



# CYBERNOTES

## Tips Galore for the New Team

Though it was expected that foreign policy would have an important place in the recent campaign, it is now generally acknowledged that the topic was given a pass during the long, contentious lead-up to Nov. 4. Rarely among American voters' most urgent concerns, it was decisively sidelined by the current financial crisis.

Still, Council on Foreign Relations President Richard Haass articulated a broad consensus when he told the BBC in mid-October that diplomacy would triumph over other foreign policy options — no matter who wins (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7667903.stm>). Indeed, over the past two years a new majority view has formed around the centrality of diplomacy as a national security tool and the urgent need to rethink and rebuild America's diplomatic capacity.

"We are in a historically new era. The fact that the world is now politically awakened is a totally new reality," Zbigniew Brzezinski, an early endorser of President-elect Barack Obama, emphasized in a Sept. 20 interview with *Newsweek* ([www.newsweek.com/id/159905](http://www.newsweek.com/id/159905)). "As a consequence, traditional power, which was often applied to politically passive societies, is no longer omnipotent. On top of that, for the first time, there are global challenges that transcend national boundaries and don't fit into traditional interstate politics ..."

The implications of these dynamic changes is the focus of Brzezinski's new book, *America and the World: Conversations on the Future of Ameri-*

To all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of our world — our stories are singular, but our destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand. To those who would tear this world down — we will defeat you. To those who seek peace and security — we support you. And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright — tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity and unyielding hope.

— President-elect Barack Obama's acceptance speech, Nov. 4  
([www.freep.com/article/20081105/NEWS15/81105065/-1/rss07](http://www.freep.com/article/20081105/NEWS15/81105065/-1/rss07))

*can Foreign Policy* (Basic, 2008), co-authored with Brent Scowcroft, President George H.W. Bush's national security adviser.

Defense Secretary Robert H. Gates has championed the need for basic change, most famously in his Nov. 26, 2007, Landon Lecture at Kansas State University: "I am here to make the case for strengthening our capacity to use 'soft' power and for better integrating it with 'hard' power."

Reflecting this sentiment, a remarkable array of reports and recommendations has been issued to guide the new team. Though not comprehensive, the following overview of proposals from both individuals and institutions is representative of the depth and variety of the offerings.

*Diplomacy*. "A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future: Fixing the Crisis in Diplomatic Readiness," from the Academy of American Diplomacy and the Stimson Center, addresses the

weakness in America's "soft power" infrastructure and makes specific recommendations for fixing it ([www.academyofdiplomacy.org/programs/fab\\_project.html](http://www.academyofdiplomacy.org/programs/fab_project.html)). Released on Oct. 16, this study built on the findings of several recent reports to detail the resources needed to enable the State Department and the Foreign Service to accomplish their missions. (See p. 53 for more details.)

The Rand Corporation and the American Academy of Diplomacy have undertaken a related study. "Integrating Instruments of Power and Influence: Lessons Learned and Best Practices" contains a set of recommendations to deal with the kinds of U.S. military interventions and their aftermath that have become prevalent ([www.rand.org/pubs/conf\\_proceedings/2008/RAND\\_CF251.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/conf_proceedings/2008/RAND_CF251.pdf)). Released on Oct. 2, the report was prepared by a high-level panel of 67 veteran military, Foreign Service, Civil Service and private-sector leaders and



underscores the need to expand the Foreign Service, among other things (see Cybernotes, November 2008).

Enhancing diplomatic capacity is also the first of several recommendations to the Obama administration in a special report from The Friends Committee on National Legislation, "The Responsibility to Prevent" ([www.fcnl.org/issues/item.php?item\\_id=3426&issue\\_id=130](http://www.fcnl.org/issues/item.php?item_id=3426&issue_id=130)). "A new civilian-led foreign policy initiative dedicated to strong diplomacy and prevention of deadly conflict is needed to reassert U.S. leadership in promoting peace and stability. Enhanced diplomacy and conflict-management capacities should include a doubling of well-trained and deployable State Department personnel, periodic country-conflict assessments, and strengthened civilian crisis-response capacity," the report states.

