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National Legislation
245 Second Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002-5795

We seek
*a world free of war and
the threat of war*

We seek
*a society with equity
and justice for all*

We seek
*a community where
every person's
potential may
be fulfilled*

We seek
an earth restored

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Building Structures for **peace** *strategies for filling a peace toolbox*



Building Structures for peace

strategies for filling a peace toolbox

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Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 Second St., NE
Washington, DC 20002
800-630-1330
fcnl@fcnl.org
www.fcnl.org

Building Structures for peace

strategies for filling a peace toolbox

By Scott Stedjan and Laura Weis

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I. Introduction: From Reliance on Military Muscle to a Civil Order

In his farewell address to the American people on January 15, 1953, President Harry Truman dreamed out loud of the day when humanity might move from a world divided by ideology to a “new era—a wonderful golden age—an age when we can use the peaceful tools that science has forged for us to do away with poverty and human misery everywhere on earth.”¹ Almost 40 years later, as the Berlin Wall fell and the Soviet Union broke apart with minimal violent conflict, many thought the world was moving into that age. In 1991, President George H.W. Bush told Congress that he saw a new world coming into view: “A world where the United Nations, freed from Cold War stalemate, is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders. A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations.”²

A decade and a half later, the world still awaits a glimpse of that new world. Since the Cold War ended, the global community has endured brutal wars in Central and Western Africa, the Balkans, Colombia, Chechnya, the worldwide violence of religious extremists, and civil strife and civil war in such places as Iraq and Darfur. This might leave the impression that the 21st century will be just as violent as previous centuries.

Yet buried beneath the headlines, evidence emerges of a significant decline in deadly conflict. Warfare between two or more major powers has become so rare that many historians are postulating its obsolescence. Civil wars, genocides, and international violent conflicts have all declined sharply, with more than 100 deadly conflicts ending since 1988. The number of armed conflicts around the world declined by more than 40 percent between the early 1990s and 2006, leading to a 43 percent drop in the number of refugees around the world and a 33 percent drop in the total value of major global arms sales.³

¹ President Harry Truman. Farewell Address to the American People. January 15, 1953.

² President George H.W. Bush. Speech to Congress on March 6, 1991.

³ Human Security Report. http://www.humansecurityreport.info/HSR2005_PDF/Overview.pdf

Global violence is decreasing, but fear of violence is on the rise. Many people understandably feel just as, if not more, threatened in the modern world as they did during the Cold War world that was defined by a global nuclear standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union. Over the past 20 years, relationships among peoples and nations have been irrevocably altered by profound technological, political, and economic changes. The Cold War has been replaced by a world of stark contrasts, marked by both pluralism and genocide; billionaires and hungry children; unprecedented scientific advancement and illiteracy; economic integration and growing instability. These changes, and the inability or unwillingness of governments and people to understand and adapt to these changes, have contributed to an increase in fear and alienation throughout the world.

The world is at an historic crossroads. The number of violent conflicts has declined. Yet violent conflicts still kill hundreds of thousands of people each year. In fact, armed violence is the second leading cause of death of adults in Africa, after HIV/AIDS. The wars underway as we finished this booklet in 2007 could spread, historic rivalries could re-emerge, and a new threat to global security could arise.

The countries that signed the United Nations charter committed themselves to “Saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war.” To make this vision a reality, those who seek a peaceful future need to develop a better understanding of the nature and dynamics of modern conflict and violence. At the same time, we must learn more about the non-military approaches for developing effective and peaceful means for preventing deadly conflicts.

This booklet follows and builds on the FCNL booklet, *If War is Not the Answer, What Is?: the Peaceful Prevention of Deadly Conflict*. That booklet put forward a paradigm for addressing deadly conflict, as well as a set of global security policies that would reduce reliance on eleventh-hour military responses to crises. Such policies would include: reliance on international law and diplomacy, support for human rights and good governance, arms control and disarmament initiatives, and financial support for structural and human development that is sustainable.

For decades the United States has paid lip-service to these policies, but U.S. policy consistently subordinates these principles to short-term domestic politics, profit-seeking, and military-industrial interests.

