Center for American Progress

HUMANITY UNITED

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It All Starts with Training

Crisis Prevention and U.S. Foreign Affairs Agencies

John Norris, Abigail Long, Sarah Margon, and David Abramowitz December 2011

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Contents

1 Introduction and summary

6 The need for better crisis prevention training at State and USAID

14 The civil-military training divide

24 Competing conflict assessment tools

28 Recommendations

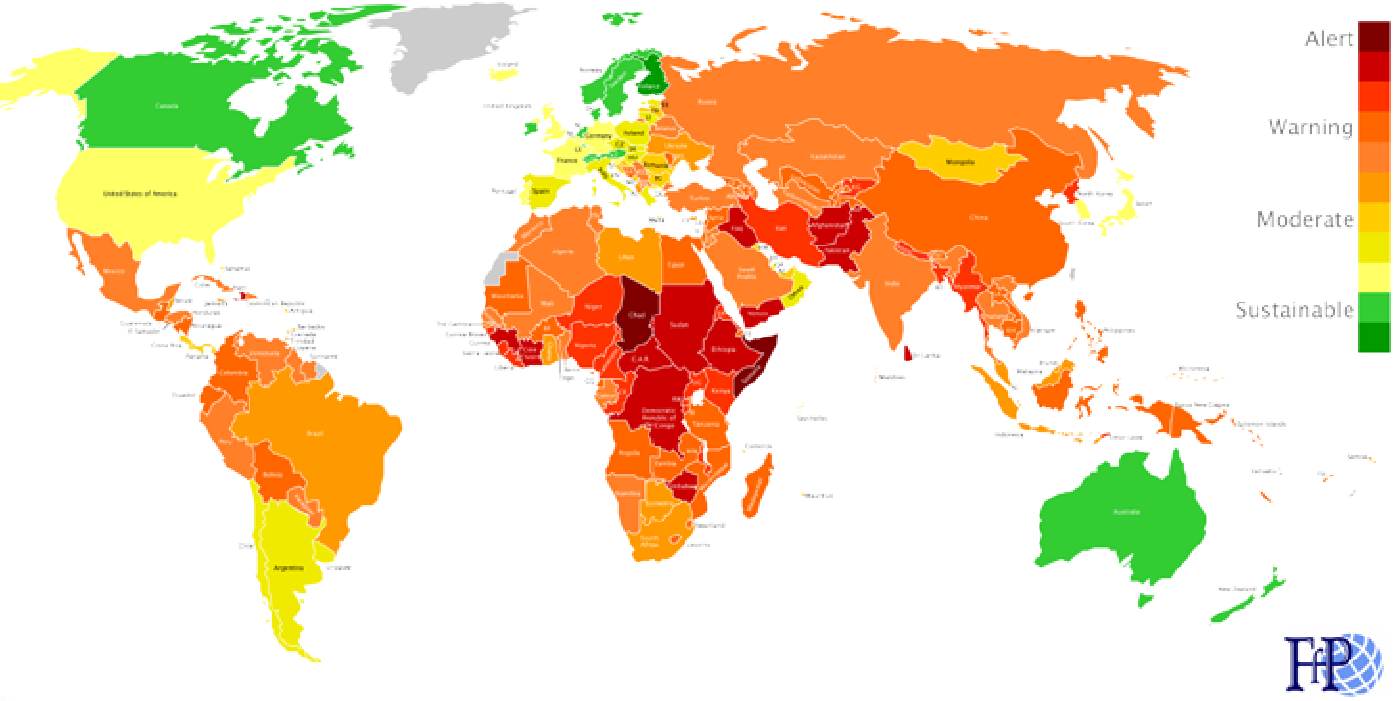
32 Conclusion

33 About the authors

34 Acknowledements

35 Endnotes

Failed States Index 2011



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The Failed States Index

The Fund for Peace 2011 Failed States Index underscores the enormity of challenges facing U.S. diplomats and development experts around the world today. The report ranked 177 nations based on their respective levels of stability and the social, economic, and political pressures that they face. The color-coded map above defines those countries with increasingly darker shades of red as those most at risk of violence and upheaval, while those in increasingly darker shades of green are seen as sustainably stable. Our report, "It All Starts with Training," explores the fundamental question of how we can better prepare America's foreign policy experts to deal with this complex, dangerous, and rapidly changing environment.

Introduction and summary

Significantly improved training courses and professional development opportunities are critically needed at core U.S. foreign affairs agencies, namely the Department of State and United States Agency for International Development, or USAID. Without enhanced training, diplomats will continue to lack the broad range of tools they need to deal with the many complicated and challenging global issues they regularly encounter whether on the ground or back in Washington.

A key tool is being better at conflict prevention given the increasing regularity with which political instability can emerge anywhere in the world. Secretary of State Clinton noted, "With the right tools, training, and leadership, our diplomats and development experts can defuse crises before they explode."[1]

With the right training, diplomats and development experts can advance democracy, galvanize economic growth, and strengthen the rule of law before a conflict emerges—not after.

As political dynamics around the globe continue to shift unexpectedly, preventing and responding to expensive and destructive global crises will need to be a cornerstone of our foreign policy—particularly if the United States wants to become more effective internationally and avoid costly engagements over the long run. In order for that to happen, our diplomats and development experts need to possess the right skill set and tools.

This paper looks at current conflict prevention training in foreign affairs agencies and how this training can be improved.

Recent government reviews highlight why conflict prevention matters

The Obama administration has conducted a broad series of reviews on how U.S. diplomacy and development are organized and conducted around the globe.

Central to all of these reviews is that the United States needs to do a far better job of preventing, mitigating, and resolving violent conflicts and crises.

The reviews include, most notably, the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, or QDDR, released in December 2010, a Presidential Study Directive on Global Development policy issued in September 2010, and the recent Presidential Study Directive on preventing mass atrocities announced in August of 2011.[2] USAID's recently released policy framework incorporates many of the goals of improved crisis prevention identified in these reviews into its policy priorities and operating principles.

The QDDR is admirably blunt in recognizing that the U.S. approach to preventing and managing crises is usually too slow and ad hoc. The U.S. government often failed to bring appropriate expertise to bear and largely failed to institutionalize even basic lessons learned.[3]

A number of statistics from the QDDR make clear how pressing conflict prevention is for the United States:

- Close to 60 percent of State and USAID's foreign assistance goes to 50 countries that are in the midst of, recovering from, or trying to prevent conflict or state failure.[4]
- More than 25 percent of State and USAID's personnel serve in the 30 countries classified as highest risk for conflict and instability.[5]
- More than 2,000 civilian personnel are currently deployed to Afghanistan and Iraq.[6]

Prevention is also cost effective: According to the Carnegie Commission on the Prevention of Deadly Conflict, for every $1 dollar spent on prevention it would cost $60 to intervene militarily after violence erupts.[7]

Moreover, Brown University's Costs of War Project estimates that the total cost of the ongoing U.S. involvement in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan has been more than $3 trillion.[8] While that number is an estimate, it makes obvious that the U.S. government remains willing to expend enormous resources responding to crises while shortchanging even modest investments in better training our officials to prevent them.