*Smarter Power.* The need for basic change in U.S. foreign policy axioms gained momentum throughout 2007. In November of that year, the Center for Strategic and International Studies' Commission on Smart Power, a bipartisan project co-chaired by former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage and Harvard Professor Joseph S. Nye, released "A Smarter, More Secure America," detailing the steps needed to qualitatively boost America's projection of "soft power" ([www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/071106\\_csissmartpowerreport.pdf](http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/071106_csissmartpowerreport.pdf)).

The Project on National Security Reform undertook a nonpartisan review of the U.S. national security system in mid-2007, the first such comprehensive study since the National Security Act of 1947 was adopted. Funded by Congress, the project has issued its preliminary findings identifying a number of problems ([www.pnsr.org/data/images/pnsr\\_preliminary\\_findings\\_july\\_2008.pdf](http://www.pnsr.org/data/images/pnsr_preliminary_findings_july_2008.pdf)). A final report recommending actions to Congress and the executive, including draft presidential directives and a new National Security Act to replace many

## 50 Years Ago...

The question that faces the Foreign Service, and which *The Ugly American* attempts to illustrate, is whether the United States can be adequately represented abroad, and the political, economic and social evolutions of any given country correctly assessed, by representatives, diplomatic or other, who operate from what frequently resemble American redoubts in hostile territory.

— Editorial, "The Lesson of *The Ugly American*," *FSJ*, December 1958.



of the provisions enacted 61 years ago, is at the printer ([www.pnsr.org](http://www.pnsr.org)).

A joint Heritage Foundation-CSIS report released in September, "Homeland Security 3.0: Building a National Enterprise to Keep America Safe, Free and Prosperous," recommends a shift of focus from the Department of Homeland Security to making changes to the broader national security infrastructure to deal with transnational terrorist and other threats ([www.heritage.org/Research/HomelandDefense/sr23.cfm](http://www.heritage.org/Research/HomelandDefense/sr23.cfm)).

"Shaping the New Administration's Counterterrorism Policy," is the title of a two-day conference the Cato Institute has set for Jan. 12-13, 2009 ([www.cato.org/counterterrorism](http://www.cato.org/counterterrorism)). Ted Galen Carpenter, Cato's vice president for defense and foreign policy studies, explains how to protect America's security while avoiding unnecessary and unrewarding military adventures in his June 2008 book, *Smart Power: Toward a Prudent Foreign Policy for America* ([www.catostore.org/index.asp?fa=ProductDetails&method=cats&scid=47&pid=1441390](http://www.catostore.org/index.asp?fa=ProductDetails&method=cats&scid=47&pid=1441390)). (See the November *FSJ* for a review.)

*The Foreign Assistance Tangle.* Foreign assistance has been another focus of attention in the effort to enhance the effectiveness of America's soft power. In an article in the November/December issue of *Foreign Affairs*, "Arrested Development: Making Foreign Aid a More Effective Tool," J. Brian Atwood, M. Peter McPherson and Andrew Natsios, three former

administrators of USAID, argue that the next president will have to "dramatically overhaul the foreign aid establishment during his first year" ([www.foreignaffairs.org/20081001faessay87609/j-brian-atwood-m-peter-mcpherson-andrew-natsios/arrested-development.html](http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20081001faessay87609/j-brian-atwood-m-peter-mcpherson-andrew-natsios/arrested-development.html)). Foreign assistance functions should be reconsolidated in a strengthened USAID, either as an independent Cabinet-level agency or a strong autonomous agency whose head reports directly to the Secretary of State. (See p. 34 for more details.)

Carole Adelman of the Hudson Institute and Nicholas Eberstadt of the American Enterprise Institute propose a more appropriate business model for foreign aid in "Foreign Aid: What Works and What Doesn't" ([www.aei.org/publications/pubID.28842,filter:foreign/pub\\_detail.asp](http://www.aei.org/publications/pubID.28842,filter:foreign/pub_detail.asp)). Adelman and Eberstadt were co-vice chairman and commissioner, respectively, of the congressionally mandated U.S. Helping to Enhance the Livelihood of People around the Globe Commission. In December 2007, the HELP Commission issued an influential report concluding that the U.S. foreign aid system was broken and must be overhauled, along with recommendations for doing so ([www.helpcommission.gov/](http://www.helpcommission.gov/)).

