

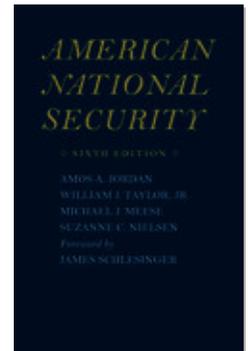


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## American National Security

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Published by Johns Hopkins University Press

Jordan, Amos A. and Taylor, Jr., William J. and Meese, Michael J. and Nielsen, Suzanne C. and Schlesinger, James. *American National Security*.

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

*Project MUSE*. Web. 20 Mar. 2015.<http://muse.jhu.edu/>.

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## Shaping the International Environment

Dean Acheson, one of America's wisest and most successful secretaries of state once said, "The purpose for which we carry on relations with foreign states is to preserve and foster an environment in which free societies may exist and flourish. Our policies and actions must be tested by whether they contribute to or detract from achievement of this end."<sup>1</sup> Shaping the environment in a far from malleable world is a continuing major challenge requiring all the instruments of national power, including diplomatic, information, military, economic, and a range of other tools.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to being able to induce other nations to act in ways that it desires through its capacity to wield carrots and sticks, the United States has historically been a powerful magnet that has attracted other nations to align with U.S. policy. This capacity to attract—to get others to identify with its objectives and to cooperate with its policies—is sometimes referred to as *soft power*, in contrast to the *hard power* of military force. Among the various soft power instruments are diplomacy, foreign aid, trade assistance or denial, partnerships, alliances, leadership of international organizations, humanitarian activities, international public health operations, cultural and educational exchanges, public diplomacy, military posture, and international mediation. Several of these are discussed in this chapter, with economic instruments discussed in the next chapter. Of course, one of the principle sources of America's soft power is the example it provides by the success of its values and institutions, reflected in the attraction it holds for immigrants across the globe.

Many of the soft power tools of the United States are not wielded by the government, but by the private sector. Private foundations, religious entities, non-governmental organizations, and other civic institutions have enormous capacities

to serve the public good abroad as well as at home. In some cases, such as in the field of public health, cooperative public-private efforts are highly effective. Enlisting these private sector assets and activities in a common effort to shape the international environment in ways that foster and protect free societies requires a measure of trust on all sides, which has not always been the case.

## **Diplomacy**

*Diplomacy* is the first-resort instrument in the nation's policy tool kit. It can be defined as "the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys; the business or art of the diplomatists."<sup>3</sup> The goal of American diplomacy is to advance and secure national interests to the greatest degree possible without generating conflict or inspiring resentment. Although, as noted in Chapter 2, diplomacy has traditionally been devalued or distrusted by many Americans, it is an essential tool in the nation's array of instruments of power.

Diplomacy is rarely used in isolation; it often serves as a precursor or a complement to other foreign policy tools. Given the complexity of the challenges and threats that the United States faces, America pursues diplomacy through many methods. Among the most significant are: exchanging envoys, creating or adapting international institutions, participating in international meetings, establishing alliances, and signing treaties. These methods are pursued in different arrangements, including bilateral, multilateral, and regional relationships.

*Bilateral diplomacy* is conducted between two states and is a common form of international diplomacy. Forms of bilateral diplomacy include treaties, military and cultural exchanges, and bilateral agreements. Examples of U.S. bilateral diplomacy include the exchanges of military officers and cadets at foreign military schools; bilateral trade agreements, such as the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement of 1990; and bilateral security arrangements, such as the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972.<sup>4</sup> A main benefit of bilateral diplomacy is flexibility, as the realm of possible agreement between two parties is typically larger than for multiparty groups.

The international system has developed a number of customs for bilateral diplomacy. For example, most states sacrifice a small measure of their own national sovereignty to host embassies and ambassadors from other nations. The embassy property is considered to be the territory of the visiting state rather than the territory of the host country, and ambassadors are granted diplomatic immunity from prosecution. In addition, it is generally understood that governments gather intelligence and provide information on other states following generally accepted norms and practices.

*Multilateral diplomacy* includes treaties, exchanges, activities, and agreements conducted among three or more countries. Multilateral diplomacy is also practiced through U.S. membership in international institutions and organizations, such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), Geneva Convention ratification, and Group of Eight (G8) participation. The

United States relies heavily on such organizations and its leadership in them to advance its interests.

