**Common Sense and Foreign Policy – Outline**

1. **Common Sense, Judgment & Knowledge**
   1. Current International Situation
      1. End of WWII – 9/11/01 – fight communism, manage world economy, help 3rd world develop and grow democracy
      2. Post 9/11 and Iraq invasion – USA split radically
         1. We need **informed common sense**
            1. Develop a base of factual knowledge
            2. Understand different cultures and beliefs
         2. Over the course of the Bush admin (2000-08) ideology has kept leaders from listening to “reality checks” and arrogance and entitlement in office has led to a sorry state of foreign relations and politics (4 reasons):
            1. Foreign Affairs is mysterious

More places are important

Structure of the international system has changed

Educational system is lagging

People don’t have time to follow lots of issues

We are less aware of different cultures and issues that are important

* + - * 1. Uni-polar world versus bipolar makes decisions harder

We are the only superpower (for now): many divergent views of our national interest and how to reach it

* + - * 1. Modern society is complex and very specialized:

Makes overall assessments and problem solving more difficult

* + - * 1. Last 30 years of US politics has become more divisive and symbolic

Result: we forget our good relationships with other countries and try to boss others around

* + - 1. Remedy: Diplomacy: rebuild effective relationships
      2. **How to bring common sense to foreign affairs**?
         1. Expand our knowledge

More and better education about what matters now (globalization, religion in politics, economics, Middle East and up and coming powers)

Our attempts at unilateral solutions have not worked…we need relationships/diplomacy

* + - * 1. Examine our values and how we express them – and learn why others see them differently

Preventive war and preemptive war

Primacy as policy

Religion and values

* + - * 1. Obtain unbiased and reliable information

Intelligence

Don’t let ideology act as a blinder to information

Media: need in-depth journalistic analysts

\*\* Good/accurate judgment comes from a broad common sense view that encompasses better and more information and concern for values

* + - * 1. Move away from divisive politics and seek foreign policy consensus
  1. Building Knowledge, Applying Judgment
     1. Seek good sources of info, be aware of problems, look for the rigidities in individuals and institutions
     2. In approaching a problem, fully understand your own assumptions and seek out relevant info.
     3. Find ways around impediments (see next point)
  2. Overcoming *Impediments to Judgment*
     1. US lack of knowledge of other cultures and what other cultures think of US (the people, politicians and experts are all guilty of this)
        1. Result: inadequate understanding of the negative shift in opinion about the US and its government
     2. Trying to sort out the implications of measures proposed especially when there are strong differences on what needs to be done
        1. Exacerbated by the ideological tone of foreign affairs that increases the chance of failing based on the above impediments
     3. Actual policies tend over time to become disconnected from the broad strategic views
        1. The operating depts. (State and Defense) have to make policy sense out of broad directives (i.e.: expand democracy in the Middle East)
        2. Difficult to create workable policy based on many views
  3. **Six Guidelines for Improving Foreign Policy** 
     1. Learn what you can about all sides of an issue and the values at stake before voicing your definitive opinion.
     2. Support policies that are in general harmony with your values.
     3. Find the real present and future costs of policies via the positive and negative aspects of the policy. Press for details and listen to professionals over politicians.
     4. Be suspicious of those who deny the obvious under pressure.
     5. Discount those who are arrogant beyond self-confidence; humility, moderation and balance are better tools for wise action.
     6. Foreign policy always involves others: pay attention to the values and opinions of others. Bring others into the game.

