

BEYOND FEAR

AMERICA'S ROLE IN AN UNCERTAIN WORLD



AP Photo/Jacob Silberberg

"The only thing we have to fear..."

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...is fear itself."

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933

Every day the latest headlines reflect a world filled with fear. Terrorism, war, disaster, and disease are grim realities brought to our doorstep in our increasingly connected world. And, as President Bush frequently asserts, these realities have to shape America's national security and foreign policies.

"Right now there is a premium more on things that build fear or exploit the fear American's have about their basic security," says Steve Clemons, director of the American Strategy Program at the New America Foundation in Washington. "We've become a nervous country. We spend more on our national defense and security than any other nation in the world...and we don't feel safe as Americans."

But fear itself cannot drive our daily lives. We know weapons, disease, drugs, and other security threats move more freely around the world than ever before. If national borders can't contain these threats, how do we stop them? What role should the United States play in this effort? And will other nations play along?

"Across the world the spike in anti-Americanism is troubling," says Ambassador Nancy Soderberg, a former Clinton administration national security advisor. "It's not that we have to run a popularity contest, but when the world doesn't trust us it's very difficult to get them to follow us."

When the United States plays what Soderberg sees as a positive leadership role, the world usually follows...as was the case when the war in Afghanistan won overwhelming global support. But the Iraq conflict has tarnished America's global image. Soderberg believes rebuilding global trust in the United States will lead not only

to better foreign relations but will ultimately strengthen the security within our own borders.

"Unfortunately the threats are global and the solutions are global. We cannot dry up sources of terrorism on our own. We cannot keep weapons of mass destruction out of the hands of terrorists on our own. And nor can we keep our economy strong on our own. We need to engage the global community and that means leading it."

After World War II America was recognized as an important leader in times of international crisis. And following the collapse of the Soviet empire, the United States has remained the world's lone superpower. Does this mean we have to be in the driver's seat for solving every global problem? How should American leadership best be exercised in today's world?

In the past and in the present, the United States has found ways to provide positive, global leadership. "Beyond Fear: America's Role in an Uncertain World" is an exploration of those examples.

The result is a the radio documentary, "Beyond Fear: America's Role in an Uncertain World."

Hosted by David Brancaccio, "Beyond Fear" is a Stanley Foundation production in association with KQED Public Radio. The program was produced by Simon Marks, Kristin McHugh, and Keith Porter.

The text in this publication is adapted from the radio program.

Djibouti: Building, Not Fighting



*This entrance to a sleeping tent reminds the military personnel, at Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti, the importance of their presence in this region.
(photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)*



President Teddy Roosevelt is the author of the legendary “walk softly but carry a big stick” line about America’s posture in the world. In many cases, that “big stick” is the massive US military with 737 bases around the world and an imposing \$462 billion annual budget.

Today the United States military is beginning to use some of its vast resources to also play the “speak softly” role by carrying out work normally reserved for diplomats and humanitarians. But is this the right role for the US military?

That question is now playing out in the Horn of Africa, where the Pentagon’s latest efforts to promote positive American leadership far from home include the installation of a hand pump to provide fresh water in a remote village.

“From a civil engineer’s perspective, this is a great operation for us because I like the humanitarian aspect of it,” says Paul Vandenberg, part of the SeaBees, the US Navy’s engineering corps. “The good news is we haven’t done any fighting, and we hope to keep it that way.

“The work our troops are doing—building schools, repairing schools, drilling water wells in some very drought areas, and we are also doing medical clinic work—it really gives you a good feeling.

“The people are very appreciative in most cases. They are very helpful. They are very friendly. They like having us around. It builds nice relationships and ultimately I think that’s the way we are going to really change this part of the world.”

From All Branches of the Military

The US Central Command has operated the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, or CJTF-HOA, since 2002. Its stated mission is “...to prevent conflict, promote regional stability and protect Coalition interests in east Africa and Yemen through humanitarian assistance.”

Stationed at America’s largest military base in Africa, troops here come from nearly a dozen different countries and all branches of the US



A nomad fetches water from a shallow, bacteria-infested pond at a Djiboutian oasis near the Ethiopia-Somalia border. The United States’ military is working to rehabilitate a well a few hundred yards away that will provide cleaner drinking water. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)

military, including even the US Coast Guard. Task force members are building health clinics, providing medical and veterinary care, renovating schools, and providing fresh water sources.

The Army National Guard’s 1132nd Well Digging Crew from Mooresville, North Carolina, believes this work is fully part of the global war on terror.

Today the crew is surveying a well for rehabilitation; a well located along an ancient camel trail in the middle of a desert oasis.

“What we’re doing here, we’re actually doing more of a preemptive strike,” says the group’s acting First Sergeant, William Robert Brown. “The terrorist organizations go into countries like this



First Sergeant William Robert Brown inspects an American-installed water well near the Ethiopian border. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)

that can't provide for themselves and have very poverty-ridden areas. And they'll go in and promise these people money, promise them services so that they can use their children or their younger men and younger women to do terrorist acts.

"Just by virtue of us being here and training these militaries in the Horn of Africa, we see a limited and a less presence of terrorist threats, insurgents. I mean because we're here, they are not here.... So indirectly, yes, America is a safer place by virtue of us being here and the insurgents not."

A Longtime Breeding Ground

Eastern Africa has long been considered a breeding ground for terrorists and terror activities. The FBI first placed Osama bin Laden on its top ten most wanted list after the 1998 US Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. Late

last year Ethiopia invaded neighboring Somalia to support Somalia's transitional government and to force Islamic militias from power. Strategic US military strikes on suspected Al Qaeda hideouts in Somalia followed in early 2007.

Senior task force officials won't comment on speculation that the strategic strikes in Somalia were carried out from the Djiboutian base. But US Army Major John Hill, who is in charge of America's military training across the Horn of Africa, confirms an Ethiopian military unit involved in the 2006 invasion was trained by the CJTF in the months leading up to the Somalia operation.

"Ethiopians, for example, have been very successful in the operations they've recently conducted," Hill says. "We know we're providing these guys a great asset, and reports that we've gotten, without divulging anything, were phenomenal."

Major Hill has served in Iraq and plans to return. He says what is happening in Djibouti and America's efforts to undermine terrorist organizations in the Horn of Africa go far beyond military strikes—in his view they represent the future of the US military.

"We are still waging war," Hill says. "It's a great mission. It's unlike any other you'll see. This really though is the forefront of where we should be in the future in Iraq and Afghanistan."

Military "Ill-Suited" For Development Projects?

Skeptics worry this focus on so-called "soft security" issues like schools and water wells will erode the military's traditional war-fighting skills. Others say the military is ill-suited for long-term development projects. They say civilian services are best delivered by civilians; that using the military for these projects is confusing to the people being served, and that the money and resources would be better spent by the Peace Corps, the State Department, or the United Nations. But even America's diplomatic representatives in



Djibouti are eager to give proper credit to the military's role in the region.

