



CENTER FOR
U.S. GLOBAL
ENGAGEMENT

Impact '08 Media Highlights



Obama WH Could Revamp USAID

By KELLIE LUNNEY, Thursday, November 13, 2008 6:15 PM

A new agency promoting global development and democracy could evolve in the Obama-Biden administration.

A nonprofit think tank on Thursday issued a series of [recommendations](#) for the incoming president, including exploring the creation of an independent development agency that consolidates the responsibilities of more than 20 disparate entities such as the U.S. Agency for International Development, Millennium Challenge Corp. and President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief.

The release of the recommendations from the Center for U.S. Global Engagement is not unusual. [Many groups](#) promote their policy agendas during presidential transitions to influence the next crop of decision-makers. But the notion of creating a more streamlined, central USAID that houses all the federal government's foreign assistance programs actually was outlined by **President-elect Obama** in [one of several policy proposals](#) published during the campaign. That move makes the idea look less like a recommendation and more like a distinct possibility.

Obama's plan for promoting global development and democracy is the "most far-reaching platform that any candidate has ever put out" on the subject, said **Liz Schraye**r, executive director of the Center for U.S. Global Engagement. The nonpartisan group released its recommendations and the "[Global Plum Book](#)" to coincide with an event on the transition and foreign policy matters, which featured former Bush chief speechwriter and policy adviser **Michael Gerson** and former Clinton adviser **Paul Begala**. (*View video of the event above.*)

Schraye's organization also suggested creating a new position in the White House -- deputy national security adviser for global development -- to elevate the issue and coordinate with the bureaucracy.

"We do think the independent agency has to be coupled with some leaders in the White House," Schraye said.

And creating such a White House position is much easier than standing up a new agency, as the continued management headaches plaguing the six-year-old Homeland Security Department have illustrated.

"The White House is the freest bureaucracy in the federal government," said Begala, during Thursday's panel discussion.

Obama and Vice President-elect **Joe Biden** will no doubt make foreign policy and the promotion of global development a top priority in their administration, given Obama's own personal history and interest in those issues and Biden's well-respected reputation in foreign affairs.

On Wednesday, the Obama-Biden transition team named 20 people to oversee a [governmentwide review process](#) and gather agency information for the new administration. The State Department, along with the departments of Defense and Treasury, received its own advisers. **Tom Donilon** and **Wendy Sherman**, both veterans of the Clinton administration, are heading up the fact-finding mission at State.

Schraye praised the choice of Donilon and Sherman. "They are very thoughtful individuals, and know the State Department very well," she said.

Jim Steinberg, Clinton's former deputy national security adviser who is being considered for the top slot in the Obama administration, is another key foreign policy adviser to the president-elect during the transition and likely will make important policy and personnel decisions related to the department and the federal foreign affairs community.

The "Global Plum Book" also listed the undersecretary for management at State and the deputy director at the Office of Management and Budget among 100 or so positions critical to foreign affairs.

The Daily Pennsylvanian

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23, 2008 PHILADELPHIA | VOL. CXXIV, NO. 100

Kissinger says next president must prioritize

VIDEO: Check out dailypennsylvanian.com to watch a video clip of Kissinger's panel.

By **CALUM DAVEY**
Contributing Writer

gamil@dailypennsylvanian.com

The next U.S. President, says former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, will be "drowned in conflict" if he tries to face all his problems at once.

Kissinger and former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin debated diplomacy, development and defense at the Impact 08 forum, hosted by the Center for U.S. Global Engagement, in the Annenberg Auditorium last night.

In the forum, Kissinger and Rubin discussed the advice they would give to the next president as election day approaches.

Kissinger — who supports Republican nominee John McCain — emphasized the importance of prioritizing issues.

"In crisis, the urgent tends to drive out the important," he said.

Rubin, who supports Democratic nominee Barack Obama, said the next President would be facing "excruciating choices" and recalled Obama joking that it was "a little late" to be wondering if he really wanted the job.

The question of the United States' status of superpower beyond the present economic crisis led Kissinger to wonder if "there is a law of nature that the U.S. must be the single superpower in the world."

Rubin predicted that America will remain economically and militarily the most powerful country in the world but described China specifically as an "impressive, major economic force" and twice mentioned the U.S. debt to China.

On diplomacy with Iran, Kissinger advocated for negotiations and said some people



Anna Cororaton/DP Senior Photographer

Henry Kissinger and Robert Rubin discuss the advice they would give to the next president.



Anna Cororaton/DP Senior Photographer

Former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin (Right) debated with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger about international affairs in a panel moderated by CNN special correspondent Frank Sesno (Left).

see barriers to diplomacy as a "theological problem where someone has to be morally fit to be in the same room as us."

Regardless, "it's not just about getting in the same room," he said. "It's about doing things in the region so that Iran can do its part."

He also said that "if the Iranians are serious, they won't field Ahmadinejad as their

negotiator," referring to the country's president.

Rubin's advice to improve the United States' moral authority abroad was to "close Guantanamo Bay" and not focus on imposing democracy in other countries, since economic reforms have taken place under authoritarian governments.

Kissinger said U.S. overseas

development is "not a security issue," but rather an issue of "expressing our values."

Following the debate, former Navy Secretary John Lehman and Pennsylvania Gov. Ed Rendell spoke on behalf of the McCain and Obama campaigns, respectively. Lehman stressed foreign policy, while Rendell discussed the economy.

The Miami Herald

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2008

LEADERSHIP

Work plan for next American president

BY ROBERT J. NATTER,
BARRY E. JOHNSON and JOEL C. HUNTER
www.usglobalengagement.org

An admiral, a business leader and a pastor may sound like a joke opening, but we come together out of concern for the serious global challenges facing the next president of the United States.

As members of the Center for U.S. Global Engagement's Impact '08 in the Florida Advisory Committee, we recognize that whoever wins in November will need to bring all our tools of national power — defense, development and diplomacy — to bear on those challenges. Only by investing in these "smart power" tools will the next commander in chief ensure our national security, economic prosperity and moral leadership in the world.

● **National security.** Enhancing our nonmilitary tools of engagement and increasing our readiness to deploy diplomats, teachers, road builders, doctors, nurses and other civilians will enable us to fight conditions that breed terrorists and thereby reduce the chances that we will have to commit our soldiers to the battlefield.