Building Structures for Peace is intended to be a practical guide to how Congress could initiate, shape, develop, and fund public policies that would strengthen the capacity of the U.S. government to work for the peaceful prevention of deadly conflict and help construct a durable peace. Many of the suggestions in this booklet are not new or original. Many have been tried before. However, in the past, these strategies failed not because of a lack of interest in these programs, but because the structures of government budgets, the systems of accountability built into government departments, and the lack of forward planning inherent in crisis response have undermined the longer-term goals of these programs. We hope this booklet will be a guide to help advocates and policymakers build a bridge from today’s reliance on military muscle to a tomorrow in which the United States demonstrates that peace is possible through peaceful means.

II. Where We Are Now: Big War-Making and Small Peace-Building Capacities

After the Cold War ended, the U.S. was the world's sole remaining superpower. Yet the post-Cold War years have also illustrated the limits of U.S. economic, political, cultural, and military power. Whether or not one accepts the superpower label, the U.S. will continue to have considerable influence and power for the foreseeable future. The question posed by our study is how will the United States use its power? Will it attempt to use this power to coerce other countries to follow its lead? Or will the United States recognize the failure of efforts to impose its will on the rest of the world and instead work in cooperation with allies to pursue a common agenda? Put another way, will the United States pursue a policy shaped by fear which seeks an elusive absolute security through military force, or a policy based on hope for common security through justice, cooperation, and the rule of law?

CURRENT FOCUS

Since the fall of 2001, the Bush administration has for the most part attempted to use its power to dominate the world and coerce other countries into compliance with a U.S. agenda. According to the 2006 *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, “the War on Terror has been both a battle of arms and a battle of ideas—a fight against the terrorists and against their murderous ideology. In the short run, the fight involves using military force and other instruments of national power to kill or capture the terrorists, deny them safe haven or control of any nation; prevent them from gaining access to [weapons of mass destruction] and of their sources of support.” In the long run, the document argues, winning the “war on terror” means “winning the battle for ideas” through promoting democracy across the globe.⁴

National security strategies tend to lend themselves to health analogies. Violent extremism, human rights abuse, weapons proliferation, widespread poverty, and environmental degradation are all examples of how the world is sick. As in humanity's struggle against disease, an effective foreign policy requires an ability to accurately diagnose problems, administer treatments, and address underlying environmental factors. The first, short-term tactic of the “war on terror,” using military force to defeat violent extremism, attempts to address two of the most prominent *symptoms* of global insecurity: acts of terror and the proliferation of weapons. The second, longer-term part of the strategy, promoting democracy, seeks to address *underlying causes* of that insecurity.

However, the Bush administration's “war on terror” is based on a dangerously flawed diagnosis, which has led to an overwhelming focus on military tactics to treat symptoms and to neglect and misunderstand the underlying causes. The U.S. wars and occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as its continued support for abusive regimes in Central and West Asia, and elsewhere, have focused almost exclusively on the symptoms of insecurity rather than the underlying causes. The war in Iraq may have eliminated a few violent extremists, but according to the U.S. government's own intelligence agencies, the Iraq war has also become a primary recruitment vehicle for violent extremist groups opposed to the United States and has led to an increase in the threat posed by these groups.⁵ At the same time, the search for allies in the “war on terror” has led the U.S. to support some of the most authoritarian regimes in the world, undermining U.S. rhetorical support for democracy and further fueling anger toward the United States in some societies. The U.S. torture and abuse of prisoners in Iraq, Guantanamo, and other places has further undermined the ability of the United States to work cooperatively in some societies and eroded some U.S. efforts to encourage democratic openings and respect for the rule of law in other societies.

⁴ The White House. *2006 National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, March 2006, p. 9.

⁵ De Young, Karen. “Spy Agencies Say Iraq War Hurting U.S. Terror Fight.” *The Washington Post*. September 24, 2006.

