imperative to secure the future prosperity of humanity—an original and time-tested American value.

## HUMAN SECURITY UNDER THREAT

In today's world, human security is elusive. There are six billion people in the world. Nearly half of them live on less than two dollars per day, and over one billion people survive on half that amount.<sup>4</sup> These are not people waiting idly for a hand-out from the international community. The vast majority of them are working men and women who earn for their daily labors less than it costs to rent a DVD, and who annually take home to their families less than half of what the average American will spend on a summer vacation this year.

Women and children are the hardest hit. According to the United Nations, 70 percent of the world's poor and two-thirds of the world's illiterate are women, and though they provide the backbone for rural economies, women own only one percent of the world's titled land and control only a small percentage of rural capital.<sup>5</sup> Over ten million children die before their fifth birthday each year, mostly from preventable diseases,<sup>6</sup> while roughly a quarter of all children in the developing world do not finish primary school.<sup>7</sup>

More than a billion people do not have safe supplies of water,<sup>8</sup> and more than twice as many have no access to basic sanitation.<sup>9</sup> Only one-third of the world's people enjoy the kind of access to energy that we take for granted, another third have only intermittent access, and the remaining third—some two billion people—live without modern energy supplies.<sup>10</sup> This means that they don't have lights to read by, or refrigerators to preserve vaccines, or trucks to get their goods to market.

The antidote to economic decline is increased borrowing. Developing world debt increased to almost 3 trillion dollars

early in this decade, meaning that developing countries spend on average \$13 on debt repayment—to wealthy countries and private creditors in the developed world—for every one dollar they receive in grants.<sup>11</sup> The international debt relief supported by the current and past administrations may have staunched the bleeding, but it has not closed the wound for the poor, who remain dangerously vulnerable to external shocks because they have little or nothing to fall back on.

For this reason, shocks to already fragile societies, such as climate change, have a greater effect on the poor than on other, wealthier communities. According to the United Nations Development Program, over 250 million people were affected by climate disasters annually from 2000 to 2004, and over 98 percent of them were in the developing world. In the world's developed countries, one in 1,500 people was affected by climate disaster; in the world's poorest countries, it was one in 19.<sup>12</sup>

Similarly, the rising price of oil is an enormous shock to the world's poor. The fiscal gains of a majority of countries that have received debt relief through the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative, for example, had by last year been wiped out by the increase in the world price of oil. Those same countries now face a near doubling in the world market price of basic food commodities. Theirs is a losing game of catch up, and the consequences of the vicious cycle of poverty are clear—more than 50 countries are poorer today than they were in 1990.<sup>13</sup>

### *A Vicious Cycle and Downward Spiral*

This stunning privation feeds on itself, in part because poverty increases the risk of war. War is development in reverse—a civil war reduces a country's growth rate by



According to the United Nations, 70 percent of the world's poor and two-thirds of the world's illiterate are women, and though they provide the backbone for rural economies, women own only one percent of the world's titled land and control only a small percentage of rural capital. (Flickr/ Jonathan Talbot, World Resources Institute, 2007)

2.3 percent, a typical seven-year war leaves a country 15 percent poorer,<sup>14</sup> and wars speed both the “brain drain” and the flow and volume of capital flight. The costs of conflict are also borne by citizens—largely as a consequence of war, one in every 120 people on earth is either internally displaced or a refugee.<sup>15</sup>

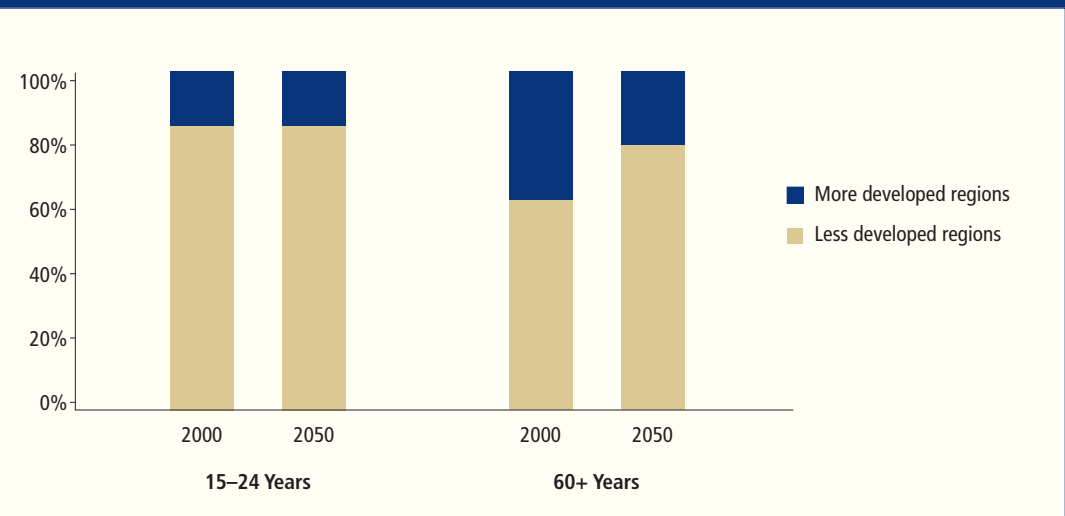
It is estimated that Africa is losing \$18 billion per year to conflict, or almost twice what the continent spends on health and education.<sup>16</sup> Or consider Sri Lanka, where a long-running civil war has cost the country over two years of GDP. Defense expenditures average four percent to six percent of GDP while those for health and education combined run just four percent to five percent.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile one quarter of Sri Lankans live in poverty.

Finally, the world's donor countries incur tremendous costs over many years. Conflict

drives U.S. spending on humanitarian assistance to levels that well exceed expenditures on economic development and conflict prevention. Recent wars, most of them in the developing world, triggered the authorization of 26 new UN peacekeeping missions between 1988 and 1995.<sup>18</sup> Today, the UN is leading 17 peacekeeping operations, and providing support to three more.<sup>19</sup> Each of these missions is expensive, especially to the United States, which bears almost one quarter of the cost, and several have ended in failure.

Finally, the recovery costs are enormous. According to a study by the Center for Global Development, it takes the world's donors between 15 to 27 years to exit from a conflict country because it takes that long for post-war economies to generate sufficient internal revenues to reduce the need for the external assistance that is provided by

### THE PROPORTIONS OF YOUTH AND OLDER PERSONS IN THE TOTAL WORLD POPULATION, 2000 AND 2050



Source: United Nations, *World Population Prospects: The 2002 Revisions; Volume II: Sex and Age* (Sales No. 03.XIII.7).

### TOTAL YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT, 1995, 2004, AND 2005

	YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT (THOUSANDS)			
	1995	2004	2005	% CHANGE 1995-2005
World	74,302	84,546	85,278	14.8
Developed Economies and European Union	10,281	8,997	8,481	-17.5
Central and Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	5,962	5,724	5,900	-1.0
East Asia	13,149	11,840	12,076	-8.2
South East Asia and the Pacific	5,242	9,687	9,727	85.5
South Asia	11,765	13,561	13,662	16.1
Latin America and the Caribbean	7,722	9,263	9,495	23.0
Middle East and North Africa	7,209	8,380	8,525	18.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	12,972	17,095	17,414	34.2

Source: ILO, 2006:16.

the United Nations, the United States, and other donors.<sup>20</sup> As the costs of war mount, neither the victims nor the world's donors can realistically keep up.

Against this backdrop, sweeping demographic changes are altering the contours of the global socioeconomic landscape, and providing new fuel for the cycle of poverty and new triggers for instability. While the developed world is now incurring the economic burdens of an aging population, over 100 countries are grappling with an

expanding youth bulge. Today, 85 percent of young people between the ages of 15 and 24 live in developing countries,<sup>21</sup> where educational and job opportunities are few. This means that millions of young women are denied opportunities for economic independence and that millions of young men face a future devoid of either hope or prosperity.

Urban populations have grown fourfold over the last 50 years,<sup>22</sup> and by 2025, 60 percent of the world's population will live in cities.<sup>23</sup> Many of them—Cairo, Lagos, Nairobi,



and Mumbai—are ill-equipped to provide the jobs, housing, and services that this expanded urban population will require. These vast demographic convulsions will exert increased pressure on already over-stretched natural resources and exacerbate growing poverty (see map on page 10).