Janet Schulman, the country director for the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Djibouti, believes working jointly with the US military based at Camp Lemonier is helping to win the hearts and minds of young in a region vulnerable to religious extremism.

“The military has always had a civilian affairs unit. And rather than have them roaming around the country willy-nilly, constructing things that may or may not be useful and may or may not be a priority for the community, I think us [the military and USAID] coming together, planning together, and executing projects together is to the benefit of all.

“They're helping build health centers. They're helping to build schools. They are helping to give

hope to children who otherwise may never have hope and may be stuck in, for lack of a better word, certain religious schools that would train them to become fanatics.”

A New Kind of Mission

Back at Camp Lemonier, the sense that these troops are on a new kind of mission seems to have sunk deep into the camp culture. Troops are even volunteering their spare time to help locals better their lives and improve Djiboutian perception of America.

Nathanial Young of Guam is part of Camp Lemonier's chaplain corps. He previously served on board the USS Comstock in the Iraq war. The camp's chaplain corps has adopted two local orphanages and raised thousand of dollars to renovate dilapidated buildings. Every week, vanloads of American troops arrive to play basketball and soccer with these boys.



Students pay close attention to their math instructor at a school that receives assistance from the United States Agency for International Development in Tadjoura, Djibouti. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)



An American serving with the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa takes a break from daily duties to play basketball with a group of boys at a Djiboutian orphanage. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)

“If you’re given the opportunity to stay at base or go do something that matters and gives meaning to your day, why not go do something that means something,” Young says.

A different type of engagement happens other nights when volunteer troops make their way through the dark streets of Djibouti City to a local foreign language school. In a dimly lit room of the two-story concrete school, the volunteers ignore the sweltering heat to take part in an English language discussion group who are talking about women and sports.

“I just wanted to be of some assistance to the local populace here. There was a lot of interest in them learning American English and the way we actually speak it, versus the way they learn

in school,” says Army Master Sergeant Francine Shephard of Tunnel Springs, Alabama, one of the volunteers.

“This English Discussion Group is a vital part of CJTF-HOA’s mission. It is. Whether it is the strategic command portion, the English Discussion Group, whether it’s our mil-to-mil exercises or public relations, all those are vital links in our chain to help Africa. And CJTF-HOA will be a stronger antiterrorism force.”

Said Ibrahim, the English Discussion Group’s local director, says his students benefit from hearing Americans speak English, something he says he wasn’t exposed to when he learned the language.

“They’re going to gain the proper pronunciation, the proper way of speaking and all the terms and expressions,” Said says.

The Good Side of Americans

Kennedy Mohamed Ali, a journalist from Djibouti’s government-owned newspaper, *The Nation*, says the Muslim locals are warming up to the Americans there—though before their arrival “they did not truly like the Americans” because of the war in Iraq. But now they’ve seen the good side of Americans.

“Since the American forces arrived in Djibouti, there has been a lot of progress,” Ali says. “Progress on the level of national education, because they have contributed to the construction of schools. Progress in terms of roads, since they’ve rehabilitated the roads. Progress in the level of health, because they have given materials to various hospitals; they’ve rebuilt them. I can sincerely say that the American presence has brought considerable progress to Djibouti.”

For all the good being done here by the Horn of Africa Task Force, there are only 1,700 troops in Djibouti, and the estimated \$49 million it will cost to run the task force in 2007 is a tiny drop in the Defense Department’s \$420 billion dollar budget. But the scope of this effort may be about to change.



A New US Command for Africa

Currently the Pentagon divides responsibility for Africa operations among what they call Central Command, European Command, and Pacific Command. But an all new Africa Command, also known as AFRICOM, was announced earlier this year as a way of uniting and integrating US military operations across the continent.

“We have started to work towards establishing Africa Command. And I think a lot of the things we’ve done can be viewed as a test bed for processes and concepts that they could put into action over the entire continent,” says Admiral Tim Moon, deputy commander of the Horn of Africa Task Force.

“Hopefully they can take lessons learned from everybody who’s operated down on the continent and come together with a truly dynamic organization that’s able to meet the many

differing and unique requirements that you find in a land mass this big.

“The biggest lesson learned would be that to be successful here, the United States really has to have an interagency effort, really bring all the elements of national power to bear, and this is everything: diplomacy, military, economic.”

AFRICOM won’t be fully operational until next year, but in the meantime Camp Lemonier is expanding—and the base commander, US Navy Captain Bob Fahey, thinks this is a very good thing.

“The camp originally, up until June of last year, was only 97 acres—quite small,” he said. “Last May the government of Djibouti signed a lease agreement with the United States government which expands the camp to 500 acres.”



This is the area known as “downtown” at Camp Lemonier in Djibouti. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)



Members of the Army National Guard's 1132nd Well Digging Crew from Moorsville, North Carolina, hand out water to nomads passing through a Djiboutian oasis near the Ethiopia-Somalia border. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)

“I’ve been a lot of interesting places. I’ve been to Bosnia, Desert Storm, Haiti. This is without question the most rewarding thing I’ve ever done in the military.... I’ve had several people tell me, ‘Hey, I wanted to come here. I wanted to come to Africa and make a difference.’”

Critic: NGOs Can Do a Better Job

Ken Bacon was the official Pentagon spokesman from 1994 to 2001, and now serves as the president of Refugees International—a Washington, DC-based nongovernmental organization that provides humanitarian assistance to people displaced by conflict or natural disasters around the world. He believes existing nongovernmental agencies, or NGOs, are better suited than the US military to provide humanitarian relief.

“I’m not sure that this is the best use of our military,” Bacon says. “I think the best use of our military is to make places secure, help places become more secure. And if the military concentrates on doing that, they will win the hearts and minds of the people who just want to live a normal secure life.”

“If the US believes that more wells need to be drilled in Djibouti, they can hire OXFAM, they can hire all sorts of NGOs to drill the wells. And they will do it, I guarantee, for much less money than it will cost the US military to do it.”

Bacon also believes the US military puts itself on a slippery slope when delivering humanitarian aid.

“On a day-to-day basis I don’t think it makes sense to have soldiers with uniforms, carrying arms, perhaps driving around in armed HUMVs delivering military aid—because it tends to confuse in the eyes of the people receiving this, it confuses humanitarian work with military protection,” he says.

Bacon does believe focusing on the security of those in need will yield benefits as long as the military provides the physical security and unarmed humanitarian workers are responsible for relief and development.

“Over time if people are well fed, if they see hope for their children, if their kids can go to school and not be attacked, if they can grow food or set up small industries, I think that the urge to sign up with terrorist groups or the breeding ground for terrorism will be significantly reduced,” Bacon says. “But it’s not an instant solution.”

“Providing Suitcases Full of Cash to WarLords”

John Prendergast is senior advisor to the International Crisis Group, a nongovernmental organization whose slogan is working to prevent conflict worldwide. Like Ken Bacon, he is critical of the work being done by the CJTF-HOA, but for very different reasons.