As Defense Secretary Robert Gates said earlier this year, "Over the long term, we cannot kill or capture our way to victory. What the Pentagon calls 'kinetic' operations should be subordinate to measures to promote participation in government, economic programs to spur development and efforts to address the grievances that often lie at the heart of insurgencies and among the discontented from which the terrorists recruit." We agree.

● **Diplomacy.** During the Cold War, our bulwark against communism included a strong diplomatic component and well-funded programs to fight poverty and disease. But we have allowed these tools to lapse during the past two decades. USAID now has less than one-fifth the employees it had during the Cold War. There are more military musicians than there are foreign service officers. And we spend 22 percent of the federal budget on the military, but just over 1 percent on diplomacy and foreign assistance. While our defense capabilities remain second to none, our ability to win the peace has suffered.

● **Economy.** The need for America to elevate its engagement in the world is clear. From rising oil prices to the housing crisis to the collapse of financial institutions, we live in an increasingly interconnected world in which America's prosperity is now global prosperity.

This reality is particularly evident here in Florida, where almost one in five jobs is connected to international trade and state exports are valued at about \$45 billion. We cannot reverse the technological advancements that have made it possible for ideas, goods, capital and people to flow across international borders.

Diplomacy and development assistance will restore America's moral leadership.

Florida's promising future as an international economic powerhouse is linked with the fortunes of our trading partners in Latin America and elsewhere around the world. What the U.S. invests through robust diplomacy and foreign assistance programs to fight poverty, economic inequality and instability abroad will be returned many times over in increased business activity benefiting Floridians. And what we spend to help other countries defeat disease, drug trafficking and other forms of international crime helps keep us safer within our own borders.

● **Moral leadership.** America has always been a beacon of hope and freedom for people around the world. We have a moral imperative to do our part in the fight against global poverty, starvation, poor health and lack of education. It is not in our character to stand idly by while, each year, more than 10 million children in poor countries die from easily preventable or treatable diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria, or while lack of education and economic opportunity leaves many vulnerable to the message of radical jihadists.

It's the right thing to do, and it's in our self-interest to do it. Strengthening our diplomacy and increasing our development assistance will restore America's moral leadership and make us safer and more prosperous. Our next president can score an early success by leading a bipartisan effort to make this happen.

Adm. Robert J. Natter, USN (Ret.), was commander of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, Barry E. Johnson is president & CEO of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce, and Dr. Joel C. Hunter is senior pastor of Northland, A Church Distributed.

The Washington Post

Charles Wilson

Charlie Wilson's Peace

THURSDAY, AUGUST 28, 2008

Russia's invasion of Georgia has led to a more serious foreign policy discussion in the presidential campaign. As tensions rise in the Caucasus and violence once again erupts in Afghanistan, we should recall the lessons we learned from our response to earlier Russian adventurism. We must recognize now, as we learned years ago, that a strong military alone is not enough to ensure our long-term national security.

In a scene near the end of the movie "Charlie Wilson's War," after the mujaheddin victory over the invading Soviet military, congressional appropriators turn down my request for funds to rebuild Afghanistan's schools, roads and economy. If we had done the right thing in Afghanistan then — following up our military support with the necessary investments in diplomacy and development assistance — we would have better secured our own country's future, as well as peace and stability in the region.

In reality, this decision played out over several years and involved many people, but the scene makes clear what a mistake we made. Sure, the problems facing Afghanistan and the region were tough — feuding warlords, the opium crop and the shift in our attention to the Per-

sian Gulf War. But the Afghans, with our weapons, had done nothing less than help precipitate the collapse of the Soviet Union. And instead of intensifying our diplomatic and humanitarian efforts to help the Afghans meet their postwar challenges, we simply walked away — leaving a destroyed country that lacked roads, schools, and any plan or hope for rebuilding.

Into this void marched the Taliban and al-Qaeda, and we all know what happened after that. Today, fledgling democracies — be it Afghanistan or Georgia — face similar danger. We simply cannot make the same mistake.

The lesson here is about more than the good manners of reciprocating a favor. It takes much more to make America safe than winning on the battlefield. Had we remained engaged in Afghanistan, investing in education, health and economic development, the world would be a very different place today. The aftermath of a congressional committee's decision so long ago has turned out to be a warning that America is not immune to the problems of the very poorest countries. In today's world, any person's well-being — whether he or she is in Kandahar, Kirgali or Kansas — is connected to the well-being of others.

Yet, as we commit troops to the "war on terror," America's civilian institutions of diplomacy and development continue to be chronically underfunded and underfunded. We spend 1 percent of the federal budget on these critical elements of our foreign policy, compared with 22 percent on the military and weapons.

While I have always believed in and fought for a strong defense, I know that we cannot rely on the military alone to keep us secure. As the situations in Afghanistan and Georgia suggest, our future threats are likely to come from states that cannot meet the basic needs of their people. We can avoid the need to spend so much on our military — and put so many of our soldiers in harm's way — simply by investing more in saving lives, creating stable societies and building economic opportunity. This strategy won't resolve the conflict in Georgia today, but it could help America prevent similar crises in the future.

Defense Secretary Robert Gates was spotted when he said last month, "The Foreign Service is not the Foreign Legion, and the U.S. military should never be mistaken for a Peace Corps with guns." We've got to get this right.

This is not a partisan issue. From the Mar-

shall Plan to the Peace Corps to the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, Americans of all political stripes have always joined together to build a better, safer world.

Whether the focus is on the spread of germ-borne illnesses or violent terrorist ideologies, America is made safer — and our global leadership is affirmed — when we help other countries eradicate the conditions that give rise to these scourges. We cannot afford to aspire to anything less than defeating poverty, disease, ignorance and despair wherever they exist. It is a relatively small but incredibly effective investment that helps ensure our future national security and economic prosperity.

Robust investments in health, education and economic development are critical elements of our national security. I hope the message of our experiences in Afghanistan will resonate with the next president, whoever he is, as he puts in place his strategic vision for America's role in the world.

The writer, a Democrat, represented Texas's 2nd District in the U.S. House from 1973 to 1997. He is an adviser to the Center for U.S. Global Engagement.