1. **American Primacy and Diplomacy**
   1. American Primacy as Condition or Policy?
      1. As Condition:
         1. America’s rise to primacy as a result of WWI, WWII, post-war world alignment and economic supremacy
         2. Primacy as condition evolved due to public diplomacy and consensus building over the course of 60 years since WWII
      2. As Policy:
         1. Neoconservatives seek to maintain and enhance US primacy via empire building and unilateral international action as policy
         2. Neocons (Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Feith, Pearle) of the Bush administration pushed for this type of policy and led to the invasion of Iraq
            1. Result: unilateralist policy has had a devastating effect on our foreign policy and how we are viewed internationally – reduced legitimacy and trust
         3. **Basic Assumptions of Neocon Policy**:
            1. Due to US military and economic primacy, the US can act without cooperation from others, even allies
            2. 9/11 overturned historical rules of international behavior
            3. A global hegemon, the US should not be constrained by international treaties/agreements that limit its course of action
            4. Military action is more effective and certain than diplomatic activity
            5. Democracies don’t launch wars, so we should spread democracy (esp. to the Middle East) even if this means launching wars ourselves
            6. US has special moral authority
         4. Neocon policy led the US to make serious *mistakes in Iraq*:
            1. Attacking Iraq to stop terror and help the Arab/Israeli peace process actually worsened the terror and failed to stop weapons flowing to Palestinian radicals
            2. Used a false rational to invade Iraq (WMD)
            3. Failed to adequately internationalize the effort (leaves US saddled with the costs)
            4. DoD planners woefully underestimated the task
            5. We trusted the exiles and bought their “bogus” intelligence and they sold our secrets to Iran
            6. Lacked serious planning – demobilized the army/police, no adequate nation building or civil affairs structure to put in place
            7. Too few troops to do the job
         5. People don’t hate US primacy, they hate Primacy as Policy…our strength must be applied with tact, diplomacy and concern for others in the international system
         6. New attacks on US primacy – *non-state actors* (Al-Qaeda)
            1. Requires more subtle strategy and renewed concern and understanding of other peoples
         7. **Military Power**
            1. We are the most powerful conventional force in the world – no challengers
            2. We may have trouble dealing with undeclared or unconventional warfare (GWOT)
            3. We have over exerted ourselves in two interventions (we might be able to do one)
            4. We cannot continue to go it alone – we need international cooperation and support (persuasion, diplomacy and broader support)
         8. **Economic Power**
            1. Strong economy but we don’t have the control over it that we once had

China holds large amounts of US debt and has huge trade surplus with US

The Yuan is no longer pegged to the USD and thus fluctuations in the Yuan can really adversely effect the USD

* + - * 1. Energy

US is heavily dependent on foreign oil

China and India have increasing needs – price increases due to demand

Oil profits go mostly to Saudi Arabia and Iran – fund terrorists

* + - * 1. Unilateral foreign policy isn’t going to get US anywhere regarding these issues – best leverage will come from cooperation
      1. **Soft Power** (three M’s: MTV, McDonald’s and Madonna)
         1. Just as important as military power
         2. How our “values” are spread to the majority of humanity (provides a ground up pressure on foreign governments)
         3. How to use to the strength of our values and our commitment to freedom and justice in ways that enhance US national interests

Will require public diplomacy – need to change the attitudes of several generations of militant Muslims in the Arab world

* + - * 1. At home – address education - > history, culture and language to be effective in public diplomacy
      1. **Moral Influence**
         1. Quit being hypocrites (ie: strong faith based values and traditions vs. Abu Ghraib, torture)

1. **Error, Folly & Intelligence**
   1. *Intelligence paradigm*: intelligence is needed so the organizations are created to obtain it, then counterintelligence agencies are created to protect it
      1. **Problems** in the Paradigm:
         1. Possibility of erroneous or misleading information creates problem of credibility
         2. Analysis used to prepare the information has been flawed, thus error can lead to “folly”
         3. Error can compound with stubbornness to produce folly
            1. *Folly: the continued persistence of error to produce action, usually adverse, which fails to accomplish the desired goals and eventually leads to disaster for those persisting in it*
         4. Intelligence and Covert Action…worth it?
            1. **Cons**:

Blowback can seriously damage foreign policy

Americans don’t understand other’s cultures well enough to effectively manipulate them (∴ covert action often ends badly)

Not an effective way to resolve crises and has to be an integrated part of an effective policy

The objectives of the covert action is not consistent with US values

Boundaries between covert action and military action are often unclear, thus resulting in failures

