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The Chronicle

Newsletter of the Council on Foreign Relations — Summer 2016

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CFR InfoGuide Illustrates Danger of Deforestation in the Amazon

In 2015, Brazil's Amazon rainforest lost two thousand square miles in forest cover, raising fears that Brazil may be backsliding on the progress it made in fighting deforestation. To help better understand the global importance of the Amazon, CFR has released a new multimedia guide illustrating the threats facing the world's largest rainforest.

Because the Amazon absorbs more greenhouse gases than any other tropical forest, it is one of the world's greatest safeguards against climate change. It is also home to more than 5,000 animal species, at least thirty-eight of which are expected to become extinct by 2050, and millions of people, including some of the world's last uncontacted indigenous tribes.

After losing nearly one-fifth of forest cover—nearly 300,000 square miles—over the last fifty years, Brazil managed to reduce forest clearances by 80 percent between 2005 and 2012, but now the rate of deforestation appears to be rising once again. The growth of roads, logging, soy farming, cattle ranching, dams, and mines has impeded conservation efforts.

Presented in a newly designed format, CFR's "Deforestation in the Amazon" is an immersive explainer of the consequences of deforestation in Brazil's rainforest and the challenges to stopping it. The InfoGuide includes:

- an overview video;
- a dynamic map illustrating the geographic extent of the deforestation;
- an animated primer showing how deforestation contributes to global climate change;
- a visual guide to the Amazon's carbon and precipitation cycles;
- an interactive timeline tracing the history of the deforestation of Brazil's rainforest;
- policy options for effective conservation; and
- teaching guides and resources for educators. *cfr*

Explore the InfoGuide at cfr.org/amazon.

A Letter From President Richard N. Haass

Building Literacy in Global Affairs Through CFR Campus

In January 2016, the Council on Foreign Relations launched Model Diplomacy, a National Security Council simulation that uses case studies based on real-world issues to help college and high school students understand the challenges of shaping and implementing U.S. foreign policy. This interactive, multimedia, and classroom-based tool, which includes content from CFR experts, is designed to be the most comprehensive and adaptable simulation program available. Model Diplomacy can be tailored to fit any educational situation and includes extensive support for teachers and professors. Model Diplomacy is off to a strong start. Instructors from over five hundred institutions from sixty-eight different countries have already registered.

Model Diplomacy is the first educational product of a new, major initiative—CFR Campus—that reflects the Council's commitment to making the citizens of this country as well as others more knowledgeable about the world and U.S. foreign policy. The promotion of education in global affairs has been an element of CFR's mission since its inception in 1921. As the Council nears its hundredth anniversary, it continues to be dedicated to developing critical reading and thinking, persuasive speaking and writing, and teamwork, all fundamental skills needed to help prepare future generations of Americans contend with a world that is more interconnected than ever before.

Haass advises Middlebury College students during a Model Diplomacy simulation.

Currently an educational hub on CFR.org, future CFR Campus offerings will include modular materials that teach the fundamentals of international relations and U.S. foreign policy. These materials will be adaptable as standalone resources, supplements to curricula, or as a full international relations and foreign policy course for college and high school students. CFR Campus will also be a resource for lifelong learners. We will continue to offer content online from our think tank and on-the-record meetings as educational resources, and to serve as a forum for educators and students to interact with one another and with our scholars. The goal is for CFR Campus to be a one-stop resource for both students and instructors for the tools and knowledge required to be literate in global affairs, something essential if Americans are to meet the obligations of citizenship and the challenges of a competitive world.

All best,

Richard N. Haass
President
Council on Foreign Relations

Education by the Numbers

40,582 *people subscribe to CFR's Academic Outreach Bulletin.*

33,425 *educators and students have had the opportunity to meet with CFR representatives at twelve academic and educational conferences over the past year.*

10,172 *undergraduate and graduate students have received briefings at CFR's New York and Washington offices from fellows since 2008.*

547 *institutions are participating in Model Diplomacy.*

268 *are higher-education institutions.*

159 *are K-12 schools.*

21 *are community colleges.*

68 *countries, including the United States, are represented among the institutions participating in Model Diplomacy.*

Honors and Impact

Blackwill Receives Award for Contributions to India

Robert D. Blackwill, Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy, was honored by the Indian government this April with the Padma Bhushan award for his "distinguished service of high order." Blackwill served as the U.S. ambassador to India from 2001 to 2003 and was instrumental in significantly improving U.S.-India relations.

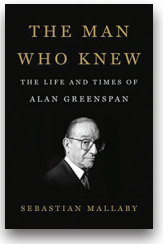
Mount Sinai Recognizes Garrett's Contributions to Science Journalism With Honorary Degree

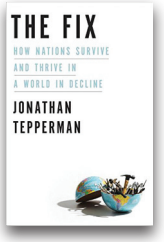
For her "clear and thoughtful examination of the greatest health challenges of our time, and her indelible influence on the craft of science journalism," Senior Fellow for Global Health **Laurie Garrett** was granted an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree from the Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai this May. In her commencement speech, Garrett encouraged graduates to "get out there and join the worldwide army of public health advocates" but to do so carefully, "to listen and learn from local wisdom, refrain from preaching and lecturing, and to learn to roll with the punches."

