

## Shaping and Military Diplomacy

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**Abstract:** While the Department of State is the lead foreign policy organization within the U.S. government, the Department of Defense plays an increasingly important role in diplomacy largely through its a long tradition of international engagement through shaping the security environment. With a forward presence, large planning staffs, and various engagement tools, geographic combatant commanders pursue regional-level engagement by hosting international security conferences, promoting transparency through military-to-military contacts, and providing American military training and equipment. Throughout history, officers, such as Commodore Matthew Perry, General Tony Zinni, and Admiral Joseph Prueher, have played critical roles in U.S. foreign policy formulation and implementation. Officers like these provide ready evidence that the military does much more than “fight the nation’s wars.” This paper considers military diplomatic engagement activities as a part of U.S. grand strategy and explores the legal and policy implications of an increasingly militarized foreign policy.

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During my time as a CINC, I was asked to carry out presidential and other diplomatic missions that would normally have fallen to diplomats. I'm sure such things frustrated the State Department, but I don't think they disapproved. In fact, they were very supportive. It was more a case of: "Well, if we can't do it, at least somebody is taking care of it. If it's the CINCs, then God bless them." In fact, more often than not, the ambassadors were very glad we were there. We not only brought them the connections we'd made, but we provided them with the ability to get things done they couldn't ordinarily do.<sup>1</sup>

--General Tony Zinni, USMC (ret)

As the opening quotation reveals, combatant commanders are as much policy entrepreneurs as they are warfighters fulfilling important diplomatic roles for the United States. While the State Department is America's lead foreign policy organization, the Defense Department has a distinct size advantage with an operating budget 60 times greater than State's.<sup>2</sup> With a forward presence, large planning staffs, and various engagement tools, geographic combatant commanders pursue regional-level engagement strategies by hosting international security conferences, promoting transparency through military-to-military contacts, and providing American military presence, training, and equipment. The Defense Department fills an important role in U.S. foreign affairs.

In spite of the size disparity between State and Defense, the two organizations are for the most part mutually supporting. U.S. ambassadors are the President's representatives to a particular country and U.S. military commanders often assist in formulating and implementing the President's foreign policy. Both departments advance and defend national interests, and outside of Washington, officers from both departments recognize the importance of cooperation. Yet, the Defense Department's size gives it an advantage during the interagency process. For example, when President Bush announced that the United States would become more strategically engaged in Africa, it was through the creation of a new military command—U.S. Africa Command, and not simply upgrading USAID or the State Department's Africa Bureau. Yet, the military command will have a decidedly interagency focus as the President's vision suggests.<sup>3</sup> The focus of the new command will be on shaping "to promote stability and peace by building capacity in partner nations that enables them to be cooperative, trained, and prepared to help prevent or limit conflicts."<sup>4</sup> Through shaping, military forces engage in diplomacy, strategic communication, and security cooperation.

These non-warfighting roles of the U.S. military often strike people as an anathema to the military's warfighting ethos. For example, John Hillen wrote, "To maintain the skills necessary to execute this [warfighting] function requires strategy, doctrine, training, and force structure focused on deterrence and war fighting, not on peacekeeping missions."<sup>5</sup> Yet this fails to understand that military forces fulfill essential roles before and after major combat operations. Security assistance helps fledgling democracies consolidate, fragile states avoid failure, and authoritarian states liberalize. When he conducted engagement in the 1980s before it was called shaping, Admiral Crowe said that national leaders frequently told him that without American military presence their achievements in democracy and development would not have been possible.<sup>6</sup> Security is essential for economic and social development. This sentiment is reflected in the *QDR Roadmap for*

*Building Partnership Capacity*, which targets efforts to improve the collective capabilities and performance of the Defense Department and its partners and extend governance to under- and ungoverned areas. To be sure, shaping is different from warfighting. Shaping is about relationships, not command and control; it is about security cooperation, not combat; and it is about partnership, not dominance.

Non-warfighting activities also fulfill important training, basing, and operational requirements for American forces. To advance U.S. interests, combatant commands build partners' capabilities and capacity to generate security, influence non-partners and potential adversaries, mitigate the underlying causes of conflict and extremism, and enable rapid action when military intervention is required.<sup>7</sup> Since combined operations are the norm today, U.S. forces need regular interactions with their international partners with shaping constituting phase zero.<sup>8</sup> Overall, shaping activities fulfill current military strategic requirements of assuring friends and allies, dissuading potential competitors, and deterring conflicts in non-lethal ways. Shaping is not necessarily indicative of a precursor to a military campaign, but has become one way to increase the country's attractiveness or soft power.

### **From Coercive Diplomacy to Soft Power**

Writing soon after the Berlin Wall fell, former Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph Nye commented that, "Although the United States still has leverage over particular countries, it has far less leverage over the system as a whole."<sup>9</sup> Nye observed that not only was the international system changing from bipolar to unipolar, but power itself was changing. Nye predicted that non-lethal military power would not be enough to affect outcomes. While the title superpower is bestowed upon the United States for its military prowess, military force is increasingly less relevant to address transnational threats that require international cooperation. Instead, outcomes were more likely to be affected through non-coercive measures or soft power, which Nye defines as "the ability to get what we want through attraction rather than coercion or payments."<sup>10</sup> This prediction bore itself out in the late 1990s when coercive diplomacy did not produce the desired effects and the early 2000s in reaction to a post-9/11 U.S. foreign policy. Consequently, the U.S. government has placed extraordinary emphasis on generating soft power to serve as a reservoir from which to draw non-lethal solutions to U.S. foreign policy problems. The Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Karen Hughes, testified to this point. "I believe there is no more important challenge for our future than the urgent need to foster greater understanding, more respect and a sense of common interests and common ideals among Americans and people of different countries, cultures and faiths throughout the world."<sup>11</sup> One way to do this is through global military engagement, which can build trust among societies. The United States attempts through formal engagement to make it the partner of choice. As Robert Art notes, "short of waging war or playing chicken in a crisis, then, military power shapes outcomes more by its peacetime presence than by its forceful use."<sup>12</sup>

## Roots of Shaping

President Clinton's *National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement* recognized the need to shift away from a strategy of containing communism to a strategy of advancing market-oriented democracies. The strategy directed the military to engage with international partners and to provide a credible overseas presence. "Such overseas presence demonstrates our commitment to allies and friends, underwrites regional stability, ensures familiarity with overseas operating environments, promotes combined training among the forces of friendly countries, and provides timely initial response capabilities."<sup>13</sup> Being forward deployed during the Cold War taught that, "U.S. engagement is indispensable to the forging of stable political relations and open trade to advance our interests."<sup>14</sup> Included in engagement are supporting democracy, providing economic assistance, and increasing interactions between U.S. and other militaries around the world.