Several traditions endure in multilateral diplomacy as well as in bilateral diplomacy. While the international system is without an international government, generally accepted rules provide some order to multilateral activities. For example, UN membership is granted to governments demonstrating sovereign control over historically recognized geographic boundaries, regardless of the popular support such a government enjoys. UN membership obligates members to assume the commitments of previous governments, acknowledge established borders, and commit to noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states.<sup>5</sup>

The relative weight of an individual state's influence in multilateral diplomatic forums depends on the rules of the forum itself. UN rules grant extra influence to members of the Security Council (the five permanent council members—U.S., Great Britain, France, Russia, and China—as well as rotating seats among ten other member states). In contrast, the WTO grants one vote for each member state regardless of size or influence. Other organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), grant influence and voting rights based on a country's financial contribution. Because the United States is the IMF's largest financial supporter, it generally has the most influence of any single nation in the IMF.<sup>6</sup>

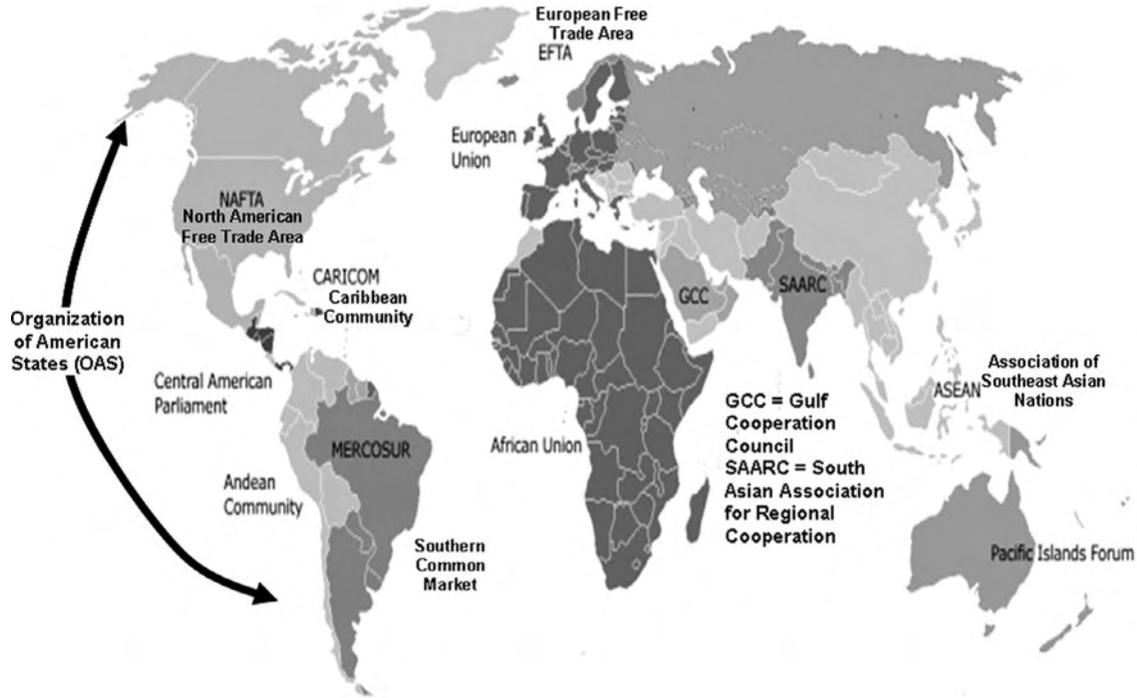
Multilateral diplomacy is thus more complex but also potentially more powerful. Securing and advancing U.S. interests in large organizations is difficult, but when achieved, it can generally produce more powerful and lasting policies. An additional consideration for the use of multilateral diplomacy is the increasing complexity and interdependence of America's national interests in an era of globalization. As transportation and information technology have increased the interaction among states in tourism and commerce, for example, multilateral diplomacy has become increasingly important. The threats to U.S. interests have also become increasingly global, because transnational threats, such as environmental destruction, terrorism, and crime, require more than unilateral and bilateral commitments and actions.

*Regional diplomacy* is one specific and common type of multilateral diplomacy in which relations are conducted by states in a specific geographic region. States in a particular region have a greater stake in the area's economic, security, and environmental issues. As a result, states often choose regional solutions because of their relative simplicity in negotiation and implementation.