Smith Awarded Japanese Foreign Minister's Commendation

Senior Fellow for Japan Studies **Sheila A. Smith** received the Foreign Minister's Commendation, a prestigious award for "outstanding achievements in international fields." Smith was recognized for the "promotion of mutual understanding between Japan and the United States." She will be formally presented with the award certificate and a commemorative pure silk *furoshiki* by the Japanese ambassador to the United States later this year.

Mallaby and Tepperman Books Nominated for FT *and McKinsey Business Book of the Year Award*





Paul A. Volcker Senior Fellow for International Economics **Sebastian Mallaby**'s forthcoming biography of former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Alan Greenspan, *The Man Who Knew: The Life and Times of Alan Greenspan*, and *Foreign Affairs* Managing Editor **Jonathan Tepperman**'s forthcoming account of how governments have solved seemingly intractable political and economic problems, *The Fix: How Nations Survive and Thrive in a World in Decline*, are among the fifteen books selected for this year's *Financial Times* and McKinsey Business Book of the Year Award longlist. The six-book shortlist will be picked on September 7, and the winning author or authors will be announced on November 22. *cfr*

Jordan Implements Refugee Plan Introduced in Foreign Affairs

Last fall, as Syrian refugees flooded Europe, creating a political and social crisis, an article in *Foreign Affairs* proposed a bold but practical plan to help stem the migrant tide and to improve conditions for those fleeing Syria. That plan has now been put into action, as the ideas first presented in *Foreign Affairs* were incorporated into an agreement recently reached by the European Union and Jordan.

The article, "Help Refugees Help Themselves," appeared in the November/December 2015 issue and was written by **Alexander Betts**, a professor of refugee and forced migration studies at the University of Oxford, and **Paul Collier**, a professor of economics and public policy at Oxford's Blavatnik School of Government. It proposed that the European Union offer trade terms to businesses that would encourage them to operate in Jordanian special economic zones (SEZs) where both native Jordanians and the Syrians living in nearby refugee camps would be eligible to work. By allowing Syrian refugees to find jobs and receive education in these zones, Betts and Collier argued, "the Jordanian government could transform refugees from a burden into an advantage, all while preserving their autonomy and incubating a Syrian economy in exile in preparation for the civil war's eventual end."

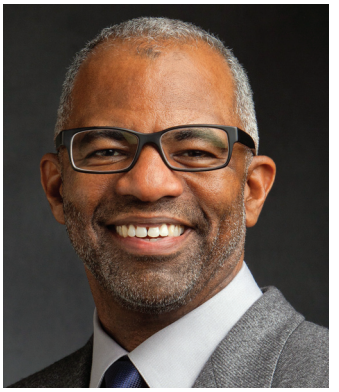
Betts and Collier were approached by the Jordanian government as they developed their essay last year. Jordanian King Abdullah II eventually introduced the plan to then British Prime Minister David Cameron, and, with the help of World Bank President Jim Yong Kim, the concept was fleshed out into a full proposal by early 2016. In July, the EU and Jordan agreed to a deal spanning ten years. It grants special terms for fifty-two product groups manufactured in the SEZs and requires that their producers ensure that at least 15 percent of their workers are Syrian—a figure that will rise to 25 percent after three years. The program is sure to face obstacles, but its lessons may pave the way for similar development-focused initiatives in other countries hosting refugees. *cfr*

An aerial view of the Zaatari refugee camp, which hosts over 80,000 Syrians, in Jordan (Mandel Ngan/Pool/Reuters)

A New Class of Board Members

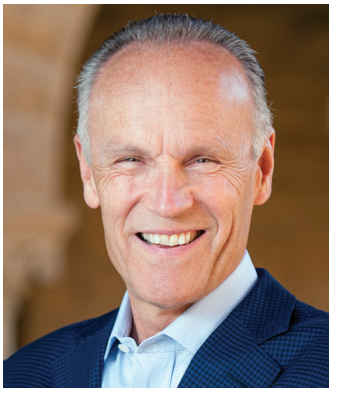
Council members elected seven candidates to the Board of Directors in June. Joining the class of 2021 are incumbents **Steve Denning**, **Eduardo J. Padrón**, and **John A. Paulson**, and new directors **Tony Coles**, **David M. Cote**, **William H. McRaven**, and **Janet Napolitano**. All of the directors began their terms on July 1.

Biographies of the Council's board members can be found www.cfr.org|about|people|board_of_directors.



Tony Coles

David M. Cote



Steve Denning

William H. McRaven

Janet Napolitano

Eduardo J. Padrón

John A. Paulson

Watch CFR Events on Facebook Live

CFR and *Foreign Affairs* are partnering with Facebook to bring high quality analysis and discussions to a broader audience. As part of this partnership, select notable on-the-record events will be broadcast live on Facebook, which has over one billion users. For example, CFR's Facebook page recently broadcast live discussions about the Brexit debate and UN peacekeeping operations. In addition, CFR fellows and *Foreign Affairs* authors provide live video analyses of relevant foreign policy issues. Facebook promotes CFR and *Foreign Affairs* video content to its many users who have indicated an interest in international affairs. *cfr*

Follow Richard Haass and CFR Fellows on Facebook

Council President **Richard N. Haass** has launched a public account on Facebook. "Like" Haass's page for his thoughts on the world and U.S. foreign policy. You can also follow *Foreign Affairs*, CFR, and its scholars and programs for daily analysis. *cfr*

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

July/August 2016

"Israel—at least the largely secular and progressive version of Israel that once captured the world's imagination—is over," writes **Aluf Benn**, editor in chief of Israel's *Haaretz* newspaper, in *Foreign Affairs*' July/August issue. Israel's leaders "see democracy as synonymous with unchecked majority rule and have no patience for restraints such as judicial review or the protection of minorities. In their view, Israel is a Jewish state and a democratic state—in that order." Meanwhile, Benn writes, "the two-state solution to the conflict with the Palestinians has been taken off the table."