As the future hurtles towards us, we will see even greater threats to human security borne of our ecological interdependence. The world is facing a threefold increase in energy use by 2050.<sup>24</sup> World demand for fresh water has doubled over the last 50 years,<sup>25</sup> and the number of people living in water-stressed countries is expected to increase to 3 billion by 2025.<sup>26</sup> As global production, consumption, and population expand, so too will the competition for increasingly scarce resources. At the same time, the worst effects of climate change will reverberate in the world's poorest countries, which bear the least responsibility for global warming and have the least capacity to manage its impact.

### *A Different Take on “Us” and “Them”*

Sweeping human insecurity also widens the gap between the world's rich and poor, a gap that might be more accurately described as a gulf. Although they constitute only 14 percent of the world's population, the world's ten wealthiest countries account for 75 percent of global GDP, and are 75 times richer than the ten poorest.<sup>27</sup> With the expansion of the Internet and satellite television, globalization is making this disparity more visible, including to those on the bottom.

Even with significant expansion, meanwhile, global trade has yet to yield sustainable benefits or to narrow this gap. Only two-thirds of the world's countries are engaged effectively in globalization. Low-income countries account for only three cents of every dollar generated through exports in the interna-

tional trading system,<sup>28</sup> and the world's poorest region—sub-Saharan Africa—receives less than one percent of the total global flow of foreign direct investment.<sup>29</sup>

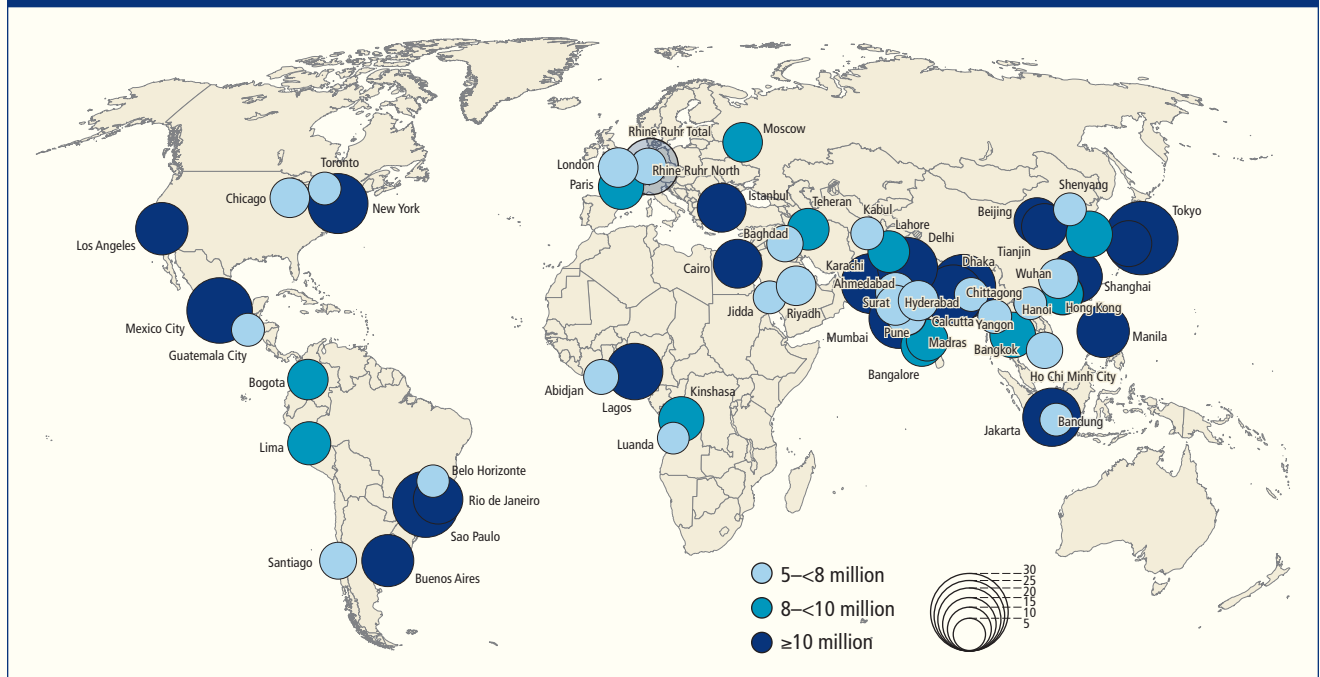
Global trade talks aimed at addressing this imbalance under the banner of the “Doha Development Round” have failed to deliver. Instead, these negotiations have all but collapsed under the weight of sharp disagreement between the world's rich and poor countries over the high subsidies paid out by the European Union and the United States to their agricultural producers.

What's worse, low- and middle-income countries bear 90 percent of the global disease burden yet they benefit least from global gains in treatment.<sup>30</sup> According to the Worldwatch Institute, only one percent of the over 1,200 new drugs that reached the global marketplace between 1975 and 1997 were applicable to the infectious tropical diseases that account for the most deaths around the world.<sup>31</sup> This is a human security problem of potentially immense proportions.

## **CHALLENGES TO OUR COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

Democracy is making great gains, but so, too, are its opponents. Since 1974, some 90 countries have embraced democracy,<sup>32</sup> a positive gain to be sure, but one that is yet to be locked in. Many of the world's new democracies remain exceedingly fragile as their governments and citizens grapple simultaneously with profound political transitions, the legacies of war and repression, and the strains of poverty. Seemingly stable democracies in Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, Georgia, and Thailand have proven to be vulnerable, while in many countries, structural poverty and corruption have precluded the delivery of a tangible democracy dividend.

## MEGACITIES 2015



Source: UN 2002.

In many countries, meanwhile, the failure of rulers to deliver economically or politically is speeding the rise of extremism. Across much of the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, extremism is forging a new political construct shaped by Islam, and with it the rise of a hostile, transnational political identity. In some regions, extremism takes the form of predatory movements, such as northern Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army, that prey on civilians and particularly on children.

In struggling democracies such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the echoes of the Rwandan genocide and the legacy of colonialism and post-colonial misrule reverberate in the form of militia wars, skyrocketing death rates, and rampant rape. Violence continues to threaten democratic gains in Nepal, Turkey, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines. And at the far worst and still-too-common end of the spectrum, genocide continues to rear its ugly head in places such as Darfur where, five years on, people

still await a meaningful response from the international community.

### *The Power of Weak States*

Both economic development and democracy are under further strain from the fact that a billion people live in states that do not deliver for their citizens. A recent study by the Brookings Institution notes that of the world's 193 countries, 28 qualify as weak and another 28 are critically weak or failed. Eighty-five percent of these countries have experienced conflict in the past 15 years, and the United Nations—and in some cases the United States—has had to deploy peacekeepers or observers to half of them.<sup>33</sup>

Governments in these countries lack the will or capacity to provide basic security or control their borders, cannot or do not meet the basic human needs of their citizens, and fail to provide either legitimate



or effective governance. They are unable to adapt to the technological innovations that drive economic progress, establish the institutional foundations that are required for democratic stability, or function as reliable members of the international community.

They are equally incapable of meeting the challenges posed by environmental degradation, are more vulnerable to transnational threats than their more capable counterparts, and are unable to provide barriers to the spread of these threats across borders. Most important, they are unable (or unwilling) to offer their people economic opportunity, political freedom, or hope.

These weak and failing states include countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which by dint of the unresolved conflict in its eastern Kivu region is winning a fierce global competition for the worst humanitarian crisis on earth. They include Nigeria, where vast oil reserves have led not to prosperity but to sweeping systemic corruption, and to the rise of a pernicious insurgency in the Niger Delta. And they include Myanmar, where an authoritarian regime has not only failed to protect its citizens in the wake of a devastating cyclone, but has also prevented the world from aiding them.

These are countries often consigned to the bottom of our foreign policy priority list, but countries where unchecked instability and limited capacity risk the lives of millions. State weakness in these countries not only portends hopelessness for many of their citizens. It also poses a threat to global peace and security. Though viewed by many as of lesser import than countries in the Middle East or Asia, these African countries matter—Nigeria provides more than eight percent of our imported oil, and resource-rich Congo has, among other assets, uranium. Their security matters—to their people, and also to us.

## OUR SHARED INTERESTS

Americans are right to ask their government why they should add the costly charge of promoting human security and collective security to the already heavy burden of the spiraling federal budget deficit, rising gas and food prices, a home mortgage crisis, and multiple security challenges already on our national plate. The first reason is simple: It is the right thing to do. By championing the cause of the world's least powerful, the United States can build a stronger moral foundation from which to lead and a compelling example for the world to follow.