“I literally thought I was in the twilight zone on my visits to the US force Camp Lemonier,” Prendergast says. “I was getting these wonderful briefings from very well-meaning US military personnel who believe very strongly in the whole idea of draining the swamp. You know the whole idea of building good solid relations with communities as a long-term means of getting their support for our longer-term counterterrorism interest.”

“But at the same time we were doing all this wonderful stuff for the last two-and-a-half years in the region, we were also providing—to those guys in Djibouti, but through our CIA station chief in Kenya—we were providing suitcases full of cash to warlords. Just crushing and undercutting the long-term agenda that was patiently attempting to be built through these civil affairs.”

Prendergast supports the creation of the Pentagon’s Africa Command but says it is not enough.

“I think the Defense Department is out in front of the State Department on this. Ensuring that there is a forward-leaning comprehensive policy toward Africa is very, very important to have,” he says.

“But it has to be matched by a similar investment by the US Department of State in diplomacy and support for these peace processes and support for democracy-building. And if we don’t have those ingredients, any guy in the military in Camp Lemonier...will tell you this military strategy is not going to work.”

In addition to democracy-building, Prendergast believes if the United States wants to stop extremists from gaining an even stronger foothold in the Horn of Africa, America should work to ensure economic opportunities for all people, not just those who already have wealth and power.

“We’re sort of drifting back into this Cold War-style approach to alliance-building where, if a government is on our side, we basically give them

largely a blank check as to what they do inside their own borders. The Ethiopians can do what they want. The Ugandans can do what they want. And sadly even the Sudanese can do what they want, as long as they’re continuing to cooperate and partner with us on counterterrorism. But you’ve got to have the corresponding political access to decision making and people’s rights allowed to be exercised. And in the absence of that, I think you’re playing with fire.”



A young Djiboutian girl holds a bottle of water she received from members of the Army National Guard's 1132nd Well Digging Crew from Moorsville, North Carolina. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)

India/Ukraine:

America's Mixed Message on Nuclear Materials





In 1946 the newsreel version of the world was still captivated by the “awe-inspiring cloud” from atomic weapons. By 1950 though, with nuclear know-how spreading to other countries, some were trying to put the genie back in the bottle.

The Three Mile Island nuclear disaster, weapons of mass destruction, and the threat of dirty radiological bombs have resulted in widespread fear of all things nuclear.... Justified or not, these realities fuse the threats not only associated with nuclear weapons but nuclear energy as well.

Even before news anchors learned to pronounce the word *Chernobyl*, it was apparent that the Ukrainian city would become synonymous with the worst nuclear accident the world has yet seen. Back in April 1986, of course, no one was predicting that the Soviet Union would—within 5 1/2 years—fall apart. When it did, the United States moved quickly to help safeguard nuclear materials on Ukrainian soil—partly because of the scare caused by the meltdown of reactor No. 4 at the Chernobyl nuclear plant.

Today efforts are still under way to ensure that the enormous formerly Soviet stockpile of nuclear materials does not fall into the hands of terrorists. But elsewhere in the world, the Bush administration has been seeking to expand the abilities of some US allies to operate in the nuclear sphere, not contain them.

Uranium Mined in India

India has mined uranium since the 1960s. But the country’s rapid population growth and economic rise has left the country in desperate need of energy. Currently, only 3 percent of India’s power is supplied by the nuclear industry.

Ramendra Gupta, head of the Uranium Corporation of India, would like to see that figure rise sevenfold. “If we want to sustain plus 8 percent growth, we need more power,” says Gupta, who ran India’s deepest gold mine before moving to the uranium industry because of its “growth potential.”

“And to have enough power, nuclear power is a good alternative,” he says. “Because at present we are not having enough fossil fuel in India. And most of the fossil fuel that is being imported, it is coming from areas that are not very politically stable.”

Bush Favors India Nuclear Deal

That is an argument the Bush administration buys, and the president himself has enthusiastically proposed a new deal between Washington and New Delhi that will permit India to expand its civil nuclear program to meet its energy needs.

“India is now the world’s fifth-largest consumer of energy, and its demand for electricity is expected to double by 2015,” the president said in a recent speech. “The United States has a clear interest in helping India meet this demand with nuclear energy.”

The pride of India’s nuclear industry can be found just outside Mumbai, the commercial capital in the south of the country that used to be called Bombay. The Tarapur Atomic Power Project is the largest nuclear reactor site in the country—there are two pressurized heavy water reactors here, vast bulbous structures that buzz with the kind of quiet hum associated with the world’s most modern nuclear facilities.

Anil Kakodkar is the chairman of India’s Atomic Energy Commission. As the highest-ranking



The Jaduguda Uranium Mine, located 900 miles southeast of Delhi, India. (video still/courtesy of Simon Marks for the Stanley Foundation)

nuclear official in the country, he oversees the industry, including the Tarapur site.

He's a firm believer that as the world's largest democracy, India not only needs a nuclear program but can be trusted with one as well.

"If you look at India's track record, India has always behaved in a responsible manner. If you look at India's nonproliferation record, you will find our record is impeccable," he said.

"We have controlled all these technologies extremely well. So in fact I would not hesitate saying that India's track record is better than some, shall I say, NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty) states."

Non-Proliferation Treaty Not Honored

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, of which India is not a signatory, goes to the very heart of the concerns expressed by critics about the proposed US-India deal.

India is one of only four countries not to honor the treaty—Pakistan, Israel, and North Korea are the other three. Despite that, the proposed agreement with Washington will give India a chance to enjoy many of the benefits previously reserved for countries that have signed the treaty. Worse still, say the critics, India will be allowed to continue developing its military nuclear program.

India's decision to test three nuclear devices in 1998—an event heralded at the time by proud coverage on Indian television—was roundly condemned by the United States and its allies.

No country that has signed the NPT has been permitted to cooperate with India's nuclear program, nor has India been allowed to import supplies of uranium. But the deal with Washington will change all that.

Praful Bidwai, a former editor of *The Times of India* and an advocate of nuclear disarmament, argues the US-India deal will not enhance global security, but threaten it.



Workers check readings in the control room of the Tarapur Atomic Power Project in Mumbai, India. (video still/courtesy of Simon Marks for the Stanley Foundation)

"Our calculations show that India could divert enough additional uranium to weapons to the point of making something like 24 to 40 bombs a year, which is a very, very large arsenal—in a period of ten years you're talking about 300 to 400 nuclear bombs," Bidwai said.

"It's absurd. It's going to lead to an arms race, a nuclear arms race not just with Pakistan but with China, and that is going to degrade security in the region...and drain our budget of the resources that we need to fight poverty and give food and water to the people."

Professor P. R. Chari with the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies in New Delhi argues that the proposed deal with Washington—which is still under negotiation and subject to congressional approval—would lift virtually all the sanctions India has faced, without seeking any of the NPT's commitments in return. "I don't think India could ever have had it so good," Chari says.

"This particular Indo-US nuclear deal, it really drives a horse and carriage through the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It makes it meaningless. I mean any other country, especially the 180 or so that have signed and have accepted its prohibitions and its qualifications, could very well ask



their own question: Well, why don't we go ahead and explode a nuclear device? If an exception can be made for India, why not for us?"