But not everyone shares Benn's pessimism. "Israel has changed—decidedly for the better," counters Shalem College's **Martin Kramer**. "By every measure, Israel is more globalized, prosperous, and democratic than at any time in its history." And Israeli leaders are prepared for a post-American era in the region, Kramer contends. Israel has no choice but "to outlast the United States in the Middle East," he writes. "Only if Israel's adversaries conclude that Israel can sustain the status quo indefinitely . . . is there any hope that they will reconcile themselves to Israel's existence as a Jewish state."

The cover package details the profound changes Israel has undergone since its founding and explores how the country has adapted to new challenges in a tumultuous region. It leads with interviews with two of Israel's most powerful women: current Justice Minister **Ayelet Shaked** and former Foreign Minister **Tzipi Livni**. "Their contrasting visions starkly illuminate the country's current political divide," writes their interviewer, *Foreign Affairs* Managing Editor **Jonathan Tepperman**.

Also in the lead package:

Israel should proactively pursue peace with Palestinians before "an almost inevitable future outbreak of violence," urges CFR's **Robert M. Danin**.

Arab Israelis are treated as second-class citizens; they need to unify politically to secure both equal rights and cultural and educational autonomy, stresses the University of Haifa's **As'ad Ghanem**.

Israel's military leadership must strike a balance between preparing its forces for more lone-wolf terrorist attacks and restraining some soldiers "who prefer to shoot Palestinian attackers first and ask questions later," explains **Amos Harel**, *Haaretz*'s senior military correspondent.

Other essays in the volume:

With the rise of Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders in the U.S. presidential primaries, "the elites have been shocked out of their smug complacency," writes **Francis Fukuyama** of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies.

The University of Chicago's **John J. Mearsheimer** and Harvard Kennedy School's **Stephen M. Walt** make the case for a more modest foreign policy of "offshore balancing," in which "Washington would forgo ambitious efforts to remake other societies."

Despite what you may hear on the campaign trail, free trade is not to blame for the poor job market, asserts **Douglas A. Irwin** of Dartmouth College. Rather, "the economic ladder that allowed previous generations of lower-skilled Americans to reach the middle class is broken."

Jason Furman, chief economist to President Barack Obama, explains why, even as the overall unemployment rate has dropped in recent years, the percentage of Americans participating in the labor market remains stubbornly low.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) needs to create a credible deterrent to Russia, according to the former commander of the alliance **Philip M. Breedlove**.

Even as it takes on a heightened global role, Germany continues to follow a foreign policy of "restraint, deliberation, and peaceful negotiation," writes German Foreign Minister **Frank-Walter Steinmeier**.

Texas A&M University's **F. Gregory Gause III** explains why Saudi Arabia is an unpalatable yet necessary ally to the United States.

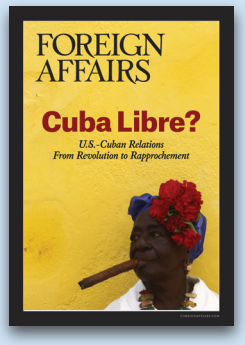
Democracy is in decline around the globe, and so the next U.S. president should "make democracy promotion a pillar of his or her foreign policy," argues the Hoover Institution's **Larry Diamond**.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology's **Andrew McAfee** and **Erik Brynjolfsson** outline policies to protect workers who might lose their jobs to automation and robotics in the coming years.

New America's **Georgia Levenson Keohane** and the Rockefeller Foundation's **Saadia Madsbjerg** detail how so-called innovative finance "can put the power of private capital markets to work for the public good." *cfr*

Foreign Affairs Explores U.S.-Cuba Relations From Revolution to Rapprochement

Following the renewal of diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba, *Foreign Affairs* has released an anthology compiling more than twenty-two essays covering fifty years of essays on life under the Castro regime and U.S. policy toward its Caribbean neighbor. The collection ranges from an argument in 1960 by former Assistant Secretary of State **Adolf A. Berle** to look past ideology and to communicate with the Cuban people, to a study of the communist leadership in 1993 by Harvard University's **Jorge Domínguez**, to Columbia University's **Anne Nelson** and **Debi Spindelman**'s 2016 examination of how Cuba can successfully integrate itself into the global economy. *cfr*



Fallout From Brexit

Writing in the *Washington Post* a week before Britain's referendum on whether or not to remain in the European Union, Senior Fellow for International Economics **Sebastian Mallaby** warned, "The morning after a 'Leave' vote, Britain would find itself in a political, legal, and constitutional limbo. . . . Britons—and British businesses, especially—would confront a nightmare of legal uncertainty."

