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Finding Our Way in a New World

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Poll Shows Americans Favor Balance of Diplomacy, Force
How Should US Leaders Engage Asia?

Charting a New Course

Conference examines how United States might lead effectively in the 21st century

Prosecution of the Iraq war has squandered US strength and left friends and enemies doubtful of US intentions. The war and other miscalculations have ironically made US leadership of an uncertain world yet another source of uncertainty.

That was the central theme of the keynote address delivered by Brookings Institution President Strobe Talbott at the Stanley Foundation's first Conference on National and Global Security.

The December 7 conference, titled "Leveraging US Strength in an Uncertain World," was convened to advance US debate on issues and policy considerations that must be addressed if the United States is to meet the real security challenges of the post-9/11 world while also maintaining its legitimacy in the global arena.

More than 250 participants attended the conference at the Ronald Reagan Building, located in Washington a few blocks from the White House. Expert panels dealt with counterterrorism policy, enforcement of international norms, the impact of rising powers, nuclear nonproliferation, the military revolution, and the problem of failing states. (See pages 4 and 5 for more on the panels.)

Poll: Bush Effort Backfired

A new public opinion poll commissioned by the Stanley Foundation and conducted by WorldPublic Opinion.org was released at the conference. The poll—conducted three weeks after the November election—showed widespread dissatisfaction with the current course of US foreign policy. Specifically, 82 percent of Americans believe the United States would be better off talking with rather than threatening countries with



Looking Beyond Bush. This graffiti appeared on a boarded-up storefront in Geneva, Switzerland, just before the president arrived for a G-8 summit. (AP/Wide World Photo)

which it disagrees. Further, large bipartisan majorities would apply that approach to US relations with Iran, a country whose nuclear program greatly concerns the United States.

Other findings of the poll show rising dissatisfaction with the Iraq war and 75 percent support for trying to involve Iraq's neighbors—including Iran and Syria—in a diplomatic effort to calm the region. Moreover, 58 percent of Americans favored setting a timeline for US withdrawal from Iraq.

"Basically, the Bush administration has pursued an experiment in trying to increase the utility and effectiveness of US military power, and basically the American public feels that this effort has backfired, that it has decreased US security," said Steven Kull, the poll's author and director of the Program on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland.

Now, Kull said, Americans are looking for a new approach. They are "more ready to be inside a framework that says that we are in a relationship of interdependence...a relationship of basically mutual vulnerability." (For more on the poll, see article on page 6 and 7.)

Misused Power

Talbott, who served as deputy secretary of state for seven years during President Clinton's administration, told the conference that the United States is a superpower experiencing lots of frustrations.

Cover. Illustrating the rapid pace of global change, a Chinese laborer hauls a load of wood past the fast-growing, futuristic skyline of Shanghai. (AP/Wide World Photo)



“We are indeed the strongest nation on the planet and the strongest nation in history,” Talbott said. “And yet that strength has not translated into our ability to get our own way, all the time or, in some very germane instances, on particularly critical issues.”

The reason why, he said, is because the United States is now held in low regard by many

people, countries, and governments around the world. “To succeed in getting our own way, we need a critical mass of others around the world who want us to succeed and we do not have that critical mass today.”

In fact, Talbott said, as he has traveled the world, he has met friends of the United States who nevertheless feel that American power needs to be contained—a concept that for decades was applied to the Soviet Union.

Making matters worse, he said, is that international institutions—many of which the United States was instrumental in making and which help leverage US power—are “in an advanced state of disrepair and demoralization. And, I might add, disillusionment with American leadership.”

Talbott argued that the primary cause of this state of affairs is the Iraq war.

“The short story of the past three and a half years as I see it boils down to this: we used, or I would say we squandered, our strength to topple a totalitarian regime. A truly awful

regime. Our intention was to replace it with a functioning, moderate, democratic, friendly state and what we got instead was a failed state, a civil war, a security vacuum and regional instability, all of our own making. To make matters worse, that deteriorating situation in Iraq is being mimicked, replicated in another state nearby, namely Afghanistan.”

Return to Multilateral Diplomacy

Talbott called for a new approach in Iraq, one that closely follows the prescriptions set out in the Iraq Study Group report chaired by James Baker and Lee Hamilton. US foreign policy can be turned around, he said, but not without an overhaul. He called for much greater reliance on diplomacy, including diplomatic initiatives with countries that the United States disagrees with. A new approach would include repairing strained relations with friendly nations.