Mines Heavily Guarded

Because, say Indian officials, they're at the helm of a burgeoning democracy that is poised to become a regional economic superpower—and the country's uranium mines are heavily guarded by Indian soldiers around the clock.

Ramdenra Gupta, head of the Uranium Corporation of India, says he is certain there is no risk that India's nuclear materials could ever fall into the hands of terrorists

"I am very sure we have the necessary security arrangements as well as the safeguards in place. So I am very sure none of these things are going to happen. Up to now it's not happened, so it's not going to happen in future also."

But just five miles away from the Jaduguda mine, located in a picturesque region 900 miles south-east of Delhi, recent events suggested all that security at Jaduguda might be prudent.

During a reporter's visit to the area, the local member of Parliament was assassinated by Maoist insurgents who are operating increasingly boldly in the region.

As his body emerged from the local morgue, throngs of people vowed to avenge his death. Many of them took to the streets with makeshift weapons. And as the cortege, garlanded with marigolds, carried him through the streets, tens of thousands of people lined the route to pay their last respects to a seemingly popular local political figure.

The Maoist insurgents—called the Naxalites—are waging an armed struggle against India's rapid capitalist transformation. This attack was considered their boldest move yet. There is no suggestion that they have made any attempt to target India's strategic nuclear sites, but the very presence of armed militants so close to the Jaduguda mine underscores the need for watertight security

measures to keep India's nuclear materials from falling into the wrong hands.

Dismantling in Ukraine

The Bush administration's decision to offer India a deal represents—at the very least—a shift in nonproliferation strategy. In other parts of the world, the US focus previously sought to eradicate nuclear weapons, and safeguard nuclear materials designed for peaceful purposes.

Three thousand miles from Delhi, in the Ukrainian capital Kiev, there is evidence of that approach at the Paton Electric Welding Institute. Originally built to serve the Soviet military, engineers at the plant are now finding commercial customers for their services.

"Well, it is to change swords into ploughshares. That's certainly a good way to put it," says US State Department contractor Victor Korsun, deputy executive director of the Science and Technology Center of Ukraine. The center is jointly funded by the United States, the European Union, and Canada, and it oversees the conversion of plants like the Paton Institute.

"The mission here is to work with former weapons scientists to redirect their skills into peaceful applications," Korsun says. "The various countries—US, Europe, Canada—wanted to make sure that



A rail car moves through the Jaduguda Uranium Mine, 900 miles southeast of Delhi, India. (video still/courtesy of Simon Marks for the Stanley Foundation)



A worker operates heavy machinery near the rock face of the Jaduguda Uranium Mine, 900 miles southeast of Dehli, India. (video still/courtesy of Simon Marks for the Stanley Foundation)

the scientists that used to work on nuclear, chemical, biological weaponry didn't leave the country and go off to work for rogue states around the world."

It wasn't only the fate of Soviet scientists that worried Western governments when the USSR collapsed. Nuclear warheads themselves were dismantled—enormous chainsaws were taken to Soviet weaponry that had been scattered throughout Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. The US government encouraged—and paid for—the removal of all Soviet nuclear weapons based on Ukrainian soil. And a legislative initiative, the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, has over the last 15 years made enormous progress safeguarding nuclear sites across the former Soviet Union in a bid to ensure their materials don't fall into the hands of terrorists.

Improving Nuclear Safety

"The technical assistance which we received from the United States was important at that time for our national efforts towards improving nuclear safety," says Nikita Konstantinov, the first vice president of Energoatom, Ukraine's nuclear energy utility.

He points to sites like the Kiev Institute for Nuclear Research, which houses one of the country's reactors. Here, Nunn-Lugar funds were spent improving security, installing perimeter

fences, training guards, and trying to ensure that the nuclear materials on the site are held under the strictest possible conditions.

"Before Soviet times, we practically don't have simulators, and believe me simulators for nuclear reactors is a big device," Konstantinov says. "It's actually a facility that includes very big software and hardware components. Thanks to the United States, now all our nuclear power plants are equipped with modern simulators provided in the framework of United States' assistance."

On the streets of Kiev it's apparent that the US investment not only helped achieve a geopolitical security goal, it also won friends among Ukrainians. "I personally think we're safer without nuclear weapons," says a Kiev resident named Alexander. "Because some catastrophe or explosion could have happened. And what's the use of them anyway. Doesn't make any sense. Where can you use them? But their very presence brings about danger."

Says another resident, "I think any nuclear power in the world is not safe, because it takes one second to destroy everything if we abuse it."

Production Continues in India

Back on the traffic-clogged streets of Delhi, there is some confusion about US proliferation policy. The country that worked so hard to get so many Soviet nuclear weapons destroyed is seen here as becoming complicit in India's desire to acquire more nuclear bombs. P. R. Chari of the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies argues the United States is guilty of double standards that will only cause Washington more difficulty.

"There the United States took the point of view that it wanted to reduce the number of countries which had possession of nuclear weapons," he said.

"But in the case of India, what one finds is that the United States has no problem with the extension of the number of countries which has nuclear weapons. So there is a certain inconsistency in this...when the US wishes now to make



a distinction between India and North Korea and Iran, there are difficulties.”

At the uranium mine in Jaduguda, production continues around the clock. And India has plans to open two more uranium mines within the next five years. Officials here say whether the US-India nuclear deal goes ahead or not, the domestic nuclear industry will continue to thrive, keeping the lights on all over India, but also building India’s nuclear arsenal.

Two Key Senators Disagree

The two luminaries in the field of nonproliferation disagree with each other about the proposed US nuclear deal with India.

Republican Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana—who along with former US Senator Sam Nunn 15 years ago created the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program to eradicate the threat posed by the Soviet nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons stockpiles—is backing his president.

“I see no evidence that the Indians are eager for an arms race, or are really avidly building more weapons,” Lugar says. “They would claim they are in a dangerous neighborhood, that Russia has nuclear weapons, the Chinese have demonstrated nuclear weapons, their neighbors in Pakistan have at least a fledgling program, maybe more. And they would say to us you have to understand that that’s the predicament we’re in.”

Nunn, retired from the US Senate, sees things differently and calls the deal a missed opportunity.

“We didn’t in my view bargain nearly hard enough,” he said. “I think it was a great opportunity to say to the Indians, ‘OK, we know we need to be partners, you know we need to be partners, let’s be partners, but let’s do it in a way that is conducive to reducing the dangers of nuclear and catastrophic terrorism.’ That would have meant having a deal that said to India cut off your production of weapons-grade fissile material, and we’ll do the same thing. Don’t keep making the very materials that we

are trying desperately to secure all over the world. But that wasn’t part of the deal.”

Nunn worries that having said India *can* develop its civil and military nuclear programs, it will be tough to tell other nations they can’t.

“Well, it’s very difficult to have the United States in a position where we pick out those that we think are good guys, and say, ‘OK good guys get to do all this, and the bad guys don’t,’” he said. “But to most of the world that smacks of high-level superpower hypocrisy, and I think that is the problem with the India deal. I think it makes our job in encouraging other nations to help us prevent proliferation much more difficult.”

