

Testimony for Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs  
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Chairman Graham, Ranking Member Leahy, members of the committee: I am delighted to join you today as we reflect on America's leadership role in the world, and the responsibility that leadership requires. This committee, under your guidance, will determine the resources needed to protect our nation and advance our values. Your decisions will help set the course for American security and prosperity.

Today, I want to salute this committee and your leadership. You have been steadfast over these years of turmoil and threat in providing a steady hand at the wheel of US foreign operations. More importantly, you have established a bi-partisan atmosphere of respect and problem solving that is rare in this rancorous town, and should give some hope to the American people.

Mr. Chairman, I have come today to offer my military analysis, my firm belief that security, prosperity and peace are not simply an outgrowth of kinetic action and the tools of war. We need a balanced approach, what has been called a smart power model, which combines all the tools of statecraft, to include diplomacy and development, alongside defense. Moreover, we need to enhance our understanding in global affairs. As we say at The Fletcher School, we need to "know the world". Finding our way to a balance between hard power and soft power is smart power -- the key to our security in this turbulent 21<sup>st</sup> century.

My message to you today is direct. Now is the time to double down on smart power.

I am part of a group of over 160 retired 3 and 4 star general officers who have planned for war, fought wars, and sought a path to peace. We know from hard experience, from command responsibility, that war alone, the military instrument alone, does not bring security. We all serve on the US Global Leadership Coalition's National Security Advisory Council, which I co-chair, with my good friend, Marine General Tony Zinni. We support the USGLC, a broad based network of 400 businesses and NGO's, national security and foreign policy experts, and business, faith based, and community leaders in all 50 states who support what I have referred to as a "smart power" approach of elevating development and diplomacy alongside defense in order to build a better, safer, world.

Mr. Chairman, I speak as part of the large coalition of military officers and veterans who embrace not just the notion of a balance between defense, diplomacy and development, but an enhancement, a new vigor in the concept of smart power that will help us meet the challenges ahead

In my 37 years in military service to this great nation, and now as the Dean at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, I have had the unique opportunity to see both the global battlefield and the global marketplace of ideas. There is no doubt in my military mind that we face new, unconventional security threats that will continue to test our ability to out-think our opponents and confront brutal ideologies.

But they are not the sum of my concerns. I also see serious threats to global health and economic prosperity. Narcotic trafficking and criminal gangs undercut democracy and development in Central and South America and their violence washes up on our shores as well, sadly accompanied by human trafficking and even human slavery. Extreme poverty still claims lives and dashes hope around the world. Indeed, the world is burdened by these assaults on dignity and justice. Civil wars and insurgencies, lawlessness and crime infect parts of Asia and Africa, the Pacific nations as well as the Atlantic. In sum the world is a dangerous place.

But danger comes with opportunity. I believe that over the long run we can turn peril into promise, but only if we meet the world's high expectations for our strength, wisdom and vision. We need to invest in our ability to exercise global leadership in a wide variety of ways.

For this nation to excel, we need to understand the interplay of economics and development, politics and diplomacy, culture and business, surveillance and security. We need robust funding for what I consider the new strategic triad of United States national security-- defense, diplomacy and development. There is no doubt in my mind that our strength, our own security, rests on Congressional support for all the tools of American leadership.

The United States has a very strong and capable military. No one can match us on the sea, in the air, and in ground maneuver. While there will continue to be a need for that hard military power, Mr. Chairman, we simply cannot lead without using other tools as well. Competitor nations, competing ideas, challenge us with dark and repressive visions of life. But we must show the world, indeed reassure the world that:

When disaster strikes, we are there  
When famine and disease threaten, we are there  
When there is a hope for diplomacy, we are there  
When people search for a better ideas and positive solutions on the global social networks, we are there.

We are very good at launching missiles – we must improve at launching ideas.

What is the price tag for a better, safer world? I would argue that the non-military aspects of our power bring a strong return on our investment, both in the public as well as the private sector. The funds we allocate to foreign aid, diplomatic security, humanitarian relief, education, and the many other international programs can save us from spending far more to put boots on the ground in troubled regions. It's exceptionally cost-effective.

