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THE ROLE OF STATES IN GLOBAL CITIZEN DIPLOMACY

ROUNDTABLE

Lt. Governor Barbara Lawton | Chair
Debbie Sharnak



EVERY CITIZEN A DIPLOMAT

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Cover photo courtesy of the Nobel Women's Initiative was taken by Judy Rand at the closing session of
"Women Redefining Democracy for Peace, Justice and Equality" a conference hosted by Nobel Peace Laureate
Rigoberta Menchu in Antigua, Guatemala from May 10-12, 2009.

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In the process of developing this paper, we have virtually traveled the country, enjoying provocative conversation with leaders in public office and their staffs, in both state and federal government, in military and civilian service, at the helm of NGOs and businesses, in retirement—all citizens committed to making higher level contributions to their state and nation, to foster greater security and the promise of peace and prosperity for people around the world.

We thank them all for graciously and generously taking time to engage in our research, for reading drafts and anchoring this roundtable to address the very real challenges and opportunities in citizen diplomacy when viewed through the lens of the role of the states.

We benefit from the ongoing contributions of members of the roundtable, but would not have arrived at this point without the critical groundwork done by Matt Dulak, Mike Braun, Joe Davison, Ryan Crow, Bob Arsenault, Mike Freeland, Stephanie Schmidt, Ben Ginsburg and Kris Adams Wendt.

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Lieutenant Governor, State of Wisconsin

NETWORKING INSTITUTIONS PANEL

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

One Latin American ambassador to the United States remarked, “For the purpose of marketing [and the development of commercial relationships], there is no United States. There are 50 states with 50 different economies.”¹ Those 50 economies reflect each state’s unique history leading to statehood, its geography, immigrant patterns, demographics and natural resources. Politics and governance at the state level similarly reveal residents’ evolving values and priorities. But today the states share their pressing need to navigate an increasingly complex global economy and to take a prominent role in partnership with the federal government in national security objectives.

In this context, the states can no longer afford to be haphazard participants in global citizen diplomacy. With greater focus, each state would hone its competitive edge by developing a more globally literate workforce, more prominent international profile and increased trade. Our nation stands to benefit from a double dynamic generated with greater activity in the states: we will be better prepared to thrive in a global economy by building a network of relationships that will, in turn, sustain American leadership and enhance our security.

This report follows the historical trajectory of states’ engagement in citizen diplomacy to date; provides a scan of the scant academic literature that addresses a role for states; highlights a sampling of best practices in diverse parts of the country; summarizes lessons to be culled from their experiences; and advances two recommendations that both capitalize on 1) states’ proximity to citizen diplomacy activity; and 2) on two existing, trusted state institutions’ capacity as catalytic and connecting forces to create a durable framework for engagement. State university systems and the National Guard are ideally positioned to develop a strategic hybrid of public and citizen diplomacy in fifty states.

Activating citizen diplomacy networks within and between states and other nations requires minimal investment and promises great returns for the United States. What follows plots a course for states to play a lead strategic role in achieving the U.S. Center on Citizen Diplomacy’s ambition to double the number of American volunteers of all ages involved in international activities at home or abroad, from an estimated 60 million today to 120 million by 2020.

1 *A Governor’s Guide to Trade and Global Competitiveness*, National Governors Association (2002), 16.

CITIZEN DIPLOMACY DEFINED

Citizen Diplomacy is the concept that the individual has the right, even the responsibility, to help shape U.S. foreign relations ‘one handshake at a time.’ Citizen diplomats can be students, teachers, athletes, artists, business people, humanitarians, adventurers or tourists. They are motivated by a responsibility to engage with the rest of the world in a meaningful, mutually beneficial dialogue.

In an era of increasing globalization, more and more people develop their most lasting impressions through face-to-face, personal encounters, when people visit the United States or when Americans travel abroad. In this context, the “citizen diplomat” is a powerful force in defining the United States to the rest of the world.²

The potential benefits of citizen diplomacy extend beyond creating a network of individual relationships that sustain goodwill when formal diplomacy suffers disruptions. Citizen diplomacy drives positive outcomes in other realms as well, including state and national economic security, workforce development, improved public policy, and education. As distances collapse with internet access and increased travel, more individual actors today can exert significant influence on an international stage than ever before. State governments are uniquely positioned to connect, elevate, and leverage citizen diplomacy to maximize its impact and generate higher levels of activity. And as states take a more prominent place on the global stage, they will see economic opportunities increase, and a more globally literate workforce develop and thrive in more culturally aware communities.

THE INTERSECTION OF PUBLIC AND CITIZEN DIPLOMACY

Public diplomacy encompasses government-sponsored efforts to favorably shape foreign audience perceptions of the United States, while simultaneously promoting our national interest. Strategies have traditionally included television and radio programs, publications, touring artists, information services abroad, and educational exchanges—ways of understanding, informing and influencing foreign audiences.

Whereas public diplomacy is government-centric, citizen diplomacy occurs without central coordination and, without a U.S. government stamp on it, can carry greater credibility with foreign audiences. Changing minds and attitudes toward the U.S. and the struggle for credibility is not a question now of whose army wins but rather whose story wins. Trust in the integrity of information and authenticity of voice flows most naturally in citizen-to-citizen interaction, dialogues with listening exchanges built in.

Recent scholarly writing explores innovations in public diplomacy that include greater coordination between government agencies, the private sector, NGOs, universities and individual initiatives; better utilization of new technologies; and new models for funding partnerships between the government and existing networks of cultural and educational organizations. Nowhere is the role of the states imagined in this scenario.³

2 “What is Citizen Diplomacy,” U.S. Center for Citizen Diplomacy, accessed 5 April 2010, <http://uscenterforcitizendiplomacy.org/pages/what-is-citizen-diplomacy/>.

3 Kristin Lord, “Voices of America: U.S. Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century,” The Brookings Institute (November 2008) and Carol Bellamy and Adam Weinberg, “Educational and Cultural Exchanges to Restore America’s Image,” *The Washington Quarterly* 31 no. 3 (Summer 2008): 55-68.

Developing a role for the states in connecting people and places would create a strategic hybrid of public and citizen diplomacy. We see the potential to strengthen U.S. foreign diplomacy with an enduring and effective network operating within, between, and by the states, designed to generate increased opportunities to communicate the U.S. story with that vivid detail and personal impact intrinsic to citizen diplomacy. The states are uniquely positioned to weave a strong fabric of relationships at the sub-national level everywhere across the world, a fabric so sturdy it does not easily unravel when government-to-government relations are disrupted.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE ROLE OF THE STATES IN CITIZEN DIPLOMACY

“If we are going to take advantage of the assumption that all people want peace, then the problem is for people to get together and to leap governments—if necessary to evade governments—to work out not one method but thousands of methods by which people can gradually learn a little bit more of each other.”

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER’S REMARKS AT THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 11, 1956

“We must foster even deeper connections among Americans and peoples around the globe. Our long-term security will come not from our ability to instill fear in other peoples, but through our capacity to speak to their hopes. And that work will best be done through the power of the decency and dignity of the American people—our troops, our diplomats, but also our private sector, nongovernmental organizations, and citizens. All of us have a role to play.” PRESIDENT OBAMA’S NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY, MARCH 2010

When President Dwight D. Eisenhower first imagined the people-to-people program, he saw it as part of a larger project to advance U.S. nonmilitary strategic advantages in the Cold War. He believed that “if our American ideology is eventually to win out in the great struggle being waged between two opposing ways of life, it must have the active support of thousands of independent private groups and institutes and of millions of individual Americans acting through person-to-person communication.”⁴ Thus, citizen diplomacy became a key geopolitical tool in the Cold War. By invoking the concept in his May 2010 National Security Strategy (NSS), President Barack Obama similarly centered citizen diplomacy as a vital component in the United States’ security policy.

The states historically have not played a formal role in this realm. Although many organizations that received funding from the People-to-People program acted on a local or state level—the Greater Kansas City People-to-People Council or the Greater Miami Books Abroad Committee—state governments were peripheral to the project. Their limited engagement resulted from strict interpretation of Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution. This article grants the federal government sole authority to conduct foreign affairs in activities such as negotiating and approving treaties, regulating foreign commerce, and declaring war.⁵ During heightened tensions in the Cold War, the imperative to carefully observe protocols and put forward a coherent, consistent message limited possibilities for state involvement.⁶

The end of the Cold War paved the way for states to play a larger role in international affairs. Today, globalization essentially requires that governors facilitate development of international commercial relationships for their states. A simultaneous rise in security risks around the globe necessarily engages state administrations in homeland security. But citizen diplomacy still primarily emerges in individual acts. While these occurrences are often funded and/or encouraged by national initiatives, each act takes place in relative isolation.

4 Press Release regarding June 12 White House Conference on People-to-People Partnership. May 31, 1956, Eisenhower Presidential Library, Digital Collection, DDE’s Records as President, Official File, Box 930, 325 (2).