Lugar takes a more pragmatic view, arguing that collective security is better served by seizing chances that arise—like a strong alliance with an emerging India. And he rejects the notion that the United States projects contradictory policies often based on fear.

“I wouldn’t characterize our foreign policy as essentially based on fear,” he says. “I see it much more based on opportunity, on all these possible challenges that are out there. But likewise, optimism, that we will be able to work, sometimes incrementally, sometimes more dramatically, through many of these challenges towards some significant advances.”



Inside the Tarapur Atomic Power Project plant in Mumbai, India. (video still/courtesy of Simon Marks for the Stanley Foundation)

Aceh: Preserving the Peace, Post-Disaster





Ancient proverbs tell us that adversity reveals true character and that disasters can be the true test of leadership. If this is so, few recent tests loom larger than the 2004 tsunami in Asia.

The December 2004 tsunami killed more than a quarter of a million people and inundated coastal communities throughout Southeast Asia. In the immediate days after the earthquake and giant wave struck, much of the developed world responded with vast generosity.

But the United States appeared flatfooted, almost unconcerned. It wasn't until three days after the tsunami that President Bush interrupted his Christmas vacation in Crawford, Texas, to address the disaster publicly.

The president turned to the odd couple of former Presidents Bill Clinton and George Bush senior to head up the American response to the crisis. They secured more than a billion dollars in donations to tsunami relief, much of it given to countries like Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim nation and a fertile recruiting ground for enemies of the United States like Al Qaeda. Before long, America was sending not only food and tents but also the US military to lend a helping hand.

In the hard hit area of Aceh on the northern tip of Indonesia's Sumatra Island, this pivot required



More than two years after the tsunami, a large ship that washed ashore and destroyed houses nearly a mile from the ocean remains a symbol of the disaster in Banda Aceh, Indonesia. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)



Aceh Chili Farm: Former Free Aceh Movement separatist fighter Joni Suriawan stands in the chili field he recently planted with proceeds from his work on an American-funded construction project in Ronga Ronga, Indonesia. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)

some delicate diplomacy. At the time the United States had an embargo on most military aid to Indonesia. But now US leadership in post-tsunami reconstruction is starting to pay dividends and is even sparking some unforeseen positive results.

Former Fighters Build a New Market

In Ronga Ronga, a bustling hamlet of 300 families carved from the jungle of Aceh's highlands, villagers grow famed Sumatran coffee and hot chili peppers. The village's lone main street reverberates with the sounds of buses, trucks, and motorcycles making their way up the mountain.

But Ronga Ronga wasn't always this lively. It's one of thousands of communities in Aceh ripped apart by the three-decade-long civil conflict over control of the province's rich oil and gas reserves, alleged human rights abuses, and ethnic identity.

Joni Suriawan, 27, joined the separatist rebel Free Aceh movement, known locally as GAM, the day the Indonesian military beat him up while he was working on his coffee plantation. He was 20 years old.



A worker prepares concrete at the site of an American-funded market project in Ronga Ronga, Indonesia. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)

Today he is one of 15 combatants working to build a new outdoor market in Ronga Ronga with funds from the US government.

“I wasn’t a member of the GAM rebels, but after I criticized the government for corruption, the military accused me of being a member of GAM,” he said. “So I thought, ‘OK, if the military thinks I’m a GAM rebel, it’s better if I go join them in the jungle. They can protect me.’”

The Indonesian military had been fighting with separatist rebels like Joni for nearly three decades when the devastating wave swept away 170,000 lives and left a half million homeless.

At the time, Aceh was under martial law, and Indonesia did not allow foreigners in the rebellious province. So it was somewhat surprising when less than two weeks after the tsunami, US forces landed in Aceh to assist with the recovery.

“Trust Comes Very Quickly”

Lt. Colonel Jay Hatton was with one of the first groups of American marines to go on shore.

“It’s a matter of patience and honesty and a genuine desire to help the people here,” he said. “We are operating on the basic food/shelter level.

And that cuts through politics and cuts through some of the rhetoric, and once people get on the ground and start working together, that trust comes very quickly.”

A similar principle worked after the tsunami for the rebels and the Indonesian government. The terrible disaster and the overwhelming need to rebuild helped bring the two parties to the negotiating table. They signed a peace accord in Helsinki just eight months after the tsunami.

Two-and-a-half years after the disaster, the crucial issues for Aceh and the many countries and organizations that have reached out to help are not just rebuilding, but also how to preserve the peace. The US response the day after the tsunami struck was slow. But the United States is now recognized as one of the more generous donors.

US Paves the Way for New Coastal Highway

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has a variety of programs. Down on the coast where the tsunami washed away much of the highway, cars and motorcycles line up to cross a rickety temporary bridge, wide enough for only one car. This is the start of USAID’s showcase tsunami recovery project: a



A large sign marks the start of an American-funded road project in Aceh, Indonesia. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)



Construction equipment stands idle along a section of USAID's showcase road project in Aceh, Indonesia. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)

coastal highway between two important cities in the province. A large sign at the start of the road proudly announces the project.

“It’s a very significant road for supporting economic development in that region as well the whole province,” says Dr. Kuntoro Mangkusubroto, head of the Indonesian government’s Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency in Aceh. “This is something we appreciate very highly for USAID helping us here.”

But the road project has not been without its critics. USAID is funding the actual construction, but the Indonesian government is responsible for acquiring the land needed for the highway. The road is far behind schedule because many landowners initially refused to sell their land arguing the price they were being offered was too low. The delays have resulted in cost overruns, and a reduction in the planned length of the road. They illustrate that good intentions can be marred by on-the-ground realities.

Still, landowners like 22-year-old Muzammil Akbar are eager to see the road built for everyone’s benefit and happy to receive some income.

Muzammil, who had to drop out of college after the tsunami took his family and left him alone and penniless, plans to use the income from the land sale to fulfill his dream of becoming a teacher. And despite the problems with the road project, it seems to be having the intended effect in this devoutly Muslim province on attitudes about America.

“You Don’t Want Them to Pick up Guns Again”

Back in Ronga Ronga, former rebel Joni says he’s happy to return to civilian life. He’s also pleased with the new covered market.

The market construction was part of a post-conflict program funded by the US government and implemented by the International Organization for Migration. Communities like Ronga Ronga received grants of \$15,000 and were then given the opportunity in an open meeting to decide what to do with it. The idea is to get neighbors who may have been fearful of each other during the conflict to work together for the good of the entire community.

James Bean of the International Organization for Migration is in charge of the market reconstruction



Aceh is slowly recovering from the December 2004 tsunami. In this photo, a row of new houses is being constructed on the outskirts of Banda Aceh, Indonesia. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)



Fishing boats line a waterway at the end of the day in Banda Aceh, Indonesia. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)

and other post-conflict projects in Aceh's Central Highlands.

