“I realize that there are among us those who are weary of sustaining this continual effort to help other nations. But I would ask them to look at a map and recognize that many of those whom we help live on the “front-lines” of the long twilight struggle for freedom—that others are new nations posed between order and chaos—and the rest are older nations now undergoing a turbulent transition of new expectations. Our efforts to help them help themselves, to demonstrate and to strengthen the vitality of free institutions, are small in cost compared to our military outlays for the defense of freedom. Yet all of our armies and atoms combined will be of little avail if these nations fall, unable to meet the needs of their own people, and unable to stave off within their borders the rise of forces that threaten our security. This program—and the passage of this bill—are vital to the interests of the United States.”

John F. Kennedy’s Message to Congress on behalf of the first Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act. 1962

**Instructors:**
Dr. Terry Myers, ICAF; Room 233, Eisenhower, 685-2487
Dr. Andy Sisson, NWC; Room 239B, Roosevelt, 685-3687
Dr. Steve Brent, ICAF, Room 230, Eisenhower, 685-4279

**COURSE SCHEDULE**

**Unit I—Introduction to Foreign Assistance: What is it anyway and how does it relate to national security?**

1. Course Overview: Implications of Failing States and Underdevelopment for US National Security

   Wed., Jan. 14, 1535-1730
2. Poverty, Failing States and Development: Wed., Jan. 21, 1535-1730
   the Debate over Causes and Cures for Failing States

3. The Structure of US Foreign Assistance Wed., Jan. 28, 1535-1730

4. Disaster Assistance: Civ-Mil Cooperation Wed. Feb. 4, 1535-1730
   in US Emergency Response

5. Foreign Assistance: The way others see it-- Wed., Feb. 11, 1535-1730
   non-government, multilateral and other countries’
   approaches to foreign assistance

Unit II—Case Studies

6. Stabilization and Reconstruction—Kosovo Wed. Feb. 18, 1535-1730

7. Drugs and Thugs: Latin American and Eastern Europe Wed., Feb. 25, 1330-1525
   (note time change)


10. PRTs: Iraq Wed., Mar. 18, 1330-1525

Unit III—Applying Lessons Learned

    New approaches to combined operations.

12. An Exercise in Full-Spectrum Assistance: Pakistan Wed., April 1, 1330-1525

COURSE OVERVIEW

Introduction: Secretary Gates calls for a “dramatic increase in spending on the civilian
instruments of national security.” Retired Marine Corps General Anthony Zinni testifies
that
“We know that the ‘enemies’ in the world today are actually conditions—poverty,
infectious disease, political turmoil and corruption, environmental and energy
challenges.” Secretary Rice talks about the three “Ds” of national security—Defense,
Diplomacy and Development.

This course examines the fundamentals of foreign assistance—what it is, what it can be
used for, the theories behind it, how it is organized, the variety of approaches in its use,
and its impact, real and potential. It looks at its role in responding to humanitarian
catastrophes, both natural and manmade, its contribution to political and economic
development, and its use to contain and assist failed and failing states. It evaluates the
role of foreign assistance in national security and its importance as a strategic tool of foreign policy.

**Purpose:** To investigate the tool of foreign assistance in pursuing national security

**Objectives:** By the end of the course, the student will have:

- Analyzed wide range of challenges, from humanitarian concerns and poverty to economic growth and terrorism, that are being addressed by foreign assistance.
- Analyzed the tools of foreign assistance and the approaches used by governments, multilateral institutions and non-governmental organizations to address challenges of failed states, development and national security.
- Examined theories describing the complexity of factors affecting development and growth.
- Evaluated the effectiveness of existing US government approaches to foreign assistance and reviewed recommendations for reorganization of the way the US uses it to meet national security concerns.
- Synthesized the lessons learned from historical examples and case studies to provide recommendations as to how best the US might use foreign assistance as a tool for national security.

**Course Design:** The Course provides an overview of the key issues that might be addressed by foreign assistance, the ways the US and other donors have organized to deliver foreign assistance, the theories behind the various approaches, and their relative effectiveness. The first four sessions look at problems of failed, failing and less development states, the theories that try to explain the causes of these problems, how the US has organized to approach development issues and the efforts by other donors. The following six lessons look at specific cases involving foreign assistance ranging from humanitarian relief to stabilization and development. The last two sessions will involved student discussion of their own research and conclusions as to the role of foreign assistance in national security and participation in a case exercise focused on Pakistan.