Battle Of The Joes

09 Jul 2008 03:00 pm

Breaking from my no-writing-from-press-releases rule, I do think that the [Center for U.S. Global Engagement](#) is a Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation project that's worth keeping an eye on. Their election play is called Impact '08, chaired by Reagan Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci and Clinton Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Next Tuesday in Washington, the group plans to release a national poll of military officers' attitudes toward global engagement. Given the Weltanschauung of the group, I'd expect that their polling (conducted by Bill McInturff, who also polls for John McCain, and Geoff Garin, who was a strategist to Sen. Hillary Clinton), shows a heightened desire among military officers to use non-military tools. Sen. Joe Lieberman will speak at the event as McCain's surrogate; Sen. Joe Biden will speak as Obama's surrogate... so expect a battle of the Joes.

Ex-Sen. John Edwards, he of newly rediscovered vice presidential fire in the belly, will give the keynote on America and global poverty.



Lieberman, Biden Defend Respective Candidates on Iraq

Tuesday, July 15th, 2008



Getty

The senators go on the offensive in support of their respective nominee's Iraq policy at the Center for U.S. Global Engagement conference Tuesday.

Lieberman: "Senator Obama and those who agreed with him were wrong."

McCain "will not make the mistake of forgetting history, or indulging in the illusion that America can turn inward from the problems of the world."

Biden: McCain's strategy is "playing into Al-Qaeda's hands."
"If we're smart we'll move away from the military pre-emption strategy to the military prevention policy Barack Obama has proposed."

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts



THE PLANK

*by Michelle Cottle, Christopher Orr,
Jason Zengerle, and the TNR Staff*

15.07.2008

The Military and "Soft Power"

The *Center for U.S. Global Engagement* has just released the results of a new poll of U.S. military officers (both active and recently retired) on current U.S. security strategy, and its findings are pretty surprising: According to a majority of those polled, the overriding foreign policy concern of the nation--after "forcefully" defending itself from serious security threats--must be to "restore respect for U.S. around [the] world." What's more, according to the armed forces' top brass, the second highest national security priority (behind improved counter-insurgency training) must be to strengthen our diplomatic standing around the globe and to improve our efforts to "cooperate" with others. This is, of course, for strategic, not sentimental, reasons: According to more than three-quarters of the officers queried, the level of respect for the U.S. abroad makes "a lot of difference" to its ability to achieve military objectives.

The reason for all of this emphasis on diplomacy and global opinion in contrast to traditional armed power? Perhaps because, as the findings of the poll show, the military officer corps still sees terrorism overwhelmingly as the greatest threat to American security, and recognizes, rightly so, the insufficiency of "hard" power alone to meeting the complexities of this challenge. Only a very small minority of the officers cited major regional powers, like China, as significant security concerns. And *only seven percent* of those polled saw Iran as posing the primary threat to U.S. security.

Contra his critics, Obama might cite these findings in support of his call for "a new era of international cooperation": Is global approval still "overrated" if it is so highly valued by our nation's top soldiers?

--*James Martin*

The Columbus Dispatch

Impact '08 in Ohio launches

The next president must invest in diplomacy and development in foreign countries to promote U.S. prosperity and reduce the risk of terrorism, participants in a new foreign-policy campaign said yesterday.

Impact '08 in Ohio, a partnership among the Center for U.S. Global Engagement, Ohio State University's John Glenn School of Public Affairs and the Columbus Council of World Affairs, was formally launched at a campus luncheon.

The groups tout a 150-member Impact '08 in Ohio Advisory Committee created to "raise awareness of the global challenges and opportunities facing Ohio and America, and to encourage the 2008 presidential candidates to incorporate 'smart power' – the strategic use of development, diplomacy and defense – into their foreign policy platforms."

A major forum is being planned for October in Ohio.

U.S. Sen. Chuck Hagel, R-Neb., was the featured speaker by satellite hook-up from Washington and said although military force always is an option to secure U.S. interests, it should not be the first one.

"You influence the direction of nations and people and relationships by working on the inside," Hagel said. "Engagement is not appeasement; diplomacy is not appeasement. Great nations engage."

Posted by Mark Niquette, Statehouse reporter on June 24, 2008 11:25 AM

May 21, 2008

CAMPAIGN 2008: Next president told to use 'smart power'

A nonpartisan group launched a campaign in Miami to help restore America's global image without solely relying on military force.

EVAN S. BENN ebenn@MiamiHerald.com

The United States' next president must deploy diplomacy and foreign aid -- not military force alone -- to keep the country safe and prosperous, according to a campaign launched Tuesday in Miami by the nonpartisan Center for U.S. Global Engagement.

"We must reverse our image and do it quickly," said Robert Mallett, a Pfizer senior vice president and former deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Commerce. "We need friends right now."

Mallett and retired Coast Guard Adm. James Loy spoke at a luncheon at the Four Seasons Hotel to announce the center's Impact '08 campaign. About 100 business, community and religious leaders attended the luncheon and discussion, which Miami Herald Executive Editor Anders Gyllenhaal moderated.

The campaign -- backed by top former Republican and Democratic officials and retired military leaders -- is an election-year effort to highlight the importance of "smart power."

They say foreign trade, aid and humanitarian efforts, in tandem with military operations, can help the United States combat threats like terrorism, infectious diseases and global warming.

"Florida people understand how important trade is," Mallett said.

"You have to help other people understand this is our future."

Mallett praised President Bush for making strides in humanitarian assistance during his administration. But neither Mallett, who served in the Clinton administration, nor Loy, who was deputy secretary of Homeland Security under Bush, took any partisan stances or endorsed a current presidential candidate.

"The next president needs to remind us who we are and that our strength as a country is not just our military power," Mallett said.

Mallett and Loy mentioned the furor over controversial remarks made by Sen. Barack Obama's former pastor, Jeremiah Wright, as an example of the media covering the wrong issues. Mallett said more people -- specifically, voters and candidates -- should be talking about smart power.

"I admit nothing about these issues is incredibly sexy," he said.

The Impact '08 campaign is targeting Florida and other key campaign states, said Liz Schroyer, executive director of the center.

"We're focusing on the swing states because we know this is where the candidates will be," Schroyer said.

USA TODAY

USA TODAY • THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 2008 • 11A

The Forum

A smarter weapon

By Anthony C. Zinni and Leighton W. Smith Jr.