Regional diplomacy often takes place through regionally based international organizations. For example, the European Union is an international body affecting the economic policy, security policy, and foreign affairs of its twenty-seven member states. Similarly, the Organization of American States engages the full range of its thirty-five members' interests. Other examples of regional government organizations include the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. The map in Figure 11.1 depicts some current regional organizations and their memberships.<sup>7</sup>

While regional diplomacy can focus on broad issues of governance, some regional diplomacy is focused on an individual issue area. For example, the North

**FIG. 11.1** Regional Organizations



American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is purely a trade agreement between the United States, Canada, and Mexico designed to reduce barriers to economic exchange among the member states. This agreement institutionalizes free trade practices and helps each state overcome the protectionist motivations of some domestic constituencies. The result has been more trade and greater overall economic welfare for all members of NAFTA.<sup>8</sup>

Given the U.S. position as a superpower, American diplomatic efforts can be highly influential, especially as it simultaneously practices diplomacy in multiple forms. For example, consider the problem of North Korea potentially pursuing nuclear technology with which it could threaten the interests of several other nations. To face this challenge, the United States has promoted six-party talks, which include South Korea, China, Japan, and Russia, to negotiate solutions with North Korea. The United States has chosen multilateral diplomacy to capitalize on common interests between itself and traditional allies, such as South Korea and Japan, as well as to enlist the relative influence of regionally powerful states, such as China and Russia. Multilateral diplomacy sustains U.S. engagement while leveraging the influence of regional powers with common interests. Deciding whether to engage in multilateral diplomacy involves weighing the potential value of multilateral solutions against the complexity of securing their adoption.

Diplomatic efforts, while potentially powerful, are subject to several limitations. First, compromises are frequently required to achieve diplomatic solutions, as exemplified by the many efforts to gain UN Security Council approval of sanctions on Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Second, significant patience is often required because it takes time for diplomatic solutions to be reached and then implemented, as evidenced frequently in the Arab-Israeli peace process. Third, the relatively small size of the State Department as the chief agency for diplomacy—especially in comparison with U.S. investment in the military instrument of power—limits the institutional capacity of the U.S. government to pursue diplomatic initiatives. For example, the 2008 federal budget allocated only \$35 billion to the State Department. This amount includes foreign aid and provides for only about 30,000 personnel. The same year, the Department of Defense (DoD) budget was \$481 billion (not including the costs of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan), and the defense workforce included approximately 3 million personnel.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, domestic political conditions can significantly affect a national leader's flexibility in diplomacy. International negotiations, whether they are bilateral, multilateral, or regional, generally reflect a "two-level game."<sup>10</sup> At the international level, policy makers are often constrained in how much they can negotiate based upon their particular domestic political situation. For example, President Woodrow Wilson sought to bring the United States into the League of Nations after the World War I, but his weak domestic position resulted in this proposal's being rejected by the U.S. Senate.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, domestic political dominance or a particular reputation at home can permit greater flexibility abroad. For instance, President Richard Nixon's reputation as a staunch anticommunist enhanced his flexibility in bringing the relationship between the United States and



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the People's Republic of China from confrontation to *détente* in the 1970s. Finally, the need to seek an international agreement can be used by a national leader to advance a particular domestic agenda. For example, international agreements can enable the leaders of developing countries to pursue otherwise unpopular policies of fiscal restraint when these policies are linked to continuing favorable international loans or trade arrangements.

During the past century, the focus of American diplomacy has undergone considerable change. Early in the twentieth century, the United States followed a doctrine termed *dollar diplomacy*, which was designed to advance economic interests abroad. Diplomatic efforts were primarily focused on economic issue areas. From 1914 until the United States entered the war in 1917, World War I shaped U.S. diplomatic efforts as it pursued diplomacy to support the Allied victory in Europe. As discussed in Chapter 2, following World War I, the United States tried again to turn its back on the world outside the Western Hemisphere. To the extent America was engaged abroad, diplomacy was focused on disarmament and conducted largely through international conferences, which attempted, unsuccessfully, to find diplomatic ways to limit the chance and severity of war.<sup>12</sup>