Taking its cue from the 1996 National Security Strategy, the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) sought to codify shaping in the national military strategic outlook. It is true military leaders have always engaged or shaped their areas of responsibility, but the QDR recognized the need to shift from a Cold War posture to a globally-engaged one.<sup>15</sup> With a new foundation of "shape-respond-prepare," the QDR placed "greater emphasis on the continuing need to maintain continuous overseas presence in order to shape the international environment."<sup>16</sup> A major goal of shaping is to reduce the drivers of conflicts through presence and strengthening partnerships with governmental, regional, and international organizations.<sup>17</sup>

With 1990s conflicts born from state failure in Europe, Africa, and Southeast Asia, military forces were directed to conduct stabilization, security, transition, and reconstruction operations with capabilities geared for traditional warfare. The experiences in Somalia, Haiti, and Bosnia-Herzegovina forced recognition that it is far more effective to prevent state failure than to respond in the aftermath of bloody conflicts. Former State Department Policy Planning Staff Director Stephen Krasner captured this point: "weak and failed states pose an acute risk to U.S. and global security."<sup>18</sup> Consequently, the regionally-engaged combatant commanders stepped up their efforts in Colombia, Philippines, and Georgia and were characterized as proconsuls and viceroys. But the 1997 QDR directed such behavior.

In addition to other instruments of national power, such as diplomacy and economic trade and investment, the Defense Department has an essential role to play in shaping the international security environment in ways that promote and protect U.S. national interests. Our defense efforts help to promote regional stability, prevent or reduce conflicts and threats, and deter aggression and coercion on a day-to-day basis in many key regions of the world. To do so, the Department employs a wide variety of means including: forces permanently stationed abroad; forces rotationally deployed overseas; forces deployed temporarily for exercises, combined training, or military-to-military interactions; and programs such as defense cooperation, security assistance,<sup>19</sup> International Military Education and Training (IMET) programs, and international arms cooperation.<sup>20</sup>

While this direction is a decade old, it has been reformulated as one of 22 joint capability areas used today that guide the Defense Department’s priorities.

### Defining Shaping Operations

A new joint operating concept outlining shaping is expected in late 2007, but as depicted in figure 2, shaping includes eight distinct activities that combatant commanders use to advance and defend U.S. interests.<sup>21</sup> Through shaping, a commander seeks to forge working partnerships that enable partner states to prevent the rise of threats and promote regional peace and security. The Joint Staff J7 defines shaping<sup>22</sup> as:

The ability to support Joint Force, Interagency and Multinational operations - inclusive of normal and routine military activities – performed to dissuade or deter potential adversaries and to assure or solidify relationships with friends and allies. Shaping is executed continuously with the intent to enhance international legitimacy and gain multinational cooperation in support of defined military and national strategic objectives and national goals. These activities are designed to assure success by shaping perceptions and influencing behavior of both adversaries and allies. Each capability supporting Shaping Operations, to include Information Operations, must adapt to a particular theater and environment and may be executed in one theater in order to achieve effects in another.<sup>23</sup>

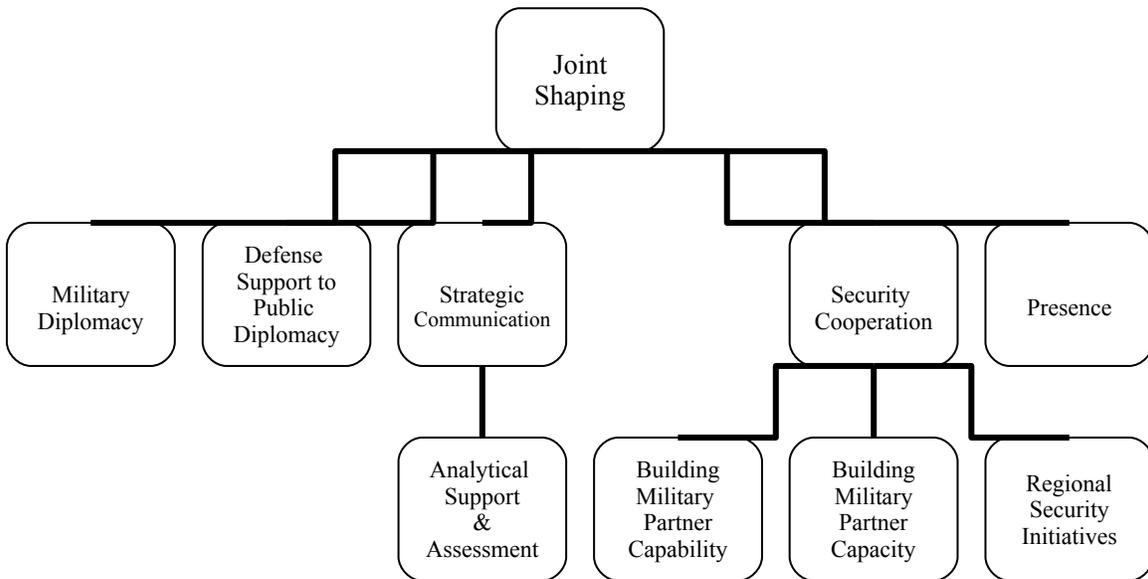


Figure 1: Joint Capability Area of Joint Shaping<sup>24</sup>

Since shaping occurs during times other than war to prevent hostilities, periods, commanders can more easily engage with both governmental and nongovernmental organizations. Further, the definition underscores that operations must be adapted to a particular theater and environment. Logically, a naval security cooperation program that works in the Mediterranean may not work in the Gulf of Guinea. NATO navies are

operationally capable to patrol the Mediterranean, have common NATO standards, and decades of experience operating together. Thus, shaping seeks to refine these practices. In contrast, navies of Gulf of Guinea countries lack platforms to operate for sustained periods, do not share common operating procedures, and do not have an overarching alliance to harmonize military cooperation. Consequently, shaping activities in the Gulf of Guinea emphasize command and control, operational readiness of ships, and raising the awareness of maritime security.