There is precedent on which to build, as both security imperatives and moral convictions have led the United States to help improve the lives of the world's poor throughout our modern history. In his inaugural address in 1961, President John F. Kennedy highlighted this commitment of the American people:

*“To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.”<sup>34</sup>*

Almost 50 years later, General Anthony Zinni (USMC-ret.) and Admiral Leighton Smith Jr. (USN-ret.) put it this way:

*“It is time to repair our relationship with the world and begin to take it to the next level—a level defined not only by our military strength but also by the lives we save and the opportunities we create for the people of other nations...today our enemies are often conditions—poverty, infectious*

*disease, political instability and corruption, global warming—which generate the biggest threats. By addressing them in meaningful ways, we can forestall crises.*”<sup>35</sup>

The second reason is more pragmatic but just as compelling. If we fail to act now, we will be forced to pay later, both financially and with our own national security. Human insecurity feeds on itself, laying the ground for conflict and the extreme vulnerability that causes people to fall over the economic edge when weather, wars, or world market prices disrupt their fragile, subsistence economies.

The United States leads the world in responding to the humanitarian crises that arise out of this acute vulnerability. Today, we spend more on emergency relief to treat the symptoms of these crises than we do to promote the development that might prevent them. The United States, for example, spends far more on food aid than it invests in agricultural development, and with food prices surging globally, we have had to increase spending on emergency food aid to forestall famine and food riots in the world’s poorest countries.

Experts predict that our humanitarian and military expenditures will increase further unless the vulnerability of the world’s poor to climate change is substantially reduced. A 2007 report by 11 former U.S. generals and admirals found that “Climate change can act as a threat multiplier for instability in some of the most volatile regions of the world, and it presents significant national security challenges for the United States.”<sup>36</sup> When these new crises arise, the United States will be expected to respond.

We also pay for our failure to address our collective security. Globalization has spawned an interconnected world where capital, goods, people, and threats move freely across borders. These potent trans-

national threats affect the lives of ordinary Americans, whether in the form of the West Nile virus or a spike in oil prices triggered by the sabotage of oil pipelines by Nigerians desperate for fuel they cannot afford.

Moreover, threats to our collective security—the money laundering that fuels terrorist networks, crime syndicates and the drug trade, uranium smuggling and illegal weapons shipments—can be neither contained nor controlled by the United States alone. We need competent, capable partners, in all corners of the globe.

## **SHIFTING TO SUSTAINABLE SECURITY**

America’s power is unmatched. We account for roughly half of all global defense spending, and generate 20 percent of all global output. But in an interdependent world where power has grown more diffuse and threats more diverse, our military and economic superpower status is not enough to provide for sustainable security for us or the world we live in.

If our goal is simply to protect and defend America against external interference, then reliance on military force and a wall on the border with Mexico might suffice. But if our aim is to ensure the sustainable security of the United States in a fast-moving, rapidly-changing world driven by complex, global threats and challenges, we need to bring to bear all of the tools we can muster.

Offered up by academia and Washington’s think tanks, the concepts of “soft power,” “integrated power,” and “smart power” bear in common the counsel that America must recalibrate its foreign policy to rely less on military power and more on other tools that can foster change and enhance our security. One of these is enhanced and robust diplomacy; the other is development.

# When it comes to development, we've got it half right and upside down. The dollars are up, but we have neither a policy nor a strategy.

A statement endorsed by eight former Secretaries of State, five former Secretaries of Defense, and four former National Security Advisors, put it this way: “Our increasingly interconnected world requires strong U.S. leadership to strengthen democratic governance, harness economic potential, alleviate global poverty and improve human conditions. American investments in these goals will reaffirm America’s tradition of moral leadership, reduce our vulnerability to threats from destabilizing forces and improve America’s image abroad.”<sup>37</sup>

Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, meanwhile, recently called for the development of “a permanent, sizeable cadre of immediately deployable experts with disparate skills,”<sup>38</sup> and for beefing up our capacity to promote global development. Clearly, there is growing recognition that our sustainable security requires that we beef up our diplomatic capabilities and also strengthen our capacity to promote the development of capable, democratic states and healthy societies.

But when it comes to development, we’ve got it half right and upside down. Development dollars are up, but we have neither a development policy nor a development strategy. Our foreign aid system is chaotic, but instead of fixing it we are appending to

it multiple new tools that, though necessary, risk complicating it further. And instead of balancing our military power with civilian-led capabilities to support development, we are giving the development lead to the Department of Defense.

## *Development Earns Widespread Support*

On the positive side of the ledger, we have seen during the last eight years a dramatic increase in development funding legislated with strong bipartisan support. A new milestone was set this year when 186 members of Congress—from both sides of the aisle—wrote to President Bush urging him to increase next year’s (fiscal year 2009) International Affairs Budget consistent with the 2006 National Security Strategy, which states that, “Development reinforces diplomacy and defense, reducing long-term threats to our national security by helping to build stable, prosperous, and peaceful societies.”<sup>39</sup> President Bush responded by increasing the fiscal year 2009 budget for international affairs to \$39.5 billion, a 16 percent increase over the previous year.<sup>40</sup>

Support for two major Bush administration initiatives has also been strong. In January 2004, the United States established and

pledged \$4.8 billion to the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), a grant-making government agency targeted to countries that are performing well against set economic and political criteria. By the end of fiscal year 2007, 14 countries had signed MCC compacts and 14 more were on the “threshold,” making efforts to adhere to the social, judicial, and political reform indicators set forth under the program.<sup>41</sup>

The MCC has been the object of budget battles and the target of criticism for the significant gap between the Bush administration’s stated ambitions and the agency’s actual implementation, but it has garnered support from both Republicans and Democrats. Bipartisan support for PEPFAR—the President’s Emergency Program for AIDS Relief—is even more robust, with both parties in Congress supporting both initial outlays as well as President Bush’s 2008 call to double program funding.

Moreover, there is today a growing constituency for action. Driven largely by young people and faith-based communities and elevated to media visibility by celebrities, major campaigns focused on global poverty and Darfur, for example, have caught the attention of the public, Capitol Hill, and the White House. Support for development initiatives such as these was once a predominantly liberal cause, but today it stretches across the political spectrum, and is increasingly prominent among conservatives.

Among young evangelicals, for example, global poverty and human trafficking are gradually overtaking abortion and gay marriage as top priorities. The leading champions for Darfur on Capitol Hill, meanwhile, are Senator Sam Brownback (R-KS) and Representative Donald Payne (D-NJ), two men who disagree on a host of issues but are firmly united in their conviction that America has a moral obligation to end the suffering in Sudan.

Most Americans also want their leaders to do more. A 2007 Gallup poll found that 56 percent of Americans were “dissatisfied” with the current role of the United States in global affairs.<sup>42</sup> Another poll showed that 65 percent of Americans—and the majority of both Republicans and Democrats—support increasing global poverty reduction expenditure to 0.7 percent of GDP.<sup>43</sup> Doing more to improve the lives of the poor is one way in which Americans believe they can restore our global image—and a key way, they believe, for the next president to be an effective and representative global leader.

### *But Development Gets Short Shrift*

On the negative side of the ledger, development remains the poor stepchild of defense and diplomacy. Even with substantial increases in our foreign aid budget, 95 percent of the total outlays for national security in the fiscal year 2007 federal budget were for defense, compared with 3.5 percent for development.<sup>44</sup> Nearly half of that development allocation goes to ten countries, including Egypt, Colombia, Pakistan and Jordan, while the world’s poorest receive only six percent.<sup>45</sup> And where foreign aid allocations are at their highest, short-term security imperatives dominate and development comes last.

Consider the case of Pakistan, a country where the United States has used aid to enhance the security of the Pakistani state, with only brief interruptions, since the 1980s. Despite the \$24 billion invested by the United States in Pakistan over the last 25 years, we now face a more dangerous mixture of political instability, entrenched poverty, and extremism than existed in the early 1980s—all in a country that possesses nuclear weapons.