Short term successes often lead to long term failures

* + - * 1. **Pros**: (Covert action can be useful if:)

Integrated into a coherent overall foreign policy

Active coordination is maintained between all government agencies

No overt options will accomplish the mission

* + - 1. How to avoid error 🡪 folly
         1. Avoid hubris (excessive pride or self-confidence), arrogance, stubbornness, inflexibility
         2. Do not marginalize/discourage a certain amount of healthy dissent
         3. Do not let a certain ideological or widely held belief trump obvious signals to the contrary

Ex: Pearl Harbor (no way the Japs will attack us here), US invasion at Normandy (Hitler refused to believe the US would attack via Normandy instead of Calais)

* + - * 1. Individual error and folly are compounded when at the organizational level: results in “Groupthink”

*Groupthink: Ineffective organizational relations inhibit critical thinking about issues.* As *a consensus builds about an issue or a problem, dissenters are marginalized. The impact of this is to stifle doubts and discourage expression of alternative theses, let alone seriously consider them.*

* 1. Intelligence and Diplomacy
     1. To ensure effectiveness in intelligence organizations:
        1. Hire intelligent, well-balanced, curious people
        2. Train them well
        3. Organization must be structure to promote effective acquisition of information, timely in-depth analysis, and smooth integration of information into policy/decision-making process
        4. Encourage top-down openness and cooperative process
        5. Tolerate dissent
  2. Preparing for the Future
     1. Cross-cultural problems have moved to the critical list
     2. New technologies saturate us in intel.; can be bad: complicates analysis with too much info.; harder to distinguish between secrets and mysteries
        1. Secret: something that can be discovered, a fact that is not yet known (ie: # of missiles X has)
        2. Mystery: more ephemeral, abstract (ie: N. Korea’s intentions)

1. **Religion & Diplomacy**
   1. 1648 *Treaty of Westphalia*: ruler’s religion would govern the land and stopped religious infighting
      1. established Westphalian Diplomacy : the exchange of diplomatic missions between countries as the dominant form of communication between states
   2. Modern return of religion into politics and thus diplomacy
      1. Rise of Jewish and Arab nationalism
      2. Creation of Israel as a Jewish state
   3. Religion often intensifies non-religious issues like territorial and tribal rivalries
   4. Religion can play a positive role in diplomacy
      1. Religious missions have played large part in international setting (US missionaries outnumbered ambassadors until the 1960s)
   5. **Globalization:**
      1. People losing jobs, downward pressure on salaries, dislocation or diminishing social protections lead people to turn toward religion to address their fears
         1. Common value among all religions: care for the poor - thus religion finds its way into politics
      2. World systems theories such as Marxism leave out the influence of religious beliefs and thus miss much of what affects life and thus decisions
      3. When ascertaining what a “rational actor” would do…must consider a rational actor of a particular belief
   6. **Diplomacy**
      1. Many states have been increasingly influenced by religion at the national political level thus more decisions will be made on the basis of religion and more conflicts will arise to protect the religion
         1. ∴ our diplomats and politicians need to have a better understanding of world religions and the implications because the
         2. ex: Iran – Islamic revolution in 1979, Israel – Jewish state, growing numbers of evangelical/fundamentalist Christians in the US – effect policy (Bush admin), religion is also growing in China and Japan where it traditionally has not been a force in decision making
   7. **Individual Belief Systems**
      1. To better anticipate decisions and negotiate more effectively, we should know the religious beliefs of certain leaders and decision makers as these beliefs *will* influence their thoughts and decisions
   8. **National and International Belief Systems**
      1. Ex: philosophies, intellectual currents, and beliefs that contribute to national and organizational views
         1. Secularist view of modernization
         2. Western idea of continual upward progress vs. Cyclical view that history repeats itself
   9. **Special Issues Religion Poses for Statecraft**
      1. Religion often ties statesmens’ hands when negotiating a settlement
         1. Religious motivations often deal with differences with a deeply hostile view of the “other” as enemy
      2. Religion can also help resolve conflicts
         1. Focus minds toward peace
         2. Preventive Diplomacy – head off conflicts before they occur
         3. The absence of a Western revenge-motivated foreign policy after WWII can be linked to the West’s Judeo-Christian traditions
   10. *Just War and Just Peace* (basic tenets of the doctrines)
       1. **Just War Doctrine:**
          1. Just Cause – protect against real/certain danger, deter/repel, HRs, genocide, overthrow hostile dictator
          2. Competent Authority (to wage war)
          3. Right Intention – are the stated reasons for war the actual ones?
          4. Last Resort
          5. Just Peace – are the objectives of the use of force to achieve peace?
          6. Probability of Success – is the chance of success clear enough to justify the use of force?
          7. Proportionality – are the damages to be inflicted and the costs incurred proportionate to the objectives sought? Are the values at stake so important that they justify use of force?
       2. **Peacemaking Initiatives:** (written by theologians)
          1. Support nonviolent direct action – boycotts, strikes, marches, ect
          2. Take independent initiatives to reduce threats – arms reduction
          3. Use Cooperative Conflict Resolution (CCR) – active co-working of parties to conflict
          4. Acknowledge responsibility for the conflict and seek forgiveness
          5. Advance democracy, HRs, religions freedom
          6. Foster just and sustainable economic development
          7. Work with emerging cooperative forces in the international system
          8. Strengthen UN and international efforts for cooperation and HRs
          9. Reduce offensive weapons and weapons trade
          10. Encourage grassroots peacemaking groups and voluntary association