Readings and classroom discussion will be complemented by presentations and briefings by guest speakers.

**Student Assessment:** Students will be assessed on their understanding of the material and their ability to reflect that understanding in discussion, class participation and a written assignment. Classroom participation will be 60 percent of the final grade. Students will be asked to prepare a 6-8 page paper describing a case in which the US has used foreign assistance as a tool of statecraft to deal with an issue which interest to the student. The issue could concern a specific country, region or topic. The student will be asked to analyze:

1. The key issue to be addressed and its relevance to US national security, the interests and objective involved.
2. Why the US chose to use foreign assistance—political, technical, economic or other concerns affecting its choice.
3. How the US organized its assistance program and coordinated it with other instruments of statecraft such as military force or public diplomacy.
4. The effectiveness of the effort.

The paper should conclude with recommendations based on the lessons learned from the case described as to how the US could use foreign aid more effectively in pursuit of national security objectives.

**Readings:**
*Center for Global Development: Publications: The White House and the World: A Global Development Agenda for the Next U.S. President*
Roger Riddell, *Does Foreign Aid Really Work*, Oxford University Press, 2007 (anthology)

**SESSION 1: Course Overview: Implications of Failing States and Underdevelopment for US National Security**

**Scope**

How important are failing states and underdevelopment to the war on terrorism? To the fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS and other diseases; to the war on drugs? This session will examine the national security context for foreign assistance that promotes nation-building and development.

**Issues for Consideration**

1. What threats do failing and underdeveloped states pose to US national security?
2. What opportunities do growing, stable developing countries offer the US?
3. How does US foreign assistance support national security? How have objectives for US foreign assistance changed since WWII?
4. What roles are economic development and nation building likely to play in future U.S. foreign policy?

**Required Readings**
SESSION 2: Economic Growth

Scope: Development over the last 45 years has been characterized by rapid and broadening growth in Asia but slow growth in other regions. Why is this? What are the lessons of successful development in Asia? Why has growth been so hard to achieve in Africa and other parts of the world? Can aid promote economic growth?

Issues for Consideration

1. What are the facts on global poverty and growth?
2. What have been the driving factors of Asian advance?
3. What are the political and economic obstacles to growth in Africa and other regions?
4. What is the Millennium Challenge Account model for promoting poverty reduction through growth? How might it be improved?

Required Readings

- View Paul Collier video presentation to Royal Society (90 minutes) at http://www.res.org.uk/society/video/RESCollier-Africa.mov
Recommended Readings


SESSION 3: The Structure of USG Foreign Assistance

Scope

This session examines the different types of foreign assistance provided by the US Government, including emergency relief and for promoting stabilization and reconstruction, development, and security. It also looks at the key agencies involved, how they operate and how they coordinate. And it considers the role of Congress and identifies major issues affecting the performance of foreign aid. (Note: USG assistance provided through multilateral organizations such as the World Bank, is overseen by the US Department of the Treasury and is considered in the next topic.)

Issues for Consideration

1. What are the implications of more USG agencies getting involved in providing foreign assistance?
2. How do USG agencies coordinate in providing foreign assistance? Have recent reforms been successful?
3. How do Administrations shape priorities?
4. How does Congress support and influence foreign assistance? If so, with what strings attached?

Required Readings

- Millennium Challenge Corporation. Scan their website, read (click on tabs) “About MCC,” “Selection Criteria,” and “Programs and Activities.” (3 pages) http://www.mcc.gov/about/index.php


SESSION 4: Disaster Assistance: Civilian-Military Coordination in Emergency Response: Pakistan Earthquake, Burma, Tsunami, Haiti, Democratic Republic of the Congo

Scope:

This session looks at the way we are organized to do emergency assistance and disaster response. It will discuss interagency roles and responsibilities, focusing particularly on the Department of Defense and USAID’s Office of Disaster Assistance. It will look at specific case examples such as the Asian Tsunami, Burma, Haiti and the Congo to highlight the challenges faced, tools and resources available, and lessons learned about how best to mobilize to respond to humanitarian disasters, both natural and man-made.