As voters consider their choices for president, much is already weighing on their minds: talk about a U.S. recession, lack of affordable health care, and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. But another concern should be front and center — the candidates' vision for a better, safer America and world.

Our experience, both in and out of uniform, leads us to make a direct, personal appeal to all the presidential candidates that what the U.S. urgently needs is a new and vibrant strategic agenda for its national security and foreign policy. The reality is that many of the threats we face today — illegal immigration, radical jihadism and terrorism, public health and environmental problems — originate from complicated circumstances beyond our borders. And we know that young people who live in countries where they feel disenfranchised and without hope are prime recruiting targets for our adversaries.

We cannot inoculate our nation from these threats. Instead, we must address the roots of these complex problems. Simply put, 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. We call upon the next president to elevate the use of tools such as development assistance and diplomacy as integral parts of our national security strategy.

A new commitment'

Whether it's taking the lead in increasing funding for and using innovation to expand access to potable water in the Middle East, decreasing rates of HIV/AIDS in Africa and Southeast Asia, building International Partnerships to put impoverished kids in school or addressing climate change, the next administration must reframe and restructure our foreign policy and national security architecture. We must match our military might with a new commitment to investing in improving people's lives overseas.

Why would two retired military officers, a Marine and a Navy attack pilot, support increased investment

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.

in these non-military tools? Because we understand that the U.S. cannot rely on military power alone to keep us safe from terrorism, infectious disease and other global threats that recognize no borders.

The next commander in chief must be ready at the start of his or her administration to articulate a comprehensive strategy for how America is going to chart a new course by elevating the use of our non-military tools, followed by hard commitments of people and resources to the task. He or she must be ready to do what any military commander would do going into battle: Make sure your troops understand the mission and its importance and then work to execute the plan.

Today's battle for peace requires the same seamless coordination, and the troops the next president must prepare include Defense, State, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the National Security Council.

An example of a country where greater investments in development are making a difference to our security is Yemen. It's one of the least developed countries in the world and a ripe recruiting ground for terrorists. Today, U.S. aid programs are building health clinics there, supplying medical equipment, training midwives and doctors to improve pre- and post-natal care, and expanding counseling services and health education to rural areas. Increased efforts such as these will help mitigate the extreme poverty and accompanying



By Alejandro Gonzalez, USA TODAY

creating jobs through microcredit and small enterprise initiatives — and promoting human rights.

In both countries, significant non-military investments help mitigate societal discontent, which promotes stability internally with the potential to remove destabilizing influences in the surrounding regions.

Truman's lead

Such leadership and shift in strategy are not without precedent. President Harry Truman signed the National Security Act of 1947 to realign the U.S. armed forces, foreign policy and intelligence community apparatus after World War II. This act and the changes that followed were instrumental in helping presidents from Truman to Ronald Reagan devise and implement strategies to deal with the Cold War threats of the time.

Both of us entered service to our country in the Cold War era, when strategic threats were more easily defined. 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.

The great Chinese military general and strategist Sun Tze got it right in sixth century B.C. when he said, "The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting." We urge our next commander in chief to accept this sage advice. The American people should expect nothing less.

General Anthony C. Zinni and Admiral Leighton W. Smith Jr. retired from the Marine Corps and the Navy, respectively. They are co-chairs of the Center for U.S. Global Engagement's National Security Advisory Council.



Morton
Kondracke

Kondracke: Stupid Actions Spoil Candidates' Claims of Shift to 'Smart Power'

Thursday, March 27, 2008; 1:02 pm

By Morton M. Kondracke,
Roll Call Executive Editor

The three presidential candidates and much of the U.S. foreign policy establishment all favor presenting a “kinder, gentler” face to the world than President Bush’s, but both parties have opened big holes in their appeal.

For the Democrats, it’s union-pandering opposition to free trade, which will deny foreigners access to U.S. markets — and vice versa — and wipe out the benefits of the big increases in foreign aid that they advocate.

Democratic Sens. Barack Obama (Ill.) and Hillary Rodham Clinton (N.Y.) are vying with each other to denounce the landmark North American Free Trade Agreement, a net boon to all countries involved, and Democrats in Congress are blocking the Colombia Free Trade Agreement despite it including labor and environmental standards.

Congressional Republicans, meanwhile, are mounting new efforts to embarrass Democrats — and their own nominee, Sen. John McCain (Ariz.) — with restrictive new measures on immigration. Ostensibly, they are just designed to block or drive out illegal immigrants, but the GOP has done nothing to

alter the impression that all immigrants are unwelcome in America.

Iraq remains a major political burden for Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), with most polls showing that 60 percent of voters believe the war was a “mistake,” although polling also indicates increasing awareness that the McCain-backed “surge” is achieving results.

Almost daily, Obama and Clinton repeat the charge that McCain advocates a “100 year war” in Iraq — a canard that McCain should have taken steps to correct in his major foreign policy speech in Los Angeles on Wednesday.

What McCain actually said in a January town hall meeting in New Hampshire was that U.S. troops might be stationed in a peaceful Iraq for 100 years on the same no-casualty basis that they’ve been in Germany for 60 years and South Korea for 50.

It’s clear, though, that Iraq — and also Iran — will be major issues in the fall election, with Democrats promising to withdraw combat troops on a timetable and deal diplomatically with Iran, and McCain declaring that “abandonment” of Iraq would be “morally reprehensible” and sometimes

threatening war to stop Iran’s nuclear program.

Beyond those two big issues, however, a broad consensus is developing that the U.S. needs to change its image and practice in the world by emphasizing diplomacy, development and multilateralism instead of concentrating on exercises of military power.

“Smart power” is the tag line being used by a number of establishment figures in both parties to describe the combination of aid, trade, exchanges and diplomacy needed to supplement, though not replace, America’s military might.

That’s the title of a report issued last year by a commission assembled by the Center for Strategic and International Studies chaired by former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage and Harvard professor Joseph Nye, originator of the concept of “soft power” to describe America’s non-military assets in international affairs.

Armitage, formerly the top aide to Secretary of State Colin Powell, told Washington Diplomat newspaper that “we’ve been exporting fear and anger after 9/11,

rather than the more traditional export of hope and optimism and opportunity. ... The U.S. has to be involved across the full breadth of our foreign policy toolbox and not so heavily weighted toward the military.”