\*\*\*all are key types of issues politicians and diplomats have to face

* 1. Impact of New Religion/Diplomacy Ties
     1. Properly used, citizen diplomacy or *faith-based diplomacy* can supplement or reinforce traditional diplomacy
     2. America’s “you’re with us or against us” stance has promoted Huntington’s “Clash of Civilizations” theory
        1. Future conflicts will be between civilizations (ie: Christian Europe vs. Orthodox Eurasia, Muslims vs. the West)

1. **Terrorism & Insurgency**
   1. *Terror is a strategy usually used by a weaker force against a stronger one*
      1. It is violence or the threat of violence to get certain aims met
      2. Usually conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or a conspiratorial cell structure of individuals directly motivated or inspired by ideological aim
   2. The US has used and had terrorism used against us in our history
      1. US used terrorism and insurgency:
         1. Ag the Brits in the American Revolution
         2. During the US Civil War
         3. Homegrown terrorism: Unibomber, OK City bombings, KKK
   3. Modern terrorism began in the 1960s and 70s with the rise of Middle Eastern movements
      1. Creation of Israel provoked reaction from Arabs 🡪 Arab/Israeli War 🡪 what was a battle or national existence took on a religious tone and produced a breeding ground for terrorist groups
      2. 1979 Iranian Revolution – Islamic theology and exportation of ideology to other Middle East states 🡪 radicalism
   4. Matters came to a head after the first Gulf War when Saudi fundamentalists were disturbed by the US troop presence on the peninsula
   5. US helped the Taliban overthrown the Russian puppet regime (Cold War proxy war)
      1. Taliban aided and abetted Al Qaeda who (with other orgs and Iran) perpetrated:
         1. 1993 – New York World Trade Center
         2. 1996 – Kobar Towers in Saudi Arabia
         3. 1998 – US embassies in Kenya and Dar es Salaam
         4. 2000 – USS Cole
         5. 2001 – 9/11 – World Trade Towers, Pentagon
   6. There is a disconnect between regional and religious experts in diplomacy, military and intelligence branches, technical and geostrategic thinkers on one hand and senior policy makers and ideologues on the other
   7. Terrorism in Afghanistan: US had the chance to eliminate bin Laden and Al Qaeda at Tora Bora in 2002 but the US didn’t follow through and they escaped in to Pakistan
   8. The DoD and neocons started pushing for democratization in the Middle East starting with Iraq and Saddam Hussein
      1. Iraqis loved Saddam gone but hated the American invasion 🡪 terrorism and insurgencies
         1. Al Qaeda and Al Ansar built strong terrorist groups in Iraq (supported by Iran among others)
   9. The lack of top level understanding of the way terrorist groups built their philosophy of terrorism on religious belief to justify attacking people/groups has hampered all our efforts in Iraq
      1. The War on Terrorism is not a clash of civilizations; increased terrorism in the world is actually a civil war within the Islamic community between the fundamentalists and the moderates
   10. **Impediments to overcoming Terrorism**
       1. Some Americans and Europeans consider all Muslims evil
          1. Not true
          2. The better position is to engage moderate Muslims to show a united front against terrorism
             1. Moderates disagree with the terrorist groups and deny that their religion in any way justifies terroristic violence
          3. By marginalizing Muslims indiscriminately around the world, the West/US is playing to the strategy of the fundamentalists who use these actions to prove that Muslims should hate the West
       2. American foreign policy in the Middle East is seen as hostile to the Muslim world (the US should pay attention to how their foreign policy is viewed abroad)
          1. US support for Israel seems unbalanced ag Palestinians
          2. US occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan
          3. US/Western troops on the Arabian peninsula
          4. US support for corrupt, apostate and tyrannical Muslim regimes
          5. US pressure on Arab energy producers to keep oil prices low
          6. US support for Russia, China, and India ag their Muslim militants