5 *U.S. Constitution*, Art. 1, Sec. 8. Also see *United States v. Pink*, 315 U.S. 203, 233 (194) which stated that “power over external affairs is not shared by the States; it is vested in the national government exclusively. It need not be so exercised as to conform to state laws or state policies.”

6 The State Department possesses a long history in opposing states’ involvement in international affairs. In 1937, when Florida was expanding their relationship with Cuba, the Department of State reported its policy: “in regard to the promotion of commerce with foreign countries and the negotiation of commercial treaties does not contemplate the conclusion of special agreements of pacts between separate states and foreign governments even if the consent of the Congress to such special agreements could be obtained.” See Green H. Hackworth, *Digest of International Law*, 5 (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1940-1944).

President Obama's National Security Strategy develops a broad framework to support national security, and declares that any foreign policy objectives can only be achieved through implementation by the president in cooperation with all levels of government, as well as with the American people. The NSS insists that "the executive branch must do its part by developing integrated plans and approaches that leverage the capabilities across its departments and agencies to deal with the issues we confront. Collaboration across the government—and with our partners at the state, local, and tribal levels of government, in industry, and abroad—must guide our actions."⁷

New offices within the Departments of State and Defense will ensure that collaboration. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton appointed Reta Jo Lewis to serve as her Special Representative for Intergovernmental Affairs in January 2010. Among other directives, this office is tasked to "amplify and develop targeted capacity building programs utilizing the technical expertise of our U.S. state and local officials, and support diplomacy and foster peer-to-peer opportunities for sub-national dialogue."⁸ Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Intergovernmental Affairs Michael Scionti works a similar agenda to foster a richer complex of relationships that engage the states in meeting U.S. security objectives.

More than fifty years after President Eisenhower's recognition of the power of ordinary citizens to contribute to building a sustainable world peace, President Obama asserts the states' unique potential to bridge individual citizens' international connections and relationships to their federal government's foreign diplomacy. That bridge, then, will support an increase in international economic integration and reduce security threats facing communities around the globe.

7 Office of the President of the United States, National Security Strategy (May 2010), accessed 24 April 2010, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf, 51.

8 Reta Jo Lewis, "Swearing in Ceremony: Opening Our Doors to Sub-National Leaders," (speech, Washington DC, May 7, 2010).

SCAN OF CURRENT RESEARCH

Scant scholarship exploring the role of the states in citizen diplomacy reflects the reality that states have had no formal role to-date. And while the changing geopolitical environment of the twenty-first century argues for greater engagement of the states in national goals, literature has yet to parallel this development. A summary of research connecting to the role of the states follows:

Education and Student Exchanges

The most prominent areas of scholarship in this area address the spheres of education and student exchanges which aim to create a global literacy focused on deepening international goodwill and cultural understanding.⁹ Recent studies have even begun to measure the impact of study abroad on the acquisition of knowledge and skills that students need to live and work in the 21st century.¹⁰ This literature does not investigate potential long-term economic benefits for individuals and the nation that stem from engagement abroad at a young age. Because education is one area directly affected by state policy, we see an opportunity here to develop greater definition for the state's contribution to international education and exchanges.

Enhanced Security Potential

Former Governor of Colorado, Bill Owens examined the impact state governments can have in supporting Washington's work towards strategic democracy-building initiatives and national security goals shortly after the 9/11 attacks.¹¹ He zeroes in on the State Partnership Program (SPP) with the National Guard Bureau as a critical vehicle. Jack Seymour continues with a look at the National Guard's SPP in a paper examining American involvement in Eastern Europe in the aftermath of the Cold War. He establishes the SPP as a point of synergy between states, security interests, and the need for states to function globally and develop international competence. This research found benefits to states and to the global community in the success of the SPP advancing common interests. This program, Seymour noted, remains underfunded and underutilized as a national program in the region.¹² The potential for its impact on a more global level remains underexplored.

Increased Economic Activity

Much has been written in recognition of the increasing importance of citizen diplomacy, yet citizen diplomacy as a catalyst for economic activity remains undocumented in current scholarship, even though states increasingly realize their potential for economic growth through international markets.¹³ Some states have established international trade offices and heavily courted these business relationships. We have yet to discover scholarship exploring the strategies and policies states can employ to systematically foster relationships between their citizens, state agencies, and an increasingly integrated global economy.

- 9 Ross Lewin, ed., *The Handbook of Practice and Research in Study Abroad: Higher Education and the Quest for Global Citizenship* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Rebecca Hovey and Adam Weinberg, "Global Learning and the Making of Citizen Diplomats," in Ross Lewin, ed., *The Handbook of Practice and Research in Study Abroad: Higher Education and the Quest for Global Citizenship* (New York: Routledge, 2009): 33-48; Anne Colby, Thomas Erlich, Elizabeth Beaumont, and Jason Stephens, *Educating Citizens: Preparing America's Undergraduates for Lives of Moral and Civic Responsibility* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003); J. Davies and E Kaufman, *Second Track/Citizens' Diplomacy: Concepts and Techniques for Conflict Transformation* (Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 2003); Lilli Engle and John Engle, "Assessing Language Acquisition and Intercultural Sensitivity Development in Relation to Study Abroad Program Design," *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad* 10 (2004): 219-236.
- 10 Edward C. Ingraham and Debra L. Peterson, "Assessing the Impact of Study Abroad on Student Learning at Michigan State University," *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad* 10 (Fall 2004): 83-100.
- 11 Bill Owens and Troy A. Eid, "Strategic Democracy Building: How U.S. States Can Help," *Washington Quarterly* 10 no. 4 (2002): 153-168.
- 12 Jack Seymour, "Mobilizing American States for International Vocation: The National Guard Partnership Program in Eastern Europe and Beyond." Paper presented at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholar's conference entitled "The Possible Engagement of States of the United States in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Washington, D.C., March 19, 2003.
- 13 Lacy Ford and Phillip Stone, "Economic Development and Globalization in South Carolina," *Southern Cultures* 13 no. 1 (Spring 2007): 18-50; Canaga Retna, Sujit M. "International Trade Between Latin America and the Southern Legislative Conference States," *Spectrum: The Journal of State Government* 75 (Winter 2002): 20-21; and Timothy Conlan, Robert Dudley, and Joel F. Clark, "Taking on the World: The International Activities of American State Legislatures," *Publius* 34 no. 3 (Summer 2004): 183-199.

BEST PRACTICES

Individual states that make impressive headway in integrating citizen diplomacy strategies to improve their economic outlook and national and global stature do so through organic processes that draw from their individual strengths. Examining these initiatives further reveals both potential benefits and challenges that will result with a better-networked, coherent plan for state leadership in citizen diplomacy. The following describes a selection of state government practices, to demonstrate the historical trajectory and breadth of citizen diplomacy activity across the nation.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Launching a Long-Term Partnership with Germany

South Carolina's partnership with Germany dates back to World War II, when the state hosted a large population of prisoners of war. Humane and respectful relationships established during the war produced strong interactions and industry that have extended into the 21st century. Many of the POWs remained in the state at the end of the war as well.

German-American relationships grew in a 1992 economic development exchange program, sponsored by the National Association of Development Organizations, which introduced South Carolina to the former eastern German State of Brandenburg. Governor Carroll Campbell Jr. transformed that encounter into a formal sister-state program the following year and, in 1994, added the German State of Rhineland-Palatinate to their portfolio. A U.S.-Germany Transatlantic Conference brought them together over military base closings and conversions; the success of that conference generated further exchanges on education and then on the role of the state in international relations. The sister-state program was developed and managed by the South Carolina Budget and Control Board Executive Director Dr. Fred Carter, who serves now as president of Francis Marion University.

A sampling of South Carolina's sister-state projects includes:

- A delegation of South Carolinians visiting research institutes and farms in Brandenburg to explore opportunities for cooperative activities.
- Participation in Germany's International Green Week, the world's largest agricultural exhibition where participants researched potential crops for South Carolina and met with members of the business community.
- Cooperation on issues regarding fiber flax, including its applications in manufacturing.
- Clemson University partnering with two institutes in Brandenburg to research ground water quality and crop management, a project particularly beneficial to South Carolina's Low country agriculture.¹⁴
- A number of other vibrant faculty and student exchanges among South Carolina universities and technical colleges and their sister schools in Germany.

Governor Carroll Campbell Jr. modeled the impact strong leadership in state government can have on international economic integration. He succeeded in securing the first North American BMW plant in South Carolina in 1992; he then designed a five-year plan for economic development that brought several high-profile German companies and \$22 billion in capital investment to the state.¹⁵ The South Carolina Commission on International Cooperation and Agreement, conceived of by Carter, continues to convene representatives from the university, cities, businesses, state agencies and non-profit organizations to share resources and information, and coordinate ongoing international activities.