A similar message is being issued by the Center for U.S. Global Engagement and its Impact '08 election-year effort, led by former Democratic Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and former GOP Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci and signed onto by an all-star cast of former top officials, plus 50 retired generals and admirals.

Two of the latter, former CENTCOM Cmdr. Gen. Anthony Zinni and retired Adm. Leighton Smith, testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in March for increasing the U.S. international relations budget — especially for foreign aid and diplomats — declaring that “the U.S. cannot rely on military power alone to keep us safe from terrorism, infectious disease and other global threats that recognize no borders.”

Non-military “international affairs” spending rose to 0.5 percent of GDP in 1985, then fell to a low of 0.2 percent in 1997. It’s less than 0.3 percent now.

Emphasis on smart power is a recurrent theme for Obama and Clinton, of course, both of whom have promised major increases in funding for foreign aid and especially programs to combat HIV/AIDS and other diseases in the developing world.

But McCain, too, is sounding a tune different from the tough-guy talk from Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney and former

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld during Bush’s first term — and which still lingers in world opinion despite significant exercises in disease-fighting and diplomacy during Bush’s second term.

In Los Angeles, McCain reiterated his conviction that terrorism is “the central threat of our time” but also declared that “the United States cannot lead by virtue of its power alone. We must be strong politically, economically and militarily. But we must also lead by attracting others to our cause.”

In the struggle against terrorism, he said, “scholarships will be far more important than smart bombs.”

During his recent trip to Europe and in the L.A. speech, McCain obviously sought to distance himself from Bush by promising to negotiate “a successor to the Kyoto Treaty” on global warming. Bush’s outright rejection of Kyoto was a major contributor, along with Iraq, to the cratering of America’s world image.

McCain also hopes that his past advocacy of comprehensive immigration reform will distinguish him from Congressional Republicans, who this month proposed a bevy of new measures designed to catch and deport illegal immigrants and punish employers who hire them.

After the defeat of comprehensive reform last year, however, McCain switched to a “seal the borders first” stance on immigration and he absented himself when the Senate voted on budget amendments to, among other things,

punish localities that refuse to allow their police to round up illegal immigrants.

A National Democratic Network review of 2008 exit polls indicated that 78 percent of Latino voters participated in Democratic primaries this year, further evidence of a steep falloff in Latino support from 2004, when Bush won 40 percent of the vote.

Anti-immigrant fever also has led Congress to ignore pleas — by Microsoft Chairman Bill Gates, among others — to increase visas for highly skilled workers and graduate students, sending a message to the world that the U.S. no longer is a welcoming place.

In the meantime, Democrats threaten to reverse free trade policies pioneered by presidents of their party, including Bill Clinton. The 1993 North American Free Trade Agreement, for example, tripled trade between the United States, Canada and Mexico and contributed to 58 percent growth in U.S. manufacturing output between 1993 and 2006.

Clinton has gone so far as to question whether the U.S. should pursue worldwide free trade agreements — a sure way to condemn poor countries to continued poverty. And rejection of the Colombia agreement would be a boon to Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, a declared enemy of the United States.

The bottom line is that the candidates are talking a good new game in foreign policy. But in action, they are threatening to adopt policies as ugly as any advocated by Bush.

FROM OUR READERS

Nevada's early caucus brings opportunity — and responsibility

We must choose candidates who will demonstrate our moral leadership abroad

By RICHARD BRYAN
and FRANK FAHRENKOPF, JR.
SPECIAL TO THE REVIEW-JOURNAL

For the first time in our state's history, our early caucus means that Nevadans are poised to play a key role in the presidential nominating process of both parties. This is an enormous opportunity for us to communicate what we believe are the key priorities for our nation.

Needless to say, we hold differing views on a great number of issues. But we do agree on this: The next occupant of the White House, no matter who it is, must have a bold, strategic vision for America's role in the world in the 21st century.

We recognize that we live in an interconnected world and what happens overseas affects us each and every day here in Nevada — from economic trade to global terrorism and the potential for the spread of infectious diseases.

We also share the view that the nation cannot rely on military power alone to guarantee our national security. The next president should listen to what the nation's top military and

Investments in development and diplomacy, together with defense, are a smart use of America's power.

foreign policy experts are saying: that America needs to put greater emphasis on using non-military tools of

NEVADA VIEWS

global engagement, including development and diplomacy. We are heartened to see the bipartisan consensus growing on the issue of global engagement. Decriing the neglect of the "soft power" methods that were so important to winning the Cold War.

Secretary of Defense Robert Gates recently called for greater investments in foreign assistance, diplomatic and communications programs, trade promotion and other "civilian instruments of national security." Just recently, three significant reports — including a 20-member commission appointed by President Bush and the Congress — all called for elevating international development within the federal government and more closely integrating development assistance programs with our trade and national security goals.

These comments come on top of what the 9/11

Commission, the 2006 Department of Defense Quadrennial Review Report and the 2006 National Security Strategy have all said in one way or another: that our investments in diplomacy and foreign assistance are insufficient to meet the challenges of the new global realities.

And what are those realities? Reducing disease and pestilence in distant lands is critical to our health in this age of global air travel and agricultural trade. Expanding education is a strategic weapon against the spread of terrorist ideologies. And helping nations spread economic opportunity creates new consumer classes of people who have the money and the inclination to purchase American made goods and travel to our shores. These investments in development and diplomacy, together with defense, are a smart use of America's power.

Nevada's economy depends heavily on tourism, including more than 5 million international visitors a year. But our most cherished industry is taking a hit from America's faded image in many parts of the world.

While the number of foreign visitors to Las Vegas has rebounded from its post-9/11 lows, most of that is due to increases in travelers from

Canada and Mexico, who tend to stay for shorter periods and spend less than those from overseas.

Nationally, overseas travel to the United States is down 17 percent since 2000, and the U.S. share of the international travel market has fallen 36 percent over the past 15 years. This represents a huge economic loss, calculated to be \$286 billion and millions of jobs, as well as a lost opportunity for the type of people-to-people contact that wins us friends and allies the world over.