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This approach resulted in the United States contributing almost half of total world military expenditures last year. (see Figure 1)

The QDDR issued this clarion call:

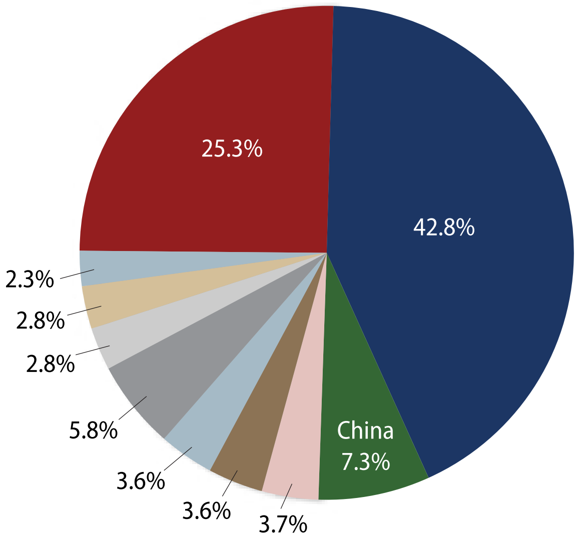
> *We start by embracing crisis and conflict prevention and resolution; the promotion of sustainable, responsible, and effective security and governance in fragile states; and fostering security and reconstruction in the aftermath of conflict as a central national security objective and as a core State mission that must be closely supported by USAID and many other U.S. government agencies.*[9]

The QDDR dedicated an entire chapter to "Preventing and Responding to Crisis, Conflict and Instability," and established a new undersecretary for civilian security, democracy, and human rights whose primary role includes preventing and responding to crisis and conflict, securing democracy, and advancing human rights.

FIGURE 1

A big piece of the pie

Top 10 shares of world military expenditures, 2010



Source: Credit Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/factsheet2010.

The QDDR also created the new Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, or CSO, within the State Department. It officially launched in November 2011, and it builds on the former office of the Coordinator for Stabilization and Reconstruction, which was established in 2004 to lead, coordinate, and institutionalize U.S. government civilian capacity to prevent or prepare for postconflict situations and to help stabilize and reconstruct societies in transition from conflict or civil strife.

Like the QDDR, the Presidential Study Directive on U.S. Global Development policy called for a better balance of "civilian and military power to address conflict, instability, and humanitarian crises," and the administration's recent Presidential Study Directive on mass atrocities identified mass atrocities and genocide prevention as a core national security interest and moral responsibility.

Similarly, USAID's 2011-2015 policy framework noted that the agency would develop new approaches "to equip staff and partners with the skills to analyze and respond to dynamics of conflict and instability."[10]

What is crisis prevention?

Throughout the paper we use the term "crisis prevention" in its broadest sense to include everything from the use of conflict early warning systems to efforts to helping a nation build durable peace as it emerges from a conflict.

Crisis prevention is often divided between "direct" prevention and "structural" prevention. Direct prevention refers to immediate, short-term efforts to avert a deadly crisis or conflict such as intensified senior-level negotiations or deploying a peacekeeping force in the midst of escalating tensions. Structural prevention efforts are longer term and seek to address underlying causes and triggers of potential violent crises through economic development or building more accountable and equitable institutions.

So on paper, crisis prevention is a U.S. government priority. Translating the administration's rhetoric into reality, however, is tremendously difficult, and it would likely require far more disruptive changes to current systems than any of these reviews acknowledge. The USAID policy framework is an important start, but unless significant institutional reform occurs in the near future no meaningful change will happen.

Better training is only one piece of the puzzle. Policymakers need to forego the instinct to manage the inbox and focus greater attention on over-the-horizon threats before they become full-blown crises. True conflict prevention requires policymakers to make recommendations when information is imperfect and the costs of action are high. In a constrained budget environment the margin for error is slim.

But transforming how U.S. civilian agencies address conflict prevention will demand more than major institutional shifts—it will also require a much larger and more difficult to execute sea change in the cultures of both the State Department and USAID with support from Congress, as we detail in the paper.

Still, training is a good place to start. Our research for this paper made abundantly and sometimes painfully clear that the state of conflict prevention training at both State and USAID remains shockingly limited, ad hoc, and uncoordinated. Training has little or no link to career advancement, as opposed to our military branches, and it is often seen as an inconvenience rather than an asset.

Many of the U.S. government officials making key decisions on conflict prevention at State and USAID hold almost zero formal training in the basic precepts that would allow them to be effective in this role. This is not to blame those dedicated officials and educators currently conducting conflict prevention training in affiliation with State and USAID. Instead, it is a serious indictment of the broader system in which these frustrated officials find themselves embedded.

This paper explains why crisis prevention training for officials at the State Department and USAID needs to be improved, evaluates the institutional changes in crisis training arising from the QDDR and other official reviews, and makes a number of practical recommendations to strengthen this training going forward amid an era of increasing federal budget austerity.

The paper also explores the stark differences between how training is approached in the U.S. military as opposed to the civilian foreign affairs agencies, and looks at the competing conflict assessment models among the civilian agencies themselves.

Our key recommendations to improve crisis prevention training include (all are discussed in greater detail later in this report):

- Tying promotions directly to conflict prevention training
- Giving post bid preference to those Foreign Service officers who complete a certified core curriculum in conflict prevention training
- Requiring all incoming State and USAID officers to take a basic course on conflict prevention[11]
- Providing for additional training for Foreign Service officers deploying to a conflict-prone country
- Requiring Foreign Service officers to complete a year of advanced training to be eligible for promotion to Senior Foreign Service
- Establishing the personnel capacity for civilian international affairs agencies to do better training
- Creating a new cone within the Foreign Service dedicated to conflict prevention
- Synchronizing USAID's operating expenses with its program budget

As the map from the 2011 Failed States Index at the beginning of this report illustrates, the number of countries around the globe at risk of unrest and wholesale violence remains disturbingly high. Unless the United States can get ahead of this curve and do a better job in crisis prevention and mitigation, the costs to America—and its national interests—will remain untenable.

The need for better crisis prevention training at State and USAID

Some State Department officials argue that diplomacy is conflict prevention, and to some extent this is true. Diplomats are expected to analyze the political situations in countries where they are deployed and actively engage with various parties to a conflict or even help negotiate solutions to problems.

But in reality, effective direct and structural conflict prevention (see text box in the introduction) require a specific set of skills that go beyond the day-to-day management of bilateral relations—a difficult task in and of itself. These skills require specific training in early warning and conflict analysis; conflict mitigation, mediation, negotiation, and resolution; and postconflict peacebuilding and reconciliation. Right now, State and USAID officials are not receiving adequate training in these areas.

This section explores the current training systems in place at State and USAID, the key offices with responsibilities for crisis prevention, and why a larger cultural shift will be required if we want the U.S. government to get better at preventing crises.