Moreover, US policy should be considerably more multilateral. “It’s going to involve strengthening international institutions that we have weakened, starting with the UN itself,” Talbott said.

One of the areas on which multilateral means can be most effective is arms control and disarmament, Talbott said. “I think another part of the overhaul of American foreign policy that’s necessary is the strengthening of treaty regimes which, like the United Nations, we, the United States, have weakened. And here I would emphasize three: START, the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, an acronym that is now an anachronism; the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the NPT; and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the CTBT.”

Talbott said the United States can effectively leverage its strength in other areas, including climate change and the advancement of human rights. Greater cooperation with other countries and more robust diplomacy, Talbott said, can mitigate the damage done by the Iraq war.

“While US policy in the greater Middle East will have suffered a severe and lasting setback, we will have laid the ground for fallback strategies to contain an ongoing civil war in Iraq and more generally, American foreign policy will be back on the right track. Describing the right track in a phrase [used by the Stanley Foundation]: principled multilateralism and leadership of a rule-based international system.”

—Jeff Martin

Resources

Find audio, full transcripts, and panel summaries from this event online at www.stanleyfoundation.org.

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Conference on National and Global Security

Six breakout panels at the Stanley Foundation's Conference on National and Global Security delved into issues that often come up in the foundation's work. Here is a brief look at each discussion and what some panelists had to say.



US Army engineers inspect an American-installed water well near the Ethiopian border. (Stanley Foundation Photo/Kristin McHugh)

Rethinking the US Military Revolution

The process of globalization had changed the scale and character of security threats—with small problems like terrorism and lawlessness and bigger problems like global warming. Military forces have not been adequate to respond to these emerging threats; what is needed instead is a revision of the basic organizational principles of the international system.



Protestors, including these in Vermont, use old and new techniques to bring about policy changes. (AP/Wide World Photo)

Strengthening Nuclear Nonproliferation and Expanding Nuclear Energy: Incompatible or Complementary Goals?

North Korea's nuclear weapons, suspicions surrounding Iran's intentions, and the uncovering of the A. Q. Khan network have seriously compromised an already strained nuclear nonproliferation regime. Simultaneously, the dual issues of global warming and rapid economic growth in developing nations have spurred on calls for increasing reliance on nonfossil fuel energy sources, including nuclear energy. How will the global community meet these two, potentially conflictual, challenges?



Members of the International Atomic Energy Agency's 35-nation governing board gather in Vienna. (AP/Wide World Photo)

Effective Counterterrorism in a Globalized World: Reclaiming the Edge of Legitimacy

What is commonly referred to as Islamic terrorism is based on grievances in the Muslim world that stem from the perception that the United States is only continuing what the "West" has done historically: interfere with and invade Muslim countries. The United States needs to focus more on using soft power and repairing its reputation rather than hard military power.

"It isn't McDonald's. It isn't our values. It's not Madonna. Indeed, it is policies, and particularly US policies. I'm not blaming America. But I am suggesting that when you're the sole global superpower with this huge footprint, how could your actions—or absence of actions—not have a huge impact on what is taking place in the region?"

—Graham Fuller
Effective Counterterrorism in a Globalized World panel

Why Are We Failing Failing States?

Much has been written and discussed about failed states from force structure questions to “getting better at reconstruction” and lessons learned. Despite the fact that everyone acknowledges the importance of security issues associated with failed and failing states, why is it that the United States and the international system can’t seem to do what everyone acknowledges needs to be done?



Will global leaders bring meaningful change to villages like this in Afghanistan? (AP/Wide World Photo)

“I was initially astonished by the fact that the US military was so unprepared for the challenges—first of Somalia, but then of Iraq and Afghanistan—given America’s experience in Indo-China in the 1960s and ’70s. But a number of US soldiers have said to me, ‘Yes, but then again we spent 30 years deliberately forgetting those lessons because they didn’t fit with our institutions, with the whole way our military is organized and what we think it is there for.’ That’s why I worry about whether the nature of our own system makes it very difficult, in some ways, for us to get to grips with the challenges facing us.”