To develop shaping operations, commanders must have a nuanced understanding of the countries involved to include culture, history, politics, and economy. According to General Zinni,

I found on my journeys that our commitment to stability in the region was widely appreciated, but our policies and priorities were sometimes questioned. Views of the threats varied greatly, as did opinions about handling them. The principal complaint was our failure to consult with them not only during but between crises. I found that cultural awareness was critical to building these relationships.<sup>25</sup>

### *Military Diplomacy*

Epitomized by the activities of geographic combatant commanders, military diplomacy brings all instruments of power to bear.<sup>26</sup> A primary shaping mission is to develop relationships and form partnerships. Reflecting on his command, General Zinni remarked: “As my experiences throughout the region in general and with [Pakistan’s President] Musharraf in particular illustrate, I did not intend to sit back and say, ‘Hey, my job is purely military. When you’re ready to send me in, coach, that’s when I go in.’ When I assumed command of CENTCOM and had the ability to choose between fighting fires or preventing them, I chose prevention. If there was any possible approach to making this a less crisis-prone, more secure and stable region, I wanted to try it through shaping operations.”<sup>27</sup> With a host of security cooperation tools, General Zinni shaped his region by hosting regional conferences, building strong security relationships and allied capabilities, and enhancing the education of military leaders throughout the Near East and Central Asia. Other geographic combatant commanders conduct similar activities. When he led forces in Pacific Command, for example, Admiral Blair was critical to working with China after the 2001 air collision between an EP-3 and a Chinese F-8. Or successive commanders of EUCOM facilitated entry of nine countries into NATO and smoothed relations with Russia over this NATO enlargement. “The current norm of “been there, done that” visits should be transformed into *persistent, personal, and purposeful* contacts that yield results.”<sup>28</sup>

Military involvement in diplomacy does not obviate the role of the Foreign Service Officer. Instead, “DoD’s role in shaping the international environment is closely integrated with our diplomatic efforts....”<sup>29</sup> In spite of this QDR statement, General Zinni captured the challenges of synchronizing these activities. “I never found a way to effectively join forces with the State Department to link their plans with mine. I had no way to get answers to questions like, What’s the diplomatic component of our strategy? What’s the economic component? How is aid going to be distributed?”<sup>30</sup> While not unique to US Central Command, generating unified action through the interagency process remains a

contemporary national security challenge. To overcome this, the Joint Staff established interagency coordination as one of the 22 joint capability areas, some combatant commands have created an interagency directorate (J-9 at SOUTHCOM), and the newest combatant command will have a decidedly interagency orientation when AFRICOM begins operations. At this point, it is unclear how competing bureaucracies can reconcile claims to authority.

### *Defense Support to Public Diplomacy*

Defense Support to Public Diplomacy (DSPD) is defined as “the ability to understand, engage, influence and inform key foreign audiences through words and actions to foster understanding of U.S. policy and advance U.S. interests, and to collaboratively shape the operational environment.”<sup>31</sup> This capability can include public information activities as well as information operations to reach foreign audiences through websites, radio, print, and television. For example, during 2005 humanitarian relief operations in Pakistan, local media were embedded with military units to report on US ships delivering aid, US helicopters ferrying wounded, and US engineers repairing buildings.

DSPD comprises DoD’s support to USG public diplomacy, which includes overt international public information activities designed to promote U.S. foreign policy objectives by seeking to understand, inform, and influence foreign audiences and opinion makers, and by broadening the dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad. While it is considered to be a traditional mission of the State Department, the Defense Department is quite active in this area. For example, SOUTHCOM sponsors professional military education conferences to discuss regional security challenges, approaches to strategy, and capabilities-based planning. By bringing together key leaders from a particular country or region, SOUTHCOM facilitates dialogue not only between the United States and other countries, but also among countries in particular regions such as the Caribbean, Andean Ridge, or the Southern Cone. Additionally, this can entail providing humanitarian assistance.<sup>32</sup>

### *Strategic Communication*

Since developing common strategic thinking with allies and partners underlies shaping, effectively communicating U.S. intentions is critical. This is done through strategic communication, which is defined as “the ability to focus United States Government processes and efforts to understand and engage key audiences to create, strengthen or preserve conditions favorable to advance national interests and objectives through the use of coordinated information, themes, plans, and programs, and actions synchronized with other elements of national power.”<sup>33</sup> In general, strategic communication includes four primary elements: public affairs, aspects of information operations (particularly PSYOPS), defense support to public diplomacy, and military diplomacy. The State Department is the lead federal agency for strategic communication, but as its inclusion in the shaping JCA suggests, the Defense Department must become engaged too. Yet, Deputy Secretary of Defense Gordon England noted that “The U.S. military is not sufficiently organized, trained, or equipped to analyze, plan, and coordinate and integrate the full spectrum of capabilities available to promote America’s interests.”<sup>34</sup> Consequently, the Defense Department is pursuing a series of actions to increase the

ability to conduct strategic communication and institutionalize it as a process. These actions are outlined in the QDR *Strategic Communication Execution Roadmap*. While ideas are important, European Command has also stressed in its Operation *Assured Voice* that concrete benefits persist after words fade.<sup>35</sup>

### *Presence*

Presence is “the ability to appropriately position forces to advance and defend U.S. interests by supporting deterrence, projecting power, promoting regional stability and US security commitments, and ensuring continued access.”<sup>36</sup> The general trend since the 1990s has been to reduce the forward posture because forces are no longer expected to fight where they are stationed as they were during in the Cold War. In U.S. European Command, for example, the force has been reduced from 248,000 in 1989 to fewer than 100,000. Overall, the United States closed or turned over to local governments 60 percent of its overseas military installations in the 1990s.<sup>37</sup> Simultaneously, EUCOM has also shifted its presence south and east to engage in Eastern Europe and Africa. This trend continued under the 2004 global posture review and BRAC 2005. Essential to basing locations is building and sustaining political access to support U.S. military action when needed.<sup>38</sup>

At the same time base inventory has shrunk, the Navy fleet has been reduced too. While the smaller force is more combat capable, the global posture review was primarily focused on seeking efficiencies to conduct major combat and not to posture for phase zero operations.<sup>39</sup> Consequently, there are fewer bases and naval assets to serve as shaping platforms and it remains to be seen whether rotational forces can create relationships as well as permanent ones. Force protection concerns do also impact location and frequency of port visits. In spite of reductions, the United States still maintains bases in at least 40 countries, with the largest concentrations in Iraq, Germany, Afghanistan, Japan, and South Korea.<sup>40</sup> Geographic combatant commands are also represented in U.S. embassies through offices of defense cooperation and military liaison offices.