Still the United States remains at least rhetorically committed to the broader democratic goals outlined by every U.S. president in the last hundred years. The 2006 *National Security Strategy* states, “The goal of our statecraft is to help create a world of democratic, well-governed states that can meet the needs of their citizens and conduct themselves responsibly in the international system.”⁶ This laudable goal is undermined by the U.S. reliance on military force and the absence of a focus on removing the causes of conflict and instability. Ironically, even in its efforts to promote democracy worldwide, the U.S. seeks to impose its will rather than work in a truly collaborative manner.

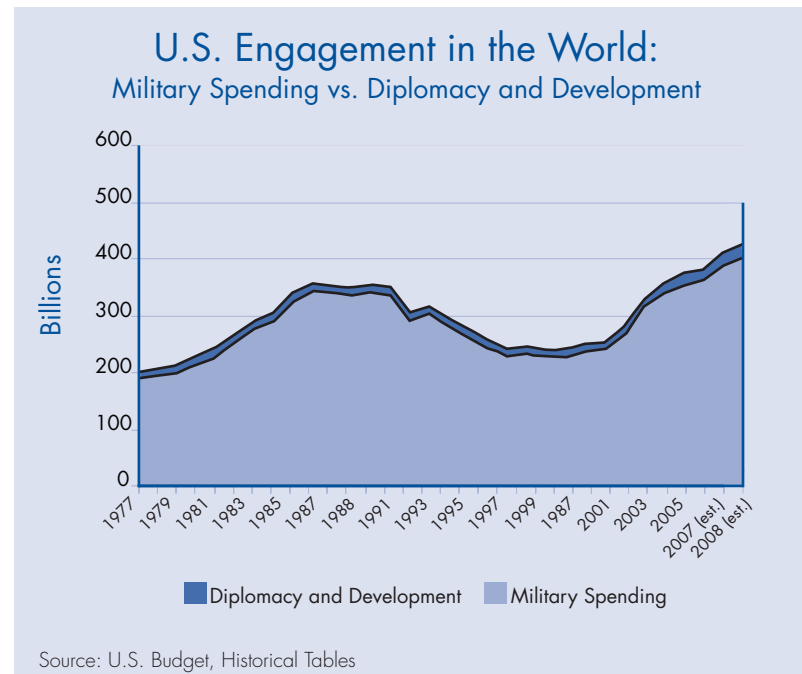
CURRENT STRUCTURES

Because U. S. policies focus on symptoms of conflict instead of underlying causes, budgetary resources overwhelmingly focus on strategies of control or military domination. U.S. military budgets continue to grow, while peaceful crisis-prevention, U.S. diplomatic infrastructure, contributions to international organizations, and development assistance are chronically underfunded.

By FCNL’s calculations, in fiscal year 2006 the U.S. spent more than \$571 billion on current military activities. Less than \$30 billion went toward the peaceful prevention of deadly conflict.

When tracked over the 30-year period from 1977 to 2007, the proportionately small amount spent on tools for peaceful prevention appears as a mere snowcap on top of the mountains of military spending. (see graphic p. 9)

The Bush administration’s focus on military solutions is not a new development in U.S. policy. Decades-long trends favoring military spending and neglecting the tools of diplomacy and development have left the U.S. government inadequately prepared to prevent the emergence, continuation, and re-emergence of deadly conflict. The State Department, historically the authority on U.S. foreign policy and the lead on diplomatic engagement, and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the traditional home of bilateral U.S. foreign assistance programs, have been starved for resources while the Pentagon receives an increasing share of federal budget resources.



The increased budget of the Defense Department at the expense of the diminishing influence of the Department of State results from multiple factors. During the Cold War years, the military complex expanded and the defense industry thrived, building a strong infrastructure for long-term planning and solidifying an economic base of support within the United States. The State Department and USAID, however, do not have a comparable infrastructure or economic base of support.

⁶ The White House. *2006 National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. March 2006, p. 1.

In addition, the military establishment places a strong emphasis on long-term planning and contingencies. The Pentagon employs thousands of people and devotes millions of dollars to planning for potential wars, conflicts, and natural disasters. Congress and the administration are briefed on plans for fighting wars for the next 30 years or more. Long-term peacebuilding plans simply do not exist. The State Department rarely has the personnel or financial resources to devote to this type of forward planning.