At hearings on April 23, House Committee on Foreign Affairs Chairman Howard L. Berman, D-Calif., outlined his committee's goal for the next administration: rewrite the For-



Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 ([http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/press\\_display.asp?id=507](http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/press_display.asp?id=507)). Testimony on “Foreign Assistance Reform in the Next Administration: Challenges and Solutions” was presented by experts such as Lael Brainard of the Brookings Institute’s Task Force on Reforming Foreign Assistance for the 21st Century, Stephen Rattet of the Center for Global Development, Oxfam President Raymond C. Offenheiser, and Ross Kolbe of the German Marshall Fund (<http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/testimony.asp?pg=6>).

*Brainstorming on Particular Issues.* Both the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Brookings Institution have dedicated spots on their Web sites for advice to the new team. Carnegie’s “Foreign Policy for the Next President” is a series of reports on the most critical foreign policy challenges facing the Obama administration. The reports cull the good ideas from the unworkable on each issue and focus on how to achieve them ([www.carnegieendowment.org/topic/index.cfm?fa=viewTopic&topic=3000154](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/topic/index.cfm?fa=viewTopic&topic=3000154)).

The Brookings Institution’s “Presidential Transition” page features a series of policy recommendations, reports, memos to the president-elect and public events on a wide range of domestic, economic and foreign policy issues, as well as background on past presidential transitions ([www.brookings.edu/topics/presidential-transition.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/topics/presidential-transition.aspx)).

Among Brookings’ foreign policy-specific recommendations, a summary of the top 10 global economic challenges facing the 44th president provides a trenchant overview of the general policy environment ([www.brookings.edu/reports/2008/10\\_global\\_economics\\_top\\_ten.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2008/10_global_economics_top_ten.aspx)). Also, scholars Martin Indyk and Kenneth Pollack make recommendations on dealing with the Middle East ([www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/0105](http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/0105)

[\\_middle\\_east\\_memo.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/0115_american_leadership_memo.aspx)) and Carlos Pascual shares a memo to the president-elect, “Restore American Leadership to Address Transnational Threats” ([www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/0115\\_american\\_leadership\\_memo.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/0115_american_leadership_memo.aspx)).

The Center for Strategic and International Studies offers a wealth of pertinent material. Its Africa program has established eight working groups to assess “Africa Policy after President Bush.” The groups will issue recommendations in key areas ([www.csis.org/africa/afterbush/](http://www.csis.org/africa/afterbush/)).

“Closing Guantanamo: From Bumper Sticker to Reality,” by Sarah Mendelson, is the CSIS Human Rights and Security Initiative’s blueprint for shutting down the controversial detention facility, a stated goal of the president-elect ([www.csis.org/hrs/gtmoreport/](http://www.csis.org/hrs/gtmoreport/)).

The CSIS Asia Economic Task Force has issued what its authors call a “user’s guide” for the Obama administration in managing economic relations with Asia: “Crafting U.S. Economic Strategy Toward Asia: Lessons Learned from 30 Years of Experience” ([www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/081016\\_freeman\\_craftusecon\\_web.pdf](http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/081016_freeman_craftusecon_web.pdf)). A bipartisan group of current and former government officials and other experts, who have been involved in all of the major Asian economic policy initiatives in the recent period, pool their wisdom on how to handle relations with a dynamic region that is becoming ever more important to U.S. interests.