But this isn't just the smart thing to do — it's also the right thing to do. Helping struggling people around the world who suffer in natural disasters or from the ravages of grinding poverty demonstrates our moral values as a country, and in turn strengthens our image abroad. It is in keeping with our country's traditional sense of compassion and our foundation of faith that teaches us to help others in need. It is simply not in our character to stand by while more than 10 million children die each year from easily preventable causes such as diarrhea, pneumonia, and malaria.

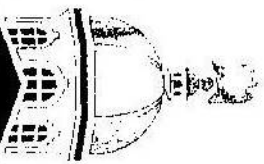
By investing in the health, stability and prosperity of developing countries through foreign assistance, we can



help to change this equation — creating a better, safer world and a better, safer Nevada.

As caucus day draws near, let's take this moment to engage the presidential candidates on the importance of a strong U.S. role in the world and to demonstrate our moral leadership. As Nevadans, let's do our part to ensure that both major party candidates are ready to face the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century world.

Richard Bryan is former Democratic governor and senator from Nevada. Frank Fahrenkopf is the president and CEO of the American Gaming Association and former chair of the Republican National Committee. They are advisers to the Center for U.S. Global Engagement.



OUR TURN Diplomacy is the better investment

Nation must rebuild its foreign alliances

By CHARLIE BASS
and DICK SWETT

For the Monitor

With the New Hampshire primary just weeks away and the candidates heading into nail-biting time here in the Granite State, there are two absolute certainties.

One, which will come as a surprise to no one, is that the two of us will not vote for the same candidate. But the other is something we hope our fellow New Hampshire voters will reflect carefully upon as they assess the positions of the various candidates – and that is our shared belief that whoever wins the White House must implement a new, strategic vision for U.S. global leadership in the 21st century.

The next president will face extraordinary challenges in redefining America's role in the world and restoring our country's leadership and global respect. It will not be enough to be simply a fresh face on the world scene.

Our foreign and national security policies must be reassessed and reinvigorated to reflect global realities that cannot be wished away. The first of these realities is that military power alone will not keep America safe.

Our military and intelligence communities understand this. General David Petraeus, the U.S. commander in Iraq, has pointed out that war is "80 percent political action and only 20 percent military," while the 9/11 Commission Report, the 2006 Department of Defense Quadrennial Review and the 2006 National Security Strategy have all said that we must focus more on diplomacy and foreign assistance to ensure global stability and guarantee American security.

The second reality is that "going it alone" is not a policy option for the United States in the 21st century.

We cannot reverse the technology that has made it possible for ideas, goods, capital and people to flow across international borders. Nor would we want to. This has been good for New Hampshire, with more than 2,000 companies in the state – most of them small and medium sized businesses – exporting \$2.5 billion in goods to nearly 160 foreign markets.

But a more interconnected world also makes it easier for terrorism and infectious diseases to cross borders and pose risks to us here at home.

We cannot hope to keep America safe when millions of infants around the world are dying of preventable diseases, 77 million children are not attending school and more than one billion people are lacking clean water.

The third reality is that our non-military tools of global engagement – particularly diplomacy and development – are underutilized given the challenges before us.

Having both served in Congress and one in the diplomatic corps, we know something about the costs associated with military hardware and manpower, and we know that America needs a strong defense. Yet, while we spend 22 percent of the federal budget on the military, we devote only about one percent to investments in diplomacy and foreign assistance programs that help developing countries expand access to education and health-care, improve democratic governance and create opportunities for their people.

This is not a partisan issue. We both believe that the next occupant of the Oval Office must elevate and strengthen America's non-military tools of global engagement – particularly diplomacy and development – and integrate them strategically with our military and intelligence activities.

With our extensive access to the presidential candidates, the voters of this state have an enormous opportunity – and a solemn responsibility – to ensure that the candidates are ready to take on the mantle of global leadership.

The legacy of our historic primary is to choose leaders who recognize America's responsibility to strengthen our international alliances, promote global development and our collective security. Let us continue that tradition as primary day nears. The candidates' eyes are on us. Let us insist that they tell us how they will restore America's global leadership and help create a better, safer world for our children and grandchildren.

(Republican Charlie Bass served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1995-2007. Democrat Dick Swett served from 1991-1995 and as ambassador to Denmark from 1998-2001. Both are on the host committee for Impact '08 in New Hampshire, a project of the Center for U.S. Global Engagement.)



Biden, Richardson Call for 'Soft,' 'Smart' Diplomacy

STEPHEN BEALE

Friday, Nov. 9, 2007

GOFFSTOWN – U.S. Sen. Joe Biden and former Gov. Bill Richardson called for more foreign aid and more diplomacy at a major forum on foreign policy at St. Anselm College yesterday.

The two Democratic presidential contenders were among several policy leaders who made impassioned pleas for a new comprehensive foreign policy that went beyond military power, returning to an emphasis on diplomacy, free trade and foreign aid, known as tools of "soft" or "smart" power.

The forum was hosted by the Center for U.S. Global Engagement and the New Hampshire Institute of Politics and also featured as keynote speakers Jack Kemp, a former Republican vice presidential candidate, and General Barry McCaffrey, a drug czar under President Bill Clinton.

"I'm proud to stand with both organizations because of what they stand for," Biden said. "We have a common vision for the future. It's a

vision of an America that embraces the power of its example as well as the example of its power. It's the vision of an America that recaptures the totality of its strength."

Saying little about Iraq, Afghanistan or Iran, Biden instead focused on Pakistan, where President Pervez Musharraf recently suspended the constitution and declared martial law.

"It's hard to imagine a greater nightmare for America than the world's second-largest Muslim nation becoming a failed state in fundamentalist hands, with an arsenal of nuclear weapons and a population larger than those of Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and North Korea combined," Biden said.

History won't repeat itself in Pakistan, he said, only if the next American president builds a long-term relationship with the country.

U.S. funding for the Pakistani military should be continued only if the Pakistani military is able to effectively fight al-Qaida and the

Taliban and if Musharraf restores democratic reforms, Biden said.

Richardson urged a doubling of U.S. foreign aid to 2 percent of the federal budget, or more than \$50 billion. He said democratic countries that respect human rights would be given preference over those that oppress their peoples.

The former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations also said membership on the U.N. Security Council should be opened up to other countries, such as Japan, Germany and India. South America and Africa, he said, should also get to pick their own representative for the council.

Kemp favored foreign aid programs as well, but said they need to be tied to economic reforms, especially free trade.