Additionally, the U.S. Navy is experimenting with other ways to enhance presence, to include global fleet stations, which will “establish a self-sustaining sea-base from which to conduct regional operations, through tailored and adaptive packages, and to launch a variety of engagements with partner nations within a regional area of interest.”<sup>41</sup> By including trainers, subject matter experts, and medical personnel on a naval platform, the global fleet station will give the Navy the ability to engage with many countries during a typical six-month deployment.

### *Security Cooperation*

Security Cooperation is “the ability for DoD to interact with foreign defense establishments to build defense relationships that promote specific U.S. security interests, develop allied and friendly military capabilities for self-defense and coalition operations, including allied transformation, improve information exchange, and intelligence sharing to help harmonize views on security challenges, and provide U.S. forces with peacetime and contingency access and en route infrastructure.”<sup>42</sup> Underlying these objectives are

seven themes: combating terrorism, transforming alliances and building coalitions for the future, influencing the direction of key powers, cooperating with parties to regional disputes, deterring and isolating problem states, combating weapons of mass destruction, and realigning the global defense posture.<sup>43</sup> For example, in the campaign to combat international terrorism, security cooperation provides training for indigenous forces.<sup>44</sup> To do more of this, the Marine Corps created the Foreign Military Training Unit in 2006 to “train, advise, and assist friendly host-nation forces -- including naval and maritime military and paramilitary forces -- to enable them to support their governments’ internal security and stability, to counter subversion, and to reduce the risk of violence from internal and external threats.”<sup>45</sup>

Given its shrinking fleet and global challenges, the U.S. Navy has embraced security cooperation. Senior Navy strategists Vice Admiral Morgan and Rear Admiral Martogolio wrote, “policing the maritime commons will require substantially more capability than the United States or any individual nation can deliver.”<sup>46</sup> As such, the United States seeks partnerships with international navies to create the proverbial 1,000-ship navy, which can respond to piracy, smuggling, other illegal activities, and protect important sea lines of communication. The Chief of Naval Operations reinforced this message in 2007: “wherever the opportunity exists, we must develop and sustain relationship that will help improve the capacity of our emerging and enduring partners’ maritime forces.”<sup>47</sup> Exemplified by Task Force 150 and NATO’s Operation Active Endeavor, the 1,000-ship navy or Global Maritime Partnership Initiative represents an effort to promote international maritime security. Essential to a successful global maritime partnership is building partners’ capabilities and capacity.

### *Building Military Partner Capabilities*

Combatant commanders have several tools to build partner capabilities and capacity, to include foreign military sales, foreign military financing, and international military education and training programs. Under the Joint Combined Exchange Training, combatant commanders also offer direct military assistance to teach foreign militaries how to combat insurgencies, interdict drug traffickers, and conduct hostage rescue. The benefit to the American personnel is training in new environments and building relations with their foreign counterparts. The obvious benefit to the international participants is American training and financial assistance, which takes on increasing importance as American forces transform at a pace greater than U.S. partners. These activities help ease interoperability gaps.

Augmenting military training is the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program that supplies grants and loans to finance purchases of American weapons and military equipment. The State Department oversees the program, but combatant commanders manage the program on a day-to-day basis. In FY2007, the FMF budget was the largest program in the international assistance account 150, consuming over \$4.5 billion, which is 50 percent more than the Economic Support Fund and 60 percent more than the Global HIV/AIDS Initiative.<sup>48</sup> Of the \$4.5 billion, though, nearly 80 percent goes to two countries, Israel (\$2.3 billion) and Egypt (\$1.3 billion). Of the remaining 20 percent, just a few countries receive substantial assistance to include Pakistan (\$300 million), Jordan

(\$206 million), and Colombia (\$90 million). The remaining \$300 million is shared by 66 countries.

In addition to FMF, International Military Education and Training (IMET)<sup>49</sup> is an important security cooperation tool that provides training on a grant basis to students from U.S. partner countries.<sup>50</sup> While the program is funded through the 150 account, it is implemented by the Defense Department. From 1997 to 2004, IMET has funded 66,000 participants with a notable three-fold increase from 1997 with 3,454 students to 11,832 in 2004. Programs include attendance at U.S. professional military education institutions like the U.S. Naval War College, English-language training at the Defense Language Institute, or training activities like the basic infantry officer's course. While the training is often well received, "it is tougher to quantify, how such relationships can impact policy issues and ties between the international community and the U.S. as those students attain higher levels of responsibility within their government in the succeeding years."<sup>51</sup> Yet, General Craddock testified in 2007, "IMET remains our most powerful security cooperation tool and proves its long-term value every day."<sup>52</sup> One major impact of IMET programs is building personal and professional relationships with those who rise to senior levels within their countries. As a testament to the selection quality for the Naval Staff College in Newport, for example, 236 participants have attained flag rank, 102 served as chiefs of service, five became cabinet ministers, and one became his nation's president.<sup>53</sup>

Given U.S. global interests, one expects global engagement, but examination of IMET funding over the last decade illustrates that more dollars are targeted to personnel from Europe and Eurasia, which is a consequence of integrating nine new countries into NATO.<sup>54</sup> However, a cursory examination by budget cannot capture engagement with countries that participate in U.S. programs at their own expense. To gain a fuller appreciation of engagement programs, it would be important to also capture foreign military sales, basing locations, and exercise activities. When another country buys American-made weapons, engagement occurs through the training, maintenance, and operations associated with common platforms "to achieve greater integration of defensive systems among its international partners in ways that would complicate any adversary's efforts to decouple them."<sup>55</sup> —

### *Regional Security Initiatives*

Regional security initiatives are designed to strengthen the stability of partners.<sup>56</sup> While there are many ongoing initiatives, Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) is increasingly becoming the template. Concern over the growing threat of international terrorism in the Horn of Africa led to the 2002 creation of CJTF-HOA "to prevent conflict, promote regional stability and protect Coalition interests."<sup>57</sup> By conducting counter-terrorism operations, building partner security capacity, and implementing civic action programs, the CJTF has sought to create an environment that is inhospitable to terrorist organizations. Rear Admiral James Hart noted, "We're arriving there early enough with an opportunity to help shape the environment, work towards a more secure environment, and hopefully, to allow people the opportunity to choose a direction to go in their lives that steers them away from extremism."<sup>58</sup> Rather than rely on the hard edge of military power and an intrusive American presence, CJTF-HOA is focused on building schools, hospitals, digging wells, and other humanitarian assistance.