Also discussed in Chapter 2, following World War II, the U.S. approach toward diplomacy was transformed, becoming explicitly activist and multilateral to support the exercise of U.S. global leadership. The United States served as the key

player in constructing postwar international institutions designed to support an open international economic order as well as cooperation in the areas of international peace and security. From the late 1940s, U.S. foreign policy was conducted in a bipolar context, focused largely on containment and deterrence of communism and particularly on the threat posed by the Soviet Union. During the 1970s and 1980s, U.S. diplomacy centered on preventing nuclear war through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and the Intermediate-Range and Short-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. From the fall of the Soviet Union in 1990–1991 to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, U.S. diplomacy focused particularly on the integration into the West and development of the former communist states, non-proliferation and counterproliferation efforts aimed at securing the nuclear weapons and materials of former Soviet States, and securing support for peace-keeping and stability operations in regional and ethnic conflicts. Since 9/11, U.S. diplomatic efforts have centered on building and maintaining support for its efforts to combat international terrorism while continuing to promote regional stability and American economic interests.

The level of U.S. diplomacy has evolved over time as well. Prior to, during, and after World War I, U.S. involvement in world affairs was limited, episodic, and not truly reflective of America's growing relative power. World War II marked a watershed as the United States assumed an activist leadership role it has never since relinquished. During the Cold War, the United States, as one of two superpowers, led in the prevention of nuclear war through the threat of mutually assured destruction and combating the spread of communism worldwide.

Following the Cold War, the United States has become a hegemonic leader, pursuing its interests unilaterally in some cases, through international institutions in others, and through a variety of multilateral and regional diplomatic efforts. While the ability of the United States to effectively conduct diplomacy is an essential dimension of the nation's foreign policy, its successful practice in the context of American values and history is extraordinarily difficult. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has suggested some of the challenges:

In the twentieth century, no country has influenced international relations as decisively and at the same time as ambivalently as the United States. No society has more firmly insisted on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of other states, or more passionately asserted that its own values were universally applicable. No nation has been more pragmatic in the day-to-day conduct of its diplomacy, or more ideological in the pursuit of its historic moral convictions. No country has been more reluctant to engage itself abroad even while undertaking alliances and commitments of unprecedented reach and scope.<sup>13</sup>

## **Information Element of Power**

The information element of national power can be defined as the use of information resources (including print media, radio, television, and the Internet) to collect, control, and disseminate information that influences the perceptions and

behaviors of international audiences. In his book *Soft Power: The Means to Succeed in World Politics*, Joseph Nye notes that governments can exert influence through threats, inducements, or attraction.<sup>14</sup> He asserts that attraction, which relies primarily on others' perceptions, is generally the most cost-effective way to influence others' long-term behavior. The information instrument of national power directly affects perceptions and attitudes, which, in turn, can influence other countries' behavior.

Although the ongoing information revolution has increased the potential significance of the information instrument of national power, it has simultaneously become more difficult to manage and perhaps impossible to control. Information technology enables corporations, individuals, and other nonstate actors to create and rapidly disseminate information for a wide variety of purposes. Of course, movies, television programs, and other entertainment forms also affect perceptions and attitudes at home and abroad. Confronting this complex environment, it is important to understand the various ways in which governments deal with information as it complements diplomatic, military, economic, and other elements of power.

The use of information as an instrument of power is problematic for the U.S. government for at least three important reasons. First, government control of information raises the specter of propaganda that could undermine democratic institutions, impede a free press, and contravene liberties that the American political culture appropriately cherishes. Consequently, facilitating such government control of information is fraught with difficulty. Second, the information provided to an international audience can only be as effective as the policy that it is attempting to promote. If a particular U.S. policy is unfriendly or hostile toward another nation or region, no amount of salesmanship is likely to make that policy palatable.<sup>15</sup> Finally, as a reflection of the American ambivalence toward government control of information, no one agency or department has control of strategic communications. In fact, as noted in the remainder of this section, different government agencies use different terminology, which further complicates understanding.

The term *strategic communications* is sometimes used to describe information as an element of power, because the term implies the use of communication resources to achieve national strategic objectives. A government task force that examined strategic communications divided the topic into four areas of government operations: public diplomacy, public affairs, international broadcasting, and international military information.<sup>16</sup> These concepts are discussed in turn below.