*—Anatol Lieven
Failing States panel*

A World Remade: The United States and Rising Powers in the 21st Century

With China and India seemingly on their way to super-power status and Russia rebounding from a fall, the world may now be witnessing a shift in power dynamics unparalleled in the past 200 years. What has the rise of China and Russia meant for the United States?

“Countries are now very interdependent. The nature of our global economy means the territory one country might get from conquering another doesn’t necessarily make its economy any stronger.”

*—Nina Hachigian
Rising Powers panel*

Enforcement of International Norms: Bringing and Keeping Dissenters in the Fold

In discussing the enforcement of international norms, particularly in the bringing and keeping of dissenters within the fold, the speakers looked at enforcement in terms of tradecraft as required for the management of specific cases, and also in a structural approach as to how enforcement related to the international system as a whole.



Russia’s President Vladimir Putin speaking in Munich, Germany, warned that increased use of US military force is creating a nuclear arms race among smaller nations. (AP/Wide World Photo)

“There is a big gap between power and influence.... The reality is that the weak don’t always roll over or fall into line just because the strong want them to. And the strong are not always strong enough to achieve their objectives on their own or on their own terms. What we have been finding out the hard way is that our crucial foreign policy challenges are less about doing what we want to do. We can probably still do whatever we want to do, but it’s really about getting others to do what we want them to do and ensuring that the outcomes are what we want them to be.”

*—Bruce Jentleson
Enforcement of International Norms panel*

Resources

More information, including transcripts and audio, are available at www.stanleyfoundation.org.



Photo courtesy of Defenselink

National
Security

Public Favors Both Diplomacy, Threat of Force

Large majorities of Americans see a vital need to earn international goodwill

The American people understand the challenges of international leadership in today's interconnected world much better than they are given credit for, particularly in political debates over national security policy. The United States is perhaps the strongest military and economic power the world has ever known but, as we see in Iraq, our raw power does not give us the ability to dictate the behavior of others or steer the course of world events. The public's grasp of this dilemma points the way toward the restoration of America's international stature and a less fractured and dangerous world.

This was the lesson of a recent opinion poll commissioned by the Stanley Foundation. In late November,

the University of Maryland Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) asked Americans their views on how the United States should handle its power. What's the best way to promote our national and international security? The United States has tried to play the role of global enforcer recently, but that approach has caused more problems than it has solved.

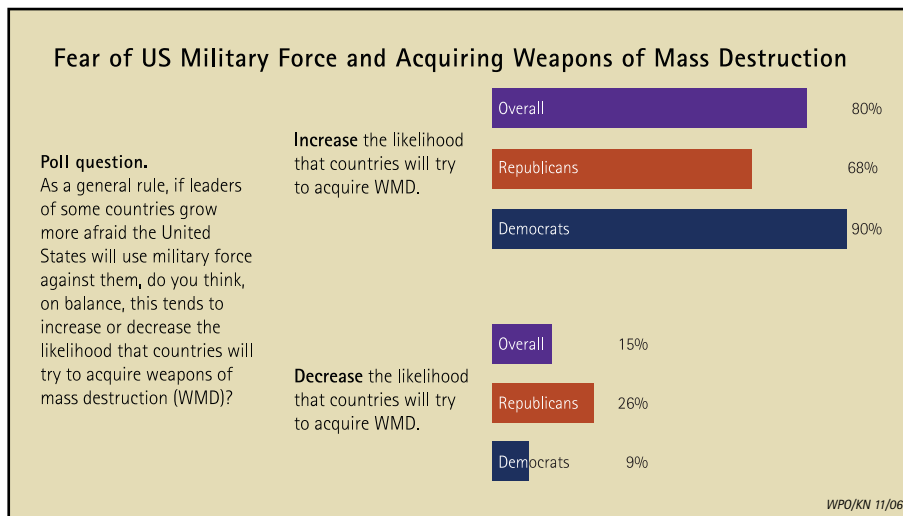
One question in the PIPA survey asked whether people around the world have grown more afraid or less afraid that the United States will use force against them. An almost two-to-one bipartisan majority said others have grown more fearful of an American attack. Even more significant, an identical percentage said this fear is bad for our national security because it prompts

others to build stronger defenses for themselves, including weapons of mass destruction (WMD). When the question is focused purely on how others will react to an increased fear of attack, the margin widens significantly. Four out of five Americans agree that increased fear of a US attack boosts the chances that foreign leaders will pursue WMD.