## Resistance to Shaping

While combatant commanders are not rogue commanders, proconsuls, or viceroys, the 1990s “shape-respond-prepare” strategy gave rise to the “superpowers don’t do windows” argument. Some identified diplomatic engagement by Generals Clark, Zinni, or Wilhelm in the 1990s or state-building missions in Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo as apostasy for an organization that is supposed to fight and win the nation’s wars. Largely a reaction to Clinton-era uses of the military, then presidential candidate George W. Bush said: “I’m not so sure the role of the United States is to go around the world and say this is the way it’s got to be. We can help. I just don’t think it’s the role of the United States to walk into a country and say, we do it this way, so should you.”<sup>59</sup> Once elected, the Bush Administration attempted to rein in engagement activities through largely symbolic acts. Engagement activities were recast as “security cooperation” to emphasize the security dimension of these activities. Secretary Rumsfeld reduced these leaders’ stature by preserving the title commander-in-chief or CINC for the President alone. While largely symbolic, these leaders reverted to their *Title 10* designations, *combatant* commanders, with an emphasis on the *combat* role they are supposed to fill.

Policy analysts also reacted negatively to what was sometimes cast as postmodern imperialism, a failure in civilian control of the military, or a major problem with the interagency process. Reacting to the preventive intent of shaping, Justin Logan and Christopher Preble found the United States “has been overly prone to military intervention, without a proper appreciation of the costs ahead of time.”<sup>60</sup> John Hillen cast this concern about fears of overextension: “Most Americans would agree that the United States must be active in the world, but not so active that the effort wastes American resources and energies in interventions that yield little or no payoff and undermine military preparedness.”<sup>61</sup> Or Andrew Bacevich linked the tendency for the military to do it all with a disturbing trend within American politics that linked “a militaristic cast of mind with utopian ends,” which leads to an increased propensity to use force.<sup>62</sup> Echoing C. Wright Mills’ findings from the 1950s, American leaders tend to define international problems as military problems, which can preclude non-military solutions.<sup>63</sup> For example, U.S. assistance to Colombia has a decidedly military focus to combat the FARC insurgency, but has been criticized by some for lacking the correspondent development assistance to connect FARC-controlled parts of the country to the center.<sup>64</sup> Or when Belgrade did not sue for peace after a few days of air strikes, a protracted air war resulted with a real potential to develop into a major ground campaign.<sup>65</sup> The learning point, however, is to ensure that all elements of power are synchronized in the most efficient way to achieve the desired outcome. And to date, the data suggest that U.S. military-to-military contacts are positively and systematically associated with liberalizing trends throughout the world.<sup>66</sup>

Inevitably, concerns about the non-warfighting role of the military, which dwarfs other federal departments, fuels calls for interagency reform. Critics contend, if only the State Department were on equal footing with the Defense Department, the United States would have a more balanced, less belligerent foreign policy. The effects of this imbalance were recognized by a Senate Foreign Relations Committee report: “as a result of inadequate

funding for civilian programs, U.S. defense agencies are increasingly being granted authority and funding to fill perceived gaps.”<sup>67</sup>

Consequently, the Defense Department runs human rights initiatives, HIV/AIDS programs, and hosts conferences on natural resource management. There is also disparity with the international assistance account 150. In contrast to public perceptions, foreign assistance typically takes the form of U.S. goods and services. The largest line item is foreign military financing. In spite of calls for budgetary reform to increase social and economic assistance, defense issues are simply more compelling for Congress. Politicians have an interest in associating themselves with ideas of patriotism and strength, so it is much easier to find advocates for exporting attack aircraft than women’s empowerment programs. The conventional wisdom on the Hill indicates that, while defense spending is understood to be a matter of national security, international assistance spending sounds less urgently important to American voters. In fact, most Americans are not even aware that foreign assistance is less than one percent of the federal budget. The same Senate Foreign Relations Committee report that expressed caution about military activities in U.S. embassies sees a solution by placing all security assistance, including Section 1206 funding,<sup>68</sup> under the authority of the Secretary of State and “ambassadors should be charged with the decision whether to approve all military-related programs implemented in-country.”<sup>69</sup>

Mitchell Thompson argues that a remedy for this political and budgetary imbalance necessarily entails “breaking the proconsulate.” Thompson writes, “our current geographic Combatant Commands should be redesigned to break their heavy military orientation, and be transformed into truly interagency organizations, under civilian leadership, and prepared to conduct the full spectrum of operations using all elements of national power within their assigned regions.”<sup>70</sup> This call is echoed by current strategy to combat international terrorism that sees the military only playing a supporting role to other federal departments, which can counter terrorists’ ideology, interdict terrorist financing, and promote development among vulnerable populations—tasks that are not core military functions. With the creation of an interagency-focused AFRICOM or analysis of SOUTHCOM’s engagement activities, Thompson’s hypothesis can be tested.

While the reactions have been real and sometimes dramatic, efforts to reduce the non-warfighting role of combatant commanders have largely failed. In contrast to objections during the 2000 presidential election, the Bush Administration could not escape from the reality that there is a global demand for U.S. engagement programs and the military is the most capable federal department to do the engaging. In fact, Congress in the FY2007 National Defense Authorization Act recognized this: “Civilian agencies of the United States Government lack the capacity to deploy rapidly, and for sustained periods of time, trained personnel to support... operations in the field.”<sup>71</sup> Consequently, shaping was recognized by the Defense Department as one of 22 joint capability areas. Further, the latest QDR chose “shaping countries at strategic crossroads” as one of the four focus areas out of potentially hundreds of possibilities.

Geographic combatant commanders do offer the President an important tool of power that can be exercised in all realms: political, economic, military, social, and informational. Just as it is important to illustrate national security resolve by deploying an

Expeditionary Strike Group (ESG), that same ESG can be used to deliver humanitarian assistance in stability operations or serve as training platforms in shaping operations. Tom Barnett, for example, has argued the Defense Department must embrace this mission and develop unique capabilities.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, Congress tends to favor the Defense Department through the appropriations process and this endowment enables the military to conduct engagement activities with little noticeable impact on its ability to conduct major combat operations. The Defense Department can do and does execute the full range of military operations. An exercise like Cobra Gold simultaneously brings the U.S., Thai, and other regional militaries closer, tests expeditionary warfare concepts, and implements humanitarian assistance programs.