Issues for Consideration:

1. How does the US respond to a humanitarian disaster and who is responsible for what?
2. Where does disaster assistance fit into a national security strategy?
3. What’s the relationship of disaster assistance and emergency response to development?
4. How can DOD, USAID and other USG agencies work more effectively on disaster assistance and humanitarian response?

Required readings:

- Review the website for USAID’s Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance
  USAID Disaster Assistance: Home, look specifically at summaries of work on emergencies in Pakistan, Burma, Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, Asian tsunami.
- Review USAID’s Field Operations Guide,
  Read policy guidelines, XIX-XXVI, and chapter II on assessment, II-1 to II-14.
  http://ncseonline.org/NLE/CRSreports/07Jun/RL33769.pdf
- Various handouts

SESSION 5: Foreign Assistance: The Way Others Do It—non-government, multilateral, and other countries’ approaches to foreign aid

Scope:
This session examines various non-US government approaches to foreign assistance and the opportunities and challenges of coordinating foreign aid. The Chinese have their own perspective. Other major donors—the British, the Nordic states, and Japan, for example—each have differing objectives and strategies for development assistance. Similarly, the World Bank and UN organizations have their own constraints and styles of operation, and more recently, large private donors like the Gates, Clinton and Turner Foundations and George Soros’ Open Societies’ Institute have launched major efforts to effect change in developing countries and transition states—former members of the Soviet Union trying to liberalize their economies and become more democratic. Coordinating these efforts could reap real benefits; it could also result in extraordinary administrative and diplomatic time and produce relatively little.

**Issues for Consideration:**

1. How do other bilaterals—specifically, the Chinese, Europeans, Nordics and Japanese, approach foreign assistance?
2. What is the perspective of the multilaterals like the World Bank and UN and what hope do they provide for greater donor coordination? What about efforts such as the millennium development goals, poverty reduction strategies, and harmonization conferences to win donor support and encourage coordination?
3. What is the role of independent, privately funded foundations, non-government organizations and the private sector in development assistance?
4. Are there possibilities for greater integration of other donors’ programs with US foreign assistance?

**Required Readings:**

- Moises Naim, “Rogue Aid,” Foreign Policy, March/April 2007 (anthology)
SESSION 6: Stabilization and Reconstruction: Kosovo

Scope

This session will examine the crisis in Kosovo: events leading up to the conflict in 1999, the NATO intervention, and international efforts to promote stabilization and reconstruction since then. While the US led NATO efforts to end ethnic cleansing, the UN, EU and other actors have led international efforts since the conflict ended. Was this a successful case of international peace-making, of stabilization and reconstruction? How did outside influence work? Where is Kosovo today?

Issues for Consideration

1. Have NATO-led efforts to promote stability been successful? What factors have contributed to success or limited it?
2. Have UN and EU efforts to promote reconstruction and state-building been successful? What factors have contributed to success or limited it?
3. Has the US played an effective role in stabilization and reconstruction?
4. What lessons can be learned from the Kosovo experience and applied to Iraq, Afghanistan or elsewhere?

**Required Readings**

- Daniel Fried, Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, “Kosovo, the Balkans Moment of Truth?” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, March 4, 2008 (3 pages)
  [http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/101722.htm](http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/101722.htm)
- Jane’s, “Sentinel and Security Assessment- Balkans, Economy – Kosovo,” June 12, 2008. (3 pages)
SESSION 7: Drugs and Thugs: Combating International Crime

Scope

This session examines the role of foreign assistance in combating illegal trafficking, focusing on human trafficking and narcotics. It looks at the nature of the threats, the key agencies involved in combating them, and how they operate and coordinate.

Issues for Consideration

- What threats does illegal trafficking pose to the US?
- What are the principal challenges to reducing these threats?
- Which USG agencies and strategies are involved in reducing these threats?
- What is the role of US foreign assistance? Is it effective? What limits its effectiveness?