*Public diplomacy* consists of those efforts by a government to inform or influence the population of a foreign state through direct or indirect communication. Public diplomacy is differentiated from traditional diplomacy (described in the first section of this chapter), because the object of traditional diplomacy is the government of a foreign state, while the target of public diplomacy is the foreign population itself. Direct communication includes government information, media broadcasts, government seminars, meetings with foreign citizens, and other direct contacts between U.S. government individuals or agencies and a foreign population. Indirect forms of public diplomacy include student exchanges, cultural activities, economic engagement, and other events in which foreign populations are exposed to Americans.

Immediately after World War II, the Office of War Information, which had run “the largest propaganda operation in the world,” was shut down and was relegated to a small office in the State Department lest the nation be tempted to reinvigorate a large, government-run propaganda operation.<sup>17</sup> As the Cold War progressed, however, the Eisenhower administration created the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953, which was designed to counter the Soviet ideological threat with information. Although an independent agency, USIA worked closely with the State Department to operate U.S. Information Services offices throughout the world that provided libraries, books, and publications in hundreds of foreign cities. After the end of the Cold War in 1999, USIA was merged with (and submerged within) the State Department. Public diplomacy has continued to be most directly associated with the State Department, but it is much wider in its sponsorship and activities. Although the George W. Bush administration increased public diplomacy spending and increased its bureaucratic profile somewhat, its status pales in comparison to the emphasis on public diplomacy in the Cold War.

*Public affairs*, which consist of activities conducted by all government agencies, are intended to provide Americans with accurate information about what their government is doing. Public affairs are distinguished from public diplomacy essentially by target (public affairs focus on domestic audiences, and public diplomacy on foreign audiences). Though this distinction is important, its practical significance has diminished significantly as information technology has advanced and news cycles have compressed. A press conference at the White House or State Department in Washington is instantaneously broadcast around the world and frequently includes content that is designed to influence or “spin” both foreign and domestic audiences. Similarly, a press statement that is made by a U.S. official in Baghdad or Beijing may be intended primarily for the foreign audience but will play to a domestic U.S. audience as well. From an organizational perspective, however, U.S. government agencies maintain the distinction because of the sensitivity of appearing to propagandize domestic audiences.

International broadcasting services funded by the U.S. government transmit news, information, public affairs programs, and entertainment programs to foreign audiences through radio, television, and Web-based systems. During the Cold War, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe were part of USIA and extended the mission of public diplomacy onto the air waves. This has continued with Radio Free Asia, Radio and TV Marti directed at Cuba, and the Al Hurra radio and TV stations that broadcast in the Arab world. These serve the same basic purpose as public diplomacy discussed above, are indeed part of public diplomacy, and are only distinguished by the medium—broadcast networks—that conveys the information. These broadcasts compete with other media as they attempt to reach their target audiences. During the Cold War, the challenge was technological: Most information was controlled by the Soviet Union, and USIA broadcasts sought to reach as deeply as possible behind the Iron Curtain. Currently, the challenge is competing with multiple radio, television, and Internet information sources, many of which have approaches that do not favor U.S. policy. To provide any news that

is balanced or perspectives that may favor U.S. policy, broadcasters must first attract audiences through entertaining or informative programming.

*International military information* (IMI) addresses the military's role in strategic communications. Military officials most frequently use the term *information operations* to describe what the DoD conducts in this area. Information operations entail the integrated employment of several types of operations, "in concert with specific supporting and related capabilities, to influence, disrupt, corrupt, or usurp adversarial human and automated decision making while protecting our own."<sup>18</sup> This definition expands beyond merely providing messages to inform and influence target audiences and includes military operations that target the physical and information infrastructure upon which information operations depend. A brief review of the five major components of information operations illuminates this distinction.

*Psychological operations* seek to influence the perceptions of foreign populations, military organizations, or decision makers in a favorable way. Psychological operations are closely related to public diplomacy and are distinguished by the fact that they are conducted or directed by military organizations in support of a military campaign. They may include the use of broadcast and print media, advertising, or leaflet drops.

The other four capabilities are actually components of military operations, but because of their impact on the control, processing, and dissemination of information, the DoD includes them in the broad definition of information operations. *Military deception* consists of actions taken to deliberately mislead the enemy to help accomplish the military mission. *Operations security* protects information about military operations so that enemy forces can not use that information to their advantage. *Electronic warfare* uses both offensive measures, such as jamming to attack enemy systems, and defensive measures, such as encryption, to protect the friendly military capability to communicate using electronic systems. Finally, *computer network operations* expand electronic warfare to the computer age and include the capability to attack, defend, and exploit computer systems as part of military operations.