"When commerce and trade and investment cross borders, armies don't," Kemp said.

No current Republican presidential candidates attended the forum, a fact Kemp lamented. "I wish they were here," Kemp said.

"I am embarrassed as a Republican that my party is absent in this debate about soft power."

Event organizers said the campaigns of John McCain and Mitt Romney had both expressed an interest in participating but had been unable to because of scheduling conflicts.

The forum, officially known as Impact 08, is scheduled to make a tour of all the early voting states. Iowa was the first; South Carolina and Nevada are next in the remainder of this year. Impact 08 organizers said they also expect to return to New Hampshire in 2008.

The Des Moines Register

Iowa, Nation Need Leader Who Reaches Out to World
October 28, 2007 – The Des Moines Register Editorial Board

When former presidential candidate and U.S. Sen. Gary Hart visited the Register last week, he told a story about someone who asked him for advice about running for president. Hart told the person that the president has three main jobs: To set a domestic agenda, lead foreign policy and command the military.

"Wait a minute," was the unidentified person's reply. "What was the second one?"

Everyone in the room chuckled. But in the back of our minds, we knew the story was revealing about Americans. Foreign policy? Huh?

Hart was in Iowa with other leaders as part of a forum to urge presidential candidates to chart a new course for U.S. global leadership.

The central message: Challenge candidates to outline their vision for global leadership and strengthen this country's nonmilitary tools of global engagement, such as diplomacy and development assistance.

Iowans have good reason to do just that. The nation's relationships with other countries are of utmost importance to this state's economy.

According to the Center for U.S. Global Engagement, trade supports 18 percent of Iowa jobs, many of them in agriculture. This state exported products to 186 foreign destinations in 2006. In 2004, 2,500 Iowa companies sold products abroad.

In a Register Iowa Poll in May, Democrats who were likely caucus-goers ranked "relations with other countries" as the second most important issue, behind the Iraq war. Republicans rated it 12th, above education and health care.

Iowans care about global relationships. Now we have to make sure the candidates care as well.

Today's presidential candidates should make their positions on foreign-policy issues crystal clear. Ideally, they should have extensive foreign-policy experience and a global view that emphasizes improving relations with other countries. It's up to Iowans to press candidates on the specifics of everything from foreign aid to immigration to controlling infectious diseases in third-world countries - - diseases that know no borders.

During a speech earlier this year, presidential candidate Sen. Barack Obama opened by saying: "We all know that these are not the best of times for America's reputation in the world."

That's true. President Bush's "go-it-alone" philosophy on the war in Iraq has strained relationships with allies and left the United States with the primary burden of paying for the war. (Or, rather, financing it with money borrowed from China).

A 2006 survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project found America's image declining in many parts of the world. In Europe and predominantly Muslim countries, the United States was rated behind Germany, France, Japan and China. Just 37 percent of people in Spain felt favorably toward Americans, according to the survey.

Last week in Des Moines, when another candidate, Sen. John McCain, outlined a strategic framework for approaching the Middle East, he called it imperative "that U.S. foreign policy not merely lurch from crisis to crisis."

Whoever earns the title of "Leader of the Free World" must understand other cultures and the importance of America's standing in the world. That person must have a global mind-set - on everything from trade to climate change to educating our children in a 21st century global economy to fostering good relationships with other countries.

Therein lies the key to not only combating terrorism, but also securing the future prosperity of Iowa.

THE TRAIL A DAILY DIARY OF CAMPAIGN 2008

MORNING CHEAT SHEET
October 2, 2007

Never Mind the Veepstakes--Who's Next As Secretary of State?



Whoever takes over for Condoleezza Rice is likely to still have Vladimir Putin to deal with. (AP).

The news out of Moscow yesterday suggested that the next president is still going to have Vladimir Putin to contend with. So who will be advising that president how to handle an increasingly assertive, authoritarian leader of a resurgent Russia once Soviet scholar

Condoleezza Rice packs up her office at Foggy Bottom?

That's the question already rippling through the foreign policy establishment in Washington. Never mind the fact that not a single vote has yet been cast to decide the nominees for president. Forget the usual veepstakes that typically follow the resolution of the primaries. Some in the professional talking class are already debating who might be the next secretary of state.

Perhaps that should be no surprise in an era when international relations seem so paramount in our national life. The next secretary of state, after all, will have some enormous challenges waiting for him or her beyond just Putin -- rebuilding American prestige abroad while confronting Islamic jihadism, tackling the intractable Israeli-Palestinian dispute, unwinding Iranian and North Korean nuclear programs, stopping further bloodshed in Darfur, and so on.

And so the parlor games have begun. The most active speculators are sitting over at the Center for U.S. Global Engagement, where they have already put together a list of who they see as the leading contenders in both parties. What's more, they want you to play along -- send in your own nominations by tomorrow, the center says, and it will post the results of its survey.

For its possible candidates, the center runs through campaign advisers to the various candidates as well as unaffiliated party greybeards. On the Democratic side, it names former U.N. Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, former national security adviser Sandy Berger and former Agency for International Development director Brian Atwood (all currently advising New York Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton); former national security adviser Tony Lake, former assistant secretary of state Susan Rice and former State Department policy and planning chief Greg Craig (advising Illinois Sen. Barack Obama); and former deputy secretary of state Strobe Talbott, former senator Sam Nunn (Ga.) and former congressman Lee Hamilton, who co-chaired both the Sept. 11 investigation commission and the Iraq Study Group. The names it floats for the Republican side include former deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage (advising Arizona Sen. John McCain), former U.N. ambassador John Bolton (advising former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani), former congressman Vin Weber (Minn.), Rep. Pete Hoekstra (Mich.) and former CIA counterterrorism chief Cofer Black

(advising former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney) and former Senate majority leader Howard Baker (Tenn.), former assistant secretary of state Liz Cheney, Council on Foreign Relations president Richard Haass, U.N. Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad, Sen. Chuck Hagel (Neb.), Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte and World Bank President Robert Zoellick.

Some of those names can rather easily be crossed off the list, of course. No way Berger, who pleaded guilty in 2005 to taking classified documents from the National Archives and was disbarred earlier this year, ever wins Senate confirmation to anything again. And for that matter, Bolton was enough of a firebrand that he could not win confirmation as U.N. ambassador from a Republican Senate and served only as a recess appointment. It's also a little hard at this point to imagine Baker returning to public life when he would be 83 or Liz Cheney being elevated to such a high post.