In the days after the referendum, as the stock market plunged and the pound plummeted, Senior Fellow for International Economics **Robert Kahn** explained on a special Brexit episode of *The World Next Week* podcast that the severity of the market reaction was aggravated by how unexpected the vote was, how politically uncertain its actual outcome would be, and how weak global growth was already. Mallaby warned that from a political perspective, the vote may turn out to be "more consequential than anything since the fall of the Berlin Wall."

Senior Fellow **Edward Alden** compared nationalism in the United Kingdom—an important catalyst in the "Leave" campaign—to nationalism in the United States in a CFR.org interview. Alden noted that some voters in both countries "feel like they have been on the losing end of globalization, either in terms of trade competition or in terms of competition from new immigrants. This theme will clearly play out through the U.S. election."

In the weeks after the vote, as Europe still reeled, *Foreign Affairs* gathered over fifty years of commentary on Britain's long-standing ambivalence toward the European project in a new anthology volume, "Brexit and Beyond." The collection highlights the first discussions about whether Britain should join the common market and traces the debate up to the vote and Theresa May's premiership.

Meanwhile, CFR.org's Backgrounder, "The Debate Over Brexit," continues to be updated to provide broad historical context and to include new developments.

In a *Financial Times* op-ed, Council President **Richard N. Haass** observed, "Many of those voting for Brexit were not voting to set in motion historic trends so much as to send a message of frustration, fear, and anger. They succeeded, but at a great cost. It is a lesson for democracies and for institutions, that when they are perceived to be unresponsive or ineffective, people will turn to radical 'solutions' that are anything but." *cfr*

Theresa May speaks to reporters outside the Houses of Parliament after being confirmed as the leader of the Conservative Party and Britain's next Prime Minister. (Neil Hall/Reuters)

Diversity Makes Us Safe, Says Kalpen Modi at CFR-Hosted Conference

At the Conference on Diversity in International Affairs this April, Adjunct Senior Fellow for African Peace and Security Issues **Reuben Brigety II** asked actor and former White House Office of Public Engagement Associate Director **Kalpen Modi** a counterintuitive question: "If you take a look at other countries that are less diverse—China Russia, the Nordic countries—all of which have fantastic ministries of foreign affairs and diplomatic corps with a pretty non-diverse group of people . . . why does one have to have a diverse foreign affairs establishment in order to be a strong country?"

Modi's response set the tone for the two-day conference designed to encourage students and professionals from underrepresented groups to consider careers and foreign policy and to participate in debates over international affairs. He explained the importance of having "a country that has a foreign policy team that is reflective of the country itself," arguing that diversity makes the United States "safer, resilient, and shows the world the unique characteristics that make America America." In particular, Modi extolled the merits of having close, cooperative relationships with South Asian and Muslim Americans, the first to raise red flags about any dangerous radicalization in their communities.

Other panels included a discussion with Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies **John Campbell** and Adjunct Senior Fellow for Women and Foreign Policy **Catherine Powell** on growing female participation in terrorist activities and a conversation about international service opportunities with **Teresa Chaurand** of the Peace Corps and **Ruth A. Davis** of the Foreign Service. *cfr*

The 2016 Conference on Diversity in International Affairs is a collaborative effort by the Council on Foreign Relations, the Global Access Pipeline, and the International Career Advancement Program. The conference is part of CFR's Expanded Diversity initiative in foreign policy, which is made possible by the generous support of the Robina Foundation.

Kalpen Modi and Reuben Brigety II

National Conference Considers Global Risks in the Year Ahead

This June, members from across the country and around the world gathered in New York for the Council's annual National Conference. CFR President **Richard N. Haass** and Board Director and former Treasury Secretary **Timothy F. Geithner** kicked off the conference with a discussion on political and economic risk in the year ahead. Later, at the Plaza Hotel, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff **Joseph F. Dunford Jr.** joined NBC News' **Andrea Mitchell** for a conversation on defining U.S. military priorities.

Other highlights included an assessment of the 2016 presidential campaign with Pew Research Center's **Carroll Doherty**, New America's **Michael Lind**, and the *Wall Street Journal*'s **Peggy Noonan**; a discussion on the future of Europe with Deputy Head of the EU Delegation to the UN **Ioannis Vrailas**, German Consul General **Brita Wagener**, and former British Ambassador to the United States **Peter Westmacott**; and a conversation on technology and the future of the workforce with Foursquare's **Jeffrey S. Glueck**, the Freelancers Union's **Sara Horowitz**, and MIT's **Andrew McAfee**. *cfr*

*Designed for members living outside of New York and Washington, DC, the National Conference is underwritten by a grant in memory of **Peter E. Haas** from the Mimi and Peter Haas Fund. The Council is grateful to **Mimi L. Haas** for her continued support of the National Program, which holds regular meetings in eleven cities.*

The 2017 National Conference will be held from June 15 to 17 in New York. For more information about the conference or other national meetings, contact Irina A. Faskianos, vice president for the National Program and Outreach, at 212.434.9465 or national@cfr.org.