Lack of conflict training for foreign officers

Early in their careers, most Foreign Service officers—those individuals charged with carrying out the foreign policy of the United States and aiding U.S. citizens abroad—at the State Department will spend far more hours learning both diplomatic protocol and how to screen visa applicants than they will learning how to avert a crisis or conflict at their post. According to some, most young Foreign Service officers may seek more instruction on proper table etiquette—because they perceive that such skills are a path to advancement—than honing their abilities to engage in successful mediation, negotiation, or identification of political fault lines within a society.

On the whole, the diplomatic corps remains remarkably poor at analyzing and understanding risk simply because it is given so little training in this regard. There is currently no standard certification for determining who is a trained conflict prevention professional within the U.S. government.

This is even more remarkable since the U.S. government is dealing with a series of sustained crises on the ground. A large percentage of USAID and State officials have now done rotations through Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq over the last decade because of the policy priority assigned to them by both the Bush and Obama administrations. In these settings, officers gained considerable exposure to conflict and postconflict programming on a large scale. Yet these same settings made obvious how little training senior officials at State and USAID have in conflict prevention.

Officers headed for Sudan, Pakistan, Iraq, and Afghanistan do get some special training to work in these specific environments, but it is still lacking and has only recently become somewhat regularized.

Most State and USAID officers headed for Afghanistan, for example, receive four to five weeks of specialized training, with a good portion of this focused on defensive driving and personal security. Given the complexity of the situation in Afghanistan, it is difficult to imagine how such training would suffice in giving them the educational grounding and skill sets they need to succeed in such a harrowing environment. The little training offered has often relied on clichéd and oversimplified vignettes rather than rigorous analysis.

By contrast, during the Vietnam conflict, USAID officers received several months of training in additional to language training in preparation for a tour of duty.

In short, no conflict prevention trainings are mandatory for the civilian foreign affairs agencies in the U.S. government—only security and Afghanistan-specific trainings are. As one frustrated trainer complained, "The basic gap is that there is no training for conflict prevention in the U.S. Government." While this is an overstatement born of exasperation, conflict prevention training remains starkly minimal.

(We provide a more detailed exploration of training and how it leaves out conflict prevention instruction in the "Civil-military training divide" section of this report.)

On the whole, the diplomatic corps remains remarkably poor at analyzing and understanding risk simply because it is given so little training in this regard.

Recent changes at government offices that handle conflict prevention aren't enough

The Conflict and Stabilization Operations Bureau

Diplomats began to realize in the aftermath of Iraq and Afghanistan that the U.S. government needed a more robust capacity to prevent crises and manage growing stabilization operations in countries emerging from strife.

Acknowledging this new reality, Congress authorized the creation of the State Department's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization in 2004. The office's mission was, "To lead, coordinate and institutionalize U.S. government civilian capacity to prevent or prepare for postconflict situations, and to help stabilize and reconstruct societies in transition from conflict or civil strife…"[12]

The QDDR, released in 2010, placed a large emphasis on the office. It turned it into the Conflict and Stabilization Operations Bureau, which will emphasize prevention but add some training efforts.

The shift to a full-fledged bureau is still ongoing, and this reorganization will bring a Senate-confirmed assistant secretary to the helm of the bureau while also helping to refocus priorities and capabilities. Inevitably, the change will also help raise the profile of the bureau as it indicates a reprioritization of the State Department's abilities to development and address crises, conflicts, and stability issues.

The Civilian Response Corps is a key part of the Conflict and Stabilization Operations Bureau. The corps serves as a stand-by pool of employees from nine different U.S. government agencies that "are specially trained and equipped to deploy rapidly to provide conflict prevention and stabilization assistance to countries in crisis or emerging from conflict."[13] Civilian Response Corps members have been previously deployed to Uganda, Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, Somalia, Kosovo, Haiti, Yemen, Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Kyrgz Republic, and Sri Lanka.

The Response Corps consists of three sections: active, standby, and reserve. These titles indicate their relative readiness and are not a functional division of labor.

In the first year of active membership in the Response Corps, members are required to take eight weeks total of training, including a basic training course. This basic two-week course, "Foundations in Conflict Prevention and Response," is taught at the Foreign Service Institute. Active members also take the three-week long course on "whole of government planning" for reconstruction and stabilization, which covers integrated assessment and planning for stabilization and response operations. The last course they are required to take is the intensive three-week "Security for Non-traditional Operating Environments," which is largely focused on personal security. In this course, individuals are taught evasive driving techniques, educated on mine awareness, familiarized with firearms, and given other basic skills to help prepare them for living in highly hazardous environments.

In year two of active membership, members are required to take more training that they must find elsewhere, and members are given a fair amount of latitude in selecting relevant additional coursework from the U.S. Institute of Peace, the Foreign Service Institute, or elsewhere.

Standby members are required to take the same three courses as active members except on a different schedule. In their first year, standby Response Corps members are required to take the two-week long basic training course at the Foreign Service Institute (the foundations course described above), after which they can be called upon to deploy. Pre-deployment, standby members are supposed to (but not are always able) to take the security for nontraditional operating environments course as well as any country-specific training.

The State Department originally required an eight-week-long basic training course for all Response Corps members (active and standby), but that was significantly reduced due to operational and budgetary concerns.

U.S. government officials who spoke with the authors noted that the two-week, basic-training course is insufficient. In order for members to be genuinely prepared for the challenging environments that they are asked to enter the course length should be at least eight weeks. Notably, there are virtually no mid-level courses offered for Response Corps members seeking to gain deeper expertise in a particular area or just looking to enhance and strengthen their skills.

The QDDR makes a number of recommendations to dramatically increase and empower the standby component of the Civilian Response Corps. Some of these include increasing the number of participatory government agencies (though the

QDDR did not identify such agencies by name); expanding standby membership to include Foreign Service nationals, federal retirees, and Peace Corps volunteers; and increasing incentives and flexibility for federal employees to participate.

While the creation of the Conflict and Stabilization Operations Bureau and the Civilian Response Corps are good steps, in many ways they take the weight off of all the other bureaus at the State Department to address conflict prevention concerns by assigning conflict prevention to a specific bureau. This is particularly true for the regional bureaus with the greatest say in setting policy on the ground in specific countries in conflict or at risk of entering into conflict. If the Conflict and Stabilization Operations Bureau is to be genuinely effective it will need to foster better, and more interconnected, relationships with each regional and functional bureau.

Doing conflict prevention on the cheap, and with the wrong skills, is a recipe for disaster.

But the idea that a Washington-based office—which only recently became a full-fledged bureau—is supposed to coordinate the interagency response to conflicts by dispatching a team to a country in order to analyze a conflict, prescribe solutions, and make its voice heard at a sufficiently senior level has not meshed well with operational reality.

The Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization's performance before it was transformed into the Conflict and Stabilization Operations Bureau underscores that point. Despite some successes in the field it is difficult to cite a crisis or conflict where the office was truly the lead in response.

Further, Capitol Hill's support for the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization was tepid at best, and Congress frequently cuts funding for that office well below the president's budget request.