According to an August 2007 report from the Center for Strategic and International

Studies, the bulk of the \$10.5 billion in assistance provided by the U.S. to Pakistan since 9/11 “has not been directed to Pakistan’s underlying fault lines, but to specific short-term counterterrorism objectives.”<sup>46</sup> Only 10 percent of overall funding has gone for development or for meeting humanitarian needs,<sup>47</sup> and in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas along the country’s north-western border with Afghanistan, development assistance comprises only one percent of our total aid package.<sup>48</sup>

In part because development has not been a priority, our heavy financial investment in Pakistan has neither reduced the security threats that Pakistan poses nor earned us the allegiance of the Pakistani people. Our consistent disregard for human security has borne a high cost. Deaths from internal terrorist attacks have skyrocketed since 2001, from 189 in 2003 to 648 in 2005 and 3,599 in 2007.<sup>49</sup> But as a recent Stanley Foundation report highlighted, “most Pakistanis are much more likely to suffer a premature death as a result of poverty or non-existent medical services as they are from an Islamist attack.”<sup>50</sup>

Thirty-five percent of Pakistanis live in abject poverty. According to the World Food Program, food insecurity is on the rise, with 60 million people unable to secure an adequate nutritional intake, and an additional 18 million affected by the recent surge in global food prices.<sup>51</sup> Agricultural livelihoods are further threatened by unintended environmental changes as the Indus River, upon which a majority of Pakistan’s rural population depends for both drinking water and irrigation, begins to go dry.

Nearly half of all Pakistanis are illiterate, literacy rates for women stand at 30 percent, and only three percent of people in Federally Administered Tribal Areas—where some believe Osama bin Laden is

hiding—can read or write.<sup>52</sup> Of the billions of dollars in aid provided by the United States since 2001, aid allocated to education represents at most 4.2 percent of the total package—an average of less than \$2 per Pakistani child per year.<sup>53</sup> Unable to read, with few job prospects, and angered by U.S. military action within Pakistani borders, the strong financial incentives offered by extremist groups<sup>54</sup> are increasingly a welcome alternative. A recent public opinion poll, meanwhile, found that 72 percent of Pakistanis have unfavorable views of the United States, and only 38 percent of Pakistanis have a favorable view of our ally, President Pervez Musharraf. The same poll showed that free elections, a free press, and an independent judiciary are the most important long-term priority for a majority of Pakistanis.<sup>55</sup> Each of these remains elusive and none of them is a priority in our \$10 billion aid package.

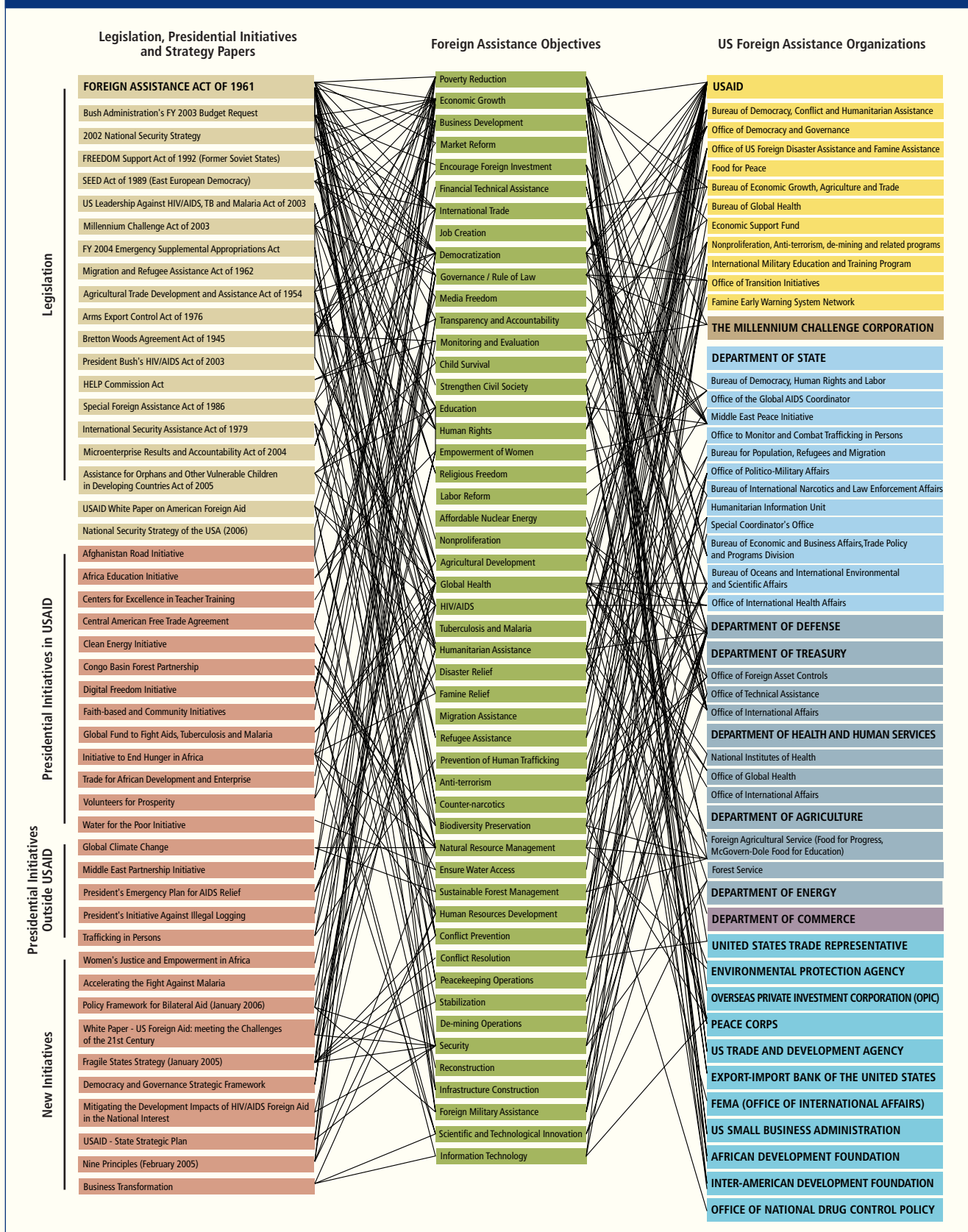
Even if there was sufficient political will to elevate development alongside defense and diplomacy, it would be practically impossible because our foreign aid system is irretrievably broken. In 2007, the bipartisan HELP Commission, appointed by Congress and mandated to review U.S. foreign aid, reported that of over 100 government officials (both civilian and military), aid practitioners, foreign policy experts, academics, and private-sector representatives consulted, “not one person appeared before this Commission to defend the status quo.”<sup>56</sup>

### *The System Is Broken*

America’s ability to invest in global development is seriously constrained. The United States has neither a global development policy nor a strategy. The legislation governing foreign aid was written in 1961, and has since been amended to include 33 goals, 247 directives, and 75 priorities,<sup>57</sup> rendering



# US FOREIGN ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION, OBJECTIVES AND ORGANIZATIONS



Source: Lael Brainard, Security by Other Means (Brookings, 2006).



it so cumbersome that it provides neither coherent guidance to the executive branch nor a roadmap for oversight to the legislative branch. In the absence of a policy, strategy, or effective guiding legislation, aid programming is driven in the main by congressional earmarks, presidential directives, and reaction (see chart on page 16).

Development programming was once the purview of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), an agency that had a permanent staff of 15,000 during Vietnam but just 3,000 today, and is therefore compelled to rely heavily on expensive outside contractors to manage programs in over 150 countries.<sup>58</sup> Presently, over half of all aid programs are administered by agencies other than USAID, and development funding is arrayed across more than 20<sup>59</sup> government agencies, departments, and initiatives, each with its own goals, priorities, and procedures. No single individual or agency has the authority or the responsibility to oversee or coordinate these myriad programs.

The colossal failure of reconstruction efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan, meanwhile, has rightly focused Washington's attention on crisis management, and has led to the creation of even more instruments and initiatives. In 2004, Congress authorized funds to create an Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization in the State Department, and last year the House and Senate introduced legislation calling for the creation of an expert civilian response capability to carry out our reconstruction and stabilization activities.

The Department of Defense has established a Commanders' Emergency Response Program to meet emergency and reconstruction needs in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the 2006 National Defense Authorization Act created the "1206" fund to assist countries engaged in counter-terrorism and stability

operations. The Pentagon is now seeking to make these temporary crisis management authorities permanent through the "Building Global Partnerships Act."