Thus, South Carolina serves as an excellent example of how personal contacts develop to foster productive and mutually-beneficial relationships in multiple spheres.

¹⁴ Ibid., 72, 75, 91-92.

¹⁵ C. Grant Jackson, "Campbell drove BMW to locate in S.C.," *The State* December 8, 2005.

STATE OF WASHINGTON: Establishing an International Mandate in the Office of the Lieutenant Governor

The State of Washington provides a unique model for state involvement in citizen diplomacy with an Office of International Relations and Protocol established by the legislature to make international relations and protocol a broad-based, focused, and functional part of state government. Specific responsibilities for the office:

- to develop and promote state policies that increase international literacy and cross-cultural understanding among Washington state's citizens;
- to expand the state's international profile in such areas as the environment, education, science, culture, and sports;
- to establish a coordinated process to respond to the increasing number of inquiries by foreign governments and institutions seeking cooperative activities within Washington;
- to provide leadership in state government on international relations and assistance to the legislature and state elected officials on international issues affecting the state;
- to assist with multistate international efforts; and
- to coordinate and improve communication and resource sharing among various state offices, agencies, and educational institutions with international programs.¹⁶

Washington established this initiative within the Office of the Lieutenant Governor to create an enduring structure that would give confidence to potential investors and leverage more from existing activities. This unique stature of the state led civil society actors to create "Global Washington," an organization that networks nonprofit organizations, academics, and businesses across the state that are engaged internationally.¹⁷ Representing the fourth most "trade dependent" (most trade per capita) state in the United States, Lieutenant Governor Brad Owens' office has become a major player in international affairs, a lead example of a modern role for states in citizen diplomacy.

UTAH: Networking and Capitalizing on Citizen Experience Abroad

Utah's extraordinarily high level of international engagement, disproportionate for both its size and geography, owes largely to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS). Church members travel abroad on missions and return to the state with levels of continuing engagement with foreign cultures that are almost unparalleled in the United States. 45,000 Utah residents applied to be foreign language volunteers for the 2002 Olympics in Park City. Utah boasts the third-largest consular corps of all fifty states. And Utah was the only state where exports increased in 2009.

The state captures individual citizen diplomacy expertise both in service to the U.S. Department of State's diplomacy efforts through the International Visitor program, and in service to its own workforce and economic development. The University of Utah International Center Board, the Utah Arts Council Cultural Diplomacy Advisory Board, World Trade Center of Utah, and Utah Council on Citizen Diplomacy are all part of a complex web of organizations and universities that connect to the office of Franz Kolb, the state's Regional Director for International Trade and Diplomacy, at least once monthly. The Director, working from the Governor's Office of Economic Development, convenes them to update a state calendar that reflects all of the state's international activity in detail. The calendar contributes to export promotion and attracts investment; regular meetings ensure careful diplomacy and observation of protocols.¹⁸

The Utah Council on Citizen Diplomacy, founded in 1965, serves as the link to the International Visitor Leadership Program, sponsors a lecture series to raise awareness of global issues with prominent authorities, and operates a school outreach program to connect primary and secondary students to cultural education in interaction with international visitors, integrating cultural themes across the curriculum. The Council receives both private and state funding.

Despite this rich support for citizen diplomacy, Utah is no different from any other state in reporting challenges of inconsistency, and loss of institutional knowledge and contacts with every change in the state's administration. This, in turn, has an inevitable impact on state economic development.

16 Washington State Legislature, "Chapter 43.290 RCW: Office of International Relations and Protocol," <http://apps.leg.wa.gov/RCW/default.aspx?cite=43.290> (accessed June 3, 2010).

17 "About: Global Washington," Global Washington, accessed 3 June 2010, <http://globalwa.org/about/>.

18 Franz Kolb, phone conversation with Lt. Governor Barbara Lawton, 15 June 2010.

GEORGIA: Lifting the Prestige of Citizen Diplomacy

Georgia employs multiple strategies to successfully and creatively generate citizen diplomacy activities and lend them prestige, providing an example of how state focus and effective networking can produce benefits to the state and nation.

Georgia's Council for International Visitors (GCIV) offers one of the more dynamic international visitors networks in the country. Their mission actively aims to build understanding and cooperation between the people of Georgia and the world so that every Georgian citizen has the opportunity to become more globally engaged.¹⁹ The organization hosts visitors' programs and promotes them to the community, posting an events calendar on their website with a blog for citizen diplomacy opportunities.

The GCIV organizes an annual Consular Ball to honor local diplomats, maintain the diplomats' connection to community members, and highlight their role as a bridge to the larger global community. Its large consular corps makes Atlanta a premier international city, attractive to businesses wanting to locate where international commerce is effectively facilitated and many governments are officially represented. Opportunities for trade increase with each new consulate.²⁰ The Metro Atlanta Chamber's global Commerce Council supports this by focusing on continuing to increase the number of consulates in Georgia as a central economic development tactic.

The GCIV also works closely with the Atlanta Summit on Citizen Diplomacy, which organized workshops to train citizen diplomats and network them to the international community in 2007 and 2008. Demand was high but budget constraints limited the 2009 iteration to a private luncheon with a keynote speaker.²¹ The original model's success suggests states could capitalize on similar opportunities to build their international profile by partnering with organizations like the GCIV, becoming a more attractive and stable target for funding.

ARKANSAS: Leveraging Reciprocal Learning

Arkansas is home to many independent organizations that develop expertise and citizen diplomacy at a local level, specifically in the realms of economic development and public policy. The Arkansas Municipal League, established in 1934, provides a forum for sharing best practices among cities, supplies technical assistance for municipalities dealing with state or federal government, and in other ways increases the capability of local governments in Arkansas.²² And the League now casts a wider net to build capacity for its members with international exchanges.

In 2008, Ghanaian Prince Kwame Kludjeson and Prince Kofi Kludjeson met with Arkansas Municipal League Assistant Director Ken Wasson. They discovered that Arkansas and Ghana share similar systems of local government administration. The League provided expertise in urban management and planning to Ghana; in return, the Ghanaians brought the League into the 2009 Africa Global Sister Cities Foundation International Seminar on Total Quality in City and Urban Management and Tourism Development & Service Delivery in Africa.²³ In November 2009, League Assistant Director Wasson and two member mayors traveled to Ghana to participate in their Chieftaincy Summit, moderating a session to examine how elected officials can build more viable infrastructure for local governance. The visit included an exchange of best practices in agricultural trade as well.²⁴ Ghana brought the 2010 Africa Global Sister Cities Foundation Conference to Little Rock in August, to explore agriculture and healthcare through the lens of nutrition.²⁵

19 "About," Georgia Council for International Visitors, accessed 5 June 2010, <http://gciv.org/about/>.

20 Shell Stuart and Mark Pierson, "Consular Ball to Honor Local Diplomats," *Global Atlanta*, accessed 6 April 2010, <http://www.globalatlanta.com/article/23860/>.

21 Shell Stuart, email conversation with Debbie Sharnak, 2 August 2010; Nicole Rateau, email conversation with Debbie Sharnak 17 August 2010.

22 "Policies and Goals 2009-2010," Arkansas Municipal League, accessed 28 June 2010, http://www.arml.org/pdfs/publications/AMLPolicies_Goals.pdf, 3.

23 Sherman Banks, "Ghana: an emerging leader in Africa," *City & Town* 64 (2008), accessed 28 June 2010, http://www.arml.org/documents/9_08_CT_Web.pdf, 21.

24 Sherman Banks, "League makes African Connections," *City & Town* 65 (2009), accessed 28 June 2010, http://www.arml.org/documents/9_09_CT_Web.pdf, 15.

25 Sherman Banks, "League works with Africa Global Sister Cities Foundation for 21st Century growth," *City & Town* 66 (2010), accessed June 28, 2010, http://www.arml.org/documents/5_10_CT_Web.pdf, 24.

The University of Arkansas is home to the Arkansas International Center (AIC), a clearing house for professional adult exchange programs in education, business, government and non-profit organizations. The Center's goal, to increase both individual and institutional capacity to navigate change in the state and abroad, builds on a collaborative model for marshalling expertise and experience and contacts. A Little Rock partnership with Kalush, Ukraine concentrates on city government, with a focus on urban planning and water heating projects in Kalush. AIC's Japan Program provides classroom teachers in Arkansas and Tennessee the opportunity to travel in Japan; AIC then helps incorporate newly acquired cultural knowledge into classroom teaching. AIC also designs and hosts short-term training programs for professionals: a program for prosecutors and investigators from Croatia to gain experience in the American justice system is just one example.