Equally worrisome was a tendency to staff this office with a hodge-podge of officers drawn from other assignments or hired on short-term contracts, without necessarily having senior-level, conflict-prevention expertise.

Reversing these trends will be a key challenge for the head of the new Conflict and Stabilization Operations Bureau once a nominee is confirmed.

A similar dynamic, though less severe, is playing out at USAID, where offices with specific roles in conflict prevention—including the Conflict Management and Mitigation office and the Office of Transition Initiatives—often operate at the periphery of core decisions about development priorities made in the respective regional bureaus.

This is not to argue that these specialized offices should not exist. There are certainly core parts of crisis prevention that demand highly specialized topical expertise. The QDDR itself argued that the crises and conflicts associated with state weakness and instability are some of the thorniest problems State and USAID face:

> *Such conflicts have rarely been simple, but today they are defined by their complexity. They often involve multiple factions within states and are driven by a mix of religious, ethnic, ideological, political, economic, and geographic factors. They are ignited or sustained by the actions of governments, insurgent groups, criminal organizations, and terrorist networks. Increasingly, we see the effects of climate change, urbanization, growing youth populations, food insecurity, and natural disasters providing a spark to long-simmering grievances. International experts in conflict prevention and response use terms like 'complex political emergencies' and 'complex peace operations' to describe their field.*[14]

The QDDR chapter on conflict prevention focuses overwhelmingly on institutional solutions and the creation of specialized offices much more than shifting the overall institutional ethos. In the QDDR, conflict prevention, as a mission, is largely assigned to the State Department's newly created undersecretary for civilian security, democracy and human rights, who oversees the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations and a number of other offices.

But despite a newly redrawn organizational chart at the State Department, the challenge of making State and USAID better at crisis prevention remains. That's because without a shift in institutional ethos, "specialized" bureaus can reinforce the tendency of both institutions to relegate crisis prevention to the periphery rather than making it a centralized skill-set required for all diplomats.

An institutional shift is necessary

To counter this problem, State and USAID need to update their understanding of the critical tools needed for diplomacy and development. Given the evolving nature of today's world, smart foreign policy requires a better understanding of conflict prevention, mitigation, and response. The core pillars of our diplomatic efforts are historically rooted in politics, economics, administration, and consular issues, but those are no longer sufficient. As the QDDR makes clear, we need to broaden our lens and deepen our understanding of this seismic shift.

Clearly, both State and USAID need highly professional cadres of individuals who make conflict prevention and response their vocation and work on the ground in multiple complex emergencies. If anything, the offices at State and USAID engaged in conflict prevention deserve greater resources and more senior staffing.

But for crisis prevention to gain traction at State and USAID the specific skills required to prevent and respond to crises need to be mainstreamed into training and education at the broadest level across both institutions. Scaling up professional development opportunities is vital to ensure 21st century diplomats have the skills and tools they need. Knowledge of conflict analysis and prevention training have to be widely embedded within the tool kits of all officers at State and USAID and inculcated as a value from the earliest stages if the spirit of the QDDR and other reviews are to become realized.

This would mean that every Foreign Service officer should be familiar with basic precepts in conflict prevention as they discuss elections with local political parties. Every development expert at USAID should be cognizant of how aid may inflame local tensions if crisis prevention is not built into basic program design. Every ambassador should better understand the many drivers that traditionally push countries toward a civil war or regional conflict. And all embassy staff should understand the essential role development programming can play in helping countries rebuild from and move past conflict and the practical steps used to influence a better course.

Instead, we operate in a system where small, not particularly influential offices are called upon only after it is abundantly apparent that a country is headed deep into a conflict, and the recommendations from these offices are then passed on to people who are ill-equipped to interpret or use them.

The primary function of the respective conflict prevention offices at State and USAID should be providing early warning to policymakers about conflict while facilitating conversations among diverse stakeholders and offering highly technical expertise when needed—not directing all conflict prevention.

And conflict prevention at State needs to be embraced from the very top down, not offered as some modest infusion of bottom-up insight or expertise. If ambassadors and deputy chiefs of missions are not adequately trained in crisis prevention, it is difficult to see how they can guide U.S. policy at moments of great crisis.

Finally, to be as effective as possible, both agencies need to work out their long-standing turf battles. The QDDR asserted that the State Department would lead on all political crises and conflicts, while USAID would lead on all natural disasters.[15] This division, however, seems arbitrary since it doesn't adequately reflect the historic role USAID has played on crises response or the constructive role of operational response offices such as USAID's Office for Transitional Initiatives.

Since the QDDR was issued, State and USAID have largely negotiated who would be given the lead on any particular conflict or crisis on an ad hoc basis. This does not seem to be a recipe for effective management over the long term.

Robust diplomatic and development skills, as well as sufficient resources, are needed if the United States is to play a lead role in conflict prevention arena. Doing conflict prevention on the cheap, and with the wrong skills, is a recipe for disaster that can be avoided if a realistic plan for addressing these interagency differences can be addressed.

The civil-military training divide

Differences in training and promotion

Critical to a discussion of conflict prevention training at State and USAID is a clear understanding of the sharp difference in training between the U.S. military and its civilian counterparts. The U.S. military takes training very seriously and utilizes it well. At State and USAID, training remains an underfunded afterthought.

This section makes the point that expanding conflict prevention training at these offices will require major changes in their training habits, which not only put very little focus on conflict training but forego other types of essential training as well. The military offers useful examples of how they can improve. The blame, however, can't be placed entirely at the agencies' feet because the differences in training can also be traced back to differences in funding and human resources between the military and civilian foreign affairs agencies.

The last 10 years are something of an aberration with repeated up-tempo deployments. But the U.S. military has always viewed training as fundamental to how it grooms new entrants and prepares them for advancement. In stark contrast to civilian foreign affairs agencies, the military goes to great lengths to nurture the skills needed for officers to assume progressively larger and more important duties and commands as their careers progress.

Former Secretary of State Colin Powell was fond of noting the military's penchant for training by observing that 6 out of his 30 years in the military were spent in the classroom.[16] The average Foreign Service officer is lucky to spend six months of a 30-year career in training.

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Recruitment

One of the first obvious differences between the military and civilian foreign affairs agencies is in the recruitment process itself. The U.S. military has always reasoned that new entrants would need considerable training. Regardless of previous experience or background, new members of the U.S. military are given extensive training—to inculcate shared values, to guarantee that all members of the force share certain basic skills, and to provide more specific training in designated areas of expertise unique to their service or responsibilities.

The training programs for each branch of the military include the basic training offered by each branch as well as options such as Reserve Officers Training Corps, Officers Candidate School, and the courses offered through numerous academic institutions such as West Point, the Naval Academy, and the Air Force Academy.

In sharp contrast, the civilian international affairs agencies make a consistent assumption that new employees walk in with an appropriate educational background and new employees, as smart generalists, will be able to pick up and learn their duties.

It is frequently true that civilian international affairs agency officers are better educated than military recruits. But as one beleaguered trainer commented, the assumption that an undergraduate or master's degree adequately prepares a new employee to prevent crises in difficult international settings "is just silly."