While information operations have the potential to significantly aid a military campaign, military wielding of the information element of power can also be problematic because of concerns that a military-controlled propaganda machine could exercise excessive power. For example, the DoD established the Office of Strategic Influence soon after the attacks of 9/11 with the intent of "developing a full spectrum influence strategy that would result in greater foreign support of U.S. goals and repudiation of terrorists and their methods." While a laudable objective, the specter of military officials manipulating information, peddling propaganda, or deliberately providing misleading or incorrect information in foreign media led to a significant backlash among public affairs officials, the media, and others. The Secretary of Defense disestablished the office less than six months after it had been created.<sup>19</sup>

Since then, the U.S. government has continued to struggle to create an organizational structure that could successfully manage information. In 2002, the White House established an Office of Global Communications to coordinate strategic

communications with global audiences and to advise on strategic direction and themes for the U.S. government.<sup>20</sup> This office is charged with coordinating the strategic communication activities of various government agencies, such as the Department of State and DoD, but has not assumed an activist, leadership role. The Department of State, which has created a new post of undersecretary for public diplomacy, continues to have organizational primacy in issues of strategic communications. The office of the new undersecretary has secured an increased budget for public diplomacy and has thereby somewhat increased information dissemination, cultural exchanges, speaking engagements, and other related activities. But the worldwide negative public view of America calls for a far more vigorous public diplomacy effort than that mounted thus far. The current public diplomacy budget (about \$1.5 billion in 2007) is smaller than the comparable effort by France. Policy, however, is extremely difficult to coordinate within the U.S. government, and even the best public diplomacy efforts can be affected by nongovernmental actors who shape American interaction with the populations of other nations.

Although information is an important component of national power, it will remain one of the most difficult to manage and execute. A renewed emphasis to strengthen it and manage it better is clearly required.

## **Military Posture**

Beyond the actual employment of military force, the United States shapes the international environment through its military force structure and basing during peacetime. Military posture includes the size, equipment, readiness, positioning, and exercising of military units and strategic assets. A strong military posture can reassure allies, deter enemies, and dissuade potential future adversaries from engaging in bellicose behavior or competitive military buildups.

During the Cold War, the United States stationed hundreds of thousands of troops in Europe, as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to deter a Soviet attack. They routinely trained with the armed forces of NATO allies, and U.S. commanders assumed primary leadership roles in NATO. After the armistice ended the Korean War in 1953, the U.S. also maintained a large military presence on the Korean peninsula and in Japan. In addition to these significant and sustained commitments, the United States negotiated basing rights with many countries and used Naval forces in joint exercises and port calls to literally “show the flag” in areas of importance to U.S. national security. A forward military presence in strategically critical areas reinforced diplomatic efforts to contain communism and promote U.S. and allied interests in stability and prosperity.

Following the demise of the Soviet Union, it took some time for the United States to adjust its military posture to the post–Cold War environment. However, a reduction in U.S. forces began almost immediately, and some global repositioning was facilitated by the war to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation in 1990–1991. An entire U.S. Army Corps of over one hundred thousand soldiers and their equipment was deployed from Germany to the Persian Gulf and subsequently redeployed to the United States. Though it triggered a degree of withdrawal

from Europe, this deployment also demonstrated the continued value of some forward basing. Military officials stressed that Europe was “an ocean closer” to many areas of concern, a fact that was again significant when American forces deployed to the Balkans later in the 1990s.<sup>21</sup>

Following the 9/11 attacks on the United States, the focus of U.S. military and diplomatic efforts became the prevention of terrorist attacks, the destruction of terrorist networks, and the prevention or countering of weapons of mass destruction proliferation. To accomplish these tasks, the United States further shifted its military posture by reducing its forward-deployed presence in Europe and South Korea, increasing its presence in Central Asia, and seeking to develop a more agile and deployable force based within the United States.