President Bush deserves credit for dramatic increases in U.S. aid levels and global leadership in the fight against HIV/AIDS. But the changes the U.S. foreign aid system has undergone over the last several years have exacerbated rather than repaired the flaws in the system. These changes have also set far-reaching and potentially detrimental precedents.

The State Department's 2006 "Transformational Diplomacy" plan, for example, established a new Deputy Undersecretary for Foreign Aid in the State Department as a means of achieving greater coordination and policy coherence within the Executive Branch. But the pretense of coordination is more potent than is its practice. Although "Transformational Diplomacy" consolidated some aid accounts, the new Deputy Undersecretary has no jurisdiction over the growing development aid budget managed by the military, and provides guidance to but does not have authority over either the Millennium Challenge Corporation or the anti-AIDs program PEPFAR.

The continued lack of coordination not only leads to inefficiencies in the management of taxpayer funds, but it also places an enormous burden on international development partners who are forced to deal with multiple agencies, requirements, and procedures. It also fosters policy incoherence. Research conducted by the HELP Commission, for example, found that the United States collects more in tariffs from countries eligible for funding from the Millennium Challenge Account than is provided in aid. This fact was news to senior policymakers, who missed it for the simple reason that there is no coordination between our trade agencies and our aid agencies.

Moreover, the administration has launched robust, discrete initiatives without benefit of an overarching policy or strategy, and thus allowed significant gaps to emerge. For example, although agriculture represents almost 40 percent of GDP, 35 percent of exports, and 70 percent of employment in developing countries, less than two percent of the proposed fiscal year 2009 development budget targets agricultural development.

Robust funding to fight the HIV/AIDS pandemic, meanwhile, has not been matched by parallel investments in other sectors. Clearly, global health issues like HIV/AIDS are of paramount importance, but so too are education, agricultural development, institution-building, and job creation.

Consider the case of Kenya, a country that serves as the economic anchor for east and central Africa and has for over two decades functioned—at least in the eyes of the outside world—as an island of stability in a sea of turmoil. Kenya has for years provided staging and overflight rights for U.S. military operations, is the hub for emergency relief efforts throughout the region, regularly contributes troops to U.N. peacekeeping efforts, and has been a staunch ally of the United States in our campaign against global terrorist networks since the U.S. embassy there was bombed by Al Qaeda in 1998.

Close elections late last year brought Kenya's internal contradictions to the surface, however, as the country exploded in a wave of stunning violence that led to the deaths of over 1000 people and economic losses estimated to be in the range of \$3 billion.<sup>60</sup>

The most effective tool on hand for the United States to foster stability and functional democracy in Kenya is foreign aid, and the goal of U.S. development efforts in Kenya is in fact to build an economically prosperous country. But of the over \$700 million that Kenya now receives annually,

over \$500 million is earmarked for HIV/AIDS, over \$120 million goes for food aid, and most of the balance is for security and counter-terrorism programs. The net result is that there is little or no funding available to counter the economic or political conditions that gave rise to Kenya's destabilizing post-electoral crisis or to consolidate the fragile peace achieved by the recent formation of a unity government.

A broken, incoherent, and understaffed foreign aid system has allowed for the emergence of some isolated successes, but has also created a vacuum. The United States has neither the policies nor the people it needs to make development an effective foreign policy tool. What may prove to be the most far-reaching of the Bush administration's efforts in the development sphere is its decision to give the lead in filling this vacuum to the Department of Defense.

### *The Pentagon Steps Up to the Plate*

Traditionally, the role of the Department of Defense (DoD) in development has been restricted to three key areas: support for humanitarian operations; engagement in small-scale community development projects linked to training missions and site visits; and, with the Department of State, "train and equip" programs for foreign militaries. But major deployments in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Horn of Africa have taught the Pentagon three lessons.

First, from Iraq and Afghanistan it became clear that the fragile peace that can be won with military force cannot be sustained without a tangible peace dividend alongside a robust stabilization effort linked to long-term, sustainable development. The second lesson came from the deployment of U.S. forces to Djibouti under the banner of the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of

Africa, where the military has been mandated to conduct counter-terrorism operations and support the efforts of regional governments to contain and prevent the spread of terrorist networks.

It soon became clear that poor countries with weak governments cannot protect or defend their borders without also providing essential services to and securing the allegiance of the citizens who live in the vast, ungoverned spaces that are most vulnerable to terrorist infiltration. The third lesson was that with USAID's staffing eroded to bare bones levels, and with the State Department both non-operational and otherwise occupied, no government agency except the Department of Defense has the personnel or the proclivity to fill these gaps.

The Defense Department is responding, reflecting the observation of Defense Secretary Gates that "the non-military instruments of America's national power need to be rebuilt, modernized, and committed to the fight."<sup>61</sup> The Pentagon's development budget has soared from 5.6 percent of the executive branch total in 2002 to 21.7 percent, or \$5.5 billion, in 2005,<sup>62</sup> and is slated to increase further. New authorities have been secured, new programs have been initiated, and with DoD Directive 3000.05, the U.S. military is now mandated to treat stability operations as a core mission on par with combat operations.<sup>63</sup>

But the Department's expanding role goes further than stability operations. In 2007, the Pentagon launched AFRICOM, a unified military headquarters for Africa that is focused on "war prevention," and is designed to "better enable the Department of Defense and other elements of the U.S. government to work in concert and with partners to achieve a more stable environment in which political and economic growth can take place." AFRICOM not only gives a regional military command a

development mandate, it also operates with an integrated interagency staff, and thus provides the platform for the coordination of other U.S. government agencies.

The plan for AFRICOM's forward deployment in Africa, however, was poorly received by most African governments, which were not widely consulted in advance of its unveiling, and by civic groups across the continent, which opposed what they viewed as a permanent U.S. military presence in Africa. AFRICOM is thus slated to remain in Germany for the time being, but the AFRICOM model is spreading to other regional commands. SOUTHCOM's latest strategy document, for example, proposes that the command coordinate all relevant government agencies, including civilian, to address the full range of regional challenges in Latin America and the Caribbean.

There are those who believe that DoD's expanded role in development is a sign of the Department's intention to militarize foreign aid. The more plausible explanation is that the Pentagon is stepping in to fill a vacuum that has been left wanting by USAID's dire circumstances, and by the State Department's lack of intent. In much the same way that she ceded control over the Iraq war to the Pentagon during her tenure as National Security Advisor in the early years of the Bush administration, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has posed no visible or effective opposition to the Pentagon's expanded role in areas traditionally considered the purview of civilian agencies.

DoD's role has also grown more prominent because it is operational and capable. In contrast, the State Department is not operational, and a weakened USAID no longer has the capacity to tackle all of the development challenges the United States faces. Congress, therefore, is more inclined to allocate aid dollars to the Pentagon than to its weaker and less capable counterparts.

The greatest peril lies not in the fact that the Defense Department has stepped in to fill the development vacuum and pick up the slack on inter-agency coordination, or even that the Pentagon has no expertise or experience in the field of development. The hazard lies in the fact that the frontal face of America's support for development in the poorest corners of the world is our military, and not our civilian agencies. As the lukewarm reception to AFRICOM has made clear, this places our interest in human security squarely in the frame of our national security and, in particular, the war on terrorism—and not, as it should be, in the context of our shared commitment to the global common good.

### **THREE STEPS TOWARD SUSTAINABLE SECURITY**

Adapting to today's world and achieving sustainable security requires that we pursue not only our national security, but also global and human security. This more modern approach can afford us the ability to deal simultaneously with short-term, nation-state based threats and with the global challenges that transcend state borders. Importantly, this sustainable security approach allows us to lead from a position of moral strength. But getting there requires three core elements:

- An organizing principle that can unite a majority of the world's people
- The elevation and strategic utilization of the full range of our foreign policy tool
- A revitalized international system that reflects not just the challenges that existed when it was created in the wake of World War II, but also the realities of today

It also requires that the next president establish the predicate for change, and speak truth to the American people. Over

the course of two terms, the Bush administration has posited that the combination of its moral certitude and America's military might are sufficient to secure our national interests, and has treated threats to our global security—whether climate change or energy security—as electives rather than imperatives.

The next president instead must update and advise the American people, making clear that our ability to lead on the world stage demands not only awesome power but also moral authority, and that our interests are best served when we act in pursuit of our global security and common humanity.