In essence, the training and education screen for the civilian agencies is at the personnel hiring stage rather than once employees are brought onboard. In many ways, this approach is a vestige of an earlier era when the Foreign Service was deliberately populated with the best and the brightest from East Coast universities. Such recruits were seen—by dint of their education and more cosmopolitan upbringings—to be better suited to serve as diplomats in far-flung posts.

Yet such an approach is badly outdated given the demands on the foreign and civil services in today's world. And the Foreign Service's culture, where officers are assumed to be an expert rather than trained to be so, makes it difficult for many officers to acknowledge the limits of their knowledge or to openly ask for assistance from experts in conflict prevention.

Today's global trends of rapid population growth, climate variability, urbanization, uneasy democratization, and growing energy competition (and conflict) make this approach to talent management anachronistic and inimical to our national interest.

Training

As one military trainer familiar with the civilian agencies observed, new employees "get almost no training across the board."

The initial training given to officials at State and USAID includes no mandatory course work in crisis prevention, and the overall training is remarkably cursory in important respects. The mandatory six-week full-time A100 course for new Foreign Service officers is focused heavily on basic administrative details, handling of classified information, and the functioning of the Foreign Service itself. Most A100 classes spend only several hours giving State Department officers an even basic understanding of the role of USAID—much less the underpinnings of effective crisis prevention or development more broadly.

Such a gap is all the more striking given that State continues to assume progressively greater responsibility for managing crisis prevention and development, and the QDDR appointed State the lead in any situations related to complex emergencies—perhaps the most difficult portfolio related to crisis prevention.

A100 students go on to foreign area and language studies related to their specific assignments, which remain the bread and butter of the Foreign Service Institute's overall approach. These are useful and important skills, but they are no substitute for a broader underpinning of practical training and skills that they will need throughout their careers in diplomacy generally and conflict prevention more specifically. The baseline assumption remains that these young Foreign Service officers will learn these skills "along the way."

Useful courses for all incoming Foreign Service officers could include identifying drivers and causes of conflict; conflict analysis and early response development; negotiations and mediations skills development; conflict-sensitive approaches to development; and principles of good governance. Courses offered to mid-level officers could include international humanitarian law, peacekeeping and international conflict resolution, and civil-military coordination.

The situation at USAID is equally stark. A new employee in the agency's Office of Transition Initiatives, one of the lead offices dealing with crisis prevention and postconflict response, usually receives about a full week of training, with at least half of that time centering on administrative issues.

Key areas for conflict prevention training

While there have been a number of well-received conflict prevention trainings by and for U.S. government officials, they are too few in number and insufficiently available to all interested foreign affairs officials.

Nonetheless, a general review suggests some of those areas of training that would be most beneficial for State and USAID officers regardless of whether or not they are deemed conflict specialists or not, including how to:

- Locate and understand conflict drivers and sensitivities such as economic disparity, ethnic tensions, or competition for resource
- Undertake a basic conflict prevention diagnosis (including for political transitions, boundary disputes, religious/sectarian conflicts)
- Spearhead conflict-sensitive development and reconstruction programs that place projects within a broader framework of understanding of social and political dynamics
- Plan for conflict prevention and response
- Exercise crisis decision making and approach a situation through a collaborative interagency process that includes State, USAID, and the Department of Defense (including determining which agency is in the lead)
- Work closely with civil society
- Work with and appropriately engage the military

Certainly the trainings offered to U.S. government officials will require constant monitoring and evaluation to determine what actually works on the ground. But given the overarching absence of broad-based training in this area, offering expanded courses that enable the creation of a common baseline among all Foreign Service officers—such as the Foreign Service Institute's "Foundations of Conflict Prevention and Response" course (see the "Recent changes at government offices that handle conflict prevention aren't enough" section under "The need for crisis prevention and training at State and USAID") would go a long way to mainstreaming the issue.

The Development Leadership Initiative is probably the closest USAID comes to a professional development model. The initiative was launched in 2008 with congressional support as a multiple-year effort designed to double USAID's Foreign Service workforce by 2012. Yet training through this initiative is largely targeted at junior-level officers. (Some mid-career recruits have also been brought in as part of the initiative.)

Because so many of USAID's employees focus on a specific sector or area of activity, training on important cross-cutting issues such as crisis prevention is largely an afterthought. Even officers at USAID who specialize in democracy and governance, health, or agriculture still need a basic grounding in do-no-harm, conflict analysis, and conflict prevention, and this should be a fundamental part of how USAID does its work.

While the agency and its Conflict Management and Mitigation office has developed a number of innovative courses in conflict prevention and early warning—as

Civil society fills the conflict-training gap

With a clear need for increased professional development on crisis prevention, a number of reputable nongovernmental organizations have stepped in to fill the gap. These organizations—including Human Rights First, the Raphael Lemkin Center, and the Mass Atrocity Response Operations Project at Harvard Kennedy School—generally offer training courses and simulations that range from a daylong seminar to a full week.

The organizations bring together policy practitioners, military officers, renowned academics, and NGO advocates to analyze and discuss crisis prevention from a range of perspectives. The goal of these forums is to foster a community of practitioners who can act on crisis situations when they arise.

Ironically, many of these sessions are aimed at members of the U.S. military—mainly because State and USAID are often unable to provide sufficiently senior participants because of overall resource shortages.

has the State Department's Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations—relatively few officers end up taking these courses because such training is not seen as an essential duty, and the courses are often limited to those individuals designated to the most war-torn of locales. USAID's Conflict Management and Mitigation office currently runs about eight courses a year with roughly 25 students per class, most of whom are from USAID.

Promotion

The U.S. military, in addition to placing much greater emphasis on induction and pre-commission training for its new employees, is very deliberate in ensuring that as officers move forward with their careers they step out of daily action duty to participate in extended training at roughly the 3-, 5-, 10-, and 20-year marks.

At these junctures, officers are given the appropriate training to adequately prepare them to lead larger and more complex forces and operations. In the 20th year, senior officers attend institutions such as the Naval War College or are sent to Fort McNair for their CAPSTONE training—joint-service professional military education courses for newly promoted brigadier generals and rear admirals.

Most military officers see training as fundamental to their career advancement, and in fact excelling at mid- and senior-career training is essential to rise to the highest ranks of the U.S. armed forces.

The contrast with the civilian agencies is alarming. At both State and USAID there is little centralized mandatory mid- and senior-level career training, and none in conflict prevention.

Indeed, both State and USAID are remarkable anomalies. It is rare for any professional discipline to have such a complete lack of a professional development model in today's world.

Consider, for example, the ongoing professional development of medical professionals, who are required to take professional development courses on an annual basis to stay up to date in their particular field. Continuing medical education credits—a certain number of which are required in order to stay board certified—help doctors learn about new research and technological advancements.

As opposed to the military, most State and USAID employees do not see a direct incentive in being better trained because such training is not directly linked to their likelihood of promotion.