"The conflict is gone. All the checkpoints, the sound of gunfire, the violence, has stopped. But the effect of conflict on communities, lost homes, lost loved ones, that still needs to be assessed," Bean says. "And I think there is a lot of apprehension out there. Communities still look peace askance."

The program also requires a portion of the jobs go to former rebels. "You don't want them to pick up the guns again," says Marianne Kearney, media officer for the International Organization for Migration's post-conflict program.

"The danger is if you don't give them some kind of livelihood assistance as we are doing that they will then continue to look for funds in the way they did in the past, which was using a gun.... So it's important that you do assist people to start new lives again."

Former Rebels Negotiate a Fragile Peace

To Joni the project was significant not only because it provided jobs for him and some of his former fighters but also because of the way the decisions were made. He is now working out what he and his men can do next to earn a living. He and a couple of his former fighters have plowed the \$550 in profits from the market project into their farms, planting a field of red hot chilies and raising baby chicks, and Joni hopes to use the profits



from the two projects to invest in his coffee plantation, which he abandoned during the conflict. In the meantime, some of his former fighters have proposed more profitable illegal activities.

“My friends and I often discuss what should we do if we have no jobs, and nobody supports us,” he said. “During the conflict we struggled with the Indonesian military, and now no one is concerned about us. One of my friends suggest we start robbing.”

To prevent people like Joni from turning to crime, and to help tsunami victims, USAID and other aid organizations are also investing in long-term projects to rebuild the economy.

In the provincial capital of Banda Aceh, USAID and the International Organization for Migration donated a new two-story fish market to replace one washed away by the tsunami. And USAID has hired consultants to comb the province in search of products like tropical fish, exotic spices, and fresh produce farmers might export to global markets. Aid workers say the key to helping tsunami survivors and to nurturing peace is the same: build a more prosperous society.

A “Warm Feeling for the United States”

Paul Berg was running the American consulate in Medan, Indonesia—less than 300 miles from the Aceh coast—when the earthquake and tsunami hit. So in the earliest hours of the disaster, he was coordinating relief efforts across the region.

“I’ve never met an American who’s gone to Aceh who didn’t immediately fall in love with the Acehenese people,” Berg says.

“American officials should always be sensitive to the special relationship that Aceh has with the United States. And by the way, it’s a devout Muslim area, yet an area that has a very warm feeling for the United States, and frankly I think these days we need all of that kind of support that we can get all over the world.

“Well, if we would somehow turn our backs on Aceh and on peace in Aceh, then we’d be giving up or we’d be doing damage to a long close relationship between one of the most devoutly Muslim areas on earth. I don’t think that would be a very wise move.”

Berg, a career Foreign Service officer, is now studying at the National War College. He says the United States has a strong interest in the Indonesia peace process and the effort to maintain unity in the country, but promoting American interests in Indonesia can be difficult.

“On the one hand, I think that practically all of Indonesia, from end to end, strongly opposes American policy in the Middle East, including Iraq,” he says. “That is simply a fact of Indonesian public opinion and hasn’t changed.”

But Berg says that doesn’t have to be the end of the story. Building on the tsunami relief efforts, he sees an opening here for positive American leadership that can serve both Indonesia and the United States.

“If you step back, ask in-depth questions about how people actually feel about the United States, Indonesians have a very good feeling, a very positive feeling about the United States,” Berg says. “So, our efforts in Indonesia have to be efforts that will reach down to the bedrock good feeling that Indonesians have about the United States. And they have to be constructive; they have to have some understanding of what the sensitivity of the Indonesian people is.”



Remains of a Banda Aceh home damaged in the 2004 tsunami. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)

A Talk With Former US Secretary of State Colin Powell



Colin Powell began his government service in the US Army in 1958. He rose to the rank of four-star general and became the first African-American to serve as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. (DoD photo/JOC Gloria Montgomery)



Retired US Army General Colin Powell served as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and national security adviser before becoming US secretary of state in 2001. He spoke with David Brancaccio in March 2007 for the documentary “Beyond Fear: America’s Role in an Uncertain World,” produced by the Stanley Foundation and KQED Public Radio.

Q: General Powell, you hear senior administration officials grouse that world affairs are not a popularity contest. To what extent does it even matter if polls around the world show that so many people don’t like us anymore?

General Colin Powell: Well, polls do show that we have fallen in our favorability ratings over the years. But at the same time, people still respect America and they still do trust America. They still come to Washington to find solutions to problems. America is still looked to as a nation that will provide leadership, whether it’s going after the scourge of HIV/AIDS and poverty or solving the problems of the Middle East or doing so many other things. So we still are trusted; we still are respected. As I go around the country, I see the immigration population of America continue to increase as people around the world line up at our embassies and consular offices to get visas to come here, to work, to go to school, to get healthcare, and to become Americans. And so there’s something that’s still very good and very right about America. I think the negative views that have been expressed in recent years are a function of the Iraq war, and what has happened in the aftermath of the fall of that terrible regime and, frankly, continuing anxiety about the situation between the Israelis and the Palestinians: “Why can’t more be done about that? Why can’t America do more?” I think if those two problems could be resolved, then I think we would start to see those numbers go back up in the other direction.

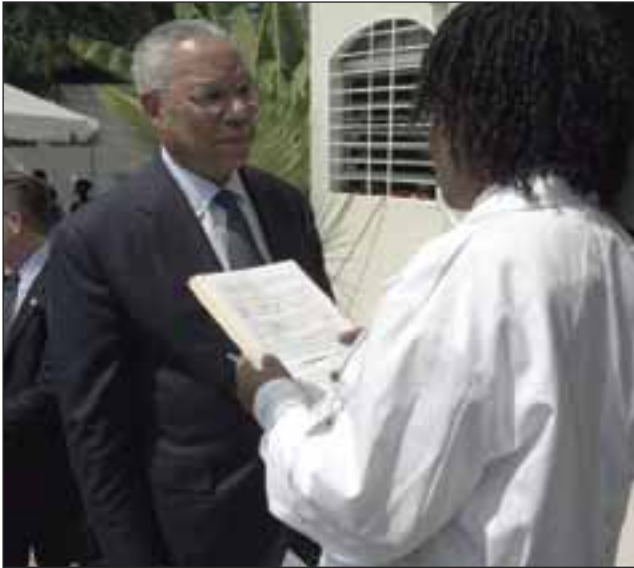
Q: When we read books and essays about leadership, as I’m sure you have as well, it’s often argued that leadership is about winning respect first and then people want to essentially follow

you up the hill. I mean, do you agree with that idea, and can we apply this better to our relationship with the rest of the world?

Powell: I think leadership is about trust and you garner trust by convincing people in the rightness of your cause, and also by sometimes taking chances. You can’t always wait until everybody agrees with the action you’re about to take. Sometimes you have to act and then hope that public opinion will follow that action. I’ve been in a number of situations; for example, the invasion of Panama back in 1989 when I was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, roundly condemned by many people in the world. But we got rid of a terrible regime and Panama has now had four, I think it is, successful democratic elections since, and there isn’t an American soldier in Panama. So things turn out well over time.