The shift toward a sustainable security approach will take time, and the next president will face a daunting list of immediate challenges. But there are several steps that can be taken in 2009 to lay the ground for an increased and practical focus on the profound moral challenges of our world, to modernize our foreign aid system, and to lay the ground for the increased international cooperation that is necessary going forward. Specifically, the next president should:

- Add a third and powerful tool to our foreign policy apparatus, in addition to defense and diplomacy, by elevating, integrating, and coordinating U.S. global development policies and programs.
- Take immediate steps to modernize our foreign aid system so that a new administration can move nimbly and effectively to invest in building capable states, open societies, and a global marketplace that serves the world's majority.
- Move swiftly to re-engage on the international stage by signaling America's willingness to lead in the reform of international institutions and the creation of new mechanisms for managing our shared global interests.

# The shift toward a sustainable security approach will take time, and the next president will face a daunting list of immediate challenges.

These three steps, in turn, require detailed action to ensure success. All three of these overarching policy proposals, when examined in detail, would elevate sustainable security to an active policy of global engagement within the first term of the next administration.

## *Prioritize, Integrate, and Coordinate Development*

It will take presidential leadership to elevate development, a strong hand to integrate the concept of human security across the range of our foreign policy agencies, and high-level action to coordinate the myriad foreign aid agencies, instruments, and initiatives now spread across the executive branch. There are four key steps that the next president can take to lay the ground for progress in all three areas.

First, the president should use the administration's first National Security Strategy to lay the ground for a sustainable security approach by focusing on traditional national security, collective security, and human security. Though required by law, National Security Strategies are often boilerplate documents that provide little other than a narrative list of foreign policy priorities. The next president should use his first NSS as a tool for pivoting to sustainable security.

Second, the president should appoint a third Deputy National Security Advisor (NSA) for long-term strategic planning. In a White House facing the pressures of competing global and domestic crises, 24-hour news coverage, and a four-year election cycle, there is little time for thinking about and planning for the long term. A designated Deputy NSA mandated to think and plan ahead will not only allow the administration to make up for the time lost by the Bush administration on issues like climate change, but will also allow an administration to get out ahead of future threats like resource scarcity and new global pandemics.

Third, as the first step toward formulating a government-wide policy on development and crafting a whole-of-government development strategy, the president should issue a Presidential Directive providing initial guidance to the multiple agencies, departments, and offices that are now pursuing their own individual agendas. The guidance should neither be so vague—by pointing to, for example, “reducing global poverty”—as to be meaningless, nor so prescriptive that it undercuts the ability of professionals on the ground to make informed decisions.

Instead, it should focus on the priorities that serve our national interests and reflect a global common good, for example by

building the capacity of governments and civil society; reducing the vulnerability of the poor; laying the ground for improved resource management; and enhancing the access of poor communities and low-income countries to capital and markets.

Fourth, the president should create a directorate, led jointly by the National Security Council and National Economic Council, to initiate and oversee the coordination of all foreign aid agencies, initiatives, departments, and programs. Given the growing role of non-governmental organizations, philanthropic groups, and corporations in humanitarian and development efforts overseas, the directorate should also ensure that the U.S. government is in regular consultation with these prominent partners.

#### *Modernize our Foreign Aid System*

There is an urgent need to reform the structure, operations, and staffing of our foreign aid system, and an equally important need to coordinate a sweeping reform process with the Congress. Reform will likely require new legislation to replace the almost 50-year old Foreign Assistance Act, as well as an overhaul of critical internal procedures ranging from evaluation to procurement.

A growing number of development experts, NGOs, corporate leaders, and foreign-policy specialists are lending support to the creation of an independent, cabinet-level development agency, similar to Britain's Department for International Development, which was created by former Prime Minister Tony Blair and has been given an even more prominent role by his successor, Gordon Brown. The rationale is that because development is a field distinct from either defense or diplomacy, it warrants its own department and leadership, and a seat at the foreign policymaking table.

There is also a need, advocates argue, to bring our various foreign aid agencies under one roof. As well, there is growing recognition of the need to insulate the development portion of our foreign aid budget from the pressure of short-term security imperatives, and instead focus on long-term development objectives across the span of successive administrations.

The proposal is that military aid, including "train and equip" programs for foreign militaries, peacekeeping funds, and economic security funds, or ESF, would remain under the jurisdiction of the Departments of Defense and State. Humanitarian and development aid—including PEPFAR and the MCA—would be centralized under a new, professionally staffed department, insulated from short-term imperatives and focused on long-term goals.

Critics argue that the development portfolio should remain within State and be made a priority by the secretary. They point to the problems incurred by the creation of the Department of Homeland Security as evidence that a new independent agency will not work, and argue that an independent development agency will inevitably be sidelined. Further, there is concern that the creation of a separate development department would weaken and compete with the Department of State.

The "uber State Department" is clearly the easier option, but given the experience of USAID over the years, and the structural flaws in the State Department's "Transformational Diplomacy," it is also the least likely to bring about a fundamental change to the status quo. First of all, the State Department is not operational and is thus not equipped to manage the development portfolio. Second, the independent agency proposal entails uniting agencies and departments with common mandates, and



not, as was the case with the Department of Homeland Security, creating a department that combines multiple operational agencies with distinct and varied mandates.

And third, a cabinet-level development agency reinforced by the Executive Office of the President and backed by the development budget is no more likely to be marginalized than is an office housed within the State Department. What's more, concerns about weakening the State Department overlook two salient facts.

First, development and diplomacy are two entirely different tasks that are undertaken on the basis of different time horizons, require distinct expertise and different capabilities, and entail separate and contrasting approaches. Past policy has been hindered by the assumption that development requires little expertise other than an understanding of international affairs and a concern for the plight of the poor, and that the development aspect of a given policy can thus be easily handled by either the Department of State or the Department of Defense. The dangers of this flawed assumption are now evident, however, in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Egypt, and countless other cases where we have failed to bring a development perspective to bear.

Second, this concern misdiagnoses the current weakness of the State Department, which has less to do with its authority over foreign aid and more to do with its failure to craft and act on a modern diplomatic agenda and its willingness to concede influence to the Department of Defense.

In the next administration, the State Department must take the foreign policy lead, including on reforming the international institutions that make up our global architecture and on crafting and implementing the policies that can enable the

U.S. to manage a host of global threats and challenges. State's strength will and should derive from its leadership in formulating these and other policies that guide the use of all of our foreign policy tools—diplomacy, defense, and development.

But the next president needs to hear views forged from each of these perspectives. Just as the State and Defense Departments craft their own unique strategies, oversee their own budgets, and bring their own specific expertise and distinct perspectives to the decision-making table in the White House, so too should a department for development.

The next president, however, cannot create a new department without extensive internal deliberation or consultation with Congress. Fortunately, leading members of Congress have already taken on the cause of modernizing our foreign aid system.

The next president should immediately engage with this ongoing congressional process and appoint, during the transition, a high-level White House official to consult within and outside of government and develop options for rationalizing and modernizing our foreign aid system during his first term. Because traditional institutional imperatives may cause a new Secretary of State to oppose an independent cabinet-level agency, the president should also secure the support of the new secretary to consider the full range of options.

### *Re-enter the International Arena*

The next president has the opportunity to re-engage the international community and reposition America to lead. But this will take clear signals from the White House that the new administration is ready and willing to engage, and recognition that just as our own foreign policy architecture

# The next president has the opportunity to re-engage the international community and reposition America to lead.

is out of date, so too is the international architecture in urgent need of reform. The next president can move on both fronts by taking four steps.

First, he should work with Congress to ensure that the United States can fully cover its U.N. arrears within the first year of a new administration. As happened during the 1990s, the failure of the United States to pay its dues both hinders U.N. operations in critical areas such as peacekeeping, but also undermines our ability to make the case for, or demand, critical reforms.

Second, in an effort to begin reconciling our national interests and our global security, the next president should work with Congress, across the whole of government, and with allies from the developed and developing worlds to craft a strategy for global food security. The worldwide crisis that erupted when food prices nearly doubled exposed the need to harmonize policies in an interconnected world, and has affected consumers in every country in the world. In some cases, the crisis has triggered riots and instability, in others it has pushed millions over the edge from subsistence to hunger, and in the United States it has fostered economic hardship and

a spike in demand for food stamps and other nutritional programs.

By the time the next president is sworn in, the Doha “Development Round” of trade talks will likely be dead on the mantle of disagreement between the world’s rich and poor countries on agricultural policies. And barring some radical and unforeseen change, the global food market will still be volatile. Rationalizing America’s agricultural policies to conform to a new global environment will take heavy political lifting, but the opportunity and indeed imperative created by collapsed trade talks and the global food crisis provide a window for starting the discussion.