The Quadrennial Defense Review of 2005–2006 described five requirements for the U.S. global security posture.<sup>22</sup> First, allied participation in peacekeeping and combating terrorism must be further encouraged, and related efforts to assist allies in modernizing their military capabilities must be increased. Second, assets must be positioned to enable the greatest possible flexibility. Third, forces must be ready and capable of projecting across as well as within regions worldwide. Fourth, international support and transit agreements must support rapid-force projection. Fifth, capabilities, rather than sizes of units or quantities of equipment, must be the basis for planning.

As the United States reduces the number of forward-deployed units, it must consider the political, economic, and strategic realities of the current international environment. Withdrawing forces from Europe and South Korea has a significant impact on local economies and a political impact on U.S. relationships in each region. For example, U.S. and South Korean interests are naturally aligned against the common threat of North Korean aggression. However, if the U.S. priority for forces on the Korean Peninsula evolves to counterproliferation or to regional crisis response, that development has the potential to strain a longstanding alliance. As the U.S. military posture changes, major diplomatic efforts are critical to reassure allies of its commitments while simultaneously securing greater participation and cooperation against international security problems of common concern.

Beyond using its military posture to influence the international security environment through deterrence, dissuasion, and reassurance, the U.S. programs its forces to engage in various peacetime activities, military training exercises, and military exchanges that also enhance U.S. security relationships. As they continue to modify military posture over time, U.S. policy makers would have to consider the diplomatic, political, and economic—as well as purely military—ramifications of their choices.<sup>23</sup>

## **Other Soft Power Instruments**

The use of economic instruments is discussed in Chapter 12 and alliances in Chapter 13. Development assistance is treated in Chapter 12, and in greater detail with regard to Africa in Chapter 21. Here we will focus on only one other major soft power instrument: global health.

Throughout the developing world, there is a severely limited capacity to meet basic health needs. There is an estimated global shortage of more than 4 million health-care workers, and new training centers to train more health care providers are badly needed. Investments in hospitals, clinics, and other infrastructure are similarly required. Clean water supplies are vital to health, yet the World Health Organization estimates that at least 1 billion people do not have access to clean water. Compared with other parts of the challenge, this crippling problem would be relatively inexpensive to correct. American leadership in meeting these needs, which is well within U.S. combined public-private capacity, would send a powerful signal to the international community that the United States is committed to advancing toward this common goal.

A recent report observes, “Health is vital to development. It is also vital for human and national security, for economic growth, and for building stable ties between countries. It is fundamental to every family’s livelihood and existence.”<sup>24</sup> Given the intrinsic importance of health and the glaring inadequacies of current global health care, there may be no more important means to favorably shape the international environment than by increased American efforts to help improve this situation. Fortunately, the U.S. has substantial assets to deploy. There are already numerous effective private initiatives ready to be strengthened and expanded. The U.S. government has considerable experience in providing development assistance in this field, particularly in Africa. A focused, increased effort to address global health needs is clearly warranted.

## Conclusion

Diplomacy, information, and military posture are three significant instruments that the United States can employ to achieve its national security policy ends. These means must be integrated with the economic instrument (discussed in the next chapter) using a holistic approach to shape the international environment. Considering all these instruments of power together can enable policy makers to leverage the strengths and mitigate the weaknesses of each to maximum advantage for the United States.

## Discussion Questions

1. What is the purpose of diplomacy, and what elements comprise U.S. diplomatic efforts?
2. Compare and contrast *multilateral diplomacy* with *bilateral diplomacy*. When might each be most useful?
3. Identify some of the limitations of diplomatic efforts. How might these limitations be overcome?
4. Discuss the role of public diplomacy in U.S. foreign policy. Is public diplomacy increasing in importance? Why or why not?
5. What are the ethical considerations associated with the U.S. government’s use of the information instrument of power?

6. Many believe that international broadcasting programs, such as Voice of America, present a pro-American view of current events. Would it be better to instead present the full spectrum of views on an issue in an open forum?

7. How has the U.S. military posture changed since World War II? Since the end of the Cold War? Is the current posture appropriate for the threats facing the United States?

8. What diplomacy and information measures are appropriate complements to U.S. changes in military posture?

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## Internet Resources

American Diplomacy, [www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat)

Central Intelligence Agency, [www.cia.gov](http://www.cia.gov)

United Nations, [www.un.org/english](http://www.un.org/english)

U.S. Department of Defense, [www.defenselink.mil/pubs](http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs)

U.S. Department of State, [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)

University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy,  
<http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com>