



SALZBURG GLOBAL SEMINAR

REPORT
SESSION 458

**THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD:
NEW STRATEGIES OF ENGAGEMENT**



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The United States in the World: New Strategies of Engagement

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Session 458 of the Salzburg Global Seminar was convened in the immediate aftermath of the United States' 2008 presidential election for purposes of contemplating new strategies of US engagement abroad, following the change in administrations from George W. Bush to Barack Obama. This election may be historically unique, in that its results were more broadly celebrated around the world than in the United States itself. Travelers to the session, including some sixty participants from twenty-six countries, were greeted at newsstands across the Continent with headlines in multiple languages extolling Obama's rise to power and the renewed possibilities for constructive international cooperation. Few, if any, US elections have occasioned such an enthusiastic and hopeful reaction internationally.

But the prevailing mood of the session's participants was one of optimism tempered by caution, and recognition of the dangers of irrational exuberance in assessing the Obama administration's ability to fix, in short-order, the world's mounting problems. The central chore the Seminar established for the participants was helping the new administration to get a clearer notion of what the international community expects from it in the weeks and months ahead.



*Schloss Leopoldskron,
home of the Salzburg Global Seminar*

The session began with a panel entitled The New Administration: Key Actors and Factors Shaping US Foreign Policy. Former US Ambassador Richard Gardner, who serves on two of President-elect Obama's foreign policy advisory groups, opened by discussing Obama's campaign commitments in foreign affairs, and surveying the likely candidates to serve in senior White House and Cabinet positions for the new president. Gardner described the president-elect as an extraordinarily intelligent person, the equal (at least) of JFK, Carter, and Clinton. He likened Obama's approach to foreign affairs to Kennedy's—an idealist without illusions—and indicated that Obama is pragmatic, with an abiding commitment

to the use of soft power. He also reported that Vice President-elect Biden, who has vast experience in foreign policy, will undoubtedly be a key actor in the new administration's global activity.

Ambassador Gardner then examined the vast set of challenges confronting the new administration. There are six urgent matters that will require immediate attention during the transition period and beyond: the global economic crisis; restoration of the moral authority of the US (especially with corrections in how the global war on terror is being fought); revitalization of US diplomacy; management of a wide range of international crises (including Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, the Israeli-Palestinian issue, and Russia and its neighbors); nuclear proliferation; and energy and climate change. That vast array of problems suggests that the president-elect may have serious difficulties, in the weeks ahead, dampening expectations about what can be achieved early in an Obama term.

Gardner was followed by the chief foreign affairs editor of the *Financial Times*, Gideon Rachman. Rachman opened by also acknowledging the serious issues Obama will inherit and have to deal with almost immediately: the economic crisis, two wars, and Iran. Second-order issues, to be dealt with in the intermediate term, include climate change, nuclear proliferation, energy, relations with China, and trade.

Rachman then identified three factors that could lead to problems for Obama in the international arena as he moves through the transition period. The first is the common process newly elected presidents confront in deciding which campaign commitments are to receive priority treatment—and how to balance competing promises. This may be especially important for Obama because of unclear signals about his intentions for the American military. He claims that Obama is not an anti-interventionist, but will probably seek to use power for different purposes than Bush. And yet there clearly is a desire on the part of the new administration to demilitarize the conduct of US foreign policy. A second factor is the existence of greatly inflated expectations of the administration, especially in Europe. That could generate difficult moments once he begins to pursue greater troop commitments for Afghanistan. And a final source of possible tension is trade—



Participants listen to the opening remarks of the Program Director

because of some protectionist tendencies evidenced during the course of the campaign.

The session's second panel, Managing Global Insecurity, featured a presentation by Carlos Pascual, vice president of the Brookings Institution. Pascual reported on a detailed study, jointly conducted by Brookings, New York University, and Stanford, intended to create a new international architecture to foster peace and cooperation for the next fifty years. Beginning from the fundamental building block of "responsible sovereignty," or the "notion that sovereignty entails obligations and duties toward other states as well as to one's own citizens," the study has produced a series of four tracks of reforms that the new administration ought to pursue in establishing a more secure global order. Pascual highlighted the fact that the report's authors decided to make "Internationalizing Crisis Response"—focusing on continuing crises in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, and the Middle East—the fourth of four tracks, to avoid having everything else on their agenda held hostage to these difficult, and unavoidable, problems. The other tracks include Restoring Credible American Leadership (for example, demonstrating respect for a rules-based international system); Revitalizing International Institutions (such as an expanded G-8); and Tackling Shared Threats (i.e. setting a workable path toward a global response to climate change). Each track features a series of concrete steps to be taken by the new president.