The Arkansas World Trade Center, located at the University, provides Arkansas businesses regional trade development, market research, government access, help with trade missions, and more. The Center provides practical internships for university students with internationally-oriented individuals and businesses.²⁶ The Center supplies information on pending trade legislation, trade leads, and connects government and business initiatives to support growth. Arkansas has very effectively bridged the state university and private sector with citizen diplomacy, building expertise and developing economic opportunity and strengthening communications in the international realm.

HAWAII: Establishing a Governor's International Agenda

The current governor of Hawaii, Linda Lingle, has been determined to see the internationalization of her state. Hawaii's unique geography as an island in the Pacific, and its proximity to Asian countries, opens paths to international commercial, tourist, and cultural relationships. The Governor signed a memorandum of understanding with China to increase the flow of products from Hawaii to China, set up a streamlined visa process, promised shared work toward energy efficiency and alternative energy sources, and looked for ways to promote an increase in tourism between the two countries.

Hawaii's Office of International Affairs (OIA) develops a framework for internationalization and oversees international activity, promoting cooperative relationships with other countries and greater public awareness of the state's global profile.²⁷

A permanent mandate from the governor's office prioritizing internationalization does not imply a singular state foreign policy. Rather, initiatives stemming from this global focus bring diverse foreign delegations to the state benefiting the private and public sector. Legislators receive regular briefings based on relevant information in international publications and agencies. The OIA works with the U.S. State Department and Congress to coordinate international activities that directly affect that state, and builds networks linking diverse international organizations like cultural centers, think tanks, business organizations, and non profits. Their networks extend to local and state international resources like state universities' international relations centers, schools of business and international diplomacy, science and technology centers, and world trade centers.²⁸

26 University of Arkansas at Little Rock Arkansas International Center, "The Arkansas International Center (AIC)," accessed 20 June 2010, <http://ualr.edu/aic/>.

27 Hawaii Department of Business, Economic Development & Tourism, "Office of International Relations," accessed 14 June 2010, <http://hawaii.gov/dbedt/oia>.

28 Rose, "Foreign Relations at the State Level," 114.

WISCONSIN: Building State Capacity to Network Initiatives

The authors of this report write from Wisconsin. Our research and extensive experience in the state gives us a detailed sense of where the state succeeds and where untapped potential in citizen diplomacy lies. The story of one of Wisconsin's strongest contributions in citizen diplomacy informs our recommendations to strengthen the role of the states.

We begin with President Kennedy's announced plan for the Alliance for Progress in 1961, a ten-year cooperative agreement between the United States and Latin America to foster economic development and social progress. Dr. Jim Boren, then director of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), convinced several friends to develop a partnership through his contacts in Peru. They founded Texas Partners, a people-to-people complement to the government-driven Alliance for Progress. Texas Partners' success bred expansion across state lines and the Partners of the Americas was born in 1964.²⁹

That became Partners of the Americas, Inc. in 1966; they initiated separation from the Alliance for Progress and USAID, and completed transformation into the private sector in 1970.³⁰ Partners of the Americas matched willing U.S. states with Latin American counterparts, often based on economic and/or geographic similarities: Montana, for example, was matched to Patagonia in Argentina, both cattle-based economies. State chapters in the U.S. and abroad organized, each with their own Board of Directors, often including elected officials. Each divided into thematic subcommittees like education and agriculture. Partners of the Americas still runs several granting programs (funded by both public and private sources) to participating chapters, like Farmer-to-Farmer and Domestic Violence Prevention, but chapters also develop their own.

Wisconsin established one of those first partnerships, with Nicaragua, in 1965. It has since grown to include sister-city relationships and diverse programs.³¹ It initially sought to "establish a partnership of mutual assistance" which included "exchange of information, technical advice, economic assistance."³² Wisconsin/Nicaragua Partners of the Americas (W/NP) participates in the Farmer-to-Farmer Program, sending knowledgeable volunteers to provide informational seminars and field days to promote more efficient dairy production in Nicaragua. This program continues to improve both individual livelihoods and Nicaragua's dairy industry.³³ They have provided program supplies to over 200 clinics and dispatched public health volunteers to work with children around the country. Many emergency vehicles used in Nicaragua have come from Wisconsin. A library, micro business development, and connections to the University of Wisconsin academic support for water purification techniques, are other examples of assistance catalyzed by the partnership. And W/NP mobilized its personal network to assist Nicaraguans after Hurricane Mitch struck the country in October 1998: they assisted with logistics coordination in country, collected over \$150,000 in cash donations, and collaborated with the Wisconsin National Guard to ship nearly \$800,000 in materials to help post-disaster.

The W/NP and the Wisconsin National Guard continue their strong partnership today.³⁴ When considering participation in the National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP) in 2003, the Wisconsin National Guard decided to build on the W/NP's extensive relationships in Nicaragua and specifically requested a partnership with that country.³⁵ Kentucky and Ecuador also layered their SPP on existing Partners of the Americas programs. Partners of the Americas and the State Partnership Program share the same ultimate goal: promoting sustainable development and state stability in Latin America.

29 Partners of the Americas, "Texas-Mexico – Peru," accessed 10 June 2010, http://www.partners.net/partners/Texas-Mexico_-_Peru_EN.asp?SnID=985493922.

30 Partners of the Americas, "History-Looking Back at 40 Years of Growth and Changes," accessed 3 June 2010, http://www.partners.net/partners/History-Looking_Back_at_40_years_of_Growth_and_Cha_EN.asp?SnID=634789499.

31 Roger Gribble, "Nicaragua aid group plans celebration," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 22 April 1999.

32 *Ibid.*

33 USAID, "New Practices Improve Dairy Farming: New Grazing Methods Improve Cows' Health and Production," accessed 3 June 2010, http://www.usaid.gov/stories/nicaragua/ss_ni_grazing.html.

34 Wisconsin/Nicaragua Partners of the Americas, Inc., "Disaster Relief," accessed 3 June 2010, <http://wnp.uwsp.edu/programs/assist/disaster/disaster.htm>; "State Goods Expected in Nicaragua Today," *Wisconsin State Journal*, December 12, 1998, 2B.

35 Larry Olson, phone interview by Stephanie Schmidt, May 27, 2010.

Over more than four decades, many Wisconsinites' personal experiences with the W/NP helped them to develop confidence and expertise in international affairs, and even business opportunities abroad. Wisconsin's formal international relationships extend beyond Nicaragua to include state-to-state relationships with Chiba Prefecture (Japan), Hessen (Germany), Jalisco (Mexico), and Heilongjiang (China).³⁶ The Wisconsin-Chiba relationship emerged from the Wisconsin Advisory Council for Japanese Language and Culture; it includes annual cultural and educational exchanges. Classrooms are linked to bring children into the program and to allow for English teaching programs in Chiba.³⁷ Over two decades, the relationship has grown to support high-tech commercial partnerships as well.³⁸ Wisconsin's partnership with Hessen, Germany also fosters university-level internships and has spawned business opportunities.³⁹

A local Rotary Club recognized that many of its members had valuable international experience. The Rotarians catalogued the relationships they had established with people and communities from around the world and created a network available for use by entire community. By creating this network of established partnerships, citizens of Wisconsin were able to enhance the connections already initiated by members of the Rotary Club, for cultural and business purposes. Simultaneously, the people of Wisconsin built upon the relationships already founded by that particular Rotary Club as the basis for forging new relationships and fostering global connectivity. Wisconsin also boasts the highest number of Peace Corps returnees of any state in the union, furthering the state's commitment to citizen diplomacy.

A dense constellation of institutions of higher education—26 University of Wisconsin campuses and 20 private colleges and universities—engage in international student and faculty exchanges, research partnerships, run permanent programs abroad (Marquette's Les Aspin Center) and provide a community center for international engagement (St. Norbert College Bemis Center). They sponsor opportunities for global cultural engagement across the state. One technical college has an extensive program with former Soviet States.

There have been some efforts to address the opportunities of citizen diplomacy systematically. A State Superintendent of Schools' Task Force on Globalization reported on this issue but then did not meet again; two years later an International Task Force for the UW System emerged. The UW flagship campus convened a Chancellor's Global Economic Development Work Group to nine the campus's relationships around the world. Another campus issued a study on the Economic Opportunity of International Students and made a concerted effort to engage the community in attracting them to study there. And that campus, UW-Whitewater, became the first to formally partner with the state's Department of Commerce to provide expertise on export development for regional businesses.

Lessons Learned

States have never enjoyed a formal role in international diplomacy, owing to the nation's long history of state and federal government negotiating clear and distinct lines of authority, with foreign relations traditionally the sole province of the latter. An increase in free trade agreements and in the importance of export economies to individual states has states looking for the appropriate point of entry into international conversations. The complexity of a globalized economy and contemporary security issues necessarily engage the states, but they have yet to discover how best to develop, harvest and leverage the individual and collective contributions of U.S. citizens to building strong foreign relations. Both nation and individual states stand to benefit greatly.

36 International Wisconsin, "Sister-States and Cities," accessed 3 June 2010, <http://international.wi.gov/SisterStates.html>.