Third, the next president should initiate the next phase of PEPFAR. While giving full credit to President Bush for launching and robustly funding the initiative, the next president should provide a larger share of HIV/AIDS funding through the Global Fund for AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, signaling our willingness to work collectively to address the global challenge that these diseases represent. A new and improved PEPFAR should also invest more resources in capacity-building and the ability of the world’s poorest countries to manage future epidemics and health crises.

---

Fourth and finally, the next president should make Darfur—and indeed the issue of crimes against humanity across the globe—a top priority. There is little chance that the Darfur crisis will be resolved by next January, but there are plenty of other places where crimes against humanity are going untended by the world.

The Darfur genocide is now entering its sixth year, and cries of “never again” and pledges of “not on my watch” ring hollow. The next president needs to dedicate his time, and that of the secretary of state, to show the world that America is ready to stand up to the worst of all threats to human security, genocide, so that America’s claim to global leadership will be shaped not only by the actions we take but also by those that we do not.

## CONCLUSION

Few would envy the task of handling the long list of first priorities that awaits the next president. But while protecting and defending America’s national security will be first on the list, so too should be adapting to the modern concept of sustainable security.

At the dawn of the 21st century, in a world seized by far-reaching and tumultuous change, President Bush dedicated eight years to waging a “war on terror” and reminding the rest of the world of what America is *against*. It is time for our next president to remind the rest of the world that we stand *for* the sustainable security of our shared world. To do otherwise would be to diminish our collective security and abandon our common humanity.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, available at <http://www.icasualties.org/oif/> (last accessed May 2008).
- 2 Amy Belasco, "The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations Since 9/11" (Washington: Congressional Research Service, 2008), available at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL33110.pdf> (last accessed May 2008) p. 16.
- 3 George F. Kennan, "Comments on the General Trend of U.S. Foreign Policy" (Princeton: George F. Kennan Papers, August 20, 1948).
- 4 The United States Commission on Helping to Enhance the Livelihood of People around the Globe, "Beyond Assistance: The HELP Commission Report of Foreign Assistance Reform" (2007). p. 10.
- 5 Dr. Fareda Banda, "Project on a Mechanism to Address Laws that Discriminate Against Women" (The United Nations' Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, March 6 2008), available at [http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900sid/PANA-7DHGQM/\\$file/ohchr\\_mar2008.pdf?openelement](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900sid/PANA-7DHGQM/$file/ohchr_mar2008.pdf?openelement) (last accessed May 2008).
- 6 The United States Commission on Helping to Enhance the Livelihood of People around the Globe, "Beyond Assistance: The HELP Commission Report of Foreign Assistance Reform" (2007) p. 12.
- 7 William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006) p. 8.
- 8 The Millennium Project of the World Federation of UN Associations, "Water: How Can Everyone Have Sufficient Clean Water Without Conflict?" available at [http://www.millennium-project.org/millennium/Global\\_Challenges/chall-02.html](http://www.millennium-project.org/millennium/Global_Challenges/chall-02.html) (last accessed May 2008).
- 9 The World Health Organization, "Statement from WHO's Director General" (2008), available at [http://www.who.int/water\\_sanitation\\_health/hygiene/iys/about/en/index.html](http://www.who.int/water_sanitation_health/hygiene/iys/about/en/index.html) (last accessed May 2008).
- 10 Energy Future Coalition, "Challenge and Opportunity: Charting a New Energy Future," available at <http://www.energyfuturecoalition.org/pubs/EFCReport.pdf> (last accessed May 2008) p. 36.
- 11 The United Nations, "Poverty Briefing," available at <http://www.un.org/Pubs/CyberSchoolBus//briefing/poverty/poverty.pdf> (last accessed May 2008).
- 12 The United Nations Development Programme, "Human Development Report 2007/2008, Fighting Climate Change: Human Solidarity in a Divided World," (New York: The United Nations, 2007), available at [http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr\\_20072008\\_en\\_complete.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_20072008_en_complete.pdf) (last accessed May 2008) p. 8.
- 13 The United Nations Development Programme, "Human Development Report 2003: Millenium Development Goals: A Compact Among Nations to End Human Poverty," (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), available at [http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr03\\_complete.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr03_complete.pdf) (last accessed May 2008) p. 34.
- 14 Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*, ( New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) p. 27.
- 15 Robert Muggah and Martin Griffiths, "Reconsidering the Tools of War: Small Arms and Humanitarian Action" (Humanitarian Practice Network, 2002) p. 13.
- 16 Oxfam, Saferworld, and International Action Network on Small Arms, "Africa's Missing Billions: International Arms Flows and the Costs of Conflict" (October 2007), available at [http://www.oxfam.org/en/files/bp107\\_africas\\_missing\\_billions\\_0710.pdf/download](http://www.oxfam.org/en/files/bp107_africas_missing_billions_0710.pdf/download) (last accessed May 2008) p. 9.
- 17 The World Bank, "Sri Lanka: Recapturing Missed Opportunities," Report No: 20430-CE, (June 16, 2000), available at [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SRILANKAEXTN/Resources/Missed-opportunities/full\\_report.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SRILANKAEXTN/Resources/Missed-opportunities/full_report.pdf) (last accessed June 2008). NOT SURE
- 18 Larry Minear and Ian Smillie, *The Charity of Nations: Humanitarian Action in a Calculating World*, (Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 2004) p. 10.
- 19 The United Nations, "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations" (March 2008), available at <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm> (last accessed May 2008).
- 20 Satish Chand and Ruth Coffman, "How Soon Can Donors Exit From Post-Conflict States?" (Center for Global Development, Working Paper Number 141, February 2008), available at <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/15464> (last accessed May 2008).
- 21 The United Nations, "World Youth Report 2005: Young people Today, and in 2015," (2005), available at <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/wyr05book.pdf> (last accessed May 2008).
- 22 Dapo Oyewole, "Participation of Youth As Partners in Peace and Development in Africa: An Overview of Issues and Challenge" (Paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Youth in Africa: Participation of Youth as Partners in Peace and Development in Post-Conflict Countries, Windhoek, Namibia, November 14–16, 2006), available at [http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/namibia\\_overview.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/namibia_overview.pdf) (last accessed May 2008).
- 23 The United Nations, "The State of World Population: Population Change and Peoples Choice" (1999), available at <http://www.unfpa.org/swp/1999/chapter2d.htm> (last accessed May 2008).
- 24 The World Business Council for Sustainable Development, "Facts and Trends to 2050: Energy and Climate Change" (2004), available at <http://www.wbcsd.org/DocRoot/EjsSOTYajhk3cIRxCbjT/Basic-Facts-Trends-2050.pdf> (last accessed May 2008) p. 1.