Still, it's an interesting starting point. Some on the list are known to have harbored desire to be the nation's chief diplomat for a long time, such as Holbrooke, Negroponte and Zoellick. And some of the Democratic candidates now on stage with Clinton and Obama might be logical candidates. As The Trail's secretary of politics, Dan Balz, noted recently, Sen. Joe Biden (Del.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is asked regularly whether he is really running for secretary of state. He brushed it off when Tim Russert posed the question earlier this year on NBC's "Meet the Press," but the logic is easy to see. New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson, a former U.N. ambassador who has negotiated with some of the baddest of bad guys around the world, would be an obvious candidate as well.

On the Republican side, it's harder to envision many of the also-rans in Foggy Bottom. Some discuss McCain as a possibility and it's true he is a sharp negotiator who reaches across ideological lines in the Senate, but on the other hand, he's not especially known for being diplomatic. More people see him as secretary of defense if he does not win, although he does not seem like the sort to want to work for someone else. California Rep. Duncan Hunter's hometown newspaper speculated when he joined the Republican presidential contest that he might really be setting himself up to be defense secretary in the next administration. And our Pentagon colleague Tom Ricks last week speculated that three leading Democratic candidates for defense secretary would be former defense secretary John Hamre, former Navy secretary Richard Danzig and Sen. Jack Reed (R.I.).

None of the candidates, of course, is talking about potential cabinet selections yet. But George W. Bush in 2000 went out of his way to hint that he would pick Colin L. Powell as his secretary of state, a way of reassuring voters that he would surround himself with seasoned figures. And it's not unusual to try to build coalitions by promising top positions to defeated primary rivals. Maybe former senator John Edwards (N.C.), who has made health care such an important part of his campaign, could be secretary of health and human services. Or former Arkansas governor Mike Huckabee, who lost 120 pounds and no longer eats food that, as he puts it, did not exist a century ago, could be head of the president's physical fitness council.

And then again, there are people running you may not ever want to see in your Cabinet or anywhere else for that matter. McCain was asked by our former colleague Jim VandeHei during a debate earlier this year if he would make Rep. Tom Tancredo (Colo.), the anti-immigration crusader, head of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency. McCain had a simple and direct answer: "In a word, no."

-- Peter Baker

A new vision for America's security

By Tom Ridge and Barry McCaffrey | July 31, 2007

WHILE THE war in Iraq continues to dominate the news and the presidential candidates bob and weave on the issue, the nation finds itself at a major foreign policy crossroads. Elevated terrorist threat levels and global events make it increasingly clear that the next president will face national security and foreign policy challenges that will extend far beyond the question of what to do in Iraq. The path we choose will determine our future security, our image abroad, and our ability to continue to be a credible global leader.

Since 9/11, the nation has learned it cannot rely on the military alone to ensure national security. Global challenges confronting the United States remain intense and are growing. The US ability to forge partnerships with key allies to fight weapons proliferation remains increasingly important. The global drug trade is thriving, helped by bumper opium harvests in Afghanistan. The recently foiled attacks in the United Kingdom demonstrate that the United States must be prepared to tackle new fronts that may be opening in the war on terror.

The real national security challenges for the next president are not going to be primarily military, but rather will be about diplomacy, economic development, and the nature and scope of our international leadership and alliances. Successful future presidents will be those who inspire support for the common global objectives of humanity, prosperity, and freedom.

Whether the next president is a Democrat or a Republican, he or she must ensure that America projects smart power -- elevating development assistance and diplomacy as integral parts of a national security strategy. This was a conclusion of three recent reports on national security: the 9/11 Commission Report, the 2006 Department of Defense Quadrennial Review Report, and the 2006 National Security Strategy.

Placing more emphasis on saving lives and creating opportunities for people of other nations can strengthen our national security and revitalize America's global image and moral leadership. By advancing global health, strengthening civil society and rule of law, and expanding access to basic education and clean drinking water, the next president can show the world an America that is strong, secure, compassionate -- a country that can lead by example.

There is already a long track record of foreign assistance and diplomatic efforts working in concert with our military and homeland security programs to bolster our nation's security and moral values. Over the past four decades, US assistance has helped millions of people feed their families; nearly eradicated river blindness and polio; helped Bosnia, Mozambique, and El Salvador rebound from civil war; and put hundreds of thousands of HIV/AIDS patients in Africa on lifesaving antiretroviral treatments.

With nearly 45 percent of US exports going to developing countries, job creation and economic progress in those countries have a direct impact on our own economic well-being and security. Diplomatic initiatives such as global partnerships, educational and cultural exchanges together with long-term investments in the health, education, and livelihood of citizens of other nations keep America safer by engendering goodwill toward the United States, and alleviating conditions that leave fragile countries vulnerable to the influence of extremist groups.

America, by design and by desire, has been -- and will always be -- connected to the rest of the world -- intellectually, emotionally, ethnically, and commercially. The interconnectedness of the world today spans many sectors -- health, agriculture, education, even domestic security. No country can be truly safe or prosperous without the cooperation and like-minded commitment from all others.

To pave the way for a new, broader vision of America's foreign policy and national security, these issues must be elevated to high priority status in the 2008 presidential campaigns. So far, the news media and most of the candidates have, unfortunately been content to keep the focus of the foreign policy campaign conversations largely on Iraq. To reverse this troubling trend, this week we are helping The Center for US Global Engagement's launch its "Impact '08: Building a Better, Safer World" campaign to engage presidential candidates in a national conversation about America's role in the world.

We are proud to join other foreign policy and national security experts, as well as leaders from American business, humanitarian, faith-based and community organizations, who want to build the political will to chart a new path for America's global engagement. Americans need to hear from presidential candidates how they plan to revitalize America's moral and pragmatic leadership in the world. Explaining how they would make greater investments in development assistance and diplomacy, better integrate military and civilian efforts, and ensure accountability and effectiveness would be a good start.

*Former governor **Tom Ridge** of Pennsylvania was the first secretary of Homeland Security. General **Barry McCaffrey** is adjunct professor of international affairs at the US Military Academy. Both are advisers to the Center for US Global Engagement. ■*