Required Readings

  http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=162&did=1544467601&SrchMode=1&sid=3&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1224168068&clientId=3921


  http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=28&did=1489887921&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1223413555&clientId=3921

SESSION 8: Counter-Terrorism in Africa

Scope

Security assistance comprises a wide range of US foreign aid, such as Foreign Military Finance, International Military Education and Training, support for peace keeping operations, and civic action programs. This session examines the role of security assistance in Africa, focusing on counter terrorism. It looks at the nature of the threat, the key agencies involved, including the DOD’s newly-created Africa Command (AFRICOM), their use of foreign assistance, and how they operate and coordinate. One example of interagency cooperation is the Trans Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative. Is this a model for cooperation elsewhere?

Key Questions

1. Is the U.S. focusing on the right priorities in providing security assistance to Africa?
2. Does security assistance play an effective role in countering terrorism?
3. What promotes or limits the effectiveness US counter terrorism assistance? Is the Trans Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative a model for interagency cooperation?
4. Will AFRICOM effectively promote U.S. interests in strengthening security in Africa? What should it do to increase the likelihood of success?

Required Readings

SESSION 9: Development Assistance: Indonesia and India

Scope: Assistance to large, complex countries approaching or already middle-income, presents a different set of challenges and opportunities. First, foreign policy objectives may differ from those with fragile states. The objective may be to develop a strategic partnership, expand economic ties, build a political relationship important to regional stability, or strengthen common interests on global environmental or health issues. This session looks at foreign assistance to Indonesia and India and particularly work by the World Bank. It offers a chance to reflect on the role assistance has played in economic growth and political development in a complicated environment and gain a better understanding of how the World Bank operates and how combined assistance, NGOs, bilaterals and multilaterals, might complement efforts by host governments to spur development.

Issues for Consideration:

1. How have India and Indonesia grappled with issues since independence, complex income, ethnic, linguistic and religious differences?
2. What has been the role of foreign assistance in the development gains made by India and Indonesia?
3. What is meant by institution and capacity-building, how important are they, and how best might they be achieved?
4. What should be US foreign policy objectives in Indonesia and India and how can foreign assistance support them?

Required Readings:

- Review USAID’s website for Indonesia: usaid india - Google Search
- And USAID’s website for India: USAID India : About USAID India - Overview

SESSION 10: Stabilization and Reconstruction, Part II: The PRT Experience

Scope: Security is critical to stabilization and reconstruction; yet stabilization, reconstruction, development and hope are critical to long-term security. There is much talk about the importance of a whole-of-government approach to get from conflict to
post-conflict, stabilization and development. The Provincial Reconstruction Teams represent one way to get whole-of-government cooperation on the ground. This session explores efforts to develop PRTs in Afghanistan and Iraq, examines their effectiveness, and reviews the challenges in moving from PRTs to sustainable services supplied by a legitimate local government.

**Issues for Consideration:**

1. How have PRTs coordinated foreign assistance and efforts to provide security?
2. What resources are required for effective PRTs and which agencies should supply them?
3. How do PRTs best work with local leaders?
4. What can be done to encourage a smooth hand-off from PRTs to local administrations?

**Required Readings:**

- GAO Report on Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan and Iraq: [province reconstruction teams - Google Search](#)

**SESSION 11:** Reorganizing for Effectiveness: New Approaches to Combined Operations

**Scope:** In the last two years a number of think tanks and commissions have issued reports talking about how foreign assistance should be reorganized. There has been the Smart Power Commission and the Help Commission, for example, with reports by Brookings and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Should all foreign assistance be combined in one organization—should we have a special cabinet-level
Department of Development—or should we continue to operate with a number of agencies and departments operating individual foreign aid programs in their specialty areas? You will have touched on this topic in your papers (due this lesson) and so we will be looking to you to lead the discussion, offering your suggestions for what works, what doesn’t and how we should organize (or not) to do better. No readings are required, but if you are curious about what others have said, we are including a list of possible readings. And watch your local paper to see what the new administration might have already decided by the time we get to this session.

Possible Readings (voluntary):

  [CSIS Reports - A Smarter, More Secure America - Center for Strategic and International Studies](http://www.csis.org/moresecure)

SESSION 12: An Exercise in Full-Spectrum Assistance: Pakistan

**Scope:** We’ve asked the Gaming Center to prepare a game involving a variety of issues relating to foreign assistance for Pakistan. Few countries are more important or offer more challenges and opportunities for assistance programs. You’ve all become experts over the last 11 sessions and this last session will provide a chance for your to exercise your prowess as aid strategists.

**Readings:** To come