When we had trouble with the ABM [Anti-Ballistic Missile] Treaty at the beginning of this administration, everybody said if we ever withdrew from the ABM Treaty we would destroy the strategic framework that existed in the world with respect to nuclear weapons, and we couldn’t do it, and we shouldn’t do it. But we did do it, and we did it after talking to our friends for nine months, after talking to the Russians for a nine-month period as well, and making them understand why we felt we had to do it. When we did it, it didn’t cause any of the kind of outrage that people suggested. Six months after we left the treaty, we signed a new agreement with the Russians that reduced nuclear weapons. So sometimes leadership is about consulting with others and talking to others, but doing what you think is right and hoping that because it was the right thing to do, opinion will eventually come around to your point of view. That is not to say you should go around poking your finger in the eyes of others or being inconsiderate to the views of others. I think it’s important for us to give reasons for our actions and to spend time listening to our friends.

But you know, there is a suggestion that America isn’t doing this, or hasn’t been doing this, but



US Secretary of State Colin Powell listens to the scripted story of a local AIDS patient at an HIV/AIDS treatment facility during his 2004 visit to Port-au-Prince, Haiti. (DoD photo by: CPL Eric C. Ely, USMC)

let's look at some of the facts. We have been engaged in multilateral negotiations and diplomacy with our European friends to do something about the Iranian nuclear program. We have been in multilateral discussions with our friends in Asia to do something about the North Korean program. We're not invading North Korea or Iran; we're working with our friends to try to find a diplomatic solution. When the Balkans still had a significant military presence, some thought the United States was going to leave when the Bush administration came in; we did not. We worked with our friends and allies and we said, "We went in together and we'll come out together." HIV/AIDS, solving the North/South crisis in Sudan, dealing with the problems of Liberia, of Haiti, and so many other places, we have worked with our friends. The unilateral charge, or that we don't listen or pay attention to anyone, really revolves around the situation in Iraq, the International Criminal Court, and Kyoto. Those three.

Q: Those are big ones.

Powell: Those are big ones, and we probably could have taken more time to explain our position with respect to Kyoto and the ICC, and maybe that would have made it less harsh on the ears of

others or in the opinions of others. But we felt strongly about those issues, and I think we still feel strongly, that we have a reason for our decisions and those reasons continue to make sense.

Q: You pointed to examples where America is working with our coalition partners, talking, listening. But could we do an even better job? Do we have the ratio off slightly in terms of engaging versus essentially asserting our authority?

Powell: I think we could do a better job. I think we could take more time to listen and consider the views of others, and not just hear them, but actually listen to them and crank their positions into our own deliberations as we go forward. I've always been a believer in diplomacy, a believer in dialogue, "Let's do everything we can to avoid a crisis or to avoid a war."

Q: Look, I know hope springs eternal. From the tsunami zone in Indonesia we get a story of American engagement that suggests we can still make friends if we put our minds to it. But there are some people who argue that we're past the point of no return, that antipathy for what America is doing is so strong that it's hard to make friends moving forward.

Powell: Well, you know, that's nonsense. We have many friends in the world. We have great alliances. We have the NATO alliance. We have a good relationship with the European Union. We have a strategic relationship with India after 40 years of India kind of being on the other side of the ledger with their connections to the Soviet Union way of doing business, and now we have a strategic partnership with India. With China, we ended the Asian Cold War, brought down the Bamboo Curtain, and now we have an extremely strong open-trading relationship with China. We have alliances with South Korea, with Thailand, with the Philippines. We have strong relations with Australia, with New Zealand. It doesn't mean that all these relations are perfect. There will always be disagreements; disagreements of a trade nature, or disagreements when somebody feels they have to act in



a certain way for their own national interests and others might not agree.

But the presumption of your questions has been that everything has gone in the wrong direction, and I submit that is not the case. I submit that we succeeded in expanding NATO, we have watched as the European Union has expanded, and we have worked hard with our friends and allies around the world to increase trading relations, to open up trading opportunities, to conclude free trade agreements. We have been deeply engaged in providing assistance to the rest of the world. In the four years I was secretary, we doubled the amount of development assistance we give to the world. We quadrupled the amount of aid we were giving to Africa. We helped Secretary-General Kofi Annan set up the Global Health Fund for HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases, and the president then launched a program separately from that to provide \$15 billion for HIV/AIDS relief and the relief of other respiratory diseases.

When the Tsunami hit out in Asia I was there within a week or so, and we started sending money to the area the night it happened. When the United Nations put out a first call on the Sunday night of the Tsunami and said they needed \$7 million in immediate assistance, the United States chipped in over 50 percent of that money immediately. By the end of the first week, we had upped the amount to some \$300 million as the extent of the damage became known. Our military forces, those that are sometimes looked at with some disdain, were one of the first groups to arrive on the scene and begin providing aid, with helicopters coming off of our ships and carriers. So we're still that nation, and I think the people of the world recognize it. But are we going through a bad spot right now with respect to how people generally in the world view the United States? Yes. Is it recoverable? Sure it's recoverable.

Q: As we've gone around the world looking at innovative ways that the US engages other coun-



Powell, US secretary of state, and Florida Governor Jeb Bush (left), visited Indonesia in early January 2005 to survey tsunami damage and relief efforts. (DoD photo/PH3 Gabriel Piper, USN)

tries, my colleagues and I do hear this disturbing refrain about your previous point, that people are not inclined to follow the lead or the wishes of our country too often because they're just so angry about what happened in Iraq. General Powell, you helped make the public case for going to war in Iraq. Do you share blame for some of this?

Powell: I am glad that Saddam Hussein is gone. It's a terrible regime. The intelligence information that I presented to the UN was the same intelligence information that was presented to the United States Congress four months before, the same intelligence information that was provided to the president, the same intelligence information that our allies were using when they decided to come along with us, in the case of the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, and a number of other countries were not all of the offended governments that you're referring to. They all felt that it was important to deal with this problem. The United States took this problem to the United Nations and sought a solution. We got a unanimous resolution after seven weeks of multilateral diplomacy, and that resolution could have avoided the war if Saddam Hussein had fully complied with its terms. He didn't, and the president, believing that it was necessary to protect the nation and protect other nations, decided that military force was necessary.



In May 2003, US Secretary of State Colin Powell presents the United Nations Security Council with what he called "solid" evidence that Iraq still has not complied with UN resolutions calling for it to disarm. (UN photo/Mark Garten)

Now it turned out there were no stockpiles, but let there be no doubt that the intentions were still there and the capability of creating stockpiles was still there. If Saddam Hussein had escaped the consequences this time, there may be some who feel he would have moved to create such weapons but the president was not one of them and neither was I.

Q: Well, without inviting you to take potshots at present policy—that's not my intention—are there lessons to be drawn from experience in Iraq when we think about America's leadership role moving forward?