Top: The *Wall Street Journal*'s Mary Kissel with Timothy F. Geithner and Richard N. Haass

Middle: National members Christina Weiss Lurie and Auren Hoffman

Bottom: Dinner at the Plaza Hotel

Former Fellows Convene for Annual IAF Conference and Two New IAF Programs Are Launched

Richard Engel, NBC News chief foreign correspondent, and **Brett H. McGurk**, a former international affairs fellow (IAF) and now special presidential envoy for the global coalition to counter ISIL, kicked off this year's International Affairs Fellowship Conference with their assessment of the current state of affairs in Syria. Over 150 participants gathered at CFR's headquarters in New York in May to discuss topics including

- U.S. nuclear strategy and forces with Columbia University's **Austin G. Long** and American University's **Sharon K. Weiner**;
- risks of ambiguity in cyberspace with the U.S. Department of State's **Benjamin Brake**;
- strategic approaches in fragile states with the Kresge Foundation's **Rebecca A. Chamberlain-Creangă**, CSIS' **Melissa G. Dalton**, and U.S. Department of State's **Ariella Viehe**;
- Japanese financial regulations with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York's **Alexandra Altman** and former White House Associate Administrator **Andrei Greenawalt**; and
- the future of U.S. economic statecraft with the World Bank's **Scott Moore**.

Thanks to the generosity of two Council members, CFR is launching new International Affairs Fellowships:

- The IAF in Canada, funded by **Paul Desmarais Jr.**—chairman and co-chief executive officer of the Power Corporation of Canada and a founding member of CFR's Global Board of Advisors—will provide one or two Americans the opportunity to spend six to twelve months at a Canadian institution to deepen their knowledge of Canada.
- The IAF in International Economics, funded by **Kimberly Querrey**—cofounder and president of SQ Advisors, LLC—offers business economists as well as university-based economics scholars hands-on experience in the U.S. government.

Established fifty years ago, the IAF program aims to bridge the gap between the study and making of U.S. foreign policy by creating the next generation of scholar-practitioners. Open to mid-career professionals who are U.S. citizens, the IAF program offers its fellows the opportunity to gain experience in a new field at a pivotal moment in their careers. Academics spend the year in public service, while government officials are placed in scholarly settings. Notable alumni include former Secretary of State **Condoleezza Rice**, National Security Advisor to the Vice President **Colin Kahl**, former U.S. Ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization **Ivo Daalder**, and the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations **Samantha Power**. *cfr*

For more information on CFR's Fellowship Program, please visit www.cfr.org/fellowships.

Top: 2009–2010 IAF Brett H. McGurk discusses the strategy against the self-proclaimed Islamic State.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, Nigeria Is Site of the Most Political Violence, New Security Tracker Reveals

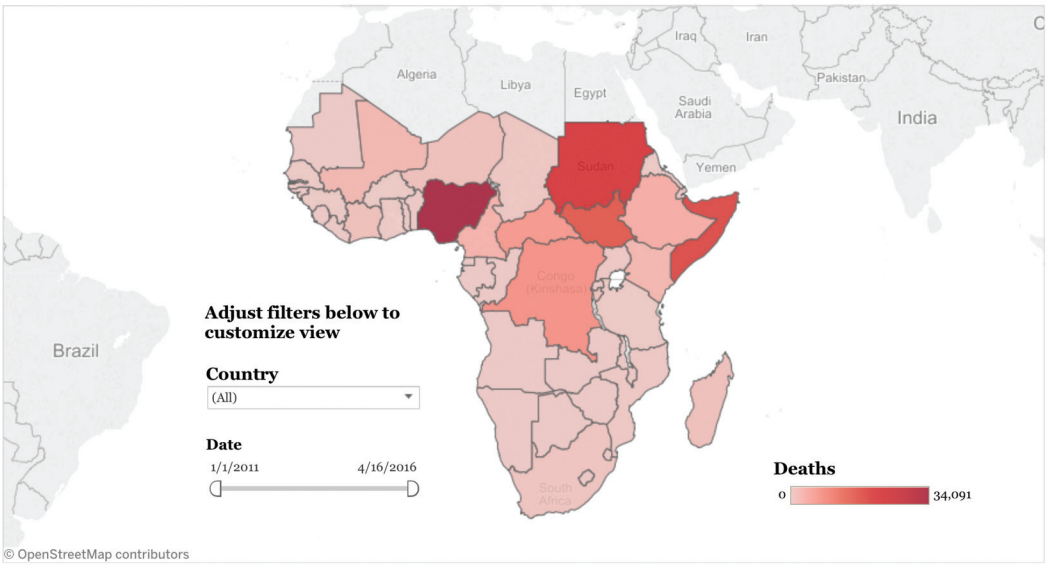
Although political violence in sub-Saharan Africa appears to have declined from a recent peak in early 2015, extremist groups like Boko Haram, al-Shabab, and some national militaries continue to terrorize the region. CFR Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies **John Campbell** has launched the Sub-Saharan Security Tracker to monitor trends in political violence in the region.

The tracker uses over three million data points from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project to map deaths caused by political violence since January 2011, categorizing them by geographic distribution, trends over time, and actors involved. The tracker is updated monthly.

The data reveals meaningful trends over the past five years. For instance, a plurality of deaths associated with political violence is caused by state forces, rather than rebel forces or other militias. The single group responsible for the most deaths, however, is Boko Haram, and it is followed by the military forces of Sudan and Nigeria. Consequently, Nigeria has been the site of the most political violence.