These results were consistent when the public was asked specifically about Iran's nuclear program, especially in the context of the Iraq war. By a two-to-one margin, Americans believe that Iran is more likely, rather than less likely, to build weapons of mass destruction in the aftermath of the US invasion of Iraq. The public is highly skeptical, again almost 80 percent of them, that the threat of US air strikes will get Iran to halt its uranium enrichment. It only stands to reason, then, that three-quarters of Americans (another finding) would prefer to build better relations with Iran rather than just threaten force.

It's not that Americans see no role for the threat of force. Opinion was more closely split on the question of whether the United States should promise not to attack Iran or North Korea. This makes sense, since the disputes over the Iranian and North Korean nuclear programs are far from resolved, and as the argument against such assurances was presented in the survey, "it is important for the US to be able to put pressure on these countries...by keeping open the possibility that the US might attack them." Such ambivalence—the split here was very close—reflects a belief that diplomacy against the backdrop of potential force is the best combination, which is sound policy.

The Iraq debacle is not merely a question of competence and poor execution. Our entire policy has been based on the flawed assumption that the United States can bring about global law and order by, in a twist on Teddy Roosevelt's dictum, carrying a big stick without walking softly, or offering any carrots.

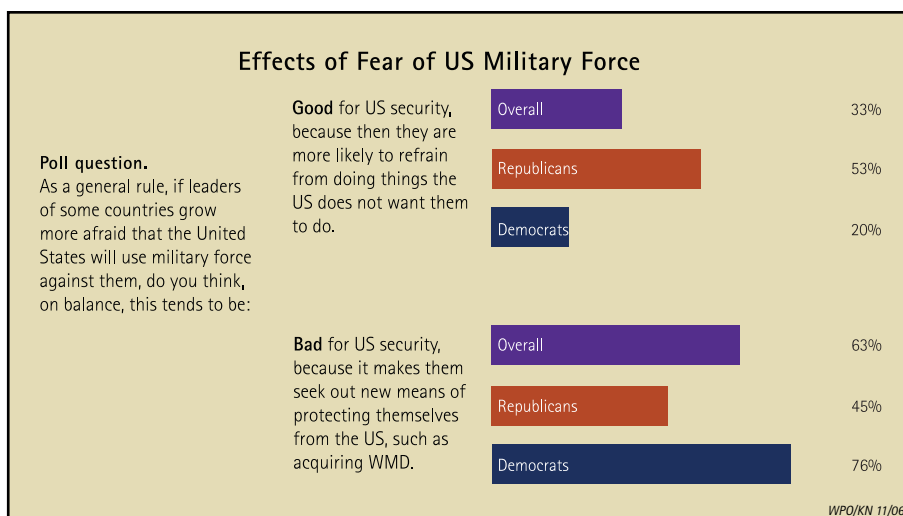


In the politics of national security, it has been an article of faith that the public favors a get-tough approach, but numerous questions in the PIPA survey debunked this image. Large majorities of Americans see a vital need to earn international goodwill, keep the terrorist threat in perspective, talk to other governments we view as threatening, and see past our self-interest to the broader needs of the world. Our country is in a crisis of international credibility and moral authority; the public is pointing toward a way out of this predicament.

The fully random poll had 1,326 respondents; was conducted nationwide from November 21 to 29, 2006; and the margin of error varied from 2.7 to 3.9 percent depending on the question asked.

This commentary by Stanley Foundation program officer David Shorr recently appeared in The Des Moines Register.

Our raw power does not give us the ability to dictate the behavior of others or steer the course of world events.





Vietnam Visit. World leaders, wearing traditional "ao dai" in this photo, met in Hanoi last year for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit. Pictured in the top row are President Bush, Russian President Vladimir Putin, and Thai Prime Minister Surayud Chulanont; in front are Chinese President Hu Jintao and Chilean President Michelle Bachelet. (AP/Wide World Photo)

The Far East How Should US Leaders Engage Asia?

Engagement is key to US policy in a region of conflicted past, an unclear future, and cross-border challenges growing ever-more complex

The sweeping arc of Asia—from the Indian Ocean to the Bering Straits and from Tashkent to Tasmania—stands out as the world’s most dynamic region. Unprecedented economic and political forces powerfully shift the region’s relationships large and small, from the rise of China and India to the glimmers of democratic change. New transnational challenges—environmental disasters, outbreaks of infectious disease, the impact of globalization, terrorist networks—defy old notions of sovereignty. At the same time, traditional rivalries and emerging confrontations between regional powers raise the specter of past conflicts.