In fact, just the opposite is more often true. Civil servants and Foreign Service officers are often reluctant to take training because they worry their bosses will see it as taking away from their core responsibilities and/or they would be absent from post. This finding was reflected in a January 2011 Government Accounting Office report on training at the State Department.[17]

Limited human resources often make it challenging for any mission or embassy to feel that they can lose any personnel to training. Foreign Service Boards, which determine promotions, are rigorous. But employee evaluations, completed by a supervisor, are the overwhelming determinant of success for a candidate in front of these boards and not their relative training.

So if a supervisor balks at an opportunity for professional development it actually offers incentive not to participate. Supervisors at both State and USAID have a frequently recognized tendency to send officers "they can spare" to training rather than the most promising or competent officers under their command.

The bottom line is that little is likely to change as long as professional development—and particularly prioritization of conflict prevention—plays no part in promotion, salary, or rotation determinations for State and USAID. In addition, the Foreign Service model for reviews tends to create an environment where taking minimal risks and flattering superiors is the surest path to advancement.

The same Government Accounting Office report cited above also noted: "Although State has several practices in place to identify training needs, the department lacks a systematic, comprehensive training needs assessment process clearly incorporating all bureaus and posts, particularly at the occupational and individual levels." [18]

Differences in capacity and operations

While it is easy to see that the culture of training is vastly different between the U.S. military and the civilian international affairs agencies, it is important to understand the fundamental operational realities that fuel these divisions.

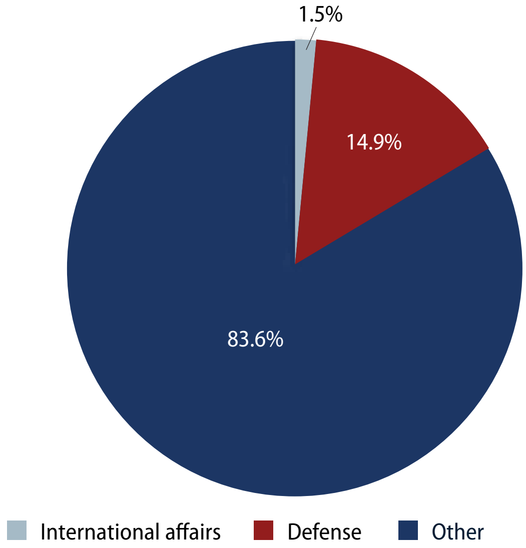
First and foremost, the Pentagon has adequate numbers of personnel and sufficient operating funds (the so-called "training float") that it can afford to make compulsory training a core component of its approach to personnel. It can also offer voluntary training that staff officers are encouraged to take in order to develop their skills—whether in specific areas or in personnel management.

The graph shows just how much more in resources the Pentagon gets through the federal budget than international affairs.

FIGURE 2

A major reason why the military can afford more training than foreign affairs agencies

Federal budget composition, fiscal year 2010



Source: Credit the Center for Global Development; http://www.cgdev.org/sectioninitiatives/_active/assistance/budget.

The military is able to create space for training through its Transient, Trainee, Holdee, and Student designation. This allows the military to maintain staffing levels at a significant percentage over those designated to its specific posts because of the numbers of soldiers at any time that are in transit, training, a hospital, or school. If training is longer than several weeks, officers are assigned to the training post—which allows their command to have another officer fill their position. This allows the military to have its officers engage in lengthy trainings between major assignments without leaving other posts short-staffed.

The civilian agencies do not have comparable mechanisms. They face much more of a zero-sum game where training often comes at the expense of an embassy or USAID mission. And it creates a dynamic where training courses at State and USAID often end up being laughably short for the complexity of the issues they address—all because managers feel they cannot afford to let someone leave their post for too long.

Congress had agreed at the beginning of the Bush administration to create such "headroom" through the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative, an administration effort to address shortfalls in both the total numbers of diplomatic staff and their respective skills, but the additional personnel were consumed in the effort to staff up the U.S. presence in Iraq and Afghanistan. The executive and legislative branches should return to this bargain immediately.

As one genocide prevention trainer observed, "It is hard for people from State to carve out two weeks for training unless the order comes from on high, and it hasn't."

Congress rarely questions the military's need for resources to keep its force trained and ready. The relevant committees are generally supportive of and routinely defending the Defense Department's initiatives. At the same time, Congress consistently underfunds operating expenses at State and USAID that would allow these institutions to maintain a better-trained and more capable core of professionals. The relevant committees often take a critical approach to these agencies' policy and funding initiatives.

In general, congressional defense committees see their role as supporting the Pentagon, whereas the foreign affairs congressional committees view their role more as oversight and critique.

Even recent draft proposals from Congress to scale up training don't focus on providing crisis prevention training for all State Department employees. Instead the language takes a more myopic view and prioritizes

> *"Foreign Service officers assigned to a position, department or agency or at a post overseas with responsibilities… in countries or regions that are at risk of, in, or are in transition from conflict or civil strife."*[19]

No corresponding language in any appropriation bill helps resource these already underfunded areas.

This trend is traditionally most egregious at USAID. Congress consistently reduces or keeps flat the agency's operating expenses even during periods when its programmatic responsibilities and funding have risen, particularly over the last decade. Operating expenses are often the first choice for congressional cuts at USAID, not a last resort.

Such an approach is pennywise and pound foolish. If better-trained officers at State and USAID were able to effectively prevent a handful of crises or speed their resolution the cost savings would be enormous.

Obviously the absence of personnel overhead at State and USAID makes it hard to do adequate training on any issue, including crisis prevention. Staff is so slim, and the lack of induction training is so severe, that most State and USAID personnel rise through their careers focused on the immediate task at hand without ever experiencing the broader operational and conceptual training that could help them excel.

Indeed, a Foreign Service officer could rise to be an ambassador in a country at risk of major conflict with no formal training in development, early warning, effective ways of resolving electoral or ethnic violence, or advanced mediation techniques. Indeed, many dedicated and well-meaning Foreign Service officers were confirmed for such posts in recent years.

State and USAID both badly need more professional development opportunities. Leadership in both institutions needs to make clear that training, education, and career development are core cultural values that underpin their agency's effectiveness. Training must incorporate languages and cultural differences from the very beginning, but we also need to couple this knowledge with that of crisis prevention and postconflict work. And developing practical road maps to address the underlying operational and budget obstacles to better training is essential and must be considered during upcoming budget battles.

The QDDR recognized the different training playing field between State and USAID and the U.S. military:

> *Building training into career tracks requires increased resources and high-level commitment to ensure employees have the time to pursue periodic and long-term training. For our personnel to be successful, they must have the space, the time, and the incentives to make training a critical part of their careers. The U.S. military's approach to training and continuing education recognizes and reflects this fact. State and USAID's approach must do the same…* [20]

Recognizing the training differences between the military and civilian agencies is necessary, but it isn't sufficient. Having the Foreign Service Institute develop proposals is one thing—investing the political capital of the secretary of state, USAID administrator, and other senior administration officials in working collaboratively with Congress to push these long overdue changes through is something else entirely. Little evidence suggests the administration is willing to make the kind of concerted push required to level the training playing field.