Most of the ensuing discussion by the session participants involved challenges to the fundamental concept of responsible sovereignty. Many questioned how realistic it is to expect nations—especially the United States, where sovereignty has been an inviolable concept—to accept the right of others to intrude on their internal affairs. Pascual answered that this re-conception of sovereignty is a requirement of globalization: In this age, unilateralism will not work. As we live in a world where external events too readily intrude within a nation's affairs, each nation will want to have the capacity to deal with such problems at their source—which requires giving up the same right to others.

The third panel focused on The Future of Transatlantic Relationships in the Coming Decade, and featured David Hannay (former UK ambassador to the EU and the UN), Beate Maeder-Metcalf, head of the North America Division of the German Foreign Ministry, and Ambassador Richard Gardner. Lord Hannay provided historical context for the current state of transatlantic affairs, urging the audience to avoid the tendency to look at the past through rose-colored lenses: There have always been problems in US relations with Europe, because there are real divergences of interest. Yet President Bush unnecessarily exacerbated those real differences. Much of that damage is repairable, although it will require patience and perseverance as much as inspirational speeches. Europeans will have to understand, however, that the current financial crisis will displace much of the time the new president might otherwise have devoted to repairing the US's standing in the world. Hannay then addressed a series of specific policy areas. He began with climate change, and argued that while many would encourage Obama to defer consideration of hard choices on the environment (because the economy is in turmoil), the problem cannot wait. Similarly, the administration should do what it can quickly to advance cooperation on trade, nuclear disarmament, and the Middle East peace process.



William Burke-White and Martin Wasmeier discuss the morning lecture

These are best addressed not unilaterally, but through a practice of constructive multilateralism.

Maeder-Metcalf affirmed Lord Hannay's argument by agreeing that President Obama will, by necessity, have to deal with domestic issues in the United States as the first order of business. But those outside the US will be watching carefully, early, for signs of meaningful change in the US approach to the rest of the world, an acknowledgement

that "the Unipolar Moment" is over. Which model will the US adopt in consequence? Her reading of Obama is that he is, fundamentally, an integrator, and that those impulses will serve him, and the world, well. Outsiders now want the US to be willing once again to engage them in advanced consultations on key decisions—which is a modest goal, but one of tremendous importance, symbolically and substantively. Added to this is an interest in seeing the US return to a posture of rules-based behavior and standards of international law. By Maeder-Metcalf's reckoning, the most difficult issue areas the new administration needs to address early include the global financial crisis, Russia, and trade and protectionism.

Ambassador Richard Gardner then reported on the Obama campaign's written commitment to restoring proper transatlantic relations. However, there are multiple issues that threaten to strain those relations in the new term. The first is Afghanistan, where the Obama administration intends to approach Europe for more troops and an end to restrictions on how those European troops are deployed. That is a nettlesome issue. Another tension point will be Pakistan—because of Obama's expressed willingness to deny Al Qaeda safe-havens in the border areas with Afghanistan. This promises trouble with the European allies. There remain differences on Iran, too, where Obama will try to deter nuclear enrichment—by tougher sanctions, if necessary – while several European countries will want to maintain economic ties with Iran. Other tension points include NATO expansion, Turkey and its aspirations to EU membership, trade, and a global financial architecture that is dominated by the US.