At a Trilateral Commission meeting last April, Strobe Talbot, Deputy Secretary of State in the Clinton administration and now president of the Brookings Institution, set out broad outlines for the new administration. He urges the new team to attend to the Western Hemisphere, nuclear proliferation and climate change, in particular ([www.trilateral.org/AnnMtgs/PROGRAMS/08washpdf\\_fol](http://www.trilateral.org/AnnMtgs/PROGRAMS/08washpdf_fol)

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Finally, in the immediate run-up to the election a series of seminars offered analysis and advice on the foreign policy demands confronting the new administration. A Sept. 2 symposium, "Foreign Policy Challenges for the Next Administration," moderated by Council on Foreign Relations President Richard Haass at the Humphrey Institute in Minnesota, focused on immigration and border security, energy security, relations with Russia and trade, among other topics. The transcript of the discussion among CFR and Heritage Foundation panelists is available online ([www.cfr.org/publication/17430/foreign\\_policy\\_challenges\\_for\\_the\\_next\\_administration.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/17430/foreign_policy_challenges_for_the_next_administration.html)).

publication/17430/foreign\_policy\_challenges\_for\_the\_next\_administration.html).

"Foreign Policy and the Next U.S. Administration," a program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center on International Studies on Sept. 18, featured Barry Posen, director of the CIS Security Studies Program at MIT; Carol Savietz, from Harvard University's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies; and Taylor Fravel, MIT political science professor discussing the issues. The program is available online in video format (<http://mitworld.mit.edu/video/605/#technotes>).

## Ready for Your Virtual Tour?

A federally funded research effort, the Second China Project, is underway at the University of Florida to develop virtual environments to aid in educating and preparing Foreign Service and other government professionals for overseas assignments, according to a news release from the school (<http://news.ufl.edu/2008/10/29/second-china/>).

The team of computer engineers and scholars has used the popular online world, Second Life, to create a virtual Chinese city, one that hands a key to users who want to familiarize themselves with the sights and experiences they will encounter.

"We hope this kind of environment can provide a bridge between knowledge alone and actually being in the real-life environment," says Julie Henderson, an international program specialist at the university's College of Pharmacy and co-principal investigator and project designer for the effort.

Simulated experiences aim at introducing users not only to typical sights and the Chinese language, but also to expectations of politeness, accepted business practices and cultural norms.

"We've built an environment around learning objectives," says Paul Fishwick, lead investigator and a professor of computer and information science and engineering.

In the office simulation, for instance, the user's avatar chooses appropriate business attire and a gift, greets a receptionist, and is guided to a conference room to be seated, among other activities. A Web-based tutorial that users can click on as they navigate Second China supplements the experience.

The project has been funded with a \$1.35 million federal grant. ■

*This edition of Cybernautes was prepared by Senior Editor Susan B. Maitra.*

### Site of the Month: [www.campusexplorer.com](http://www.campusexplorer.com)

The newest addition to the online college-preparation toolbox is *Campus Explorer*, a Web site with more than 6,000 schools in its database that is arguably the most comprehensive directory of higher education on the Internet.

Founders Gerry Slavonia and Brian Hartnack launched the Web site to help remedy the poor ratio of college counselors to high school students — a national problem — and the difficulty of choosing among thousands of schools. "Think of us as your personal counselor," the Web site advises. "We're available 24/7."

Barely a year old, *Campus Explorer* offers an easy-to-use school-search function, which sorts according to a variety of criteria such as location, major, size of student population, etc. Users can also compare their favorite schools in a single view and build a personal educational profile. They can dig into the details on their favorites, including photos, videos, maps, Wikipedia commentary and Yahoo!Answers discussion, as well as make direct contact with the schools. The site also offers assistance with financial aid, student loans, test preparation and student housing.

What may be of most interest, however, is the site's chance-of-admission calculator. This feature, limited to the larger schools, appears below the institution's database listing. The user is asked to enter SAT or ACT scores, high school grades, extracurricular activities and several other bits of information. *Campus Explorer* will then designate the school a Safety, Target or Reach for that particular student.

Though an admissions calculator is not a unique feature, some may prefer *Campus Explorer's* more straightforward approach. In return for more information, College Board.com, for example, the doyen of guides-to-college Web sites, indicates where the individual stands in relation to the admissions profile of the school — data that could seem vague.

In the end, nothing can replace the campus visit, but *Campus Explorer* is a useful addition to the process of getting there.