

American

NEWS & VIEWS

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Indonesia, United States Discuss Trade and Investment

Washington — The United States and Indonesia concluded a two-day meeting in Indonesia on October 2 under the bilateral trade and investment framework agreement (TIFA), reviewing in detail the comprehensive agenda between the two countries.

The 2007 expansion of the U.S.-Indonesia TIFA, originally signed in 1996, represents significant bilateral cooperation and serves as a mechanism for dialogue. It is also the basis for exploratory talks on a bilateral investment treaty and an updated investment incentive agreement.

Chaired by Indonesia's Ministry of Industry and Trade and the Office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR), bilateral working groups under the TIFA focused on intellectual property rights, agriculture, services and investment.

Indonesia's participation in these bilateral discussions is a step toward achieving the so-called Bogor goals, which seek to establish an open multilateral trade and investment system among all 21 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) member economies. The goals were established at Bogor, Indonesia, in 1994, and were reaffirmed during the 2009 APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting.

At the October meeting, the United States welcomed the progress made in the past year in addressing some bilateral issues and discussed steps to resolve the many remaining concerns. The two nations also exchanged views on potential initiatives to expand the bilateral economic relationship and on cooperating closely in APEC, which the United States hosts in 2011, and in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which Indonesia chairs in 2011.

The TIFA meeting was co-chaired by Assistant USTR Barbara Weisel and Indonesian Ministry of Trade Special Assistant Halida Miljani. The U.S. team also included representatives from the departments of Agriculture, Commerce, State and Homeland Security, and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

During the meeting, the United States raised a range of concerns relating to Indonesian market access restrictions in the agriculture, manufacturing, pharmaceuticals, telecommunications and express delivery sectors, as well as developments on intellectual property rights and the future work program on their joint initiative on illegal logging and associated trade.

The two nations also discussed ongoing programs of

cooperation on clean energy and other U.S. technical assistance as well as efforts to build trade capacity.

Two-way goods trade between the United States and Indonesia totaled \$18 billion in 2009, and services trade totaled \$2 billion, according to USTR. In the first seven months of 2010, bilateral trade has grown steadily, with U.S. exports to Indonesia up 45 percent over the previous year. U.S. foreign direct investment in Indonesia exceeded \$16 billion in 2009, much of it concentrated in the energy sector.

Seasoned Conflict Negotiator Offers Advice on Achieving Peace

By M. Scott Bortot
Staff Writer

Washington — Of all the skills that conflict negotiators need, the one that serves them best when they reach the stage of talks is patience.

Just ask Theodore Feifer, deputy director of the U.S. Institute of Peace's Education and Training Center.

"You sit down and then you have to have the patience to sit down again and again and to continue sitting down and have the patience to do it and keep it going," Feifer said.

A foreign service officer at the U.S. State Department for 26 years, Feifer specialized in the Arab-Israeli peace process and participated in the Egypt-Israel peace treaty and Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.

"In this area, I was involved in one way or another in every U.S. effort in the Arab-Israeli peace process from the mid '70s into the late '90s," Feifer said. His experience also extends to Cyprus, where he worked to find a peace settlement on the Mediterranean island.

Feifer, who holds a doctorate in government and politics from the University of Maryland, said pessimism does not have a place in conflict resolution. During his years of negotiations, he helped forge peace between Egypt and Israel, and between Jordan and Israel.

"When people look at the history of efforts to achieve peace between Arabs and Israelis, they are very often pessimistic," Feifer said. "There is potential there, and rather than optimism and pessimism, you've got hard work."

A large part of this hard work is the preparation that takes place before talks begin. Part of the groundwork involves asking pertinent questions: Is the time right for talks? What are the goals, and are they achievable?

"And this should be way before you actually try to do anything," Feifer said. "You've got to try to figure out what are the possibilities for you."

Communication skills are also essential for success.

"After your preparation, you think about what skills you might want to use, whether it is your skills as a facilitator, skills as a negotiator, skills as a mediator," Feifer said.

Conflict negotiation sometimes can be a less methodical process, especially when an unanticipated factor arises that threatens talks.

"If the potential for things getting completely out of control requires you to act, then you do what you can," Feifer said.

A challenging aspect of conflict negotiation is grasping the thought processes on the other side of the table. To understand another person's point of view, it is necessary to separate from one's own thinking.

At times, the other party may seem irrational. In fact, the other party just has a different perspective.

"Your idea of logic, rationality, is not the same as theirs," Feifer said. "Just because you can put together a construct that, at least to you, satisfies all of their interests, doesn't mean that they will see it in the same way."