Much of the ensuing discussion revolved around one key question: "What should be the first and most important step taken to repair the damaged transatlantic relationship?" One panelist suggested efforts to restore confidence and trust. There was disagreement over whether an initiative to join the International Criminal Court would help here—both because of the political capital it would consume and because the US has already ceased

in some material ways to stand in the way of the Court's labors. Other panelists argued that the Europeans would be mistaken to sit back and assume the attitude that, because the US had created the problems of the past eight years, Europe should wait on the Obama team to fix it. Europe needs to take a pro-active role in helping restore the proper relationship. But that process may prove to be messy, too—inasmuch as there are real divisions in Europe. If, however, Europeans could agree to a series of priority initiatives, that would generate leadership and progress. One panelist suggested three areas where Europe could “step up” and help lead the way to improved relations: in Iran, with a better sanctions regimen; developing an agreed-upon position on climate change; and in relations with Russia. There were some additional initiatives discussed that the US could take to aid the reconciliation process, however: closing Guantanamo, and adopting a series of lower-level treaties, including the Law of the Sea, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The panelists also pointed out, however, that Obama will be operating under some significant constraints—with the Republicans holding more than 40 Senate seats and the country still greatly divided.

The Session's fourth panel was entitled The US and Emerging Powers: Challenges and Strategies of Adjustment. It featured presentations by Ambassador Wu Jianmin, president of the China Foreign Affairs University, and Fumio Matsuo, author and former Washington bureau chief of the *Kyodo* news agency. Edward Luce, of the *Financial Times*, introduced the speakers, and set the stage by noting that the incoming US administration would be much more likely than its predecessor to establish habits of international cooperation, but that the global agenda was so full that other countries would have to develop some initiatives independently. They could do so with renewed expectation of US support.

Ambassador Wu described the rapid rise of China over the past thirty years, especially in the economic arena. He then discussed US-China relations, including the vast increase in interactions, economic, political, and cultural, that occurred in his lifetime. He then addressed future prospects. He believes that there is much room for enhanced cooperation, especially because of Obama's commitment to change—which is the prevailing tendency in China today. When pressed by a questioner to say whether political change is also in China's future, Ambassador Wu argued that China had already experienced great political change—but that the pace of change in their culture could not be dictated by Western mandates. He reminded the audience of the long arc of political progress in the United States, where slavery existed and many categories of people did not have the right to vote when the the Constitution was first adopted.

Matsuo spoke on US-Japan relations, and ways that US engagement in Asia could be enhanced in the years ahead. He argued that US involvement in Asia is especially important in such areas as strengthening the capabilities of ASEAN and creating a nuclear-free region. He also noted that there were symbolic steps Obama could take to build stronger relations with Japan—including becoming the first president to visit Hiroshima.



Krystof Kozak summarized the key pitfalls in Working Group 3

Edward Luce subsequently addressed US relations with India—beginning by noting that Obama will be the first president to inherit a good and vibrant alliance with that country. But he indicated that trouble could arise for the new president in the years ahead, because of India’s growing self-confidence as an independent global actor; the potential consequences of US attempts to consolidate relations with Pakistan by seeking a political solution in

Kashmir; and possible friction over trade. Luce did indicate that he believes conflict with India over out-sourcing and trade is unlikely to be a very prominent issue in this White House. Obama was pressed to make some arguably protectionist campaign statements in order to secure electoral votes—but is unlikely to make such issues a high priority.

The subject of Panel 5 was Climate Change, Energy and Other Transnational Threats, and featured presentations by Ambassador Wu and Carlos Pascual. Wu began by asserting that climate change will be a highly important issue in US-Chinese relations, and is probably the most difficult global challenge of the 21st century. The core problem politically will remain divisions between the developing and the developed world. Wu argued, however, that the challenge of climate change could, in fact, unite nations such as the US and China, in part through a logic similar to that of Mutually Assured Destruction during the Cold War—all having an interest in avoiding the destruction of the planet. The problem of survival is common to all. Moreover, he suggests that there may well be an avenue for enormous levels of cooperation in the area of green technologies. China cannot afford to follow western models of development, all of which are constructed on the basis of vast increases in consumption of fossil fuels to sustain growth. In an alternative, sustainable, model, Chinese growth could be built on a basis of renewable energy sources—with the help of western innovation and technologies. The sheer size of the Chinese market could provide powerful incentives for non-Asian companies to create and manufacture energy-efficient products—providing a market-based reason for continued East-West cooperation. This, he asserts, is a realistic approach to the problem, for one cannot ask developing countries to stop developing simply because their growth contributes to climate change.