What is more, the future direction and success of these arrangements—and the implications for global and regional security and prosperity—remain unclear even as the elements of this dynamic regional architecture expand and become more complex. In Washington and in the region, concerns persist whether the architecture is evolving toward less inclusive, bloc-based “talking shops” rather than toward a more open, inclusive, and problem-solving regionalism.

To engage and address this increasingly rich and diverse discussion about the emerging regional architecture of Asia, and to offer some practical judgments for future US policy, the Stanley Foundation, in collaboration with the Freeman Chair in China Studies and the Japan Chair, both at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, hosted a two-day conference in November 2006 drawing on the expertise of scholars, journalists, and government officials from Australia, China, India, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, and the United States.

The overarching analytical framework for the conference took the shape of a matrix, with national and regional perspectives on one axis and the functional challenges that regional institutions should address—such as security, economic, political, and transnational affairs—on the other. By correlating national interests with these functional challenges, participants were better able to illuminate how significant the emerging regional institutional architecture is in shaping state policies and, conversely, how real-world actions by states inhibit or promote security, prosperity, and institutional cooperation and confidence-building.

In discussing national strategies for Asia’s emerging regional architecture we found that beneath the projected images of pan-Asian solidarity and some important new areas of regional cooperation, there are also several issues yet to be resolved: What norms or values are to guide regional integration and institution-building? Who is in Asia—with “openness and inclusivity” supported in principle, but different definitions of membership in practice? How quickly, inclusively, and systematically

should governments reduce barriers to trade and investment, and how deeply should the United States be involved in the process? Which countries and which institutions can and should provide “public goods” for the region?

Reflective of the region itself, debate and discussion on Asian architecture is increasingly fluid. What is more, the future direction and success of these arrangements—and the implications for global and regional security and prosperity—remain unclear even as the elements of this dynamic regional architecture expand and become more complex. In Washington and in the region, concerns persist whether the architecture is evolving toward less inclusive, bloc-based “talking shops” rather than toward a more open, inclusive, and problem-solving regionalism. Washington needs to strengthen its linkages across the region, reaffirm its commitment to regional norms and aims, and remain alert to opportunities to improve America’s legitimacy and leverage through enhanced engagement in Asia.

—Michael Schiffer

Recommendations

- Washington should strengthen its linkages across the region, reaffirm its commitment to regional norms and aims, and remain alert to opportunities to improve America’s legitimacy and leverage through enhanced engagement in Asia. While the network of wisely managed and consultative alliances and partnerships remain the cornerstone of peace and stability for the region, these alliances and partnerships should complement and enhance, not replace, multilateral arrangements.
- Encourage partners to take the lead in building new initiatives within APEC and other groupings in the region and establish a coordinating mechanism to chart a longer-term vision for regional architecture and to coordinate on policies within the region’s myriad forums and institutions.
- Work with China in the development of the new Asian architecture and expand examples of US-China cooperation within these forums on emergent transnational challenges.
- Encourage greater regional cooperation and coordination on transnational security challenges such as terrorism; maritime security; trafficking of arms, narcotics, and people; health issues; and the environment. Complete the US-South Korea Free Trade Agreement. Reinvigorate the US relationship with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Continue building on the six-party talks to establish a permanent Northeast Asian security mechanism.

Resources

To order the policy dialogue brief, titled *Building an Open and Inclusive Regional Architecture for Asia*, see pages 10-11. For more on the Stanley Foundation’s Asian Security Initiative, visit www.stanleyfoundation.org.