The entire State Department staff in 2007 numbered just under 25,000 people, almost half of whom work overseas. Of the State Department personnel who work in the United States, 90 percent are stationed in Washington, DC, or at the U.S. mission to the United Nations in New York. In comparison, active duty U.S. armed forces number 1.42 million people, or one-third of the total federal government work force. An additional 700,000 civil servants work for the Department of Defense. These Pentagon employees live and work across the United States at military bases, offices, and other installations in congressional districts throughout country. For many members of Congress, cut backs in the military budget can mean job losses in their congressional districts.⁷

Violence prevention and peacebuilding are civilian tasks. However, when under funded, overstretched civilian agencies are incapable of adequately preventing and responding to crises, policymakers turn to the Pentagon, with its massive budgets and more than 2 million employees, to fill the void. Without civilian capabilities, the military has become the tool of choice, rather than a tool of last resort. The old cliché holds that you get what you pay for. Our government pays for the military and gets war. Conversely, we don't get what we don't pay for. Our government invests in virtually no peace-making tools, and we get little peace.

⁷ Adams, Gordon. *The Politics of National Security Budgets*. Policy Analysis Brief for The Stanley Foundation. February 2007.

III. Filling the Toolbox of Peace

The international community has made significant progress in developing and defining the concept of peaceful prevention of deadly conflict. Today, many world governments include an emphasis on peaceful prevention of deadly conflict as a central component of their foreign policy. The U.S., too, has begun to use the language of peaceful prevention.

But moving from rhetorical support to concrete policies will require policy change and financial investments, not just words. In order to facilitate a change in U.S. foreign policy, the tools of peace need to be sharpened so decision-makers see civilian responses as credible alternatives to the use of military force. Just as governments require trained soldiers, guns, bombs and tanks to engage in war, nations and the global community must be equipped with the tools of peace to prevent war and manage conflicts nonviolently. Even if the administration decided tomorrow to start preventing deadly conflict by non-military means, it would fail for lack of trained personnel, funding, and effective programs. Unless the U.S. foreign policy toolbox is equipped with effective non-military tools, military force will remain the instrument of choice. Or, to use a famous expression, “when your only tool is a hammer, every problem looks like a nail.”

MILITARY LEADERS APPEAL FOR PEACE TOOLBOX

Some of the strongest proponents of civilian structures are military leaders. General John Shalikashvili, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has said, “What we are doing to our diplomatic capabilities is criminal...By slashing them, we are less able to avoid disasters such as Somalia or Kosovo, and therefore we will be obliged to use military force still more often.”⁸ And General Peter Pace, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has said, “If we're going to be able to prevent having to send thousands of troops, we need to be able to get folks over [to potential conflict zones] to be able to help with judiciary systems, be able to help with engineering, be able to help with electricity and the like, before a country devolves into a state where the terrorists can find a home.”⁹

⁸ Priest, Dana. *The Mission: Waging War and Keeping Peace With America's Military* (W.W. Norton, 2003), page 54.

⁹ Gen. Peter Pace. Testimony before Senate Armed Services Committee. April 6, 2007.

Filling the non-military policy toolbox will require the United States to increase dramatically its investment in civilian foreign policy institutions. It will require a change in the way diplomats work and others involved in foreign policy operate, plan, and are trained. It will also mean rethinking the approach to foreign aid, including how resources are allocated and what drives U.S. development assistance. Finally, it will require true cooperation with the international community to break cycles of violence and build peace.

5 TOOLS FOR CONSTRUCTING PEACE

- 1) Trained Diplomats
- 2) Development Assistance
- 3) U.N. Peacekeeping Missions
- 4) Multilateral Peacebuilding Capabilities
- 5) Stand-by Corps of Civilian Experts

1) Trained Diplomats

“The United States and our international partners share a commitment to preventing state failure and resolving violent conflict,”¹⁰ asserts the State Department in a 2006 fact sheet. The difficulty is in translating this support into real action. The resources devoted to peaceful prevention of deadly conflict are a fraction of those spent on managing the world’s numerous existing deadly conflicts. The U.S., together with its partners, needs to address both ongoing and incipient crises, but it cannot do so without an adequate number of civilian staff. To live up to its rhetorical statements about preventive diplomacy, the State Department, especially the Foreign Service, must be expanded significantly.