As former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft recently noted, "On-the-job training alone is no longer a sufficient method, if it ever was, to develop a U.S. diplomatic service that is second to none."[21]

Scowcroft argued that the effectiveness of the U.S. diplomatic corps, "like that of their military counterparts, should rest on a systematic regime of education, training, and professional preparation——one that is linked to their career advancement."

That systematic regime of education and training simply does not exist when it comes to our civilian foreign policy institutions, and changes around the margins will not make that happen.

Competing conflict assessment tools

Few would argue against the U.S. government developing a common tool to assess potential conflicts and crises in key countries. Yet efforts toward that end are slowed at times by interagency and interoffice rivalries and a failure to collaborate. The result has been a system where not only are most employees not well trained in conflict prevention, different offices and agencies continue to approach how each potential conflict is assessed through very different lenses.

In many ways, the Interagency Conflict Assessment framework, or ICAF, is designed to be the common tool for conflict assessment within the government. The State Department describes the ICAF as "a framework that can be used to help people from different U.S. government departments and agencies work together to reach a shared understanding of a country's conflict dynamics and consensus on potential entry points for additional U.S. government efforts."[22]

The State Department also notes, "An ICAF allows an interagency team to identify potential entry points for future U.S. government efforts in conflict prevention and conflict transformation, but it does not make direct recommendations for program design."[23]

The problem is that the ICAF has not consistently achieved its goal of nurturing a shared view of conflict dynamics across agencies, though some officials maintain that significant progress was made in recent years.

Different agencies, including the U.S. military, continue to use their rival conflict assessment tools in what has become a fairly stove-piped process because they do not feel fully vested in the ICAF model. Some complain that the ICAF has become an excessively complex, almost theological instrument, and that members of the State Department's Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations treat the ICAF as something that only the most highly trained experts could understand or apply.

This mechanistic approach only serves to prevent the ICAF from gaining broader traction across agencies instead of providing a system that could be more widely used, applied, and understood. A small office at the State Department's insistence that its analytical tool, and only its analytical tool, be applied across the Department of Defense and USAID as well as throughout the rest of the State Department only ensures the ICAF's marginalization.

In reality, the U.S. government maintains multiple conflict assessment frameworks, and most officials continue to see the idea of having one widely used conflict assessment framework as unlikely.

This goes to the broader point: The ability to analyze, prevent, and resolve conflicts should be widely shared—not held as some secret language among a select few. There are some important modest steps in that direction. The Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation at USAID, the independent U.S. Institute of Peace, and the Foreign Service Institute already provide some useful coursework and training on conflict prevention.

The Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation trainings appear well designed and well received, and it is noteworthy that much of this training has relied on in-house expertise rather than outside contractors. Interest is growing in the course, and it is often oversubscribed. The Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation staff notes they are being asked to offer more courses—including to U.S. government officials working overseas.

Having junior and mid-level staff trained by senior managers about real situations they are likely to face in the field is of obvious benefit, and the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation course adopts some of the better lessons from the military side of the government. Similarly, the popular U.S. Institute of Peace course on preventing electoral violence seems to find the right balance between theoretical underpinnings and practical application for many Foreign Service officers.

All these entities are looking at how they can reach more students with their classes. Despite their high quality, however, relatively few State and USAID employees go through them. This should come as no surprise, though. As we pointed out in the previous section, without a significant infusion of resources or direction from senior management that such courses be made mandatory, only a handful of employees at State and USAID will benefit from this instruction, including very, very few employees at mid- or senior-career levels.

Meanwhile, the entire Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation staff is only about 20 people. So there are clearly limits on the sheer numbers of people the office can train, particularly given that training is not its only mandate. Because of time and budget pressures, the introductory course by the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations on conflict prevention was reduced from eight weeks to two.

In general, no well-packaged and accredited suite of conflict prevention courses bundles together the different offerings into a coherent core of training for an up-and-coming conflict prevention expert in the U.S. government. A simple online location with all conflict prevention courses offered by government agencies and U.S. Institute of Peace listed or a cross posting of all courses on the various sites would at least tackle the lack of awareness by government employees of other courses.

There are also several problems with current training through all these avenues.

First, it is important to note that much, but certainly not all, of the conflict training expansion in recent years at both State and USAID has focused particularly on state-building given the experiences of Afghanistan and Iraq. But such major U.S.-dominated state-building exercises will likely be something of a historical anomaly. Much more emphasis needs to be placed on helping prevent crises before they reach an acute stage.

Second, there needs to be far more growth and professional development in the classic tools in this arena: effective mediation, conflict analysis, and early warning.

And third, there could be far greater coherence in approach across agencies—there is no reason why the military and civilian agencies could not develop a much more unified approach to training in conflict prevention than we have seen to date. Critical to the success of a unified approach would be ensuring genuine leadership from the civilian agencies and not military dominance, which would only perpetuate the existing imbalance.

As traditional hubs for training of the Foreign Service and the U.S. military respectively, the Foreign Service Institute and the National Defense University could play a real leadership role in this regard. But again, they would only be able to exercise this leadership if directed to do so from senior-most levels.

The Foreign Service Institute does offer a basic course that we mentioned earlier, "Foundations of Conflict Prevention and Response," a two-week program more appropriate to pre-conflict engagement than a postconflict engagement course taught by experienced former State and USAID officials.

Like some of the other course work cited here, this is a useful but far from sufficient effort to properly train officers headed for the field. This course is mandatory for members of the Civilian Response Corps—a standby group of civilians drawn from nine federal agencies providing deployable expertise in international conflict prevention and stabilization—and staff of the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, but not the Foreign Service more broadly.

Recommendations

In sum, conflict prevention training and assessment tools continue to be handled in an episodic and ad hoc fashion. And they lack broad strategic input and direction from State and USAID management. Almost all of the educators involved in training State and USAID officers agree that broader conflict prevention training for staff at both agencies would be enormously useful, and they remain eager to engage on that front. Yet again, little will change without major changes in direction, staffing, and resources.

Here we offer recommendations for how State, USAID, and Congress can improve crisis prevention training going forward:

State and USAID

- **Tie training, including in conflict prevention, directly to promotion at State and USAID.** The QDDR noted, "To ensure that personnel are recognized and rewarded for developing new skill sets, as resources permit, training and detail assignments will be included in the Foreign Service Promotion Core Precepts, and be considered in promotions."[24] But with the QDDR approaching its first anniversary since release it is unclear what progress has been made in implementing this recommendation.

- **Cross list all U.S. government agencies and U.S. Institute of Peace, the U.S. Holocaust Museum, the Center for Stabilization and Reconstruction Studies, and the Auschwitz Institute of Peace and Reconciliation and other credible NGO courses on conflict prevention and make them available for all State and USAID employees.** Many officials at State and USAID remain relatively unaware of the range of courses currently available, and an effort should be made to more centrally identify such career enhancement opportunities and widely distribute them to staff.