   11. Terrorism originates in other places than the Middle East: Latin America, Central Asia, Europe
   12. **Religion’s Impact on Key Groups and Individuals’ Worldviews**
       1. People who are marginalized by society, or find themselves in hopeless situations economically turn to attacking their governments or the viewed source of pain
       2. Bin Laden shaped his view of Islam to justify his attacks against women and children and made religious doctrine a direct political tool
       3. Another example is the LTTE in Sri Lanka (Tamil Tigers)
          1. Founders of modern day terrorism, started as Buddhist fundamentalism that gave rise to a guerrilla nationalist force (mix of religion and politics)
   13. To combat the use of religion in these ways:
       1. Study religion
       2. Religious thinkers should interact regularly with cultural and political specialists to test their understandings ag one another
   14. **Organizational issues**
       1. Theory that as societies evolve and modernize, they naturally become more secular (this has been debunked in the last few decades)
       2. Organized religion has been targeted by political groups due to fear that the religion will undermine the party policy
          1. KGB
          2. China
       3. Conversely, other political organizations rely on religious people as faithful citizens
          1. Taliban
   15. **Special Problems of Religion and Terrorism**
       1. Remember: As societies develop they do not necessarily get more secular
       2. We must foster better cross-cultural understanding and better educate diplomats, politicians and public
       3. Increase general knowledge and learning from experts who are familiar with the cultures , and knowing the theological-political arguments of groups and even nations.
2. **Iran & America**
   1. Pre-Revolution
      1. US held up the Shah’s regime (secular)
      2. Despite word from those on the ground, the US and the Shah failed to notice the rising discontent in the population
   2. 1979 Revolution - overthrew the Shah, took US embassy hostage and instituted an Islamic theocracy
      1. ruler: Supreme Ayatollah Ali Khamenei controls the Guardian Council which dictates who can run for what elected position and can overrule actions of Parliament (Majles)
      2. President: elected by the people
      3. Very hostile toward the US
         1. Anticipates US takeover of the country/topple the government
         2. The US must approach Iranian issues without succumbing to the anger, ideology and mythology of the past
   3. Post Revolution (1979-present)
      1. Iran is a principle oil and gas producer
      2. Yet, since the revolution, the isolation of the country has taken a toll on the people
         1. Millions of people have emigrated
         2. Currency has collapsed
         3. Unemployment is high
      3. Iran has slowly built up a huge army that has been combat ready for decades
      4. Political Factions:
         1. **Radical clerics** – led by Supreme Leader Khomeini, then Khamenei – hard line radical conservative
            1. Control key government positions
         2. **Pragmatists** – led by Hojatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani (President 1989-1997) – favor more cultural freedoms, private control of the economy, and integration in to the world economy, joining in globalization
         3. **Reformers** – led by liberal cleric Mohammad Khatami (President 1997-2005)– Islamic cultural restrictions removed, efforts made to open the economy, tried to pass legislation to limit the Guardian Council from banning legislation..but was rejected, tried to increase democratization
      5. 2005 election – Mahmoud Ahmadinejad – promised better economic times
         1. a hard-line radical fundamentalist
         2. called for the destruction if Israel, denied the Holocaust happened
         3. remained hostile toward the US
      6. Political catch-22: economic goals of the reformers and pragmatists cant be met while the regime spews hostility toward other countries
   4. **Iranian Military Capabilities and Foreign Policy**
      1. The revolution put in place a government that is anti-West and anti-US, and spreads Islamic fundamentalism abroad and funds other fundamentalists like terrorist groups