37 Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "Chiba (Japan)," accessed 8 June 2010, <http://dpi.state.wi.us/cal/ie-chiba-ss.html>.

38 Legislative Reference Bureau, "Wisconsin's Sister States and Sister Cities," Brief 98-5, June 1998, accessed 8 June 2010, <http://www.legis.state.wi.us/lrb/pubs/wb/98wb5.pdf>.

39 University of Wisconsin – Whitewater Center for Global Education, "Germany," accessed 8 June 2010, http://www.uww.edu/international/studyabroad/exchange_programs/hessen.html.

The Council of State Governments' member organizations convene leaders at every level to support better governance and sharing of best practices, but international affairs is uncharted territory for most. The National Governors Association has never had a permanent international committee. The National Lieutenant Governors Association created one just last year. The National Council of State Legislators announced their intent to create an International Task Force this year. The State International Trade Organization convenes members from state economic development agencies and provides a policy advisory group to the U.S. Trade Representative under the auspices of the U.S. Department of State, but this is a reactive body.

The U.S. Conference of Mayors has worked actively in this realm for forty years, and they regularly meet with leaders from the National Association of Counties, the International City Managers Association and National League of Cities. They provide a point of connection for other countries' local officials for valuable exchanges but their scope is limited.

We observed that for all the ways Wisconsin connects to the world nothing exists to capture that activity, promote or connect to it or better leverage it to benefit the state. Wisconsin's International Visitor Program has operated for decades from an agency primarily engaged in immigration and refugee issues. The challenge of scant resources to build the state's profile and contribution through this program is greatly exacerbated by the fact that there is no dedicated clearinghouse for international interest in and from the state. Wisconsin's honorary consulate corps last met more than five years ago. Our Department of Commerce has developed deep expertise within the ranks of civil service employees but, as we found in most states across the nation, their capacity to perform depends directly on the agenda of the governor in office.

Washington gives us a model for legislative action to establish a permanent structure to support great breadth in international engagement for the state. In Utah, there emerges a networking of citizen diplomacy coordinated by the state but still vulnerable to administrative priorities. Wisconsin compounded the impact of an existing complex of citizen connections to Nicaragua by bringing the National Guard State Partnership Program to the country. And the path forward begins to surface.

If we are to put an end to a litany of lost opportunities to build our citizen corps of diplomats, we must lift citizen diplomacy in its myriad iterations above the shifting ground of state politics. The recommendations that follow imagine new frameworks designed to leverage, enhance, and empower citizen diplomacy—in the public, private and non-profit sectors and across state agencies—to attract the resources and attention it deserves. They build on a foundation of solid success.

Recommendations

As the world grows more interconnected, more individual non-state actors are empowered with the potential for dramatic influence to build capacity to advance U.S. interests and those we share with others around the world. Our diplomatic strategy needs to be innovated, across the states, to engage U.S. citizens with a clear sense of purpose, and network and inform their work. The narratives that result will become a source of national pride, a catalyst for innovation, an inspiration for the entrepreneurialism that can result, and a framework for our values. Those stories will be evidence of the shared destiny of peoples working across sectors, state and national boundaries.

A state's level of citizen diplomacy affects the quality of its workforce and the strength of its economy: it defines its competitive edge today. Relatively small investments in increasing that level and improving the quality of contacts will provide great returns. Directing those investments to stable, respected sites of leadership in state government will ensure their enduring value.

Each state's specific history, geography, demographics, needs and resources will be reflected in the strategies they devise to carve out a unique global niche. Our recommendations respect and support organic development of a state's capacity for citizen diplomacy, creating a framework that more uniformly

- Empowers partnership programs.
- Makes them more durable and attractive for active engagement.
- Culls more from existing interactions and activates new ones and new technologies.
- Increases the prestige of participation.
- Promotes a system of global citizen engagement within states and across the nation.

Recommendation No. 1:

A NETWORKING MODEL FOR STATES: MOVING FROM AD HOC TO SUSTAINED ENGAGEMENT

While citizen diplomacy currently occurs in many sectors across a state, these efforts frequently occur in isolation from one another, without broad notice or recognition, and without a reliable vehicle to connect disparate spheres of activity. State Department Director of Policy Planning Anne-Marie Slaughter recently wrote that “the measure of power is connectedness...the state with the most connections will be able to unlock innovation and sustainable growth.” As the range and complexity of global problems only increases, states can maximize their ability to address these challenges by orchestrating networks of public, private, and civic actors and guiding them towards collaborative solutions.⁴⁰

Toward that end, we recommend building a formalized networking structure, and we suggest it be housed within a state’s university system. University administrations tend to enjoy fairly long and stable tenure, and to a large extent, are removed from state politics. The university can take advantage of its intellectual leadership to increase the prestige and importance of citizen diplomacy initiatives. While university systems differ in each state across the country, a state-specific system can be adapted from a strong national model. The university is well positioned as a centralized point of access for K-12 initiatives, businesses, nonprofit organizations, government, and alumni ties across all sectors.

These advantages make the university an ideal location for housing a networking initiative of citizen diplomacy that will leverage existing commitments and spur new ones.

Possible Components

- Directory of nonprofits, businesses, academics and research partnerships, students, government agencies, visitors to connect, work and ideas: categorized by place, topic for engagement, sector
- Events calendars that is continually refreshed as a critical open source to promote higher-level citizen diplomacy. Track initiatives at local level, international visitors, lectures, trade missions, etc. Build an ethic of inclusion so it breeds activity.
- Bulletin Board of opportunities specific to different age and/or interest groups in state and abroad, including application deadlines, information sessions for programs, events needing volunteers, etc.
- Blog to use as an interactive forum to share experiences abroad and report on events or make inquiries and invite conversation.
- Traditional media scan, site to post coverage of citizen diplomacy and e-library for archives
- Links to new social media to encourage networking and dissemination of events and ideas
- Periodic conference to discuss status of citizen diplomacy, network, bring in speakers, present papers to produce scholarship/best practices about field to encourage study and analysis of effectiveness of initiatives, and to deepen the network and heighten its visibility

The University of Wisconsin System, for administrative and planning purposes, is currently developing a prototype for an international networking portal in the State of Wisconsin, one they plan to maintain. What is currently named “UW World” will, in its first stage, be a web-based map capable of displaying a comprehensive and up-to-date presence of all UW institutions’ activities around the globe. It will include a display of countries from which students and faculty come. The map will be linked to a robust database that can be updated by each campus but maintained by UW System Administration. “UW World” will be a resource for UW faculty, students and staff and, as the network expands to include NGOs, state agencies and other community-based organizations, it will become a valuable tool for international planning and networking purposes for the entire state.

The prototype will be using Google technologies as a platform to show links and partnerships between state agencies, civil society organizations, university activity, and foreign countries abroad. The map would allow users to do keyword or categorical searches.

40 Anne-Marie Slaughter, “America’s Edge: Power in the Networked Century,” *Foreign Affairs* 88 no. 1 (Jan/Feb 2009): 94-113.

The prototype will be developed to link to mobile applications for smart phone and Blackberry users. Technology similar to Four Square would allow the user to check in at their current location, and then generate social networking opportunities to broadcast citizen diplomacy activity. With Google as the core mapping service, host for web applications and fusion tables, UW is developing a free model with advanced geo-coding. It is well documented; easily portable to mobile devices; and its visualization tools are easy to use and highly accessible.

The UW System web portal prototype is an important first step towards developing a comprehensive network for state initiatives abroad and then a way to connect not only within but between states. It can become a mechanism to incorporate important work, networks, and ideas from the National Governors and Lieutenant Governors Associations, Council of State Legislatures, National League of Cities, the International City Managers Association, and the National Association of Counties into the state's comprehensive vision for citizen diplomacy work.

We agree with Anne Marie Slaughter that “networked power flows from the ability to make the maximum number of valuable connections. The next requirement is to have the knowledge and skills to harness that power to achieve a common purpose.”⁴¹ With today's technology and commitment from the states, we can harness that power, fuel more innovative and dynamic activities, and meld multiple actors that each bring a unique perspective into a team that is greater than the sum of its parts.⁴²

Like Eisenhower before him, President Barack Obama asserts that America's greatest asset is its citizens. Our National Security Strategy calls for us to renew leadership across the nation “by calling upon what is best about America – our innovation and capacity, our openness and moral imagination.” Empowered by the states, citizen diplomacy can flourish to meet that call.

41 Slaughter, 111.

42 Ibid.

Recommendation No. 2:

LEVERAGING THE NATIONAL GUARD STATE PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM: A STATE PARTNERSHIP FRAMEWORK

Executive Summary

The National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP) provides an ideal base on which to build an innovative prototype that:

- Supports a strategic hybrid of public and citizen diplomacy.
- Creates a functional interagency bridge between the Departments of Defense and State and the USAID, and others where appropriate.
- Networks them to all fifty states and U.S. territories.
- Provides a unique dynamic to fuel achievement of enhanced security goals and increased prosperity at the state and national levels.