Powell: When you have to undertake an operation like this, make sure that you have planned well for all potential consequences. It wasn't the first phase of this operation that gave us difficulty. The regime came down quickly. Nobody should miss the opportunity that was created with the elimination of one of the most despotic regimes that the world has ever seen, and I'm glad they're all gone. We did not plan sufficiently for the aftermath, and did not understand the nature of the environment we were entering. Then when the insurgency broke out, we didn't respond sufficiently to that.

Q: Leaving the subject of Iraq now, many Americans do seem to see the wider world through what's really a prism of fear; a lot of international threats are all too real given what we've seen, and we have to fiercely guard against them. But to what extent do you worry that reacting to fear is almost the defining idea of our foreign policy?

Powell: It's not good. You're often saying, "Many Americans see," or, "Everybody in the world sees." I would submit to you that many Americans see an entirely different picture than the picture you just conveyed to me. I travel widely around America and I see people who are working hard, who are creating value or creating jobs, who are confident about the future, and they have put terrorism into its context; it is a danger to us. We have to guard against it. We have to go after the terrorists. But at the same time, we can't let terrorists change the way we



live. We can't let them change our value system. My understanding of the American psyche right now is we are troubled by Iran and North Korea, we are deeply troubled by Iraq, and we are concerned about terrorism, but the country continues to move on. Our economy is doing extremely well. We are creating huge amounts of wealth. Companies are investing not only here in the United States but they're investing overseas. Huge equity funds are being raised in order to make these kinds of investments. The American people going about their business, concerned about the crises but also relieved that there's no longer a cold war in Europe, there is no longer a cold war in Asia, and that the nations that used to have the capacity to destroy us as a nation and a society—the Soviet Union and to some extent China—are now, for the most part, friends. So there are a lot of opportunities out there, and I see many American companies and institutions taking advantage of those opportunities, and being worried about the crises you touch on but at the same time fairly confident of the future.

Q: There are a lot of problems though around the world that might be improved with some American attention and investment. What you tend to see though is the pitches for government money to fix problems overseas often appeal to the national security argument. Is that a problem at all, this notion that you can't just say, "Poverty alleviation," you have to say, "No, it's all really about fighting terrorism"?

Powell: I was in charge of all of our development assistance for the four years that I was secretary of state, and very seldom did I use in my conversations with Congress the national security argument. If you look at the way in which our funds are used now compared to the days of the Cold War, where the argument always was we've got to bolster those nations that are anti-Communist and not invest in those nations that are Communist, well that distinction is gone. What I was concerned about as secretary is how do we relieve poverty, how do we help those nations who have forsworn corruption and have put themselves on the basis of the rule of law? How do we help people who are suffering

with unclean water and who need food, basic necessities of life? I didn't have to worry about who is an enemy and who isn't an enemy and, "We're only going to do this on a national security basis." We did it on the basis of what America's obligation is to our fellow human beings around the world.

The other point I would make is that government aid is not the answer. Ultimately we need nations that have moved away from authoritarian regimes, who have put in place the rule of law, who have ended corruption and have created conditions in their country that attract not just aid, but trade. They need investment, not just aid. Aid helps them get started, but ultimately they need people who feel comfortable to invest in their country, and start to develop their economies and generate wealth.

Q: What is the right blend of military power versus other kinds of engagement if the goal is making the world a safer place?

Powell: You can't compete them that way. There's always a suggestion, you know, we should take more money from the Defense Department and give it to the State Department, or give it to Social Security or give it to the Agricultural Department. We're a rich nation. We can afford whatever we need if we're willing to pay for it. I always argued for additional assistance money for my accounts on the basis of need, not on the basis of, "You should take it away from the Defense Department." The Defense Department has significant worldwide responsibilities. Right now, it's involved in two active theaters in Afghanistan and Iraq and that takes a great deal of money. So the Defense Department defends what it needs, and hopefully the Congress will give them everything they need. The State Department, including the Agency for International Development, has to make the case for what it needs. Hopefully, it is a persuasive case that the Congress will support.

(The text of this interview has been professionally transcribed. However, for timely distribution, it has not been edited or proofread against the tape.)

More Information, Less Fear

Essay by
David Brancaccio



A damaged barbed-wire fence marks all that remains at the site of a former Nike missile silo in suburban New Jersey. (photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)



I am standing on a suburban New Jersey hilltop, once the site of a Nike missile silo built more than half a century ago. The Pentagon called it NY-80, part of a ring of missiles set up to defend New York City from long-range Soviet bombers. While the guidance system for a Nike Hercules rocket required fancy technology for its time, the basic strategy to ensure the security of the metropolis was straightforward: launch the missile, destroy the foe.

How things have changed. Back then the fear was specific—Soviets armed with nukes. Now we still fear our safety but the threats come at us from a confounding number of directions. For proof there is what you can no longer see in the distance from this vantage point: the tops of the twin towers of the World Trade Center. It will be tough to find an adult American alive who hasn't reflected on the best way to make these fears go away.

Military force is one response, but there are plenty of other ways to engage as we have heard over the course of this program. We've looked at several concrete examples of America partnering with the world to help people in other countries—in the Horn of Africa, in India and Russia, in the tsunami zone of Southeast Asia—feel more secure with the added benefit of increasing our own security here.

Hearing these reports we get a sense of the stakes should America's ability or determination to take a leadership role in world affairs erode. What any regular listener to the news knows all too well, there is no shortage of places where some American good will, investment, elbow grease, or in some cases fire power might go a long way to help people around the world have better lives. Let the United Nations, the European Union, even China shoulder some of this and there will still be plenty of global engagement left over for the United States. Of course, it's tempting to add the phrase "if we had the money to do it," but former Secretary of State Collin Powell said something startling in this regard: "We're a rich nation. We can afford whatever we need if we're willing to pay for it."

Take a look at the budgets of all the branches of government that pay for our relations with the rest of the world and there is some terribly serious money to play with—more money than the entire government budgets of some large industrialized countries, if you include the cost of our military. The issue is really one of allocation, how we choose to move the chips around the board.

I'm standing from the grave of the Nike missile system that was dismantled in the 1970s. These days our big defensive missile research is more ambitious: the Star Wars program, people like to call it. Its price tag last year was at \$8 billion and is close to the budget for the US agency for overseas development, USAID, which runs about \$9 billion. This is not some argument against missile defense; it's an invitation to reflect on the idea that we are quite prone to investing in hardware but sometimes have a tougher time grasping the return on investment we get by investing in good will. There is risk in each. It is not clear the Star Wars system can be made to work effectively; it is not clear what you might be able to label soft power exercised abroad will stop every incoming terrorist attack either.

What is clear is that our investment decision and voters with ultimate control of our government's foreign relations budget should be guided more by information and less by fear.



Producer Kristin McHugh records David Brancaccio reading his essay at the site of a former Nike missile silo in suburban New Jersey. (photo by Keith Porter/The Stanley Foundation)

The Stanley Foundation

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The Stanley Foundation's work recognizes the essential roles of the policy community, media professionals, and the involved public in building sustainable peace. Its work aims to connect people from different backgrounds, often producing clarifying insights and innovative solutions.

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