Setting this aside, the military's active involvement in diplomacy does not preclude cooperation with the State Department. In fact, a combatant commander works extremely closely with his Political Advisor (POLAD) and the country teams where his engagement programs occur. With time-limited tours of duty, a combatant commander needs support from outside his military staff. Occasionally, there are tensions with strategic impact. "Left unclear, blurred lines of authority between the State Department and the Defense Department could lead to interagency turf wars that undermine the effectiveness of the overall U.S. effort against terrorism. It is in the embassies rather than in Washington where interagency differences on strategies, tactics, and divisions of labor are increasingly adjudicated."<sup>73</sup> However, both U.S. ambassadors and combatant commanders understand they need each other's cooperation. If done well, military shaping activities are coordinated with other interagency activities beginning at the national level where both the State Department and Office of Secretary of Defense derive priorities and guidance from the National Security Strategy, which in turn drives theater security cooperation plans and mission strategic plans.<sup>74</sup> Yet an ambassador's focus on one country and a combatant commander's focus on an entire region necessitate coordination. A combatant command can serve as a regional hub of not only coordination, but also interagency and combined planning.

Outside of the United States, opinion on U.S. engagement is mixed. Majorities in 13 out of 15 publics polled say the United States is "playing the role of world policeman more than it should be." This is the sentiment of nearly three-quarters of those polled in: France (89%), Australia (80%), China (77%), Russia (76%), Peru (76%), the Palestinian territories (74%) and South Korea (73%).<sup>75</sup> The data suggest countries do not necessarily want to be "shaped." Ron Ratcliff sees this phenomenon in reaction to the thousand-ship Navy concept, which "seems logical and relatively benign to the United States, but other countries remain openly suspicious of its intended purposes and its unintended consequences."<sup>76</sup>

While negative feedback to U.S. activities is substantial, negative reactions appear to be based on the mode of U.S. involvement rather than U.S. involvement itself.<sup>77</sup> Publics around the world do not want the United States to disengage from international affairs, but rather to participate in a more cooperative and multilateral fashion.<sup>78</sup> Majorities in 13 out of 15 publics (Argentines and Palestinians disagreed) polled support U.S. involvement in a more cooperative and multilateral fashion through international institutions, instead of what is perceived as irresponsible unilateralism. The United States has also learned that being a superpower does not make it a superhero that can

accomplish anything it desires. Consequently, the United States has been attempting to coordinate engagement activities to more effectively confront transnational security challenges instead of trying to provide for global security alone.

## **Conclusion**

To date, the rationale for shaping to be a military activity is based on the assumption that instability breeds chaos, which would inevitably produce military intervention, so the Defense Department should support other countries through constructive security assistance. While non-military agencies like the US Agency for International Development maintain the federal government's core expertise in promoting development, its activities and those of non-governmental organizations, cannot occur in areas lacking security. Consequently, the military, through geographic combatant commands, often attempts to build global security through military-to-military contacts, weapons transfers, and combined training activities. Shaping enhances relationships, increases intelligence sharing opportunities, and strengthens partners to combat transnational security challenges. Further, since militaries play important roles in many societies, senior American military officers share a common language that is used by the Defense Department to create and maintain a global network of military bases essential for shaping and responding to crises. Essential to shaping is not only interagency coordination, but also international coordination and partnerships. Other countries in the world also have military engagement programs, which may or may not support U.S. interests. It would be critical to understand how U.S. shaping and non-U.S. shaping activities are mutually supporting, overlapping, or contradictory with other countries' activities. Further, it would be important to understand how supporting other countries' militaries impact their role in society. \_

Further strengthening the military's involvement in non-warfighting operations is the legislative tendency to support the Defense Department over other federal departments. There is a huge budget disparity between Defense and State; and security assistance programs make up about 30 percent of overall U.S. international assistance programs. One potential consequence of this tendency is to militarize U.S. foreign policy. The question, however, is not whether the military should be engaged in non-warfighting activities like shaping; Congress and the President will continue to rely on the military to do non-warfighting missions. Rather, the primary question is how these operations should be structured to ensure unified action and what new capabilities are necessary to efficiently perform these missions.