The data is presented in five easily understandable charts, which include maps indicating the number of deaths in each country, tallies breaking down deaths by perpetrator and category of perpetrator, and line graphs tracking trends since 2011. Campbell and his team previously created the Nigeria Security Tracker, which documents political violence in Nigeria. The addition of the new tracker, designed by Research Associates **Allen Grane** and **Asch Harwood**, broadens the scope to map political violence in the forty-eight countries of sub-Saharan Africa. *cfr*

Explore the tracker at www.cfr.org/african_security_tracker.



Deaths caused by political violence

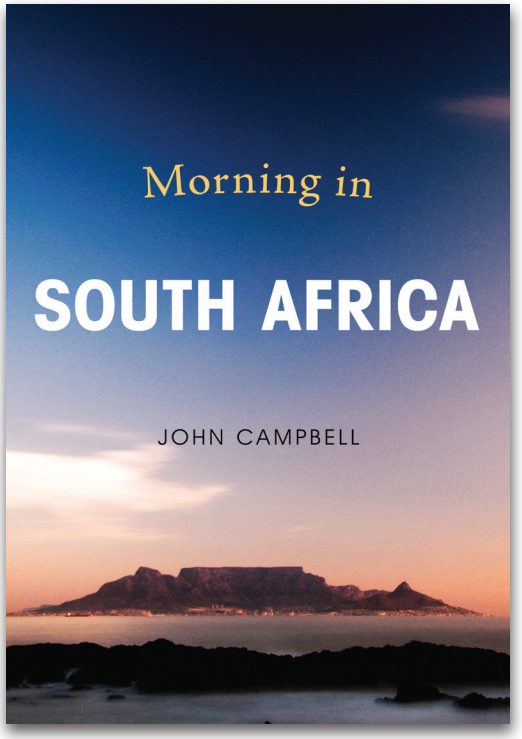
Despite Setbacks, South Africa's Democratic Future Is Bright, Says John Campbell in New Book

"I was probably too optimistic on Nelson Mandela's inauguration day," reflects Senior Fellow for Africa Studies **John Campbell** in *Morning in South Africa*. "Nevertheless, more than twenty years into the new South Africa and following many subsequent visits, I am hopeful still while acknowledging the challenges still to be overcome."

Under the scandal-prone Jacob Zuma administration, the country continues to be plagued by poverty, slow economic growth, and the lingering legacy of apartheid. However, "freedom of speech is absolute, the rule of law is established, the judiciary is independent, the political system is providing new options for the electorate, and the economy is largely market driven," writes Campbell.

As counselor for political affairs at the U.S. embassies in Cape Town and Pretoria from 1993 to 1996, Campbell personally observed South Africa's transition to nonracial democracy. Ever since, he has followed South Africa and Africa closely; from 2004 to 2007, he served as U.S. ambassador to Nigeria. He acknowledges that the history of apartheid still hangs over South Africa and notes that voting behavior largely reflects racial identification. "The traditional racial hierarchy, with whites at the top and blacks at the bottom, largely remained in place," he writes, and "white capital, accumulated during the long years of white supremacy, was untouched."

South Africa's democracy, however, has been surprisingly adaptable since Mandela's inauguration in 1994, and Campbell notes that the country's institutions and government now reflect its predominately black demography. Campbell argues that South Africa's institutions remain strong, despite the current malaise he attributes to the corrupt Zuma regime.



Campbell also considers relations between the United States and South Africa, both racially diverse democracies. "American engagement with Africa is usually episodic and short-lived, reflecting the constricted universe of shared political and economic interests," he writes. On the South African side, reservations persist about the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with the apartheid regime and perceptions of ongoing American racism. Despite his optimism about South Africa's own future, Campbell expresses some skepticism about the prospects for closer ties between South Africa and the United States in the near future. *cfr*

International Cooperation Receives B Grade in 2015, Up From C in 2014

This year's Report Card on International Cooperation finds that multilateral action on most of the critical transnational threats has shown progress but is still inadequate in addressing terrorism and other violent conflicts. The Council of Councils, a CFR initiative comprising twenty-six major international policy institutes, surveyed the heads of member think tanks to evaluate the world's performance on ten of the most important issues of 2015. It offered the following grades:

- Mitigating and Adapting to Climate Change: A
- Preventing Nuclear Proliferation: A–
- Advancing Development: B+
- Promoting Global Health: B+
- Expanding Global Trade: B
- Managing the Global Economic System: B–
- Managing Cyber Governance: B–
- Preventing and Responding to Violent Conflict Between States: C
- Combating Transnational Terrorism: C–
- Preventing and Responding to Internal Violent Conflict: C–

Respondents agreed that efforts did not worsen for any of the issues, with grades on nine of ten issues improving since last year's survey. They awarded overall global cooperation efforts in 2015 a B grade, up from a C in 2014.

Due in large part to the Paris Agreement reached in December 2015, respondents observed that the challenge of mitigating and adapting to climate change offered the most hope for progress.

"These [gains] were offset by dismal performance with respect to terrorism and internal conflict," said CFR President **Richard N. Haass.** "The inability to end the Syrian war, which caused waves of refugees to stream into Europe from the Middle East, was one of the major failures of international cooperation in 2015." *cfr*

This report was made possible by the generous support of the Robina Foundation. Explore the interactive at www.cfr.org/councilofcouncils/reportcard.

Contingency Planning Memo: How to Avoid Further Setbacks in Afghanistan

Progress achieved in Afghanistan since 2001 has recently come under threat from a resurgent Taliban. A Contingency Planning Memorandum produced by the Center for Preventive Action considers what an unraveling of the political and security situation over the next eighteen months would mean for Afghanistan and what can be done about it.