At the same time, preventive diplomacy entails more than an increase in civilian staff. Prevention requires specific skill sets and planning capabilities. If Congress invested as heavily in personnel and training for preventing deadly conflict as for war-fighting, many wars could be averted. The U.S. needs a substantial civilian staff trained in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. This requires a foreign policy infrastructure that can identify dangerous situations before they descend into deadly conflict.

¹⁰U.S. State Department, Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, Fact Sheet. International Partnerships To Build Peace. August 23, 2006.

2) Development Assistance

Overseas development assistance is another effective prevention tool. When combined with equitable trade policies and debt relief, development aid can help build sustainable economies and effective governance institutions so that parties in conflict can settle differences without resorting to violence.

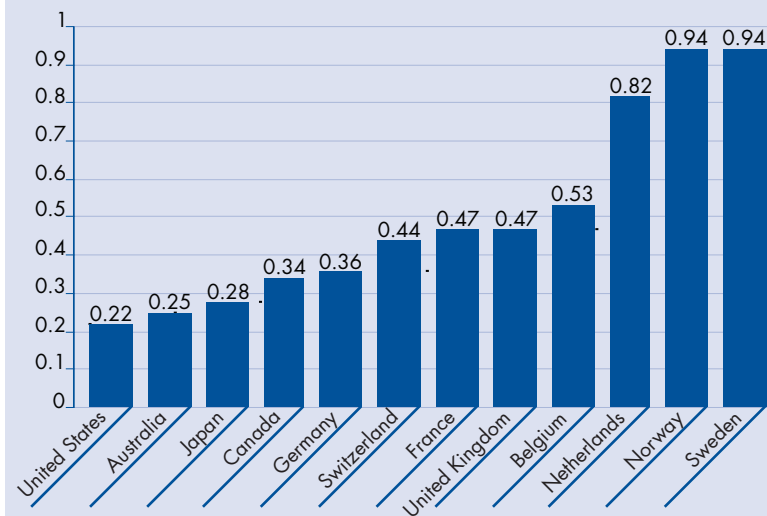
As the richest nation in the world, the United States could be the source of substantial aid. The administration’s 2006 *National Security Strategy* noted the importance of development: “Development reinforces diplomacy and defense, reducing long-term threats to our national security by helping to build stable, prosperous, and peaceful societies. Improving the way we use foreign assistance will make it more effective in strengthening responsible governments, responding to suffering, and improving people’s lives.”¹¹ But again rhetoric has not matched reality. A country as rich as the U.S. should give more in foreign development assistance.

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the U.S.’s net Official Development Assistance (ODA) rose 36.5 percent from 2004 to 2005. Most of the increase however, was due to reconstruction and other aid to Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as increased global health assistance to sub-Saharan Africa. In 2005, U.S. net ODA accounted for 0.22 percent of gross national income (GNI), the highest level since 1986; however, the U.S. lags behind other countries with highly developed economies.¹²

¹¹The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, released March 2006.

¹²Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Final Official Development Assistance (ODA) Data for 2005. December 6, 2006. Available online at: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/52/18/37790990.pdf>.

Official Development Assistance As a % of Gross National Income



Source: OECD

The OECD also notes that between 2000 and 2005, funding for traditional development and humanitarian assistance programs that address long-term development was cut while the U.S. government poured money into programs to assist U.S. allies in the “war on terror.” Of the total amount the United States spent on foreign assistance in fiscal year 2004, for example, 26 percent was devoted to programs whose primary purpose is to meet special U.S. economic, political, or security interests. An additional 23 percent consisted of military assistance to help countries acquire U.S. military equipment and training. The militarization of foreign assistance is striking: between 2002 and 2005, the percentage of ODA managed by the Department of Defense increased from 5.6 percent to 21.7 percent.¹³

¹³ Curt Tarnoff and Larry Nowels, *Foreign Aid: An Introductory Overview of U.S. Policy and Programs*. Congressional Research Service Report for Congress. Updated April 15, 2004.

