

# Uncharted Waters – US Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times

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- What will it take to have a more effective US foreign & national security policy?
- How to reorient ourselves in response to the times & lessons of recent failures.
- Easy to understand, hard to do.
- We're America, darn it!



Good News:

It's not the end of the world.

Bad News:

You can see it from here



**Good News:**

The US is the world's strongest global power.

**Bad News:**

Being a superpower doesn't mean what it used to.



**Good News:**

We're in a unique position to deal with the world's problems.

**Bad News:**

We're in a unique position to deal with the world's problems.

# Assumptions About the US Role & Keys to Effectiveness

- We have the superpower 'job.'
- That doesn't give us the power to call the shots.
- Military primacy remains an important source of strength.
- It's not enough.
- What it can do; what it can't; what it needs to be combined with; what we need.



“A crisis is a terrible thing to waste”

-- Economist Paul Romer

# You want to talk about 'crisis?'

- Global financial meltdown
- Global economic slowdown
- Iraq
- Afghanistan
- ...Pakistan, Al Qaeda, India
- Iran
- North Korea
- Global warming
- Russia/Georgia, China/Taiwan/Tibet...



# A Stake in the System

The objective of the United States should be to stabilize the current global order and to create mechanisms through which change—the rise of new powers, economic turmoil, the challenge of groups like Al Qaeda—can be accommodated without overturning the order. Why? The world as it is organized today powerfully serves America's interests and ideals. The greater the openness of the global system, the better the prospects for trade, commerce, contact, pluralism and liberty.

--Fareed Zakaria

# More Fareed Zakaria

Without better and more sustained cooperation, it is difficult to see how we will solve most of the major problems of the 21st century. The real crisis we face is not one of capitalism or American decline, but of globalization itself. As the problems spill over borders, the demand for common action has gone up. But the institutions and mechanisms to make it happen are in decline...But we need *some* institutions for global problem-solving, *some* mechanisms to coordinate policy. Unless we can find ways to achieve this, we should expect more crises and less success at solving them.



Stuff happens! But in terms of what's going on in that country, it is a fundamental misunderstanding to see those images ... and say, 'Oh, my goodness, you didn't have a plan.' That's nonsense. They know what they're doing, and they're doing a terrific job. And it's untidy, and freedom's untidy

## Joint Mission Statement of the US Agency for International Development and Department of State

A more democratic, secure, and prosperous world composed of well-governed states that respond to the needs of their people, reduce widespread poverty, and act responsibly within the international system.

# The Real Generational Struggle

Order v. Disorder

Integration v. Disintegration

Society v. Anarchy

## Everything I Needed to Know About International Politics I Learned in Kindergarten

- Everyone has to play by the same rules.
- You have to do for others if you want them to do for you
- No one likes to be bossed around

# The Nuclear Nonproliferation Norm and Bargain

- Non-nuclear weapon states will never acquire them & will conduct civilian nuclear activities under intl safeguards
- Nuclear weapon states will disarm.
- Which side has lived up to the bargain?

# The Anti-Terror Fight in Context

The aim of the extended battle of ideas is to strengthen a global consensus around shared goals. Ultimately, the objective is to have more of the world feel stronger kinship with the United States, in part through a more concerted effort toward increased prosperity and peace.

-- Revitalizing International Cooperation:  
A Bipartisan Agenda



# More Bipartisan Consensus

The opposite of a patient and steady long struggle is a constant sense of emergency. If we convince ourselves that there should be no limits to what we will do to prevent an attack, we can begin to lose some of the strength borne of our ideals and moral authority.

# Trade & the Global Economy

We need to “treat globalization less as a gospel and more as an opportunity for the betterment of the human condition...The pursuit of open markets should not be an end in itself, but a means of improving economic conditions worldwide.”

-- Zbigniew Brzezinski

## If You Take One Thing Away From This

- It really *is* a small world
- We really *are* all in it together
- Cooperation is a necessity, not just a virtue
- Moral authority matters