This recommendation calls for expanding the current SPP to develop a framework, authorized and embraced by federal and state governments, capable of connecting and integrating individual citizen and institutional capacity for genuine diplomacy towards the ends of higher-level contributions to national security strategies. This State Partnership Framework includes a broad spectrum of human endeavor that underwrites fulfilling the aspirations of self-governed civil societies committed to sustainable peace and prosperity.

Introduction

In his 2010 National Security Strategy, President Barack Obama asserts that “our ability to advance constructive cooperation is essential to the security and prosperity of specific regions, and to facilitating global cooperation on issues ranging from violent extremism and nuclear proliferation, to climate change, and global economic instability—issues that challenge all nations, but that no one nation alone can meet...successful engagement will depend upon the effective use and integration of different elements of American power.”⁴³ President Obama insists on the utility of smart power where America can become stronger by “further developing relationships with other nations through diplomacy and engagement.”⁴⁴ The National Guard, with its dual state and federal mission, currently fosters exactly this sort of collaboration through the State Partnership Program (SPP).

Background and Status of the State Partnership Program Today

The SPP emerged in 1993, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, as a strategy for engagement and support for the developing democratic countries of the former Warsaw Pact. The SPP connects a nation requesting a partner, through its U.S. Ambassador (Department of State) and attendant Geographic Combatant Commander (Department of Defense), to a partner state or U.S. territory via the National Guard Bureau. The original program design is limited to military-to-military functions and focused on security and political stability. The SPP’s impact today extends to a range of citizen engagements in the societal, political, economic, cultural, and military realms.⁴⁵

As the range of activities expanded, other modes of funding and coordination have been integrated into the program. SPP and USAID collaborations leverage the best of both to strengthen their respective impact. For example, in **St. Lucia**, USAID and **Florida’s** SPP, in line with the Southern Command’s goals, teamed up to provide instruction on effective juvenile justice programs.⁴⁶ But great potential remains to be realized. USAID’s Africa Education Initiative could more efficiently extend its reach through SPP ties to local schools.⁴⁷ **Hawaii’s** SPP with **Indonesia** is perfectly

43 Office of the President of the United States, National Security Strategy (May 2010), 11.

44 General Craig R. McKinley, “The National Guard: A Great Value for America,” *National Guard Bureau* (July 2010), 7.

45 Colleen Kelly, “National Guard Bureau- State Partnership Program,” *Air Command and Staff College Report* (July 2006), 1.

46 “Government Gets Assistance to Improve Juvenile Justice,” *Government of St. Lucia*, accessed 27 September 2010, http://www.stlucia.gov.lc/pr2009/march/government_gets_assistance_to_improve_juvenile_justice.htm.

47 Lt. Colonel David A. Smith, “A Stable and Secure Africa: Leveraging the State Partnership Program,” *US Army War College* (March 2010), accessed 27 September 2010, <http://www.eisf.eu/resources/library/Stable%20and%20Secure%20Africa.pdf>.

positioned to effectively strengthen programs of USAID and the Pacific Command's Theater Security initiatives.⁴⁸ Today, the SPP involves fifty-one states and territories in sixty-two country relationships.⁴⁹

At its core, the program's larger mission empowers regional combatant commanders with the means to build those enduring relationships that are essential to a country's stability and to long term international security. The SPP works to develop self-sustainable security of those partner countries through quality and effective engagement activities, and to support security capacity growth that benefits both partner state and country.

The SPP's very nature leads to long-term relationships that build trust and mutual understanding anchored in person-to-person relationships of citizen soldiers that become citizen diplomats, abroad and at home.

A closer look at some of the successes of these partnerships reveals tremendous potential inherent in a broader National Guard State Partnership Framework. The **Alaska-Mongolia** partnership is a richly developed pairing that extends through the military, diplomatic, economic, and educational spheres. Mongolian Armed Forces specifically requested to be deployed with the Alaskan Army National Guard in Iraq and Afghanistan; they have been coalition partners for six years. This military partnership organized and hosted NATO familiarization events in Mongolia.

This SPP makes sure state government is briefed on the program: every United States Ambassador assigned to Mongolia since 2004 has met with the leaders of the Alaska State Legislature. The President of Mongolia spent four days meeting with Alaskan leaders in the fall of 2007.

Other collaborations grow from SPPs. Erdenet, Mongolia and Fairbanks, Alaska established a sister city relationship, a natural fit given both are prominent mining cities. The current CEO of Rio Tinto, a worldwide mining and resource exploration company, is a graduate of the University of Alaska Fairbanks; Rio Tinto owns prospects in both Alaska and Mongolia. Thus the sister city relationship ultimately fosters a flow of information and generates new contacts to university student exchanges, as well as cooperation between park land and natural resource experts, financial experts, and medical personnel. From these exchanges emerged a vision for the implementation of telemedicine in Mongolia to provide modern healthcare opportunities to rural areas similar to those in Alaska—a cutting edge opportunity made possible by vibrant citizen diplomacy connections in these multiple sectors.

Other partnerships provide critical opportunities to promote public understanding between the United States and Muslim-majority countries. Here, the SPP is an effective frontier to defuse cultural misapprehensions and build respectful relationships. For example, the **Hawaii-Indonesia** partnership opens the door to citizen diplomacy in the world's most populous Muslim country. Meaningful citizen diplomacy activities between **Colorado and Jordan** increase the number of positive narratives about the U.S. circulating in a critical spot in the Middle East.

Oklahoma's partnership with **Azerbaijan** gives the U.S. a strategic point of entry at the crossroads of Europe, the Middle East and Asia. There, the SPP puts a personal face on America: a steady stream of citizen soldiers committed to the well-being of Azerbaijan citizens says more about what our nation stands for than any public diplomacy campaign alone could accomplish. In Azerbaijan, the SPP paved the way to facilitate medical and law enforcement training. With the SPP as a backdrop, promising private sector relationships in the import-export and energy sectors advanced quickly, to the benefit of Oklahoma, the U.S. and Azerbaijan.

48 Kenneth S. Hara, "The Indonesian Imperative," *Army War College* (February 2008), accessed 27 September 2010, <http://www.stormingmedia.us/24/2448/A244874.html>,

49 As of September, 2010, on the U.S. side the sixty-two SPP partnerships include 47 states, Guam, Puerto Rico, The U.S. Virgin Islands, and The District of Columbia. Some states have partnerships with more than one country.

North Carolina's State Partnership Programs with **Moldova** and **Botswana** also connect programs like UNC Engineers Without Borders to the host country's Peace Corps volunteers: multiple disciplines and organizations become inextricably engaged in helping communities address their most pressing challenges to enhance their security and stability. Significant educational benefits accrue to UNC and the larger community. Students and faculty engaged in addressing real-world challenges enrich classroom education and research at home after applying expertise in the areas of public health, water and sanitation, and dentistry works to enhance progress on community preparedness and disaster management.

Kansas state government was intentional in connecting to its SPP. The state reviewed the U.S. Armenian Embassy's Mission Strategic Plan and identified areas where Kansas government agencies and institutions could assist in achieving U.S. national policy goals in Armenia. They took that opportunity to conduct a simultaneous internal review of the stability and crisis response capacity of Kansas. The **Kansas-Armenia** SPP generated a focus on higher education, building on the SPP's record for success in developing sustained international relationships of increasing value. The SPP led Kansan education experts to explore opportunities for cooperation with Armenia in public health and agriculture, and specifically food safety. The National Guard, with assistance from the U.S. embassy in Armenia, facilitated initial connections, then stepped back to allow relationships to evolve. When strong partnerships resulted, the U.S. Embassy could identify strategic points for investment of government funding.

The fifteen-year-old state partnership between **Pennsylvania and Lithuania** forged connections between universities, civic groups, and local governments in both countries. In 2007 members of the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center, the Pennsylvania National Guard and the Lithuanian Ministries of Health, Defense and Interior conducted a joint medical and emergency crisis exercise. In 2009, the Lithuanian Fire Rescue Service signed a bilateral agreement with the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency, launching the first major program in civil-military cooperation. The Pittsburgh World Affairs Council provides a path for civic groups to find a way to connect to this rich network.

The **Maryland-Estonia** SPP work stimulated educational exchanges between the two countries, which blossomed into the Consortium for Mid-Atlantic/Baltic Education and Commerce (MBEC). The MBEC includes all three Baltic nations and attracts civilian resources from Mid-Atlantic States beyond Maryland and from the District of Columbia. That SPP does not stop there: Maryland's Partner City program boasts eleven partnerships with Estonian cities and two between counties, as well as two with cities in other Baltic countries. That network breeds cultural and commercial activities which prove productive on both sides of the equation.