The two most troubling contingencies—the collapse of the Afghan government and major battlefield gains by the Taliban—are not mutually exclusive, notes **Seth G. Jones**, director of the International Security and Defense Policy Center at the RAND Corporation. A collapse of Afghanistan's national unity government—already plagued by corruption, slow economic growth, and poor governance—could embolden the Taliban to make advances on major urban areas, which in turn would further undermine support for the government.

However the reversal may occur, it could increase the number of extremist Islamic groups operating in Afghanistan, lead to regional instability, and foster the perception that the United States is not a reliable ally. Jones outlines several steps the United States can take to avoid such an outcome:

- *Sustain the current number and type of U.S. military forces through the end of the Obama administration.* Approximately ten thousand U.S. forces are currently in Afghanistan. "President Obama should refrain from cutting the number of U.S. forces to 5,500, as he promised to do by the end of his presidency."
- *Decrease constraints on U.S. forces in Afghanistan.* "President Obama should grant the military new authorities to strike the Taliban and Haqqani network."

Afghan National Army officers stand at attention during a training exercise at the Kabul Military Training Center. (Ahmad Masood/Reuters)

- *Sustain U.S. support for the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces.* Jones recommends the United States provide at least $3.8 billion per year for the next five years.
- *Focus U.S. diplomatic efforts on resolving acute political challenges.* "Concentrate on helping Kabul and [the UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan] to issue new voter identification cards, clarify district centers, train polling staff, and provide security for future elections."
- *Address economic grievances that could trigger violent unrest.* U.S. diplomats, working with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, could focus on issues that exacerbate public opposition. *cfr*

Read "Strategic Reversal in Afghanistan" at www.cfr.org/CPM_Afghanistan.

New Policy Innovation Memos

Policy Innovation Memoranda target critical global problems where new, creative thinking is needed. Written for policymakers and opinion leaders, these brief memos aim to contribute to the foreign policy debate by providing succinct background, rigorous analysis, and specific recommendations.

RECONFIGURING USAID FOR STATE-BUILDING

"At the same time that U.S. leaders proclaim their opposition to nation-building, they acknowledge that failing states pose a serious threat to American interests," observe **Max Boot** and **Michael Miklaucic**. Recognizing this contradiction, they argue that the United States should develop civilian capacity to foster better functioning institutions in chaotic countries, and that the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) should lead such an effort.

Boot, CFR Jean J. Kirkpatrick senior fellow for national security studies, and Miklaucic, a former career employee at USAID and a current director at the Center for Complex Operations at the National Defense University, suggest that many current agency activities should be transferred to better-equipped multinational and private-sector organizations. USAID would then be able to focus on prioritizing effective governance and supporting the development of core state functions, including "security forces that can exercise a monopoly on the legitimate use of force, courts that can dispense a semblance of justice, a professional civil service that is not compromised by rampant corruption, and a financial mechanism that can allow the state to raise and spend revenue with a degree of honesty and efficiency."

REFORMING THE U.S. INTERNATIONAL MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAM

The International Military Education and Training (IMET) program, which provides U.S. government funding to foreign allied militaries to train and take classes at U.S. military facilities, is a potentially powerful tool of U.S. influence, but needs significant reform, argues **Joshua Kurlantzick**, senior fellow for Southeast Asia.

To better serve U.S. interests, IMET can forge deeper relations with foreign militaries, be more selective in choosing its participants, and more effectively promote democratic values. Kurlantzick recommends keeping track of and supporting IMET alumni, employing instructors from other democracies, and making IMET funds more responsive to democratic improvement in recipient countries. *cfr*

Top: U.S. soldiers carry relief supplies for Philippine families after Typhoon Durian in 2006. (Reuters/Erik De Castro)
Bottom: U.S. soldiers during annual war games with Philippine soldiers in 2015. (Reuters/Romeo Ranoco)

CLOSING THE GENDER GAP IN DEVELOPMENT FINANCING

"Because closing the gender gap in development financing will advance U.S. interests in poverty reduction, sustainable development, and economic productivity, the United States should lead the effort to increase international financing for gender equality," writes **Rachel B. Vogelstein**, senior fellow and director of the Women and Foreign Policy program.

Despite the demonstrable economic payoffs of investment in women and girls, international and national efforts to promote gender equality—women's legal rights, economic empowerment, family planning, and domestic violence prevention—have remained underfunded, particularly when compared to other development priorities.

"As long as gender equality funding is considered ancillary to poverty reduction, progress toward the sustainable development agenda will be hampered," contends Vogelstein, who served as director of policy and senior advisor in the Office of Global Women's Issues at the U.S. Department of State.

She recommends that the U.S. government spearhead the establishment of a new pooled funding mechanism with an initial contribution of $100 million and mobilize pledges from other governments to close the gender gap. *cfr*

Read all the Policy Innovation Memoranda at www.cfr.org/pim.

Cyber Brief Outlines Ways to Ensure Free Flow of Information

The flow of data across international borders generates trillions of dollars but is increasingly threatened by jurisdictional challenges and rising international tensions. In a cyber brief, Senior Fellow for Digital Policy **Karen Kornbluh** says that the United States, headquarters for a majority of the world's largest internet companies, can ease these tensions by promoting the free flow of information online without sacrificing international data privacy standards.