Pascual outlined in great detail the nature of the climate change problem—and emphasized the urgency of changes now in pollution practices in order to make future



Participants are exchanging ideas

remedies achievable. He presented a series of policy recommendations, and argued that although the circumstances look dire, there is some room for renewed optimism. The positive side of the story arises from a much better awareness by the American public of the problem of climate change; a commitment by President-elect Obama to deal as a priority issue with a “planet in peril;” the emergence of some

private-sector efforts to make industry more energy efficient; and the fact that many local and regional authorities have begun independent efforts to make environmental improvements rather than awaiting leadership at the national level.

During the question period, Ambassador Gardner asserted that climate change may be THE most difficult problem for President Obama, because it is so complicated domestically—especially in a time of economic disruption—and because there are so many competing visions within the global community about how best to address the problem. Pascual echoed these points, noting that as the new administration is getting itself organized, the timetable for international summits on climate change continues without pause—meaning that there is little time for the US to get organized for playing a leadership role in the process.

The day concluded with a Fireside Chat by *Financial Times* journalist Edward Luce, who had traveled with the Obama campaign. Luce provided a portrait of the person who will be president. He identified Obama’s three most important character traits as versatility, discipline (especially in planning), and systematic caution. He expects Obama to plan carefully to do two or three things really well—focusing first on the economy and then selecting a few other issues beyond that.

Panel 6 was convened on the Session’s second full day, and featured presentations by Ozdem Sanberk (former ambassador in Brussels and London, and later director of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation TESEV), Gideon Rachman, and Dr. Hanan Ashrawi, chair of the executive committee, Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy. Their topic was Guiding Principles for US Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East.

Ambassador Sanberk encouraged the new administration to avoid the past mistakes of

waiting until late in a second presidential term to assure the completion of successful negotiations. Middle East peace is a predicate for stability in the entire region, and the world—and so Obama must be willing from an early stage in his presidency to take an activist approach to the issue. Any immediate steps in this direction, however, will be impossible, both because of the state of the US transition, and because of pending elections in Israel—the latter of which will undoubtedly strongly shape possibilities for US leadership in the Middle East. Sanberk calls for a high-level US negotiator to be empowered to deal with the issue, one with strong presidential backing. He also urges that the Syrian track be emphasized. Finally, in brief comments on Iraq, he explained strong objections to proposals raised in the US that would result in the division of that country.

Gideon Rachman framed his remarks with the notion of “lumpers” and “splitters”—suggesting that those trying to resolve the problems of the Middle East usually fall into one of those two categories. The lumpers attempt to deal with all issues and regional actors at once; the splitters seek to isolate problems into discrete and manageable portions to solve one at a time. So the core question for global policymakers now is deciding which approach to take—whether a comprehensive approach makes sense (and how big a comprehensive package should be). Rachman has doubts about a comprehensive solution, because it calls, probably, for doing too much at once. It would be especially problematic for the Obama administration now because there are plenty of other issues to be dealt with—so it probably makes sense for Obama to become a splitter. One key way to deal with the problem, given these tendencies, is to appoint a very high level envoy (perhaps Dennis Ross, or even Bill Clinton), who can take the matter on, with presidential backing, while the president is personally occupied with other pressing business. The panel’s moderator, Lord Hannay, interjected here that he hopes Europeans will not await US leadership on the Middle East, but will be pro-active in developing their own approaches.

Dr. Ashrawi reported that she hopes President Obama will signal a change in approach to the Middle East—no more business as usual. She argued that the last eight years have been disastrous for the region, and that the new administration needs to begin in a new direction, relying far less on militarism and unilateralism. She would encourage the new president to be intellectually a lumper, but procedurally a splitter. She then spoke about the dilemmas created for the last administration by the free election of Hamas—but attributed that group’s success to the political and economic deprivations imposed by Israel and the West. Since business-as-usual has gotten us nowhere, she advises the new president to think outside the box. And since the political vacuum created by the Bush administration helped lead to violence, she urged immediate engagement by the Obama team to change the atmosphere. The Palestinians need both a right of return and a massive program of reconstruction, which can only be assured through third-party engagements. And she suggested this might take place only with third-party troops on the ground—perhaps from the UN. She also echoed the remarks by Sanberk, calling any partitioning of Iraq a serious mistake. And she suggested that no regional settlement is likely to be possible without engaging Iran. She concluded by noting that Obama’s election had created not euphoria, but a collective sense of relief.