- <sup>1</sup> Tom Clancy with General Tony Zinni and Tony Koltz, *Battle Ready*, (New York, Putnam, 2004), p. 319.
- <sup>2</sup> The U.S. State Department has about 8,000 thousand Foreign Service Officers stationed around the world and an operating budget of about \$12 billion. In contrast, the Defense Department has several hundred thousand personnel deployed, military personnel in almost every U.S. embassy, and an operating budget about 60 times greater than State's. See "Staffing and Foreign Language Shortfalls Persist Despite Initiatives to Address Gaps," Governmental Accountability Office, August 2006.
- <sup>3</sup> "Africa Command will enhance our efforts to help bring peace and security to the people of Africa and promote our common goals of development, health, education, democracy, and economic growth in Africa." George W. Bush, "President Bush Creates a Department of Defense Unified Combatant Command for Africa," February 6, 2007, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/02/20070206-3.html>, accessed on April 18, 2007.
- <sup>4</sup> Charles F. Wald, "New Thinking at USEUCOM: The Phase Zero Campaign," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, issue 43, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter 2006, p. 73.
- <sup>5</sup> John Hillen, "Superpowers Don't do Windows," *Orbis*, vol 41, issue 2, Spring 1997, p. 242.
- <sup>6</sup> William J. Crowe, Jr. "U.S. Pacific Command: A Warrior-Diplomat Speaks," in Derek S. Reveron (ed.). *America's Viceroy: The Military and U.S. Foreign Policy*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 74.
- <sup>7</sup> "Military Support to Shaping Operations JOC," Combined Joint CDE Conference Presentations, January 9, 2007, available at [http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/conf\\_jcsg.htm](http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/conf_jcsg.htm), accessed on February 20, 2007.
- <sup>8</sup> "The general phasing construct can be applied to various campaigns and operations. Operations and activities in the *shape* and *deter* phases normally are outlined in SCPs and those in the remaining phases are outlined in JSCP-directed OPLANs. By design, OPLANs generally do not include security cooperation activities that are addressed elsewhere. CCDRs generally use the phasing model to link the pertinent SCP and OPLAN operations and activities." See US Department of Defense, *Joint Operation Planning*, Joint Publication 5-0 (Washington: DOD, 26 December 2006), p. IV-35. Emphasis is mine.
- <sup>9</sup> Joseph Nye, "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy*, Autumn 1990, p. 156. "Soft power" is something that a country has that can be generated from cultural, political, and economic behavior, but it is better thought of as a byproduct rather than a raw material. Soft power is non-coercive and not simply non-military. On this point, see Joseph Nye, "Think Again: Soft Power," *Foreign Policy Web Exclusive*, February 23, 2006.
- <sup>10</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p. x.
- <sup>11</sup> Karen Hughes, "The Mission for Public Diplomacy," July 22, 2005.
- <sup>12</sup> Robert J. Art, "The Fungibility of Force," in *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics, sixth edition*, edited by Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004, p. 4.
- <sup>13</sup> William Jefferson Clinton, *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement*, February 1996, p. 17.
- <sup>14</sup> William Jefferson Clinton, *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement*, February 1996, p. 14.
- <sup>15</sup> Derek S. Reveron, *America's Viceroy: the Military and U.S. Foreign Policy*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
- <sup>16</sup> William S. Cohen, "Secretary's Message," *1997 Quadrennial Defense Review*, available at <http://www.fas.org/man/docs/qdr/msg.html>, accessed on April 18, 2007.
- <sup>17</sup> See "Military Support to Shaping Operations JOC," Combined Joint CDE Conference Presentations, January 9, 2007, available at [http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/conf\\_jcsg.htm](http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/conf_jcsg.htm), accessed on February 20, 2007.
- <sup>18</sup> Stephen D. Krasner and Carlos Pascual, "Addressing State Failure," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2005, p. 153.
- <sup>19</sup> "Security assistance refers to a group of programs by which the United States provides defense articles, military training, and other defense-related services to foreign nations by grant, loan, credit, or cash sales in furtherance of national policies and objectives." Programs include: Foreign Military Sales, Foreign Military Financing, International Military Education and Training Program, and the Economic Support Fund. See US Department of Defense, *Joint Operations*, Joint Publication 3-0 (Washington: DOD, 17 September 2006), p. VII-7.
- <sup>20</sup> 1997 QDR
- <sup>21</sup> It is important to note that some of these capabilities are tier 2 and are included in other tier 1 JCAs like shaping.
- <sup>22</sup> The forthcoming Shaping JOC written by JFCOM and EUCOM proposes the following as a definition. "The set of continuous, long-term integrated, comprehensive actions among a broad spectrum of US and international government and nongovernmental partners that maintains or enhances stability, prevents or mitigates crises, and enables other operations when crises occur." Author interview.
- <sup>23</sup> "Joint Capability Areas Tier 1 and Supporting Tier 2 Lexicon, Post 24 August 2006 JROC" available at <http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/>, accessed on December 20, 2006.
- <sup>24</sup> "Joint Capability Areas Tier 1 and Supporting Tier 2 Lexicon, Post 24 August 2006 JROC" available at <http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/>, accessed on December 20, 2006.
- <sup>25</sup> Tony Zinni, "Military Diplomacy," in Derek S. Reveron, *Shaping the Security Environment*, (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, forthcoming), p. 5.
- <sup>26</sup> Military Diplomacy is defined as "the ability to support those activities and measures U.S. military leaders take to engage military, defense and government officials of another country to communicate USG policies and messages and build defense and coalition relationships." See "Joint Capability Areas Tier 1 and Supporting Tier 2 Lexicon, Post 24 August 2006 JROC" available at <http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/>, accessed on December 20, 2006.

- <sup>27</sup> Zinni, "Military Diplomacy," p. 14.
- <sup>28</sup> Joint Forces Command and European Command, Draft Military Support to Shaping Operations, Joint Operating Concept, June 5, 2007, p. 13.
- <sup>29</sup> 1997 QDR
- <sup>30</sup> General Toni Zinni, *The Battle for Peace: A Frontline Vision of America's Power and Purpose*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 135.
- <sup>31</sup> "Joint Capability Areas Tier 1 and Supporting Tier 2 Lexicon, Post 24 August 2006 JROC" available at <http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/>, accessed on December 20, 2006.
- <sup>32</sup> Government Accountability Office, *Foreign Assistance: Actions Needed to Better Assess the Impact of Agencies' Marking and Publicizing Efforts*, March 2007.
- <sup>33</sup> "Joint Capability Areas Tier 1 and Supporting Tier 2 Lexicon, Post 24 August 2006 JROC" available at <http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/>, accessed on December 20, 2006.
- <sup>34</sup> Gordon England, *QDR Strategic Communication Execution Roadmap*, September 25, 2006, p. 2.
- <sup>35</sup> Charles F. Wald, "New Thinking at USEUCOM: The Phase Zero Campaign," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, issue 43, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter 2006, p. 74.
- <sup>36</sup> "Joint Capability Areas Tier 1 and Supporting Tier 2 Lexicon, Post 24 August 2006 JROC" available at <http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/>, accessed on December 20, 2006.
- <sup>37</sup> Ryan Henry, "Transforming the U.S. Global Defense Posture," *Naval War College Review*, Spring 2006, vol. 59, iss. 2
- <sup>38</sup> Ryan Henry, 2006, pp. 21-22.
- <sup>39</sup> Completed in 2004, the global posture review produced a new basing construct to include main operating based (MOB), forward operating sites (FOS), and cooperative security locations (CSL). The more austere facilities-FOSs and CSLs-are focal points for combined training and will expand and contract as needed to support military operations.
- <sup>40</sup> Department of Defense, "Base Structure Report," available at <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Jun2003/basestructure2003.pdf>, accessed on May 6, 2007.
- <sup>41</sup> Navy Office of Information, "Rhumblines: Global Fleet Station," April 10, 2007.
- <sup>42</sup> "Joint Capability Areas Tier 1 and Supporting Tier 2 Lexicon, Post 24 August 2006 JROC" available at <http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/>, accessed on December 20, 2006.
- <sup>43</sup> Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, *Foreign Military Training: Joint Report to Congress, Fiscal Years 2005 and 2006*, September 2006, available at <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rpt/fmtrpt/2006/74679.htm>, accessed on April 20, 2007.
- <sup>44</sup> National Defense Strategy, 1 March 2005, p. 15.
- <sup>45</sup> USMC, "Foreign Military Training Unit," available at <http://www.marsoc.usmc.mil/FMTUHome.htm>, accessed on May 9, 2007.
- <sup>46</sup> *Proceedings*, November 2005, p. 17. See also Admiral Mike Mullen, "What I Believe: Eight Tenets That Guide My Vision for the 21st Century Navy," *Proceedings*, January 2006.
- <sup>47</sup> Admiral Mike Mullen, "Priority Tasking Memo," March 7, 2007.
- <sup>48</sup> U.S. Department of State, "Foreign Military Financing Account Tables," available at [www.state.gov/s/d/rm/rls/iab/2007/html/60203.htm](http://www.state.gov/s/d/rm/rls/iab/2007/html/60203.htm), accessed on April 4, 2006. It is important to note that military assistance for Iraq and Afghanistan are not included in this account data.
- <sup>49</sup> The Foreign Assistance ACT of 1961 (Public Law 87-195) formally defined the purposes of IMET to include: (1) to encourage effective and mutually beneficial relations and increased understanding between the United States and foreign countries in furtherance of the goals of international peace and security, (2) to improve the ability of participating foreign countries to utilize their resources, including defense articles and defense services obtained by them from the United States, with maximum effectiveness, thereby contributing to greater self-reliance by such countries; and (3) to increase the awareness of nationals of foreign countries participating in such activities of basic issues involving internationally recognized human rights.
- <sup>50</sup> Defense Security Cooperation Agency, International Military Education and Training web page: [http://www.dsca.mil/home/international\\_military\\_education\\_training.htm](http://www.dsca.mil/home/international_military_education_training.htm) For some countries (esp. middle income ones), the IMET allocation is seed money. They spend considerably more of their own money to participate in programs. Also, and very effectively, IMET funds Mobile Training Teams (MTTs), where U.S. trainers provide in-country training. Obviously, MTTs reach more people, but the opportunity to gain an appreciation of the U.S.A. is reduced.
- <sup>51</sup> Ronald H. Reynolds, "Is Expanded International Military Education and Training Reaching the Right Audience?" *DISAM Journal of International Security Assistance Management*, Spring 2003, p. 94.
- <sup>52</sup> General Bantz Craddock, "Statement before the House Armed Services Committee," March 15, 2007, p. 11.
- <sup>53</sup> Bill Daly, "Building Global Partnerships," *Proceedings* April, 2007, pp. 44-47.
- <sup>54</sup> Historic data tables can found at the Defense Security Cooperation Agency available at [http://www.dsca.mil/data\\_stats.htm](http://www.dsca.mil/data_stats.htm).
- <sup>55</sup> QDR 2006, p. 30.