More stories abound. For example, the **Alabama** National Guard delivered urgently needed medical supplies and equipment to an orphanage in **Romania**. The **Mississippi** National Guard's work with a health clinic in **Bolivia** can be seen on a video on MySpace.

The National Guard's focused deployment of resources on the articulated mission of the SPP has meant there has been no systematic documentation and promotion of these important, subsequent narratives. Just this cursory scan of SPP activities around the globe gives empirical evidence that suggests tremendous potential remains to be realized.

PUBLIC VALUE OF THE STATE PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM

The SPP model has proven successful in building and sustaining enduring and trusting strategic partnerships in environments where conventional U.S. government efforts may not be as effective. Individuals in leadership may change, but the commitment of a state National Guard — a more intimate, accessible, and agile partner than a national entity—has proven to be reliable for partner countries.

The management and implementation of most functions of civil society—delivery of services, management of public infrastructure, law enforcement, commerce, etc.—happens locally. National Guard citizen soldiers, who come from every socio-economic level of society and collectively offer deep expertise as business owners, professionals and tradespeople, are best equipped to assist in development and reconstruction initiatives in other countries.

The National Guard is a military institution that, with its citizen soldiers, has an inevitable civilian dimension that elicits the genius of the SPP. National Guard units at home are characterized by members with long tenure, familial-like supportive relationships, and pride in their preparation and strong teamwork. They live in communities, not on bases. They develop their skills and understanding of public systems in real-world settings; they are connected to local public and private and non-profit institutions where they live. Their primary sense of how to address challenges to stability and security does not stem from military responses. The diversity of experience and perspectives to be found within each unit makes innovative work around the globe possible.

The SPP has great potential to benefit U.S. foreign affairs in another critical way. Every time that we engage our own citizens in an empowered role for diplomacy in the international community, and every time we help each one to more fully understand the link between her well-being here and the stability of a country far away, we add to a constituency that supports strategic foreign aid as an investment in global and national security. The SPP, with participating citizen soldiers in every county of every state, is a brilliant multiplier in this effort.

The SPP expanded to a State Partnership Framework supports the U.S. Department of State's "3D Strategy" for foreign policy, providing a vehicle to foster development as well as strengthen diplomacy and defense. Facilitating a widening network of citizen-to-citizen connections will spawn more innovative solutions to local challenges shared by partner countries.

The early partnerships with countries of the former Soviet Union were an instructive demonstration of the concept of a healthy national military in the service of civil society, under civilian authority, within the structure of a constitutional republic. The National Guard helped partner countries integrate defense and security functions under civilian command.

Partner country governments' ambition for their growth and security today meets growing challenges with climate change, disease, and economic crises. They necessarily recognize the inextricable nature of civil and military functions, and look to the SPP for help.

SPP projects directly related to security and defense have been funded with Department of Defense appropriation funds. As a state comes to know its partner country better, other formal and informal relationships—outside but parallel to SPP alignments, not funded or managed within Department of Defense—inevitably form and give rise to informal networks. These derivative relationships enhance the overall partnership connection and ultimately assist in advancing common goals. The existence and positive effect of these networks of relationships are strong indicators of the potential value of implementing a State Partnership Framework concept for international engagement.

Limitations of the Current State Partnership Program

While we uncovered many examples that demonstrate how civilian relationships between partner states and countries develop from the SPP, it is important to recognize the very serious restrictions that now limit the program. A review of the evolution of funding guidance and legal authorities that have governed the SPP is necessary to fully understand the impact of these constraints.

From its earliest incarnation, the SPP was envisioned not only as a vehicle to engage partner countries in military-to-military relationships, but also in military-to-civilian and civilian-to-civilian exchanges. Geographic Combatant Commanders had funding available to support military-to-military exchanges, but no capacity to conduct civilian-oriented exchanges. To give them that authority, Congress initiated funding of civil engagement activities through a

year-to-year congressional add called the Minuteman Fellowship (MMF).⁵⁰ These funds were administered by the NGB and distributed to individual SPPs.

States used these funds to pursue a broad array of activities with their partner countries, generally focusing on areas of civilian engagement. For example, Wisconsin was partnered with Nicaragua in 2004 and, wanting to leverage the expertise of their agricultural sector, planned several exchanges where University of Wisconsin and private sector officials shared technology information and techniques for cattle embryo transfer, water and land usage management, and livestock nutrition. After-action reviews from these events were very positive but, unfortunately, within two years MMF funding stopped and more in depth follow-up events had to be cancelled.

When MMF funding ended in 2006, the SPP program was left with only the more permanent stream of funding which included increased oversight and scrutiny on how these funds were used. It was soon determined that Department of Defense funds could not be used for civilian-to-civilian events, and it was even difficult to receive authorization for military-to-civilian events. By 2010, further examination prohibited SPP funding travel of partner country officials to the partner state. In many ways, this effectively changes the concept of partnership by eliminating the possibility for the state to host partner country officials, unless other non-SPP funds are utilized.

The enduring relationships that found their origins in activities funded by the MMF somewhat mitigate the limitations inherent in increased restrictions on the SPP. Many of these very productive people-to-people relationships, catalyzed through the SPP, continue without SPP funding support. However, the ability for new partnerships to develop and grow in civilian engagement areas will surely be compromised or precluded entirely with no funding available to initiate civilian-to-civilian engagements. If SPP funding is required to have a direct nexus to military capacity-building, the SPP no longer employs a “whole of state” approach to inform partnerships and make higher-level contributions to national security strategies.

President Obama’s call for increased citizen engagement in foreign relations, coupled with successes already leveraged by the SPP, invites action to build partnerships on a broader diplomatic scale. An institutionalized State Partnership Framework, designed to implement a greater scale of citizen/community international engagement, has great potential to contribute to security and prosperity objectives in a way that cannot be duplicated by current models that focus on national engagement.

⁵⁰ Office of Air Force Lessons Learned, “Focus Area: Partnerships in Homeland Security and Overseas Contingencies: State Partnership Program in Support of Combatant Commands,” (October 2010), pg. 9

Recommendation: From State Partnership Program to Framework

A State Partnership Framework (SPF) holds in a central position the historic SPP military-to-military relationship between state and country, but the framework encompasses the authority needed for the National Guard to facilitate military-civilian and civilian-civilian exchanges that organically grow from and are attracted to the founding partnership.

With development of full-spectrum relationships in the SPF, community-based engagement would realize its potential as a vehicle for smart diplomacy to:

- Promote robust engagement in joint civilian-military development goals.
- Catalyze partner country progress across the range of the Foreign Assistance Framework.
- Initiate and sustain commercial, civic and intellectual relationships at the state and local levels.

The SPF draws from the National Guard's unique community identity and footprint. It places individual citizens in the foreground of international engagement, causing concerns of militarization of foreign policy to recede. Expanding the corps of citizen diplomats beyond NG citizen-soldiers more profoundly personalizes the image of the United States abroad and makes it more personally respectful in exchanges, anchoring them in a sense of community.

We have already seen states compete for new partner countries as they become available. The benefits that accrue to states participating in the SPF scenario will only grow. A sampling of what they will enjoy:

- A more prominent international profile.
- Increased international trade.
- A more globally literate workforce.
- Greater collective wisdom to address complex global challenges that play out locally.
- More innovative policy and products, fruits of the creative friction of international exchanges.
- Better homeland security and crisis management.
- Specialized and broader cultural awareness.

A SPF offers the United States more effective support for partner country political stability and national security with its growing network of trust through all layers of the society. With increased visibility and an intensified focus on community-based efforts, the State Partnership Framework will more effectively connect individuals engaged in international activity to meaningful opportunity and to each other, across each state. Those citizens will come to better understand and endorse state and national goals for economic and global security.

A SPF identifies available expertise, resources and local wisdom and then provides a bridge to connect it to the Department of State and U.S. embassies as needed to meet their objectives. They, in turn, can be more responsive when called upon for help in emergency management, public health, education, infrastructure development, democratic and constitutional processes (elections), good governance, agriculture, etc. Inevitably, opportunities for regional collaboration will emerge, and states already connected by the National Guard will discover new points of collaboration, greater benefit to the state, new economies.

Characteristics of A New Paradigm of International Engagement

A State Partnership Framework provides an ideal base on which to build an innovative prototype that supports a strategic hybrid of public and citizen diplomacy; bridges interagency efforts between the Departments of Defense, State and US AID; networks them to all fifty states and territories; and provides a unique dynamic to fuel achievement of enhanced security goals and increased prosperity at the state and national levels.

A State Partnership Framework lodges its leadership in a trusted institution found in every state in the union. National Guard leadership works outside of the realm of politics, and answers to governors as Commanders in Chief but serves a national mission as well. Ultimately, a SPF remains stable and sustainable through changes in administrative leadership at both the state and national levels.