One line of the ensuing discussion focused on the need for the EU to take a pro-active stance in Middle East negotiations. This is complicated, however, because there is no common EU position on the core issues in the region. Finally, some participants noted a complete lack of trust among the relevant parties in the region. One of Obama's first tasks in this area will be to contemplate what he might do to help restore trust as a predicate for a more lasting solution.



Panel 7, on Strategies to Advance Democracy, Civil Society and the Rule of Law, featured presentations by Farah Pandith, of the US Department of State, Fumio Matsuo, and Eva Nowotny. Pandith described in detail her work in building civil society institutions among the Muslim populations in Europe. This is a new initiative—one that is based on fighting two ideas: that the US is engaged in a war on Islam, and that Islam and democracy are incompatible. Her work is intended to amplify those Muslim voices that are committed to rule of law and peace, and her focal point is European populations—especially the young. Accordingly, her efforts center on technology and youth-friendly venues. This is, she reports, not traditional public diplomacy, because the emphasis is not on selling the US flag—rather, it is wholly devoted to developing best practices among progressive Muslim communities worldwide. This has to be done, and done well, in tranquil times—it is not the kind of work that has any chance of succeeding if we wait until times of crisis to start.

Matsuo likened current developments in the US to the sea changes that existed in 1968, and so suggests that there may be bigger changes underway. He again mentioned the importance of nuclear nonproliferation, but suggested that the US needed to be guided in the international community by a spirit of cooperation. Thinking that a “Yes, we can!” attitude will necessarily succeed in the international community is a dangerous misconception.

Eva Nowotny then provided a more theoretical and historical approach to the question of democratic practices and institutions. Although the last half of the 20th century was a time of democracy on the march, the first decade of the 21st century has seen the notion come under strain. There have been growing suspicions of its practice and applicability globally—but she still thinks that Francis Fukayama was fundamentally right in asserting

the end of the argument about democracy. Democracy cannot be fully exported—unless the basic conditions on the ground will allow it to take root. That is possible only under some fundamental preconditions. The roots have to be local. So efforts to transport it have to be made discreetly, with respect for what is already there. In the absence of these preconditions, attempts to introduce democracy fail. She concluded by identifying the work of the OSCE as especially valuable in helping to bring about democratic successes in the post-89 environment in Europe.

The session's Henry Brandon Lecture was delivered this year by Francois Heisbourg, director of the Fondation pour la Recherche Strategique in Paris. His lecture was entitled The Global Economic Crisis: Consequences for European Security. He characterized the current financial crisis as global, economic, and deep, and argued that it would have three basic effects on security policy. First, it will limit the room for maneuver by governments in the security arena, insofar as spending is an issue. Second, it will require politicians everywhere to invest a great deal of their time and energy in economic, rather than security, issues. And third, the crisis itself may create a new global security context—in the way that the economic problems of the 1930s served as the pretext for the security problems that followed. Such problems are especially likely to arise among the oil producing countries and, to a lesser extent, the emerging economies. Russia is likely to suffer significantly; also the EU, even if to a lesser degree.

In the US, the key question is how long Washington will focus on this to the exclusion of everything else. He believes the financial crisis will be a likely focus for the next two years, and will accordingly affect foreign policy during that interval. Obama's election has improved America's self-image as well as its image abroad. Moreover, the new president brings personal and political dimensions to the office that may be well suited to managing these problems—he is energetic, a good organizer, and is politically empowered with a strong majority in Congress. And the US may be rejoining the global community now with a recognition of limitations it has not before acknowledged. Washington is now focused on only two things abroad: Afghanistan and Iraq. So Europeans should not expect the US to be hyperactive on all foreign policy fronts. He added that he thinks that Europe ought to consider seriously investing more resources in Afghanistan, as Obama will before long request.