      2. Thus, they grew close to Hezbollah and Hamas and have funded and armed them against Israel and Lebanon
      3. Military:
         1. High internal cohesion, morale
         2. Highly developed insurgency capability (see Iraq)
         3. Sufficient capability for homeland defense and guerrilla warfare
         4. Well stocked army, navy and limited air force
         5. Medium range missiles
         6. Well trained
         7. \*\*\*Iranian military groups have aided and supported terrorist activities ag the West and Lebanon
   5. **US Relations with Iran**
      1. Bad relations: see list of terror attacks
      2. US has 3 major goals regarding Iran:
         1. Stop seeking nuclear weapons
            1. Iran thinks the US wants to overthrow the regime
            2. Major oil/trade deals with China and Russia give Iran leverage
         2. Stop supporting terrorism
         3. Stop interfering with the Middle East peace negotiations between Arabs and Jews
   6. **Talk or Fight?**
      1. After 9/11 Iran helped in the invasion of Afghanistan and setting up the Afghan govt
      2. Help faded after Bush put them on the “Axis of Evil” in the 2002 State of the Union
         1. This and some neocon mention of “bringing democracy to Iran” brought up red flags in the Iranian govt
      3. Military attack on Iran…*don’t even think about it*
         1. Would definitely be a protracted engagement and their military would put up a great fight
         2. We don’t have the troops to do this (we’re are already committed in two other conflicts)
         3. Nuclear question…they might not have them now, but they have friends that do
         4. They will strike US allies in the area (Israel)
         5. Would only increase hatred for US in the region and increase terror attacks ag US
      4. The only real option is intensive, serious diplomacy, with a force background option
         1. Iranian people like the US, they also dislike their government, just wait it out
   7. **Some US Options**
      1. CFR option:
         1. Selective engagement and increased dialogue
         2. Keep pressure on the IAEA to keep an eye on the nuclear program
         3. Continue to have dialogue with those who want it
         4. US govt should be more flexible with sanctions: trade is the only lever we have (trade will push Iran into the world trading economy, allow its citizens contact with the world, and diminish radical fundamentalism)
         5. Allow US NGOs to go to Iran: teach and medical work
         6. Press Iranians on the status of Al Qaeda prisoners they hold
         7. Keep the heat on the Syrians to leave Lebanon alone – thus narrowing Iran’s access to this region
         8. Closely monitor Iran’s intelligence activities in Iraq
      2. Other Options:
         1. Selectively engage
         2. Offer to open an embassy and exchange students
         3. Increase TV and radio programming to infiltrate with soft power and to restore US capacity to affect opinions
         4. Possibility of a “Grand Bargain” where the US and Iran would negotiate all of their issues
            1. Nukes for security guarantees
      3. Place Iran in the context of US’s broader interests (peace, trade, and development)
3. **Diplomacy & Organization**
   1. Traits of competent organizations :
      1. Cohesive leadership
      2. Direct hierarchical leadership
      3. Geographical centralization
      4. Stable environment
   2. State Dept has problems with these traits:
      1. Cohesive leadership: State is controlled by the Pres. but challenged by Congress and other departments
      2. Direct Hierarchical Leadership : only where and when there is little or no internal conflict over policy
      3. Geographical centralization and Stable environment: posts are all over the world and few can ensure these
   3. Very important not to politicize the policy process
      1. Hard when American politics has become so partisan
      2. Under Bush, State was pressed to tow the Presidential/Neocon line and was accused of being disloyal to the president’s policy by reporting problems with the plan
   4. **Intelligence and Defense**
      1. Products from these two groups should not be forced to meet a certain policy goal