With the current Arab-Israeli peace process, Feifer took a measured approach.

"There are some conflicts that you can resolve, there are some conflicts that the time is right and that if you are able to you can manage them, and you can limit the negative, you can set the stage for perhaps getting to a stage of resolution," Feifer said.

Feifer offers advice to young people interested in going into the conflict-resolution field.

"Not only to think about what they want to learn about the subject, but also what they are able to learn about themselves," Feifer said. "How can you make yourself not only smarter, but how can you make yourself more informed about the world around you, and the type of work that you want to do ... what can you learn about yourself?"

U.S. Program to Feed 390,000 Children in Haiti, Afghanistan

Washington — Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack announced October 1 that the United States will donate 11,000 tons of rice, vegetable oil, yellow peas and lentils

valued at more than \$21 million for projects that will help feed 390,000 children in Haiti and Afghanistan.

The food is being made available under the McGovern-Dole International Food for Education and Child Nutrition Program, which supports education, child development and food security in low-income, food-deficit countries that are committed to universal education.

"The food provided through the McGovern-Dole program is an important part of our efforts to alleviate child hunger around the world," Vilsack said. "The feeding programs in Haiti and Afghanistan receiving this food will lay the groundwork for future success long after funding ends."

The program provides donations of U.S. agricultural products as well as financial and technical assistance for school feeding and maternal and child nutrition projects. Currently, the United States funds 32 active agreements with 15 sponsors in 28 countries, assisting more than 5 million beneficiaries. To date, the McGovern-Dole Program has provided meals to more than 22 million children.

In Haiti, sponsors Haiti Vision and the World Food Programme will help ensure hungry children receive food valued at \$9.6 million. In Afghanistan, World Vision will help make sure \$11.8 million in food aid is delivered to the children who need it.

The program is named in honor of former Senator George McGovern and former Senator Robert Dole for their efforts to encourage a global commitment to school feeding and child nutrition. In October 2008, the men were recognized with the World Food Prize for their leadership in forging the link between the productivity of American farmers and the needs of hungry children around the world.

To be eligible to receive food aid under the McGovern-Dole Program, a country must meet several criteria, including:

- Per capita income at lower or lower-middle income standards (using World Bank statistics).
- Greater than 20 percent prevalence of undernourishment (based on World Health Organization data).
- Adult literacy rates below 75 percent.
- Being a net food importer.
- Government commitments to education.

Global Governance Is at Critical Juncture

By Merle David Kellerhals Jr.
Staff Writer

Washington — The growing number of international issues facing nations, and their sheer complexity, is outpacing the ability of international organizations and national governments to adequately address them, says a new intelligence study.

“More effective global governance is critical to addressing threats such as ethnic conflicts, infectious diseases and terrorism as well as a new generation of global challenges including climate change, energy security, food and water scarcity, international migration flows and new technologies,” the report says.

“Complicating the prospects for effective global governance over the next 15 years, however, is the shift to a multipolar world, particularly the shift in power toward nonstate actors,” the report said.

The report — Global Governance 2025: At a Critical Juncture (PDF, 2.24MB) — was produced jointly by the U.S. National Intelligence Council (NIC) and the European Union’s Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) and released in Washington September 20. It is the first joint project developed and produced with a non-U.S. government agency. The NIC is a research office that conducts long-range strategic thinking within the Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

The report looks into the next 15 years and tries to confront new challenges that may arise based on what is known today about the world’s most serious challenges, such as food and water shortages that may be caused by climate changes, mismanagement, overpopulation, poor farming and conflict. The report notes in the opening preface that the United States and European Union “do not always see eye to eye on every issue on the international agenda,” but they do share similar values and strategic interests in a way that is unmatched by any other global partners.

The report defines global governance as the collective management of common problems at the international level. While there have been many successes since the end of World War II, “the growing number of issues on the international agenda, and their complexity, is outpacing the ability of international organizations and national governments to cope,” the report said.

With the emergence of rapid globalization, risks to the international system have grown to such an extent that formerly local threats no longer can be contained locally. One example is the outbreak of food shortages in 2008 in more than 50 countries, threatening internal security and

stability, but also regional stability, and taxing the ability of international organizations like the World Food Programme to respond.

THREE EFFECTS

The report cites three effects, stemming from globalization, that drive demands for effective global governance: economic interdependence, the interconnected nature of the challenges and interwoven domestic and foreign challenges that often block efforts to resolve issues.