By bolstering funding for our presence in the world, we reduce the burden on our men and women in uniform. As many senior military have said in one way or another, without funding diplomacy and development, you ensure that we will end up spending more on hard power.

The programs supported by this committee advance the values and interests of this country. I saw this day after day in every one of my senior military leadership assignments. I saw the value of public/private partnerships. The foundations and charities represented on this panel demonstrate unique commitment, compassion, and innovation. They strive to solve many of the world's enduring problems. They are on the ground, working hand in hand to improve lives. Whether it is in health, education, job creation, or local governance, these activities improve lives.

Their work and commitment is matched by the outstanding work done in our nation's 'headquarters' for diplomacy and development. These headquarters-- centers of excellence, if you will-- are key to US security and prosperity.

The State Department, the Agency for International Development, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, Peace Corps, and many others, are national assets to achieve our foreign policy and national security goals.

The dedicated men and women in these agencies and departments, the NGO's working alongside these professionals, all comprise a great resource for our country. In the course of my career I relied on these experts constantly to provide economic development and effective diplomacy, whether in Southern Command implementing Plan Columbia to combat narcotics trafficking or as the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO in Afghanistan fighting against the Taliban.

These are steady and slow efforts, requiring patience and persistence. But there are results. Colombia, a nation once synonymous crime and violence is now experiencing an economic and tourism boom. Afghanistan experienced its first peaceful transfer of power, and new opportunities for economic development, especially in the mineral and natural resources area, are reducing dependence on poppy farming. There is no question that the civilian side of our international presence is crucial to our success. I honor the men and women civilians who live and serve overseas just as I honor those who serve in uniform. We share a commitment to this great country and a peaceful world.

The United States leads the world, not just in our military strength, but in the private sector, both business and NGO outreach. I support those programs where professionals can go back and forth between public and private activities, where those with a great depth of knowledge can contribute to the policy process and program development. There is an abiding value to experience, expertise, and steady involvement in a region or sector, in the military and diplomacy and development work. I hope those in public service in these areas can lengthen their tours in country, enhance their regional concentrations, to match the standards of commitment shown on today's panel.

I want to know that the expert on Bosnia or Afghanistan or Kenya has followed events there for years, remembers the head of state as a young professional, senses mood and political dynamics. As a military leader, I relied on our diplomatic experts who anticipated policy opportunities, who knew that the leader of the opposition worked with us a decade ago, and now is in a position to provide positive contributions. I want to know that a development project, tried years ago can now work better with micro financing or in partnership with the private sector. I value experience.

Under the outstanding leadership of Raj Shah, outgoing administrator of USAID, we are "bending the curve of development" to pull nations out of poverty, open opportunities, and search for local solutions matched by technology and innovation in health care, infant survival, agricultural production, and environmental protection. In this regard, we are reviving the idea of resilience, optimism, and problem solving.

These vibrant efforts can be seen in the Partnership for Growth program in El Salvador, Tanzania, Ghana, and the Philippines. Mr. Chairman, just last week, I saw an article noting the dramatic decline in corruption in the Philippines, reflecting both the development objectives of these programs with the technology of social media to crack down on corrosive corrupt business and government practices. This

is resilience and problem solving. More importantly, as a country strengthens in its governance, as prosperity grows and stability takes root, America finds itself with new partners, new allies, in addressing global threats. I first saw the proven record of smart power in South Korea, a country which rose out of war torn poverty to a first world success. It was that combination of development assistance and strong diplomatic connection that turned a problem into promise. And this success enhanced American security.

Mr. Chairman, the programs funded by this committee leverage American concern into American security.