- 25 Lester Brown, "How Water Scarcity Will Shape the New Century" (Keynote speech presented at Stockholm Water Conference, August, 14, 2000), available at <http://www.earth-policy.org/Transcripts/Transcript1.htm> (last accessed May 2008).
- 26 The United Nations Environment Programme, "Water-Two Billion People are Dying for It" (2003), available at <http://www.unep.org/wed/2003/keyfacts.htm> (last accessed May 2008).
- 27 Oxfam International, "Rigged Rules and Double Standards: Trade, Globalization, and the Fight Against Poverty" (2002), available at [http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/papers/downloads/trade\\_report.pdf](http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/papers/downloads/trade_report.pdf) (last accessed May 2008) p. 7.
- 28 Ibid, p. 9–10.
- 29 Ibid, p. 177.
- 30 Phillip Stevens, "Diseases of Poverty and the 10/90 Gap" (International Policy Network: London, 2004), available at [http://www.fightingdiseases.org/pdf/Diseases\\_of\\_Poverty\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.fightingdiseases.org/pdf/Diseases_of_Poverty_FINAL.pdf) (last accessed May 2008) p. 3.
- 31 Worldwatch Institute, "Vital Signs: The Trends that are Shaping our Future" (London: W.W. Norton Company, 2001), available at <http://www.worldwatch.org/system/files/EVS103.pdf> (last accessed May 2008) p. 21.
- 32 Larry Diamond, "The Democratic Rollback" *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2008.
- 33 Stewart Patrick and Susan E. Rice, "Index of State Weakness in the Developing World" (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2008) p. 17.
- 34 President John F. Kennedy, "Inaugural Address" (January 20, 1961), available at <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres56.html> (last accessed May 2008).
- 35 Leighton W. Smith Jr. and Anthony C. Zinni, "A Smarter Weapon: Why Two Retired Military Officers Believe It's Essential that the Next President Use Outreach, Good Deeds and a Strong Military to Make the United States Safer" *USA Today*, March 27, 2008, available at [http://www.usatoday.com/printedition/news/20080327/oplde\\_wednesday.art.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/printedition/news/20080327/oplde_wednesday.art.htm) (last accessed May 2008).
- 36 The CNA Corporation, "National Security and the Threat of Climate Change" (2007), available at <http://securityandclimate.cna.org/report/National%20Security%20and%20the%20Threat%20of%20Climate%20Change.pdf> (last accessed May 2008).
- 37 Center for U.S. Global Engagement, "A 21<sup>st</sup> Century Vision of U.S. Global Leadership: Building a Better Safer World" (2007), available at <http://www.usglobalengagement.org/SignonStatement/tabid/890/Default.aspx#Signatories> (last accessed May 2008).
- 38 Robert M. Gates, "Landon Lecture, Kansas State University" (November 26, 2007), available at <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1199> (last access May 2008).
- 39 The White House, "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America" (March 2006), available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/nss2006.pdf> (last accessed May 2008) p. 33.
- 40 The United States Department of State, "Summary and Highlights: International Affairs Function 150, Fiscal Year 2009 Budget Request" (2008), available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/100014.pdf> (last accessed May 2008) p. 6.
- 41 The United States of America Millennium Challenge Corporation, "Changing Lives: 2007 Annual Report," available at <http://www.mcc.gov/documents/mcc-2007-annualreport.pdf> (last accessed May 2008) p. 6.
- 42 WorldPublicOpinion.org, "US Role in the World," available at [http://www.americans-world.org/digest/overview/us\\_role/general\\_principles.cfm](http://www.americans-world.org/digest/overview/us_role/general_principles.cfm) (last accessed May 2008).
- 43 Program on International Policy Attitudes and Knowledge Networks, "Americans on Addressing World Poverty" (June 30, 2005), available at [http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/ForeignAid/WorldPoverty\\_Jun05/WorldPoverty\\_Jun05\\_rpt.pdf](http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/ForeignAid/WorldPoverty_Jun05/WorldPoverty_Jun05_rpt.pdf) (last accessed May 2008).
- 44 Oxfam America, "Smart Development: Why US Foreign Aid Demands Major Reform" (Oxfam America Inc. 2008), available at [http://www.oxfamamerica.org/newsandpublications/publications/briefing\\_papers/smart-development/smart-development-may2008.pdf](http://www.oxfamamerica.org/newsandpublications/publications/briefing_papers/smart-development/smart-development-may2008.pdf) (last accessed May 2008) p. 5–6.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Craig Cohen, "A Perilous Course: U.S. Strategy and Assistance to Pakistan" (Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, August 2007), available at [http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/071214\\_pakistan.pdf](http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/071214_pakistan.pdf) (last accessed May 2008) pg. viii.
- 47 Ibid, p. 26.
- 48 United States Government Accountability Office, "Combating Terrorism: The United States Lacks Comprehensive Plan to Destroy the Terrorist Threat to Close the Safe Haven in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas" (April 2008), available at <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d08622.pdf> (last accessed May 2008) p. 12.
- 49 South Asia Intelligence Review, "Casualties of Terrorist Violence in Pakistan," available at <http://satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm> (last accessed May 2008).
- 50 Owen Bennett-Jones, "US Policy Options Toward Pakistan: A Principled and Realistic Approach" (Iowa: The Stanley Foundation, February 2008) p. 4.
- 51 "Half of Pakistan's population is 'food insecure': WFP," *The News-International*, April 23, 2008, available at [http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily\\_detail.asp?id=108337](http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp?id=108337) (last accessed May 2008).
- 52 Craig Cohen, "A Perilous Course: U.S. Strategy and Assistance to Pakistan" (Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, August 2007), available at [http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/071214\\_pakistan.pdf](http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/071214_pakistan.pdf) (last accessed May 2008) p. 27.
- 53 Ibid, p. 26.



- 54 The United States Institute of Peace, "Islamic Extremists: How Do They Mobilize Support?" (July 2002, Special Report 89), available at <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr89.pdf> (last accessed May 2008) p. 4.
- 55 Terror Free Tomorrow, "Pakistanis Reject US Military Action against Al Qaeda; More Support bin Laden than President Musharraf: Results of a New Nationwide Public Opinion Survey of Pakistan" (2007) available at <http://www.terrorfreetomorrow.org/upimages/fti/Pakistan%20Poll%20Report.pdf> (last accessed May 2008).
- 56 The United States Commission on Helping to Enhance the Livelihood of People around the Globe, "Beyond Assistance: The HELP Commission Report of Foreign Assistance Reform" (2007) p. 1.
- 57 Steven Radelet, "Foreign Assistance Reforms: Successes, Failures, and Next Steps" (Testimony for the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on International Development, Foreign Assistance, Economic Affairs, and International Environmental Protection, June 12, 2007), available at <http://www.senate.gov/~foreign/testimony/2007/RadeletTestimony070612.pdf> (last accessed May 2008).
- 58 Robert M. Gates, "Landon Lecture, Kansas State University" (November 26, 2007), available at <http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1199> (last access May 2008).
- 59 The United States Commission on Helping to Enhance the Livelihood of People around the Globe, "Beyond Assistance: The HELP Commission Report of Foreign Assistance Reform" (2007) p. 63.
- 60 Cathy Majtenyi, "Economic Impact of Election Violence on Display in Western Kenyan City," *Voice of America*, March 4, 2008, available at <http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2008-03/2008-03-04-voa29.cfm> (last accessed May 2008).
- 61 Robert M. Gates, "Address to the Marine Corps Association" (July 18, 2007), available at <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2007/07/secretary-gates-addresses-the/> (last accessed May 2008).
- 62 Kaysie Brown and Stewart Patrick, "The Pentagon and Global Development: Making Sense of the DoD's Expanding Role" (Washington: The Center for Global Development Working Paper Number 131, November 2007), available at <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/14815/> (last accessed May 2008).
- 63 United States Department of Defense, "Directive 3000.05" (November 28, 2005), available at <http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/300005p.pdf> (last accessed May 2008) p. 2.

---

## **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

Gayle Smith is a Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress and Co-Chair of the ENOUGH Project. She is also Director of the International Rights and Responsibilities Program. Previously, Smith served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council from 1998–2001, and as Senior Advisor to the Administrator and Chief of Staff of the U.S. Agency for International Development from 1994–1998.

Smith was based in Africa for over 20 years as a journalist covering military, economic, and political affairs for the BBC, Associated Press, *Reuters*, *Boston Globe*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Toronto Globe & Mail*, *London Observer*, and *Financial Times*. Smith has also consulted for a wide range of NGOs, foundations, and governmental organizations including UNICEF, the World Bank, Dutch Interchurch Aid, Norwegian Church Relief, and the Canadian Council for International Cooperation. She won the World Journalism Award from the World Affairs Council and the World Hunger Year Award in 1991, and in 1999 won the National Security Council's Samuel Nelson Drew Award for Distinguished Contribution in Pursuit of Global Peace.

Smith is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and serves on the boards of Oxfam America, the Africa America Institute, USA for Africa, and the National Security Network. She also serves on the policy advisory boards of DATA, the Acumen Fund, and the Global Fairness Initiative, and was the Working Group Chair on Global Poverty for the Clinton Global Initiative from 2005 to 2007.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author would like to thank Andrew Sweet for his assistance in the research for and writing of this report.





# Center for American Progress



## **ABOUT THE CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS**

The Center for American Progress is a nonpartisan research and educational institute dedicated to promoting a strong, just and free America that ensures opportunity for all. We believe that Americans are bound together by a common commitment to these values and we aspire to ensure that our national policies reflect these values. We work to find progressive and pragmatic solutions to significant domestic and international problems and develop policy proposals that foster a government that is “of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

**Center for American Progress  
1333 H Street, NW, 10<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Washington, DC 20005  
Tel: 202.682.1611 • Fax: 202.682.1867  
[www.americanprogress.org](http://www.americanprogress.org)**