For development assistance to be an effective conflict prevention tool, its emphasis should shift away from militarization toward sustainable development assistance that enables an unstable country to build the infrastructure necessary to meet the needs of its people. The U.S. should double its investment in long-term development. At the same time, decisions about which projects receive long-term development funding should be taken out of the sphere of short-term political interests.

3) U.N. Peacekeeping Missions

When diplomacy and development assistance fail to prevent violent conflict, more robust measures may be required to support a peace process or fledgling government. The international community should have the ability to bring expertise, personnel, and resources to bear in situations where countries are transitioning toward, or away from, deadly conflict.

In March 2007, United Nations peacekeepers were deployed at historically high numbers. The U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations reported that more than 82,600 military and police personnel and some 15,000 international and local civilians serve in 15 U.N. peacekeeping operations. The United Nations also had political and peacebuilding missions in Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, and Burundi. In these 18 missions, more than 102,500 uniformed and civilian personnel monitor the implementation of peace agreements, assist in the demobilization of armed groups, and help provide a safe space for returning refugees.¹⁴ All U.N. member states may contribute personnel to U.N. peacekeeping operations, but in recent years developing countries have been the core contributors. As of December 2006, the United States was contributing 324 police and military personnel, while India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh were each contributing more than 9,000 personnel.¹⁵

¹⁴ United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations Background Note, March 31, 2007. Available online at: <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm>.

¹⁵ http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/pub/year_review06/PKcontributors.pdf

While the United States has voted for the expansion of U.N. peacekeeping efforts in the Security Council, it has consistently failed to meet its obligations to support these operations, accruing millions of dollars in debt to the U.N. At the beginning of fiscal year 2007, U.S. arrears for U.N. peacekeeping stood at around \$500 million. Continued funding shortfalls will damage these essential missions. The U.S. should pay its arrears and increase its support for U.N. peacekeeping.

4) Multilateral Peacebuilding Capabilities

Peacebuilding, sometimes called prevention done late, is a process that brings together resources to enable the establishment of sustainable peace. Peacebuilding is vital to preventing the recurrence of deadly conflict, and accomplishes this important end by addressing the root causes and effects of violent conflict through reconciliation, reconstruction, and community and institution building. While most peacebuilding activities need to be performed by the people involved in the conflict, international organizations, religious institutions, non-governmental organizations, and other governments all have a role to play.

The United States, together with international institutions, can provide economic, technical, and political assistance and support for reconciliation processes. One concrete way the United States can play a productive role is through political and financial support of the U.N. Peacebuilding Commission. Formed in December 2005, this body has the goal of proposing integrated strategies for post-conflict recovery. Such strategies focus attention on reconstruction, institution-building, and sustainable development in countries emerging from conflict. The commission brings together all the major actors in a given conflict to discuss a long-term, peace-building strategy.

The Peacebuilding Commission is an important new institution, but it is off to a slow start. The UN's budget committee has already refused to approve funds for the organization's regular budget. The refusal has forced the commission to depend on existing resources and a Peacebuilding Fund composed of voluntary contributions from member states. The United States was instrumental in the creation of the commission and can help it to achieve its goals by annually providing a large portion of the necessary funds.

5) Stand-by Corps of Civilian Experts

Unlike the military, the State Department has no rapid response team of civilian expert personnel that can be deployed on demand. When a peacebuilding window of opportunity opens, a delay of a few weeks, or even a few days, can be disastrous. The development of a cadre of civilians with expertise in such areas as civilian policing, agriculture, health services, education, and conflict resolution and prevention could make the difference between a short governance crisis and state failure. Sending these civilians to countries at risk of or recently emerging from deadly conflict when invited by the host country or as part of an international peacebuilding mission would enhance the ability of the U.S. to respond effectively, not just rhetorically.

By adding these tools to the foreign policy toolbox, the U.S. can more effectively work to prevent and resolve deadly conflict. No single government, however strong, can marshal the necessary resources and skills to build a world free of war. Thus, the United Nations, as the only global institution where all countries have a voice, should serve as the central point for international efforts. However, the U.N. is not a world government, and its effectiveness relies on the capabilities of individual states. Recognizing this, former Secretary-General Kofi Annan has encouraged member-states to develop new capacities within national governments to undertake genuinely preventive actions in all stages of conflict, from latent tensions to hot wars to post-conflict peace-building. As recent history has demonstrated, the United States cannot succeed alone, and the U.N. needs the cooperation and support of the U.S.