- <sup>56</sup> The Joint Staff J7 defines it as “the ability to reduce partner nations' vulnerability to aggression and coercion while limiting the options of would-be opponents.” “Joint Capability Areas Tier 1 and Supporting Tier 2 Lexicon, Post 24 August 2006 JROC” available at <http://www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/>, accessed on December 20, 2006.
- <sup>57</sup> [www.hoa.centcom.mil](http://www.hoa.centcom.mil); March 2007.
- <sup>58</sup> *Armed Forces Press Service*, “New U.S. Task Force Commander, Staff Prepare for Posting to Africa,” January 19, 2007.
- <sup>59</sup> George W. Bush, “Excerpt of Presidential Debate October 12, 2000,” available at [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/politics/july-dec00/for-policy\\_10-12.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/politics/july-dec00/for-policy_10-12.html), accessed on April 18, 2007.
- <sup>60</sup> Justin Logan and Christopher Preble, “The Case Against State’s Nationbuilding Office,” *Foreign Service Journal*, November 2006, p. 55.
- <sup>61</sup> John Hillen, “Superpowers Don’t do Windows,” *Orbis*, vol 41, issue 2, Spring 1997, p. 257.
- <sup>62</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, *The New American Militarism*, (New York: Oxford University, 2005), p. 3.
- <sup>63</sup> C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, (New York: Oxford Press, 1956).
- <sup>64</sup> Myles R. R. Frechette, “Colombia and the United States—The Partnership: But What is the Endgame?” Le Tort Paper, U.S. Army War College, February 2007.
- <sup>65</sup> Derek S. Reveron, “Coalition Warfare: the Commander’s Role,” *Defense and Security Analysis*, vol. 18, no. 2, June 2002, pp. 107-122.
- <sup>66</sup> Carol Atkinson, “Constructivist Implications of Material Power: Military Engagement and the Socialization of States, 1972-2000,” *International Studies Quarterly*, 50, 2006, pp. 509-537.
- <sup>67</sup> “Embassies as Command Posts in the Anti-Terror Campaign,” *A Report to Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, December 15, 2006, p. 2.
- <sup>68</sup> Section 1206 funding refers to legislation that authorizes the use of DOD funds to build the capacity of a foreign country’s national military forces to conduct counterterrorist operations or participate in or support military or stability operations in which the U.S. Armed Forces are a participant. This falls outside the normal security assistance budgeting process implemented under State Department authority.
- <sup>69</sup> “Embassies as Command Posts in the Anti-Terror Campaign,” *A Report to Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, December 15, 2006, p. 3.
- <sup>70</sup> Mitchell J. Thompson, “Breaking the Proconsulate: A New Design for National Power,” *Parameters, US Army War College Quarterly*, Winter 2005-6, p. 63.
- <sup>71</sup> FY2007 Defense Authorization Act, Sec 1222, paragraph a2.
- <sup>72</sup> Thomas PM Barnett, *Pentagon’s New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century*, (New York: Putnam, 2004).
- <sup>73</sup> “Embassies as Command Posts in the Anti-Terror Campaign,” *A Report to Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, December 15, 2006, p. 2.
- <sup>74</sup> Joint Publication 5-0, p. II-8. In European Command, for example, NAVEUR working with the U.S. Department of State, EUCOM, and the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, led a ministerial-level conference on Maritime Safety and Security in the Gulf of Guinea. See General Bantz Craddock, “Statement before the House Armed Services Committee,” March 15, 2007.
- <sup>75</sup> World Public Opinion, “World Publics Reject US Role as the World Leader,” available at [http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/home\\_page/345.php?nid=&id=&pnt=345&lb=hmpg1](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/home_page/345.php?nid=&id=&pnt=345&lb=hmpg1), accessed on April 20, 2007.
- <sup>76</sup> Ron Ratcliff, “The Promise of the Thousand-Ship Navy – Shaping America’s Maritime Future,” in *Shaping the Security Environment*, p. 3.
- <sup>77</sup> Lisa Haugaard argues that a tarnished US image in Latin America is nothing new, but reflects historical frustration with interventions and U.S. trade policy. But frustrations have been exacerbated by reductions in military assistance, disputes over the International Criminal Court, and the Guantanamo Bay detention center. See “Tarnished Image: Latin America Perceives the United States,” The Latin America Working Group Education Fund, March 2006.
- <sup>78</sup> Steven Kull, “America’s Image in the World,” *Testimony Before House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight*, March 6, 2007, available at [http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/views\\_on\\_countriesregions\\_bt/326.php?nid=&id=&pnt=326&lb=btvoc](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/views_on_countriesregions_bt/326.php?nid=&id=&pnt=326&lb=btvoc), accessed on April 20, 2007.