Panel 8, on Economic and Trade Policy, featured presentations by Alan Beattie, world trade editor of the *Financial Times*, and Ambassador Richard Gardner. Beattie began by presenting three widely accepted propositions about the current financial crisis: First, that it reveals the insufficiency of the world's existing structure of global institutions; second, that these existing structures need new powers and a new configuration; and third, that the emergency meeting to take place later this week in Washington, among the G-20, is the ideal place to start that process. Beattie thinks all are wrong. The cause of the current crisis (the mortgage mess in the United States and the development of "exotic" securities) would not have been prevented by an instrument of global regulation. There are some collective steps to be taken—especially in coordinating fiscal stimuli around the world, and perhaps some collective work by existing institutions like the IMF—but grand

structural changes are not the solution. He does believe there are some reforms that could improve global economic structures, especially those that involve a greater role for China. But he thinks this would be a difficult position for President Obama to take because his campaign rhetoric regarding China has been so charged, making it difficult for him to change course now. He also thinks trade will be a major problem for Obama, because there is so much negative symbolism within the US now on trade—it is too easy to blame all the country's problems on trade and globalization. This is especially so with some Democratic constituencies, including labor. These would be powerful forces for Obama to confront, even were he to have the time to do so. He also noted that in a strange way Democrats find themselves trying to avoid alienating farming interests, which makes the chances for a major trade initiative even more remote. In America, the constituency for any trade deal is narrow and oddly shaped. Beattie does indicate that there are some grounds for optimism. Democrats do not like bilateral deals, and tend to have a more intuitive attachment to multilateralism, so it's possible that some in the administration will be moved to press for a big trade deal. But that is a minor possibility. In sum, he thinks that the default position for the administration is for nothing to happen—and given the history and recent trends in the party, nothing may be better than something.

Ambassador Gardner began by saying that the finger of blame for the current financial mess should be pointed directly at the United States. He situated the problem in a series of unfortunate developments, including a cultural change away from savings and toward debt, and movement in recent decades toward free-market fundamentalism. The remedy to these problems thus will need to begin with a restoration of those old commitments—to savings, and in favor of a regime of effective regulation. He notes, in relation to the IMF, that the US engages in financial policies that it would not accept from IMF borrowers. We thus have an asymmetrical global system.

Although President Obama is committed to doubling foreign aid and to taking other initiatives to support development in the global economy, trade is not likely to be near the top of his agenda. One unremarked reason for this is structural: The constitutional forms of the US government place trade policy squarely in the hands of Congress (one chamber of which has to face new elections every two-years), and so any executive initiatives taken on trade have to enjoy significant support—or at least deference—from the Congress. So US negotiations are always complicated. Obama has described himself as a free trader, and he is surrounding himself with people with a demonstrated record on trade. But the Democratic Party is not a party of free-market fundamentalism, and Obama believes that trade has to contribute to his vision of shared benefits in the economy. Gardner did indicate that he was concerned, however, that the party platform proposes re-opening NAFTA, something he thinks would be ill advised.

Both Gardner and Beattie agreed that trade would not be among Obama's highest priority items. Any significant trade initiative would likely come a couple of years into the presidential term, and will follow action on a number of other more fundamental economic commitments.