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PUBLICATIONS

Delivering Coherence: Next Steps for a Unified United Nations System

The November 2006 *Delivering as One* report called on UN agencies to work more cohesively in their global efforts to promote development, environmental protection, and gender equality. Participants at a Stanley Foundation conference on the subject were especially enthusiastic about a pilot program in which all the agencies in select countries are already working with the host government to harmonize the various programs on the ground. March 2007 report

Bridging the Foreign Policy Divide Series:

- **How to Keep From Overselling or Underestimating the United Nations**

In the first paper of the Stanley Foundation's Bridging the Foreign Policy Divide series, Stanley Foundation program officer David Shorr and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs Mark Lagon resist both the skeptics and boosters of the United Nations by pointing toward appropriate expectations for the world body and other intergovernmental forums. Released March 2007

- **The Cost of Confusion: Resolving Ambiguities in Detainee Treatment**

In the second paper of the Bridging the Foreign Policy Divide series, Kenneth Anderson of American University's Washington College of Law and Elisa Massimino of Human Rights First, address the need for a clearer, more consistent, and balanced legal basis for the handling of suspected terrorists. Released March 2007

- **The Case for Larger Ground Forces**

In the third paper of the Bridging the Foreign Policy Divide series, authors Frederick W. Kagan of the American Enterprise Institute and Michael O'Hanlon of the Brookings Institution explain why the US Army needs to immediately start expanding ground force capabilities by at least 25,000 soldiers a year to protect our security and global interests. Released April 2007

Building an Open and Inclusive Regional Architecture for Asia

This Policy Dialogue Brief includes several specific policy recommendations for how, as a new Asia-Pacific architecture emerges, Washington can most effectively realize the interests of the United States and its friends in the region. This includes building on alliances with Japan, Korea, Australia, and India while encouraging US-China cooperation in multilateral forums. March 2007 dialogue brief

The Politics of National Security Budgets

Author Gordon Adams discusses the imbalance in foreign affairs spending and gives recommendations on how to reverse the trend of national security budgetary policy from a focus on the military to a more inclusive role for foreign assistance and diplomacy. February 2007 analysis brief

United Nations Reform: Improving Peace Operations by Advancing the Role of Women

Expert working groups convened recently to discuss the improvement of women's role in UN peace operations, identifying barriers to women's advancement, and generating concrete ways to enhance the recruitment and selection of women. February 2007 dialogue brief

Economic Perspectives on Future Directions for Engagement With the DPRK in a Post-Test World

The decisions of the DPRK leadership in recent months to conduct missile and nuclear tests and the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council in response have fundamentally altered the context for engagement by the international community with the DPRK. Bradley Babson explores, from an economic perspective, the potential consequences of these developments and the implications of choices that have yet to be made by the major stakeholders both outside and inside the DPRK. December 2006 analysis brief

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Control Room

Control Room is a documentary that examines Al Jazeera's coverage of the current Iraq conflict.

Last Best Chance

Last Best Chance is a docudrama showing the threat posed by vulnerable nuclear weapons and materials around the world and spells out what is at stake.



RADIO DOCUMENTARY

Coming soon

Beyond Fear: America's Role in an Uncertain World

Hosted by David Brancaccio, this new radio documentary will go beyond the headlines with expert insight and field reporting from Africa, Asia, and Europe and will explore new scenarios for US global leadership built on common action, trust, and hope.

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Conservatives and Progressives Work Toward Common Ground

Bridging the Foreign Policy Divide

New series of jointly authored policy papers examines ways to strengthen multilateral engagement



The political debates on many critical issues in US foreign policy have grown utterly stale, as opposing sides continually repeat the same arguments and accusations. At a time of intense polarization, more effort goes into gaining the political upper hand than into solving the critical problems of the day.

Can foreign policy and national security specialists from across the political spectrum find common ground on key, controversial areas of policy? A new initiative by the Stanley Foundation aims to find out.

On ten different topics the Bridging the Foreign Policy Divide project will bring together a conservative and a progressive expert, some of the leading foreign policy thinkers, to jointly author a paper outlining their points of agreement on such subjects as the use of force, democracy promotion, countering terrorism, detainee treatment, China, and national defense.

The project is being led and coedited by Derek Chollet, senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security;

Tod Lindberg, editor of the Hoover Institution’s journal *Policy Review*; and David Shorr of the Stanley Foundation.

“Bridging the Foreign Policy Divide gives leading analysts an opportunity to build a more constructive debate by looking past philosophical differences and identifying effective approaches to the major national security challenges confronting the United States,” says Shorr.

Coauthors have also agreed to take part in peer review discussions of all of the drafts as well as briefings for key segments of the Washington policy community. The papers will be released individually beginning this spring and also collected into a published volume, going to press in summer 2007.

—Keith Porter

Resources

See pages 10-11 to order or download the series as it develops on the Web at www.stanleyfoundation.org.



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