   5. **Groupthink** (see chapter 3)
      1. Bay of Pigs was an example of successive mistakes being made because no one would ask the hard questions about the plan to invade Cuba
      2. People want to please their bosses and dissent is discouraged
   6. **Organizational issues**
      1. Short funding of the State Dept
         1. Low personnel
            1. Diplomats spread too thin in too many areas
            2. Need to focus on Foreign Service personnel: recruiting capable people and training them well
            3. The personnel stretch leads to minimal links with other, larger govt agencies as well as inadequate ties to other foreign affairs groups in the US – private aid orgs, religious development programs, and academics
         2. Reason: until 2007, State’s portion of the national budget was not viewed as key to national security
      2. Size and Construction of Foreign Missions:
         1. Used to be built to allow access
         2. With the increase in terrorism targeting embassies (general disregard for diplomatic immunity), they are now being built and operated more like compounds
         3. The cost of the 104 acre mission in Iraq has strapped the Dept for cash to repair other missions
      3. Political Appointees
         1. Some are worth their salt, but others can’t find the country assigned on a map
            1. Candidates should be vetted by a panel of political and career foreign service members
      4. Debate over whether foreign service personnel should be hired and promoted for their general overall expertise or whether they should have extensive regional and area qualifications
         1. US has been deficient in hiring and promoting, and finds itself short handed in Middle East expertise
   7. Diplomacy is more likely to succeed if it is grounded in realistic, balanced, and common sense strategies of statesmen and managed by competent individuals, not ideologues
4. **Safe for Our Grandchildren (how to get diplomacy back on track)**
   1. *Greater citizen awareness, better organization and relations among our citizens, better citizen knowledge about the rest of the world, much more well-grounded foreign policy “crew”*
   2. Need to create balanced and moderate policies and carry them out in a consistent and competent manner; these policies need to be based on our country’s values
   3. Our democratic process will ultimately turn us away from empire building and reject “imperialism” as it struggles to cope with the following problems:
      1. The pressure of “imperial necessity” for control, requiring ever greater expenditure of manpower in the face of growing domestic demands
      2. Compulsions that corrupt democratic freedoms (pressures to use torture in interrogation)
      3. The drive for hierarchical military control necessitated by imperial activity which tend to curb our democratic freedoms
   4. Recognize (at home and abroad) that the US is an essential player in the international system
   5. Relearn how to work with others; focus on the gains of peaceful diplomacy and building a stronger international community
   6. Engagement abroad requires more and better diplomacy driven by informed citizenry
   7. Understatement, humility, moderation and avoidance of bluster should be motifs of our diplomacic attitudes
   8. Basics of developing strategy for diplomatic and military posture:
      1. National strategy and foreign policy consensus should be based on widely accepted values
      2. Stamp out hubris and arrogance in foreign policy
      3. Relearn how to “play well with others”
      4. Deal with US’s “democratic ADD” – difficulty focusing on long-term goals and allocating sufficient resources for *both* domestic and foreign priorities
      5. Integrating appropriate religious values into our policy process
         1. This will be key to dealing with terrorism
   9. US cannot return to isolationism
   10. Common Sense guidelines to policy:
       1. Commit to selective multilateral action as opposed to unilateral moves wherever possible
       2. Avoid reliance on preventive force
       3. Recognize importance of global public opinion
       4. Work to strengthen bipartisanship in US foreign policy (work together!)