These tools by themselves will not lead to a change in U.S. policy, but effective policies are impossible without them. And creating and honing such tools will begin a transition from the present situation, marked by failing structures and policies, to a world dedicated to ending war and the threat of war.

IV. Understanding the Role of Congress in Foreign Policy

The executive and legislative branches of government share the responsibility for making U.S. foreign policy. Deliberation and debate on issues of international importance are signs of a healthy democracy. Throughout U.S. history the role and influence of Congress in making foreign policy has changed. In the first part of the 21st century, foreign policy decision power has grown more concentrated in the Executive Office of the President, and the congressional voice has been greatly diminished.

The House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were originally structured to provide a forum for Congress to exert oversight of United States foreign policy through hearings and monitoring of U.S. foreign assistance and diplomatic programs. They are the legislative bodies which can and should authorize new tools and structures necessary for the peaceful prevention of deadly conflict.

In recent years, however, the two authorizing committees have largely failed to assert themselves in policymaking, other than to provide advice and consent for nominees and to ratify treaties and associated legislation. They rarely pass binding legislative solutions or put checks on the power of the executive branch to make foreign policy. Between 1962 and 1985 the foreign affairs authorization committees passed annually or biannually comprehensive authorization acts renewing and modifying existing foreign policy programs. Although small authorization bills have passed, since 1985 Congress has failed to pass a single comprehensive foreign affairs bill.

Instead of passing legislation, the two authorization committees now serve as forums for discussion of international problems. The committee chairs are national figures who appear in the media, hold hearings, introduce legislation, and pass non-binding resolutions. While this kind of political pressure and posturing sometimes leads to policy change, none of it carries the power of law, and the president often simply ignores it.

Congress does, however, still affect U.S. foreign policy through its budgetary power. Every year the president sends Congress a funding request: funding for the State Department, USAID, other foreign assistance programs, and international organizations like the United Nations. In its deliberations over the bill, Congress can choose whether to fund programs, and whether to give the amount requested by the president or another amount. Members of Congress can also encourage changes in foreign policy priorities through adding or cutting funds for a particular program or military endeavor. Indeed, Congress is most effective in controlling foreign policy when it places limitations on presidential action through annual appropriations. For example, Congress cut off funds for the war in Vietnam in the 1970s and heavily restricted military assistance to Central America in the 1980s.

Congress votes less frequently on foreign policy than on other issues, but every year the Congress must pass an appropriations bill that includes foreign policy spending. This process gives advocates of a more peaceful foreign policy an opportunity to act on specific parts of the bill.

V. Building a Constituency for the Peaceful Prevention of Deadly Conflict

The U.S. military establishment has a broad constituency of support within the United States. In addition to the sheer numbers of military personnel stationed across the United States and around the world, major U.S. military contractors like Lockheed Martin, Boeing, and Raytheon employ hundreds of thousands of people. Many people live or work at the more than 2,500 military installations across the United States.¹⁶ The communities that surround these installations depend on them economically, and provide a strong, local base of support that can influence national policies.

This constituency could be retooled to support prevention of war and the building of peace, rather than preparation for more war. However, that transformation would require a major transformation of the existing infrastructure, and such a change would threaten vested business interests and undermine the local status quo. Members of Congress will continue to support the status quo unless they hear that their constituents support non-military foreign policy tools. With a dedicated national network and partners in Congress, FCNL is steadily building a constituency for the peaceful prevention of deadly conflict. What began as a small voice for change is gaining support as policymakers from across the political spectrum seek new tools to build peace and security in the face of deadly conflicts. The failure of the U.S. strategy of preventive war provides a historic opportunity to promote non-military prevention and resolution of deadly conflict.

¹⁶ Adams, Gordon. The Politics of National Security Budgets. The Stanley Foundation. February 2007.