The Session's 9th panel was devoted to the subject of Responses to Terrorism. Featured speakers included former Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato, Farah Pandith, and Francois Heisbourg. Amato began by noting the truly difficult nature of the fight against terrorism, in that the key component is an attempt to prevent a certain kind of behavior—and prevention is inherently a very complicated task. Moreover, those in leadership positions, charged with protecting the public, tend to internalize physically that fight, being viscerally aware that their personal acts could be essential to saving the lives of innocent people. This makes one willing to do whatever he or she can to defend the public—including doing damage to certain other valued commitments, such as the protection of civil liberties. This problem has become more profound in the current climate, because the terrorists of today, unlike most in recent memory, do not seek narrow political aims—and therefore narrow political targets—but instead target broad populations, and thus may intentionally kill thousands of civilians. The defensive measures to be taken are quite broad, and range from “soft” measures—dealing with the fundamental causes of alienation (better housing, education, etc.)—to “hard” means, relying on police and military personnel. In relation to the costs of battling terrorism, he noted a fundamental difference between Americans and Europeans in relation to their willingness to sacrifice privacy and free expression, with Americans being less squeamish about the first but much more uncompromising in defence of the second (thanks to the First Amendment). Europeans are more likely to understand and accept intrusions on their privacy, because they see a correlation between their public safety and concessions in these areas. Also, there have been real differences in application of international law to suspected terrorists. He believes that, in the end, the European way—respectful of suspect rights within national and international legal regimens—would have led to better outcomes than the practices followed in recent years by the US, which relies on such techniques as the Guantanamo base and extraordinary rendition. The excesses of American practices, he argued, were ultimately counterproductive—and the real problems could have been effectively handled within existing legal frameworks. He concluded, however, by noting that it is very easy to be critical from the outside of policymakers charged with public safety. Those on the inside both know the full dimensions of the risks involved, and have a personal obligation to deal with them as effectively as they can. Pandith spoke once again about her efforts to deal with the ideological component in the fight against terrorism, that is, her attempts to use education of young European Muslims in order to avert a growing problem of alienation and radicalization. She has been working with the institutions of civil society to provide young Muslims with credible alternatives to the intolerant voices in their communities. She noted how difficult it is for many European Muslims to deal with an identity crisis, which calls into question whether one can at once be modern and Muslim. Al Qaeda is working to convince them that being both is impossible. In her work, the effort is to convince them, in a very light-handed way, that it is possible to be a part of the secular and the religious culture. This is done through community-based projects, and education, both of the children (through textbooks, as well as youth-friendly technological means) and of the parents. She concluded by suggesting that Obama needs to address this issue directly—and also to continue efforts begun under the Bush administration to deal with the problem.

Heisbourg's approach was significantly different. He began by noting that terrorism has always been with us, and will always be—and thus the task is to cope with it. He noted that multiple attacks have been thwarted in Europe in recent years, and thus that it is possible to establish means of preventing attacks—at least until this wave of terrorism completes its natural lifespan. But the potential attacks today are, because of new technologies of destruction and the ease with which groups or individuals can obtain them, much worse than in the past. And societies will have to accept that there will of necessity be costs to dealing with this, including greater intrusions on personal privacy. Looking comparatively at how various countries have dealt with past terrorist attacks, it becomes apparent that societal resilience is absolutely key: Since the goal of the terrorist is to create a wave of shock and fear that subsequently permeates society, policymakers have to determine ways to help foster cultural resilience once such attacks occur. Preparation is crucial. People have to be inured to the idea that an attack might happen; the first responders need to be trained to deal with the consequences in a coolly effective way; and political leaders need to be prepared to promote resilience once an event happens. The latter is especially important, because history shows that it is simple to mobilize a galvanized popular majority in the wake of an attack—but one that might be put to “crazy purposes.” He also suggests that the “war of words” (as opposed to the “war of ideas” favored by Pandith) is important—and recommends using the word “criminal” to describe terrorists. The US practice of terming them “combatants” does them a favor by elevating their linguistic stature—as does the use of the term “jihadi”. Heisbourg was further critical of the US use of its resources in the counter-terrorism fight—including the practice of fingerprinting incoming travelers. That effort requires an enormous allocation of resources, but it is not efficient. The deployment of resources in relation to such a vast number of demonstrably innocent people means that resources are not being more rationally targeted against the bad actors.

The evening lecture of the third day, on The Future of the US-Indian Relationship, was delivered by former UN official and Indian novelist Shashi Tharoor. Tharoor provided a broad interpretive survey of recent Indian history, describing the roots of India's non-aligned status in its long struggle for independence from British rule. That enduring sense of independence made India unwilling to enter into an alliance with any power, including the United States, that would insist on extending its own reach as a price of friendship. Notwithstanding this official posture, however, the people-to-people contacts developed much more thoroughly. Official relations with the US thawed in the 1990s, in part because of India's liberalized economic system, and in part because of the efforts of a large and prosperous Indian-American community. Those closer relations were damaged in 1998 with India's nuclear test. President Clinton did have a very successful visit in 1999, but the most important story in recent years has been the closer relations fostered under the Bush-43 administration, something Tharoor characterizes as perhaps Bush's most important foreign policy accomplishment. Bush got India out from under the Clinton-era economic sanctions, and maintained a very close relationship with the Indian-American community.

