



America's Security Alliances: What's the Price, and
What Are They Worth?

A Program of the American Academy of Diplomacy
and
The Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies

Saturday, October 28, 2017

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Washington, D.C.

**Robert H. Smith International Center
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Charlottesville, Virginia

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America's Security Alliances:
What's the Price, and What Are They Worth?

Why?

For over 150 years, America avoided “entangling alliances.” Paradoxically, after WWII, we became the world’s central builder of security alliances and were, and continue to be, the essential element in holding together the major alliances of the early 21st century. President Trump has raised fundamental questions about the current value of such alliances to the United States. This question is echoed by many Americans. In a post-Cold War world, do we need our security alliances? If this is something more than a yes-no question, what alliances do we need, and at what price? And what would or could it cost to leave if the price of staying is judged to be too high? These are the subjects this one-day session will discuss.

PROGRAM

America's Security Alliances: What's the Price, and What Are They Worth?

A Discussion of American Diplomacy | October 28, 2017

9:30 a.m. | **Registration at Monticello prior to bus boarding for Montalto.**

9:45 a.m. | **Coffee at Repose House, Montalto.**

10:15 a.m. | **Welcome and Introductions.** Dr. Andrew O'Shaughnessy, Vice President and Saunders Director of the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies and Ambassador Ronald E. Neumann (ret.), President, American Academy of Diplomacy.

10:30 a.m. | **Professor James Sofka, Alternative Viewpoints on Alliances.** A retrospective on the American approach to alliances from Washington's time to the eve of WWII. The United States has not always been keen on alliances. What was the rationale for that earlier perspective, and why did it change?

11:00 a.m. | **Introduction to the Theme.** Ambassador Ronald Neumann.

11:15 a.m. | **Panel Discussion.** The panel will look at the broad issues of policy and diplomacy in the context of three examples:

Ambassador Joe Mussomeli: Has the time come to reconsider America's security alliances? Are we too involved, drawn into too many conflicts by our alliances? Do we need to distinguish between formal alliances and more informal associations with other states we loosely refer to as "allies"?

Ambassador Robert Beecroft: What risks do we take by neglecting key security alliances? Example: NATO's initial failure in Bosnia.

Ambassador Deborah McCarthy: How can we tell when an alliance risks outliving its usefulness? What adjustments are possible, and what would be the effect on our commitments or risks?

12:15 p.m. | **Q&A**

12:45 p.m. | **Break for Lunch**

2:00 p.m. | **Keynote: Considering Alliances in Terms of America's Place in the World – a Broader Look at the Theme of Leadership**
Ambassador Richard Boucher

2:30 p.m. | **Q & A**

3:00 p.m. | **Closing Remarks**
Ambassador Ronald Neumann and Andrew O'Shaughnessy

3:15 p.m. | **Conference adjourns**

PARTICIPANTS

Ambassador Ronald E. Neumann (ret.)

Formerly a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Ronald E. Neumann served three times as Ambassador, to Algeria, Bahrain, and finally to Afghanistan, from July 2005 to April 2007. Before Afghanistan, Mr. Neumann, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, served in Baghdad from February 2004 with the Coalition Provisional Authority and then as Embassy Baghdad's political/military liaison with the Multinational Command, where he was deeply involved in coordinating the political part of military actions.

Prior to working in Iraq, he was Ambassador in Manama, Bahrain (2001-2004), Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Near East Affairs (1997-2000) with responsibility for North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, and Ambassador to Algeria (1994-1997). He was Director of the Office of Northern Gulf Affairs (Iran and Iraq, 1991-1994). Earlier in his career, he was Deputy Chief of Mission in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, and in Sana'a, Yemen; Principal Officer in Tabriz, Iran; and Economic/Commercial Officer in Dakar, Senegal. His previous Washington assignments include service as Jordan Desk Officer, Staff Assistant in the Middle East (NEA) Bureau, and Political Officer in the Office of Southern European Affairs.

Ambassador Neumann is the author of *The Other War: Winning and Losing in Afghanistan* (Potomac Press, 2009), a book on his time in Afghanistan. He has returned to Afghanistan repeatedly and is the author of a number of monographs, articles, and editorials. His writings have focused most heavily on Afghanistan, stabilization, and Bahrain. At the Academy, he has focused particularly on efforts to expand State and USAID personnel and upgrade their professional formation to enable these institutions to carry out their responsibilities. Ambassador Neumann is on the Advisory Committee of a nonprofit working in Afghanistan, the School of Leadership, Afghanistan (SOLA). He is on the board of the Middle East Policy Council.

Ambassador Neumann speaks some Arabic and Dari as well as French. He received State Department Superior Honor Awards in 1993 and 1990. He was an Army infantry officer in Vietnam and holds a Bronze Star, Army Commendation Medal, and Combat Infantry Badge. In Baghdad, he was awarded the Army Outstanding Civilian Service Medal. He earned a B.A. in history and an M.A. in political science from the University of California at Riverside. He is married to the former M. Elaine Grimm. They have two children.