Cross-border data flows generate approximately $2.8 trillion of global gross domestic product each year. International tensions arise when foreign law enforcement seeks evidence stored on U.S. company servers during criminal investigations or when foreign individuals believe their domestic privacy protections are not being respected when data is hosted in the United States. The United States should take a leadership role in addressing these challenges by:

- promoting a common approach to data protection through regional agreements in order to lessen growing privacy concerns;
- updating the mutual legal assistance treaty system to increase the legitimacy of legal methods for obtaining cross-border access to evidence in criminal investigations; and
- using diplomatic negotiations to seek international endorsement of the norm of the free flow of information.

Kornbluh argues these changes "would reduce tensions between national sovereignty and the borderless internet, on which the U.S. economy relies heavily, while strengthening respect for human rights, privacy protections, and the rule of law online." *cfr*

Read the brief at www.cfr.org/DataFlowsCyberBrief.

Follow the Money With Brad Setser

Shortly after returning to CFR earlier this year, Senior Fellow and acting director of the Greenberg Center for Geoconomics **Brad Setser** relaunched one of the Council's most popular blogs, *Follow the Money*. Started in 2004, the blog offers data-driven analysis of the global economy and the flow of funds, focusing on current account imbalances, China, central bank reserves, oil, and trade.

At CFR, Setser is also directing a roundtable series on international economic issues. Prior to returning to CFR, Setser was deputy assistant secretary for international economic analysis in the U.S. Department of the Treasury, where he worked on Europe's financial crisis, currency policy, financial sanctions, commodity shocks, and, most recently, Puerto Rico's debt crisis.

In his first blog post after an almost eight-year hiatus, Setser observed some of the major changes in the global economy. "Looking back to 2006, 2007, and 2008, one of the most surprising things is that Asia's large surplus coincided with rising oil prices and a large surplus in the major oil exporters. High oil prices, all other things equal, should correlate with a small, not a large, surplus in Asia. The global challenge now comes from the combination of large savings surpluses in both Asia and Europe rather than the combination of an Asian surplus and an oil surplus." *cfr*

Lori Esposito Murray Joins CFR as Adjunct Senior Fellow

In July, **Lori Esposito Murray** joined CFR as an adjunct senior fellow to direct a roundtable series on chemical, biological, and nuclear issues. Prior to joining CFR, she held the distinguished national security chair at the U.S. Naval Academy. She is president emeritus of the World Affairs Councils of America.

Previously, Murray served as a special advisor to the president on the Chemical Weapons Convention during the Clinton administration, where she helped oversee the bipartisan approval of the convention. She was also the assistant director for multilateral affairs of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency at the U.S. State Department, executive director at the Federal Advisory Committee on Gender-Integrated Training and Related Issues. Prior to these positions, she worked for many years in Congress as a senior legislative assistant on national security issues for Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS) and with the U.S. China Security Review Commission, a congressionally mandated commission reporting on the economic security issues regarding China. Murray received her BA from Yale University and her PhD from the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. *cfr*

Turmoil in Turkey

In May 2016, the Middle East Institute's Gonul Tol warned in a ForeignAffairs.com article titled "Turkey's Next Military Coup" that in empowering the long-estranged military, Erdogan was risking enabling revolt.

As reports of just such an attempted coup in Turkey poured in on July 15, Senior Fellow **Steven A. Cook** provided insightful context for the escalating crisis. Cook explained on PBS *NewsHour* that "what is often missed in the discussion of Turkey is . . . that at least half of the country supports Erdogan. And you have to imagine that at least some of those who aren't supporters of Erdogan do not want to see a return to military rule in Turkey."

Writing in the *Atlantic*, Cook lamented the brutality of Erdogan's retaliation: "Erdogan's widening purge and crackdown are just the logical conclusion of a story that has been unfolding for the better part of a decade. Turkey's democracy has not been lost—there was no democracy for it to lose."

On his blog *Macro and Markets*, Senior Fellow **Robert Kahn** examined the recent developments from an economic perspective and observed that the coup's legacy may be finally extinguishing the hopeful narrative of Turkey as an emerging economy moving closer to global integration. *cfr*

Ten Leading International Companies Join the Corporate Program

The ten new firms below join the Corporate program, which provides executives from over 160 prominent companies with timely analysis on global issues and policy debates that affect their businesses.

Founders: Google, First Eagle Holdings

President's Circle: Pearson, Gilead Sciences, Inc.

Affiliates: Johnson & Johnson, Centerview Partners LLC, Terna, Rubicon Global, PayPal, WIND Telecomunicazioni S.p.A. *cfr*

Next Membership Deadlines: November 1 and January 3

CFR relies on members to identify and nominate accomplished leaders in international affairs as candidates for membership. The next membership application deadline is November 1, and the term membership deadline for individuals between the ages of thirty and thirty-six is January 3, 2017.

If you know of strong candidates for membership, encourage them to contact Membership at 212.434.9456 or applications@cfr.org to initiate an application. *cfr*

For more information, visit www.cfr.org/about/membership.

Cover: Smoke billows as an area of the Amazon rainforest is burned to clear land for agriculture near Novo Progresso, Para State, Brazil. (Nacho Doce/Reuters)

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