The world has shifted from traditional bipolar and tri-polar power centers, which was common during the Cold War era among just a few nations like the United States and the Soviet Union, to a world with multiple centers of power or influence. The authors of the study believe that this will complicate the prospects for effective global governance over the next decade. “The expanding economic clout of emerging powers increases their political influence well beyond their borders,” the authors said.

Political power not only is shifting from established powers to rising countries and to a certain degree to the developing world, it is also shifting to nonstate entities — which include multinational businesses, nongovernmental organizations, civil-society groups, churches and faith-based organizations, and special-interest groups. Complicating the ability to effectively govern is both diverse perspectives and suspicions about global governance, which is often regarded as a Western concept that is alien to local and regional customs. This makes mastering the challenges even more difficult, the report said.

While many nonstate entities are contributing to global governance to resolve issues, a few groups such as international criminal organizations and terrorist groups that are empowered by technology can pose serious threats, the report said.

The authors note that global governance does not mean “world government.” The reason it does not mean a single global governing body is that nations are unlikely to abandon national sovereignty. In addition, there are multiple divergent interests and there continues to be deep-seated concerns about the effectiveness of current international institutions, the report said.

Part of the answer to the erosion of global governance is to be found in more effective international cooperation among all groups — state and nonstate. The authors believe that global cooperation is possible, achievable, and needed for addressing future challenges.

United States Committed to 2020 Emissions Target

By Karin Rives
Staff Writer

Washington — The United States can and will continue to address climate change at home to meet its 17 percent emissions reduction goal by 2020, Obama administration officials say — even if a divided Congress cannot pass comprehensive climate legislation.

By using regulations issued by government agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Obama administration has already pushed through tougher fuel-efficiency standards for new cars and trucks, the first round of which will go into effect in 2012. The EPA has also announced that starting next year, it will require factories and other large emitters of greenhouse gases to operate under permits designed to limit pollution.

The U.S. government, the nation's largest employer and energy consumer, is doing its share. Federal agencies recently detailed how they will reduce emissions, in some cases in excess of 25 percent over the next decade.

"The administration is very much aware that until Congress can be persuaded to act, we're going to have to get what we can out of executive authorities that already exist in the various agencies — and there are a lot of such authorities that will be used," John P. Holdren, director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy and President Obama's chief science adviser, told a Washington conference last week. "There are a tremendous number of other opportunities we can use in the energy domain, as well as in the land-use domain, and we plan to pursue those."

President Obama confirmed that climate change remains high on his agenda in an interview published by *Rolling Stone* magazine last week. Rising global temperatures have "the potential to have devastating effects on people around the globe, and we've got to do something about it," he told the magazine. "In order to do something about it, we're going to have to mobilize domestically, and we're going to have to mobilize internationally."

A top priority for his administration over the next year is to put an energy policy in place that addresses America's "overreliance" on fossil fuels, Obama said.

"We may end up having to do it in chunks, as opposed to some sort of comprehensive omnibus legislation," he said. "But we're going to stay on this because it is good for our economy, it's good for our national security, and, ultimately, it's good for our environment."

WHITE HOUSE TO INSTALL SOLAR PANELS

The White House this week announced that it would install solar panels and a solar-powered hot water heater atop the roof of the president's mansion in downtown Washington. The panels will provide a portion of the electricity consumed by White House staff and residents.

"By installing solar panels on arguably the most famous house in the country, his residence, the president is underscoring that commitment to lead and the promise and importance of renewable energy in the United States," said Nancy Sutley, chairwoman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality.

Some members of Congress who support national climate legislation agree that the battle to slow climate change is far from lost.

"Don't ignore the fact that tremendous strides are being made at the domestic level, locally," said Brian Baird, a Democratic member of the House of Representatives from Washington state.

"Many communities in my district and around the country are doing some really innovative things to reduce their [energy] consumption, many individual Americans are doing something to reduce their consumption, many corporations are doing things, the military is doing a lot," he said. "I think we can and must beat [this] in spite of a lack of cap-and-trade bill — but we have to enlist the American people."

A cap-and-trade mechanism sets limits on emissions and provides economic incentives to go even lower. Opponents of national climate change legislation say such legislation would lead to higher energy prices and competitive pressures as the country struggles to recover from its economic recession.

There are also those who question the validity of scientific research showing that global temperatures are rising at an alarming rate.

CLIMATE CHANGE REAL, MOST AMERICANS SAY

National polls, however, indicate that more Americans are increasingly concerned about climate change. According to one poll conducted in June by Yale and George Mason universities, for example, 61 percent of those polled said they believe climate change is happening — though only half said it's caused by human activity.