Dr. Andrew O'Shaughnessy

Andrew O'Shaughnessy is the Vice President of Monticello, the Saunders Director of the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies at the Thomas Jefferson Foundation at Monticello, and Professor of History at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000). His most recent book, *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution and the Fate of the Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), received eight national awards, including the New York Historical Society American History Book Prize, the George Washington Book Prize, and the Society of Military History Book Prize. He is a co-editor of *Old World, New World: America and Europe in the Age of Jefferson* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010) and of the *Jeffersonian America* series published by the University of Virginia Press. A Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, he is an editor of the *Journal of American History* and the *Journal of the Early Republic*.

Professor James Sofka

Dr. James R. Sofka specializes in international relations and political leadership in the era of the American Founding. He teaches regularly for the Brookings Institution, the Federal Executive Institute, and the University of Virginia's Osher Lifelong Learning Institute. He previously taught in these fields in the Department of Politics in the University of Virginia, where he also served as Dean of the undergraduate Honors Program in the College of Arts and Sciences. He received his Ph.D. in politics from the University of Virginia.

Dr. Sofka has published and presented research internationally and has held two fellowships from the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello. Beyond his academic teaching, he regularly presents on the history, political leadership, and critical issues of the Founding era to executive audiences from prominent American and international corporations as well as civilian and military departments of the United States government, and has been featured on national media outlets. His most recent book, *Metternich, Jefferson, and the Enlightenment: Statecraft and Political Theory in the Early Nineteenth Century*, was featured at a forum hosted by Monticello in 2012. His current project, "A Commerce Which Must Be Protected": Thomas Jefferson and American National Security, is in preparation. Dr. Sofka resides in Ivy, Virginia, serves on an advisory board of Albemarle County, and is active in several community organizations and foundations in the arts and historic preservation.

Ambassador Joseph A. Mussomeli

Joseph Adamo Mussomeli was Ambassador to the Republic of Slovenia from November 2010 until January 2015 and the Ambassador to the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia from June 2005 to August 2008. He was the Assistant Chief of Mission in Kabul from May 2009 to May 2010. Prior to that assignment, Mr. Mussomeli served as the Director of Entry Level Career Development and Assignments. He received the Presidential Distinguished Service Award in 2009 and the Raphael Award in 2010 for developing, mentoring, and supporting his staff. Since his retirement in April 2015, he has given lectures on a variety of topics, including leadership, foreign policy, and interagency cooperation, at FSI, DOD, and various universities.

Mr. Mussomeli was born in New York City on May 26, 1952. He graduated from Camden Catholic High School in 1970. He then went to Rutgers University for two years before dropping out and becoming an upholsterer, and then spent several months hitchhiking through Europe. Upon returning to the United States, he attended Trenton State College and graduated summa cum laude in 1975, earning a B.A. in political science. In 1978, he earned a Juris Doctor degree from Rutgers Law School. Following law school, Mr. Mussomeli served as a law clerk to the Appellate Court of New Jersey from 1978 to 1979, and then worked as Deputy Attorney General for the State of New Jersey.

Mr. Mussomeli entered the Foreign Service in September 1980 and began his career serving in Cairo, Egypt, as a General Service Officer. Following Cairo, Mr. Mussomeli served in the Department as staff assistant to the Undersecretary for Security Assistance. He then served in Manila, Philippines, as a Consular Officer from 1984 to 1986. His subsequent tours included the positions North Korea Desk Officer (1986-1988), Senior Watch Officer (1989-1990), Economic Counselor in Colombo, Sri Lanka (1990-1992), Office of the Inspector General (1992-1994), Political Counselor in Rabat, Morocco (1995-1998), Deputy Chief of Mission in Manama, Bahrain (1998-2001), and member of the Senior Seminar (2001-2002). He also served as Deputy Chief of Mission in the Philippines (2002-2005).

Ambassador Mussomeli's wife, Sharon Flack Mussomeli, is a retired Foreign Service officer. They have three children: Isaac, Alessia, and Thomas.

Ambassador Robert M. Beecroft

Robert Mason Beecroft retired from the Foreign Service in 2006 with the rank of Career Minister-Counselor after a 35-year career. From 2006 to 2009, he was Vice President for Diplomacy and Development at MPRI, Inc., a division of the L-3 Corporation. Returning to the State Department, he served from 2009 to 2016 as a Supervisory Senior Inspector, leading inspections of U.S. diplomatic operations in Kuwait, Syria, Taiwan, Vietnam,

Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, and the Department of State. He also conducted studies for the American Academy of Diplomacy and the U.S. Institute of Peace, focusing on the professional education and training of American diplomats and the use of special envoys in conflict diplomacy.