VI. What You Can Do

You can help spread the word about the peaceful prevention of deadly conflict:

- Contact your legislators.
- Arrange a lobby visit.
- Educate yourself on the issues.
- Look for opportunities to educate others.
- Build support within your community.
- Vote, and get involved in every election.

BUILD A RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Communicating with your members of Congress is one of the most important ways to participate in the policymaking process. Your visits, letters, phone calls, faxes, and emails let elected officials know that they have well-informed, pro-peaceful prevention constituents watching what they do. You will find practical information about how to lobby on FCNL's website at www.fcnl.org

LEARN ABOUT THE PEACEFUL PREVENTION OF DEADLY CONFLICT

While you don't have to be an expert to raise concerns, legislators listen harder to constituents who know what they are talking about. Thus, it is of utmost importance for concerned citizens to educate themselves. FCNL provides timely information on peaceful prevention via its website: www.fcnl.org/ppdc.

On this site you can read about FCNL's long-term vision of a world free of war and the threat of war, and how policymakers can work to achieve it. You will find timely action alerts and recommended times to contact your members of Congress about key peace legislation. You can also check out FCNL's Conflict Prevention Toolkit, which outlines the numerous non-military tools for prevention, mitigation, and resolution of deadly conflict. Finally, the web page includes links to materials related to the peaceful prevention of deadly conflict, such as Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping, UN-U.S. Relations, Conventional Weapons Control, Nuclear Disarmament, Reducing Oil Dependency, and Federal Budget Priorities.

SIGN UP FOR THE PREVENT WAR EMAIL LIST

As a subscriber to this email list, you will receive an email message every two weeks with information about FCNL's work to build a more peaceful world and recommended readings related to the peaceful prevention of deadly conflict. Learn how you can influence the dialogue on relevant issues, such as the international affairs budget, U.S. dues for U.N. peacekeeping, and development of non-military tools to prevent war. Sign-up for this email list at www.fcnl.org/ppdc

BUILD SUPPORT WITHIN YOUR COMMUNITY

As you lobby your legislators, remember also the importance of educating your community on the issues. Having an educated community behind you can dramatically increase your effectiveness. Numbers do make a difference, and legislators will be more inclined to vote for good and sound policies if they feel there is a groundswell of informed support for a particular measure or issue. You can inform others by holding a house party, setting up an information table at a local event, writing letters to the editor of your local paper, networking with other organizations and individuals, speaking to church groups, and inviting an FCNL or other knowledgeable representative to speak.

HELPFUL RESOURCES

To help you educate yourself and others in your community, here are some additional web resources we encourage you to read.

NGO Sources

3D Security Initiative <http://www.3dsecurity.org>
American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) <http://www.afsc.org>
Carnegie Commission on Prevention of Deadly Conflict
<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/subsites/ccpdc/index.htm>
ENOUGH, the Project to Abolish Genocide + Mass Atrocities
<http://www.enoughproject.org>
Friends Committee on National Legislation <http://www.fcnl.org>
Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict
<http://www.gppac.net>
Human Security Report <http://www.humansecurityreport.info/>
International Crisis Group <http://www.crisisgroup.org>
Partnership for Effective Peacekeeping
<http://www.effectivepeacekeeping.org>

Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO) <http://www.quno.org>
School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Conflict Management Program [http://www.sais-jhu.edu/programs/ir/cm/Search for Common Ground](http://www.sais-jhu.edu/programs/ir/cm/Search%20for%20Common%20Ground) <http://www.sfcg.org>
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Project on Leadership and Building State Capacity
http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1411&fuseaction=topics.home

Multilateral Institutions

United Nations www.un.org
United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Crisis Prevention and Recovery <http://www.undp.org/bcpr>
United Nations Peacebuilding Commission
<http://www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding>
United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/>
World Bank, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction
<http://www.worldbank.org/conflict>

U.S. Government

State Department Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) <http://www.state.gov/s/crs/>
USAID's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation
http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/conflict/
United States Institute of Peace <http://www.usip.org>

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Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 Second St., NE • Washington, DC 20002 • 800-630-1330
fcnl@fcnl.org • www.fcnl.org