R.K. Pachauri, chairman of the United Nations-led Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, predicted that much of the change needed from the United States

will come from local initiatives. He pointed to sustainability plans and emissions goals that many corporations and universities are now adopting, and said that individuals who act set examples for others.

"Be the change that you want to see in the world," Pachauri told the same Washington conference last week, quoting another well-known Indian, Mahatma Gandhi. "What we really need now is thorough awareness on the part of the people on what will be good for them and good for the planet."

News Reporting on Corruption Often Dangerous, but Indispensable

This is the first article in a two-part series on journalism and corruption.

By Stephen Kaufman
Staff Writer

Washington — The need for good investigative journalism in the fight against corruption can be summed up with a simple thought: you cannot change what you do not know about. But in many areas of the world, the job of exposing corruption is even more dangerous than covering armed conflict, and the journalists may also contend with low pay, scarce resources, secretive governments and corporations and an apathetic public that is resigned to bribes and extortion as a normal part of life.

Rosemary Armao, an assistant professor of journalism and communication at the State University of New York at Albany, compiled a report, *Covering Corruption: The Difficulties of Trying to Make a Difference*, for the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), a Washington-based organization that promotes media development. In the report, Armao argues that the work of journalists to uncover corruption is absolutely essential to reducing corruption, and that their work is in need of much greater public awareness and support.

"Corruption means shortages of teachers in Sub-Saharan Africa, not enough funds for pensioners in Eastern Europe to make ends meet, and buildings constructed of shoddy material in Asia collapsing and causing deaths. Corruption scares off investment and thus jobs," she wrote. Speaking at CIMA September 29, she said there is "a direct connection" between corrupt officials and negative ramifications that affect average citizens all over the world.

As an example in developing countries, Armao highlighted a case in Tanzania in which money was given by international donors to fund a natural resources management initiative that would have fostered

development and public wealth. When the money disappeared as the result of corruption, the donors demanded their money back, and Tanzania's people found themselves worse off than if the money never had been given in the first place.

"The taxpayers are going to pay again, after missing money that they didn't get," she said, and now the repayment money will have to come from future budgets.

David Kaplan from the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists told the CIMA meeting that corruption is unavoidable and is "the predominant issue facing journalists."

"It's just an invisible tax on every transaction that happens. It slows development. It even stops it cold," he said. But "so much corruption can be stopped just by knowing someone is looking over your shoulder."

The challenge for reporters is especially felt in countries that actively restrict the freedom of the press and where governments, corporations and organized crime regularly harass, detain or even kill the journalists who are working to expose their activities. For example, according to the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), more than 30 journalists and media workers in Mexico have been murdered or have vanished since December 2006.

Exposing corruption is "the kind of journalism that has a lot of martyrs," Armao said. "People go into this work knowing that, and they still do it, but it shouldn't be that way," she said. "It's not getting better."

In her report, Armao cited CPJ statistics that found that of the 812 journalists who were murdered between 1992 and May 2010, 21 percent had been working on stories "strictly about corruption."

Nonlethal threats also occur all over the world. Russian journalist Mikhail Beketov endured the burning of his car and the killing of his dog over his investigations into corruption in a Moscow suburb. In Uganda, political operatives engage in the "backdoor hunting" of reporters, who are then beaten and have their equipment confiscated. Journalists also have reported threats to the lives of their family members, according to the report.

Successful corruption coverage requires a long-term outlook that includes good training in investigative journalism, safety precautions and stories that can show how the public is being directly affected or can contribute to further investigative reporting.

Armao advises those in physical danger to be very open about what they are doing and to make their information

public.

“You are killed or hurt because someone doesn’t want you to get your story out. So you get your story out. That’s pretty good protection,” she said.

Journalists should also understand that the task of exposing corruption requires an expertise that can take years of painstaking research and investigative skills development to emerge, she said. They can serve their audiences better by informing them of the nature of the relationships between individuals and entities that enjoy political power and wealth, as well as their motivations and interests.

“We have to teach young journalists and give them money and support so that they stay in the field longer ... because the longer you do this, the better you get at it,” Armao said.

Her report lists several success stories, including reporting that exposed Bosnian politician Nedžad Branković’s real estate dealings and led to a rare corruption trial in that country. Also cited were Ugandan journalists whose 2007 coverage of government plans to turn one-third of the Mabira rain forest into a sugar cane plantation resonated with readers and spurred enough public outrage to halt the project.

But corruption is so widespread that even the best efforts to publicly expose and fight it will fall short. “Forget ending corruption. That will never happen,” Armao said.

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