From 2004 to 2006, Ambassador Beecroft was a professor of national security strategy at the U.S. National War College. From 2001 to 2004, following his ambassadorial confirmation by the Senate, he led the Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), with a civilian and military staff of 800 people from 30 countries. He was promoted to the Senior Foreign Service in 1997, following an earlier assignment to Bosnia as Special Envoy for the Bosnian Federation and Acting Chief of Mission at U.S. Embassy Sarajevo. As a junior and mid-grade Foreign Service Officer, he served as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassies in Amman and Ouagadougou; Counselor for Political and Economic Affairs at the U.S. Mission to NATO (Brussels); Political Officer at Embassies Cairo, Bonn, and Paris; State Department advisor-expert on the SALT TWO strategic nuclear negotiations in Geneva; Special Assistant to the U.S. Ambassador to France; and Deputy Political Advisor to the Supreme Allied Commander at NATO military headquarters (SHAPE) in Belgium. In Washington, he was Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs; Senior Coordinator for Bosnian Implementation; Special Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of State; Officer-in-Charge of Federal German Affairs; and a nuclear arms control specialist in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs.

Ambassador Beecroft is the recipient of two personal Superior Honor Awards, four group Superior Honor Awards, and numerous Performance Awards and Meritorious Step Increases. He is a 1988 graduate of the U.S. National War College, and was a member of the Fortieth Senior Seminar at the Foreign Service Institute (1997-1998).

Ambassador Beecroft is fluent in French, German, Norwegian, and Danish, and conversant in several other languages. His hobbies include music (listening and performing), archaeology, snorkeling, hiking, and U.S. Civil War history. He is a member of the American Academy of Diplomacy, the International Institute of Strategic Studies, the American Foreign Service Association, the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs, the American Council on Germany, the Association of the U.S. Army, the Army Civil Affairs Association, and the Army and Navy Club of Washington. Born in Newark, New Jersey, Ambassador Beecroft completed secondary education at the Hotchkiss School in Lakeville, Connecticut, and attended the University of Pennsylvania, where he received a B.A. and an M.A. in French. He also studied in Paris at the Sorbonne, in Munich at the Goethe-Institut, and on the postgraduate level at the University of Strasbourg. Before joining the Foreign Service, he taught American civilization and English language at the Lycée d'État Fustel de Coulanges

in Strasbourg, and French and German at the University of Pennsylvania, Saint Joseph's University, and Germantown Academy in Philadelphia. He served in the U.S. Army Reserve as a Medical Corpsman (1965-1968) and Civil Affairs Officer (1968-1970).

Ambassador Beecroft is married to the former Mette Louise Ording Ottesen, Ph.D., a senior consultant at the State Department. They have two grown children, Christopher and Pamela.

Ambassador Deborah McCarthy

Deborah A. McCarthy is an international security strategist with over 15 years of experience in leadership, teamwork, and negotiations at the highest levels of government and the private sector in Europe, the Western Hemisphere, and the U.S. Currently, she is the Executive Director of ICAI at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). She was the U.S. Ambassador to Lithuania (2013-2016) directing the expansion of U.S. military and U.S. strategic communications in the Baltic region.

Previously (2010-2013), she was the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs at the Department of State, leading high-level negotiations to advance U.S. economic interests. Ms. McCarthy also served as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Greece and the U.S. Embassy in Nicaragua. In Washington, she served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Narcotics and Law Enforcement, Senior Advisor for Counter Terrorism, and Special Coordinator for Venezuela. Other posts include Consul General in Montreal; Economic Counselor, U.S. Embassy Paris; Financial Economist, U.S. Embassy Rome; and assignments in the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

Ms. McCarthy received a B.A. in economics from the University of Virginia and a double master's degree in economics and Foreign Service from Georgetown University. She is a member of the Atlantic Council, the American Academy of Diplomacy, the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs, and the Women's Foreign Policy Group. She is a member of the Advisory Board of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and the Policy Council of the Una Chapman Cox Foundation.

Ambassador Richard Boucher

Richard Boucher is a senior U.S. diplomat turned teacher. Over a 32-year career, he achieved the highest rank in the U.S. Foreign Service, as Career Ambassador.

Richard's career began in China at the start of economic reform; in his later career, he became the longest-serving Spokesman in the history of the State Department, serving six Secretaries of State. From 2006 to 2009, he formulated U.S. policy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as India and the broader region, as Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia.

Richard also served as U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus (1993-1996) and as Consul General in Hong Kong (1996-1999), and he led U.S. efforts for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation as U.S. Senior Official for APEC from 1999 to 2000.

After retiring from the State Department, Ambassador Boucher served four years as Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the international organization of 35 countries working together to analyze and coordinate economic policy. In this leadership role, he worked with the developing world, focusing on the major economies of China, India, Brazil, Indonesia, and South Africa, as well as newly reforming countries like Colombia, Tunisia, and Myanmar. Richard now teaches diplomacy and foreign policy to Brown University graduate and undergraduate students as a Senior Fellow at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs. He advises HSBC Bank/South Asia on stopping money laundering and financial crime. In addition to public speaking, he blogs at richardboucher.wordpress.com and as an expert at theCipherBrief.com.

Richard also serves on the board of The Mountain Institute (mountain.org), a nonprofit that partners with mountain people to protect their environment and livelihood. He participates in a U.S.-Pakistan Track II dialogue.

Richard taught English as a Peace Corps volunteer in Senegal from 1973 to 1975. He obtained his bachelor's degree from Tufts University and did graduate work in economics at the George Washington University. He is married to Carolyn Brehm, a business executive. They have two children, Madeleine and Peter.