- **Require Foreign Service officers to complete a year of advanced training relevant to their specific competency to be eligible for promotion to Senior Foreign Service.** The paucity of mid-career training at State and USAID badly undercuts the ability of both institutions to groom future senior leaders. The Department of Defense sends their best and brightest to the National Defense University because they see them as future leaders. The lack of comparable training in our civilian foreign policy institutions is an embarrassment. USAID and State should dramatically expand the number of students they send to the National War College. This one-year program is viewed as the gold standard for the development of senior leadership, emphasizing strategic thinking, leadership, and interagency cooperation.

- **Create a new cone or career track called conflict prevention and analysis within the State Department Foreign Service.** There are five career tracks, or cones, for State Department Foreign Service generalists:[25] consular affairs, economic affairs, management affairs, political affairs, and public diplomacy. The creation of a new cone on conflict prevention and analysis would guarantee stronger in-house expertise on conflict prevention, resolution, and management over time, and make sure such expertise gets embedded throughout entry- and senior-level Foreign Service officers. Obviously there would be technical details to work out as to how the conflict prevention and analysis officers would relate to other officers, particularly those handling political affairs. But this can be properly managed, as could the discussions that would need to take place with the American Foreign Service Association.[26] USAID does not have a "cone" system, but one where there are a variety of technical "backstops" or specific areas of expertise. One of those backstops is currently crisis stabilization and governance, and all members of that backstop now receive USAID's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation's two-day course. Other backstops should receive at least basic training in conflict prevention as it relates to their specializations.

State Department

Give bid preference for postings to those in the Foreign Service who complete a certified core curriculum in conflict prevention training. Along the lines of more closely considering training when looking at promotions, State and USAID should offer preferential posting bids to officers who complete a certified core curriculum in conflict prevention. This would mean that officers who take conflict prevention training and serve in crisis-prone countries will be more likely to be stationed at a post of their choosing later in their careers. Such bid preferences were given to officers who served in Iraq and Afghanistan and can serve as a powerful incentive.

- **Make an A100 conflict prevention-training course mandatory for all incoming Foreign Service officers and provide for advanced training in person or remote before deployment to a conflict-prone country.** Even if new officers are in a consular, economic, or political cone a basic A100 course on conflict prevention should be made mandatory. This would be a new course developed specifically for this purpose. Similarly, before deployment to a conflict-prone country, Foreign Service officers should receive advanced training on conflict prevention either in the classroom or through distance learning options.

- **Revert the Civilian Response Corps basic training course from the current two-week length back to the original eight weeks.** A two-week course is simply insufficient to address the myriad of issues that a member could potentially face when in the field. As members are only required to take the class once, an eight-week course can have a more long-term impact than the current two-week course. This is especially necessary as the Response Corps draws from many non-foreign-affairs agencies.

Even if new officers are in a consular, economic, or political cone, a basic A100 course on conflict prevention should be made mandatory.

USAID

- **Require all USAID staff to take the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation's course Conflict Prevention 102 (C102) regardless of their backstop.** USAID is predominantly development focused, but all USAID staff and contractors should be required to take the C102 class to have a better understanding of conflict drivers, concerns, and prevention techniques. Given the close links between development and effective conflict prevention, such grounding would serve USAID officers throughout their careers.

The administration and Congress more broadly

- **Establish the personnel "headroom" or capacity for civilian international affairs agencies to do better training.** The administration and Congress should provide and sustain additional personnel positions for training equivalent to 15 percent above the staff level required for regular assignment. As a recent Stimson Center report, "Forging a 21st Century Diplomatic Service for the United States

Through Professional Education and Training," argued, this remains the single most important step that would put the civilian agencies on more equal footing with their military counterparts and allow for sustained, effective training throughout the career of officers.[27] This recommendation will not happen, however, unless it is embraced by senior leadership at State, USAID, and the White House. And in today's budget crunch, it will also require that the administration make clear what activities it will cease or curtail to help free up budget resources toward this end.

- **Synchronize the operating expenses of USAID with the program budget.** In general, USAID should have its operating expenses pegged to its overall program budget so that the two remain more effectively synchronized and sounder long-term planning is possible. Because USAID's training has traditionally been drawn from its operating expenses, the tendency to increase program funds without concurrent increase in operating expenses has meant that many core personnel functions, such as training, have been badly underfunded.

- **Congress should request a GAO report looking at USAID's hiring patterns.** The lack of an explicit career track and the absence of professional development opportunities requires an overhaul of USAID's hiring priorities. A GAO report would present an objective investigation and analysis of how conflict prevention could be embedded within any recommended hiring changes.

- **Review the Interagency Conflict Assessment tool to determine how it can be improved, including a determination of how ICAF's conduct to date has been used by policymakers.** The National Security Council should chair a review of the ICAF and how it is currently being employed. The ultimate goal of this review should be to produce a common system that is used by State, the Department of Defense, and USAID, building upon the ICAF's strengths while making the system more broadly usable by all three institutions. That will save both money and lives in the long run.

Conclusion

As the United States continues to grapple with significant instability around the globe—in Libya, Somalia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, and beyond—our nation's unwillingness to invest in training our foreign affairs personnel in conflict prevention remains as frustrating as it is baffling. Modest changes and modest investments that would help shape a far more knowledgeable and effective work force far better able to identify, prevent, and manage crises is undeniably in the national interest. Such training would better serve the foreign affairs agencies, and it would make it so our military personnel are less likely over time to be deployed in direct conflict. That will save both lives and treasure in the long run.

About the authors

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Acknowledements

Humanity United participates in the Prevention and Protection Working Group that is convened by the Friends Committee on National Legislation. The Prevention and Protection Working Group is a coalition of human rights, religious, humanitarian, anti-genocide, peace, and other organizations dedicated to improving U.S. government policies and civilian capacities to prevent violent conflict, mass atrocities, and protect civilians threatened by such crises. This report was inspired by discussions within the group, and members provided valuable input during its preparation.

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Endnotes

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2 The QDDR was released in December 2010, the Presidential Directive on U.S. Global Development Policy in September 2010, and the Presidential Study Directive on Mass Atrocities in August 2011.

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9 The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, p. 123.

10 See USAID policy framework, page 31. available at: http://www.usaid.gov/policy/policyframework_sep11.html

11 At present, USAID requires specialized training in conflict only for those individuals recruited as crisis, stabilization, and governance specialists.

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22 Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, available at http://www.state.gov/s/crs/about/index.htm.

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24 The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, p. 175.

25 Foreign Service specialists provide important technical, support, or administrative services in 19 career categories, including doctors and physician assistants, office management specialists, information management specialists, diplomatic security agents, and human resource specialists. Each category has specific requirements regarding education and experience.

26 The American Foreign Service Association, or AFSA, is the professional association of the U.S. Foreign Service and the exclusive bargaining agent for all Foreign Service employees in the five foreign affairs agencies.

27 Stimson Center and the American Academy of Diplomacy, "Forging a 21st-Century Diplomatic Service for the United States through Professional Education and Training."

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