I can attest to this connection personally. When I had to decide about military deployments in harm's way, I knew that in so many cases, the professionals at State, USAID and the NGO community "had our warriors' back" and supported our understanding of complex humanitarian crises. They cared for refugee and displaced children through three bone chilling Syrian winters. They connected aspiring computer scientists in Burma to US high tech firms to speed an open society. They tended the sick, nourished the hungry, educated youth, and confronted injustice. These kinds of professionals are a gift to this nation and we need to tap their knowledge and experience throughout the national security community.

On the diplomacy front, US State Department experts represent our nation bravely in over 180 nations around the world – often at high personal risk, as we have seen most recently following the horrific attack on Ambassador Mark Lippert in South Korea (a former member of this Subcommittee's staff). Our diplomats are working tirelessly in the midst of high tension scenarios from Iran to Ukraine to East Asia. Strategic diplomacy and effective development can avert war, reconcile aggrieved groups, and alleviate humanitarian tragedy. As a military professional, I have always known that the use of hard power must be the last resort, and that effective diplomacy can help reduce the chances that we need to reach for the combat instrument.

But to be effective, we need a coordinated effort, between State and USAID, and all the other agencies of the US government engaged in the international world – Department of Justice, Homeland Security, Agriculture, Drug Enforcement Administration, on and on – all have a vital role to play.

My own experiences in Latin America as Commander of Southern Command, in the Balkans as the Commander of US European Command, and in Afghanistan as the NATO Supreme Allied Commander all reflect the need for strong interagency and private-public partners

Our approach must be international, interagency, and private-public – all undergirded by effective strategic communications. If we do that well, we achieve smart power.

Mr. Chairman, all of these efforts, our international, interagency, and public-private partnerships, are a vital investment for this nation, an investment that must constantly be refreshed. The support this committee provides is the seed money-- the venture capital, if you will-- for US leadership in the world.

Mr. Chairman, just as we invest in technology or invention to achieve future wealth and advancement, we need to invest in these professionals and their programs, in diplomacy and development and other international, interagency, and private-public partnerships to achieve prosperity and security.

But these investments require political will and talking straight to the American people. Polls show that the American people have no idea how little this country actually allocates to International Affairs. In fact, they think we spend twenty to twenty-five times the amount we actually do – which leads to unfounded calls to cut these programs.

With a mere one percent of the entire US federal budget, the International Affairs Budget supports all of America's civilian tools of diplomacy and development.

Mr. Chairman, the United States is active around the world -- in Europe, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa. No other country can compare. We set the standard for others to follow. Americans, in both public and private efforts, helped tackle Ebola, almost eradicated measles and polio, brought food and shelter after disaster, and brought encouragement to those searching for a way ahead. We have been leaders in in all these areas-- humanitarian, development and active diplomacy. Our diplomatic and development communities create the conditions for effective political and military coalitions. Because of our team approach, we have strong bi lateral and multilateral ties which bring stability, peace and prosperity to the world.

Let me close by commenting on one region in particular which threatens this stability, prosperity and peace: the Middle East. And In this regard, I urge you, from my vantage point as a military commander and now as a Dean in higher education that now is a time, as I said earlier, to double down on smart power. We need to bring the talent of this great nation, the development experts, the scholars, the diplomats together to enhance our understanding of this specific challenge. We shouldn't be scaling back funding. We need to scale up funding.

Our goal should be state-of-the-art diplomacy and development. To do this, we need to support smart research, smart new diplomatic and cultural initiatives, working with our allies, to confront the ideology of those drawn to the fight. We need a sophisticated grounding on this ideology, a world view so different than our own, so that our efforts, in diplomacy, development and defense, can be successful. We need hard power in the short term of course to face the spread of the Islamic State and support our allies. But we also need counterterrorist financing and effective intelligence. And for the long term, we need to support educational reform, intellectual development and opportunity. Combining hard and soft power over time: That is smart power.

Chairman Graham, Ranking Member Leahy, members of the Subcommittee, these are serious times. We need to be creative and innovative, we need to be wise and knowledgeable. This Congress has the power to plot our course to continued global leadership by robustly funding diplomacy and development, and thus enabling smart power. I look forward to working with this committee in any way I can to support this vital effort.