A State Partner Framework lends prestige to citizen diplomacy, promoting a system of global citizen engagement within states and across the nation. It separates a broadly defined set of security challenges from political ideology to ground them in community ideals. This framework empowers existing partnership programs by lifting them into view, and thus makes them more durable and attractive for active engagement and resource support. A State Partnership Framework produces more from existing interactions and activates new dimensions of helpful relationships.

As the world grows more interconnected, more individual non-state actors are empowered with the potential for dramatic influence. Risk can be transformed into opportunity and advantage if our diplomatic strategy innovates to engage U.S. citizens with a sense of purpose in meeting national security, diplomacy and prosperity goals. Within a State Partnership Framework, existing national, state, local, public and private institutions can be flexibly integrated to optimally address the concerns and challenges faced by partner communities.

Vision

A State Partnership Framework of international engagement, authorized and embraced by federal and state governments, designed to integrate untapped local citizen and institutional capacity for genuine diplomacy, works towards solving problems in the shared interests of security and prosperity.

Recommendation

Develop a multi-institutional resolution to create a national initiative for a State Partnership Framework of citizen diplomacy for international engagement. The scope of the resolution shall include a broad spectrum of human endeavor that contributes to fulfilling the aspirations of self-governed civil societies committed to sustainable peace and prosperity.

Citizen Diplomacy: Annotated Bibliography

Bellamy, Carol and Adam Weinberg. "Educational and Cultural Exchanges to Restore America's Image."
The Washington Quarterly 31 no. 3 (Summer 2008): 55-68.

Bellamy and Weinberg present an overview of the history of public diplomacy and argue for the importance and influence of person-to-person exchanges in international relations. The authors provide four crucial goals to multiply the number and effectiveness of citizen diplomats: promote diversity among exchange participants and their destinations; promote exchanges that feature deep cultural immersion; empower current citizen diplomats; and focus on promoting exchanges among young people. The authors also recommend elevating the profile of public diplomacy and developing methods to disseminate best practices.

Colby, Anne, Thomas Erlich, Elizabeth Beaumont, and Jason Stephens. *Educating Citizens: Preparing America's Undergraduates for Lives of Moral and Civic Responsibility*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003.

The authors assert moral and civic learning is crucial to cultivating engaged, motivated, and skilled citizens, and that such learning can best be achieved through incorporating moral and civic issues into post-secondary education institutions and curriculum. The book includes examples of institutions that encourage such learning and guidelines for expanding moral and civic education programs.

Canaga Retna, Sujit M. "International Trade Between Latin America and the Southern Legislative Conference States."
Spectrum: The Journal of State Government 75 (Winter 2002): 20-21.

CanagaRetna details the expansion of international trade between Latin America and the Southern Legislative Conference States. This article also demonstrates the growth of states' international economic engagement and the benefits such initiatives can bring to states and their citizens, such as increased exports and economic diversification.

Conlan, Timothy J., Robert L. Dudley, and Joel F. Clark. "Taking on the World: The International Activities of American State Legislatures." *Publius* 34 (Summer 2004): 183-199.

Conlan, Dudley, and Clark document the role of state legislatures in driving increased international activities, including a quantitative time-analysis of the number of bills and resolutions with international content. The article also analyzes the dominant subjects of state legislation with international content and explains inter-state variances in the amount of legislatures' international activity.

Davies, John and Edward Kaufman, *Second Track/Citizens' Diplomacy: Concepts and Techniques for Conflict Transformation*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 2003.

Davies and Kaufman explore the potential for citizen diplomacy to complement and buttress official diplomacy and promote peaceful democratic societies, particularly in prolonged conflicts. In protracted, identity-based conflicts, citizen diplomacy can operate despite official stalemates and bureaucracies to encourage the formal peace process and build a sustainable peace.

Engle, Lilli and John Engle. "Assessing Language Acquisition and Intercultural Sensitivity Development in Relation to Study Abroad Program Design." *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad* 10 (2004): 219-236.

This study includes an eight-semester study of a study abroad program in Provence, France and the effects of program design on intercultural learning and language acquisition. Engle and Engle supplement subjective impressions with quantitative evidence, concluding that program design—particularly requirements to promote deep immersion and extensive contact with the host country's people and culture—promotes intercultural sensitivity and language learning.

Ford, Lacy K. and R. Phillip Stone. "Economic Development and Globalization in South Carolina."
Southern Cultures 13 (Spring 2007): 18-50.

This article provides an overview of economic development strategies in South Carolina since World War II and details the effects of globalization on South Carolina's economic development. Ford and Stone demonstrate the effects of international economics on states through South Carolina's experience, including the state's growing focus on immigration, China, and developing a globally-competitive state economy.

Fry, Earl H. *The Expanding Role of State and Local Governments in U.S. Foreign Affairs*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1998.

Fry documents the rising importance of international affairs to state and local governments and the corresponding decentralization of foreign affairs policymaking in the United States. As state and local governments gain authority in international relations—particularly in regard to economic development—Fry asserts the necessity of inter-governmental coordination.

A Governor's Guide to Trade and Global Competitiveness, National Governors Association. (2002).

Hovey, Rebecca and Adam Weinberg. "Global Learning and the Making of Citizen Diplomats." In Ross Lewin, ed., *The Handbook of Practice and Research in Study Abroad: Higher Education and the Quest for Global Citizenship*, edited by Ross Lewin, 33-48. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Hovey and Weinberg demonstrate the symbiotic relationship between civic education and study abroad programs. Culturally-immersive study abroad experiences produce students with overlapping identities, who view themselves as members of both the United States and the global community. Such global citizens are more aware of and active in domestic and international politics as well as better able and more willing to interact across borders.

Ingraham, Edward C. and Debra L. Peterson. "Assessing the Impact of Study Abroad on Student Learning at Michigan State University." *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad* 10 (Fall 2004): 83-100.

Through student self-assessment, faculty observation, and secondary data analysis, this study demonstrates the effect of study abroad on students' intellectual and personal growth as well as intercultural awareness, professional development, and language acquisition.

Lewin, Ross, ed. *The Handbook and Practice of Research in Study Abroad: Higher Education and the Quest for Global Citizenship*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Lewin's book is a compilation of chapters on study abroad and the use of study abroad in producing global citizens. Chapters deal with theoretical examinations of study abroad and the concept of global citizenship, the academic and broader social benefits associated with study abroad and global competence, as well as the challenges of promoting global citizenship and case studies of innovative study abroad program models.

Lord, Kristin. "Voices of America: U.S. Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century," The Brookings Institute (2008).

Lord presents a comprehensive plan for expanding public diplomacy and capitalizing on private as well as official interactions. The report recommends placing a greater emphasis on public diplomacy through providing for inter-governmental coordination, increasing investment in public diplomacy institutions, and the proposed USA World Fund. This plan would bring multiple sectors together – government, business, non-profit, academic, and more – to multiply the scale and effectiveness of public diplomacy.

Owens, Bill and Troy A. Eid. "Strategic Democracy Building: How U.S. States Can Help." *The Washington Quarterly* 25 no. 4 (Autumn 2002): 153-168.

Owens and Eid discuss the origins and growth of the State Partnership Program (SPP) and demonstrate its success in promoting United States interests around the world. Through a case study of Colorado's partnership with Slovenia, the article examines the usefulness of the SPP in expanding America's network of allies and promoting democracy building, particularly in light of the program's low cost-to-benefit ratio.

Rose, John "Eck." "Foreign Relations at the State Level." *The Journal of State Government* 64 no. 4 (1991): 110-117.

The article explains the increasing role of state governments in international affairs and trends of state involvement. Rose also prescribes attitudinal and institutional changes to accommodate U.S. states' growing global influence, such as increasing state actors' access to information and training as well as coordination among offices and levels of government.

Seymour, Jack. "Mobilizing American States for International Vocation: The National Guard Partnership Program in Eastern Europe and Beyond." Paper presented at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholar's conference entitled "The Possible Engagement of States of the United States in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Washington, D.C., March 19, 2003.

The paper details the increasing influence of the American states in foreign affairs, such as through the State Partnership Program. Seymour argues for better-funded, expanded, and systematic engagement between U.S. states and Eastern European countries due to the benefits of cooperation on economic and educational development.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie. "America's Edge: Power in the Networked Century." *Foreign Affairs* 88 no. 1 (Jan/Feb 2009): 94-113.

Slaughter argues greater inter-connectivity allows governments, businesses, non-profit organizations, and individuals to capitalize on global knowledge and maximize their effectiveness. The United States can utilize its political unity, culture of entrepreneurship, and immigrant communities to remain at the forefront of the networking trend if it supports technological and educational innovation that enables citizens to operate internationally. Citizen diplomacy and networking are self-reinforcing, as networking empowers citizens to make wider and deeper international connections that benefits both individuals and countries.

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