There is, accordingly, some anxiety within India about President-elect Obama—both because he represents a change from the favored Bush, and because in the campaign he has made comments about out-sourcing that appear to threaten a growth industry. There are also concerns about how his expressed willingness to deal with Pakistan may create instability in Kashmir. In the end, Tharoor thinks it unlikely that Obama will do anything that will seriously affect outsourcing—the current financial crisis will oblige American companies to continue moving jobs to wherever labor costs are lowest. The bigger threat to US-Indian relations will be the regional security issue, where an engagement with Pakistan could unintentionally create an adverse dynamic over Kashmir.

The session's final panel, on Engaging with the United Nations and other Multilateral Institutions, featured presentations by Prime Minister Amato, University of Pennsylvania law professor William Burke-White, and Shashi Tharoor. Amato opened the panel by recommending some fundamental restructuring of the institutions of global governance. He referred to his past service on an international review panel, which suggested that the heads of the various international bodies meet, for purposes of contemplating joint action in areas where more than one of them had an interest. But that, he said, was not enough. Global institutions need basic reform—primarily to avoid the problem of sectoral specialization, so that the institutions can in fact deal with the big picture, and can settle on what are truly the most pressing priorities. Hence the panel had recommended the creation of an “Economic and Social Security Council”. The timing for such reform is actually quite good now, because of the recent shocks to the financial system occurring simultaneously with the arrival of a new administration in Washington. So the world has changed. The faltering of the US economy may have favorable effects on the willingness of the American administration to entertain fundamental reforms, which would have been impossible during a period of stability and US global dominance. Such reforms would not only serve the ends of justice, but could contribute to economic efficiency. As for President Obama, he should not shy away from fulfilling his pledge to reform the US health care system, because that would serve as a component of a healthier economic system all the way around, and make it easier for him to take bold initiatives in the trade arena. Amato does not believe that essential reform will be reached by multiplying the G's. The IMF will have a role in this new world, if properly reformed. There are no guarantees that such reform can be agreed to, but these may indeed be the best of times to try.

Burke-White argued that, while reforms in the international architecture may be desirable, the political realities will make meaningful change very difficult. In an ideal world the UN would undergo radical change—in its forms of representation, structures of accountability, and its independence—but we do not live in such an ideal world. That makes for difficulties, too, in achieving significant and needed change in the IMF and World Bank, and in the broader institutions of international law and justice. One major barrier to progress is the state of domestic opinion in the United States—where the UN remains in disrepute. Before the US could take any major steps to aid the UN further, the UN would need to demonstrate both better internal management and basic competence. Without that, President Obama will be especially vulnerable if he moves to help the UN,

with opponents questioning his patriotism and his commitment to national interests. In addition to these political constraints, there are within the US now limited resources—so Washington is unlikely to take on a significantly larger share of the economic burden for international institutions. A third barrier is the state of Congress, especially the Senate. There may be some minor advances Obama can make, for example in encouraging ratification of some relatively minor treaties, but not much more will be possible there. Finally, there are inter-state constraints on the president, with rising pressures from Moscow and Beijing, whose concept of “international law” is very different from that prevailing in the west. These all make significant advances on the institutional fronts highly problematic.

Given these constraints, what is possible? He suggests advances in two areas: leadership and “new politics.” It would be desirable for new and more effective leadership to come from within the UN itself, but in the absence of that, it could come from without—perhaps even from Obama himself. Burke-White described four pillars of a “new politics” relevant to the UN: (1) Relations among the US/UK/France—countries divided in the past, but which ought to be aligned, with President Obama reaching out to the other two for purposes of developing a shared vision; (2) Relations with Russia and China—which will involve trying to engage them as much as possible, to keep polarization to a minimum; (3) Activity on the North-South divide—requiring much more direct engagement by the United States; and (4) the Middle East—which requires direct attention because it influences so much else on the global agenda. Progress on these pillars ultimately will rely much less on structural solutions than on the effective use of politics. Reform in the UN may be possible, but Americans will insist on getting something back from their investment of political capital—and so other countries must be willing to make some concessions in order to permit active US re-engagement. Without this, the president is vulnerable to losing credibility domestically. As for the ICC, Burke-White does not recommend that Obama try to push it through the Senate, but feels that a re-signing or presidential re-certification of the agreement would have enormous symbolic value.

Tharoor raised the question of whether the end of a Republican era would be enough to allow for fundamental reforms of the major international institutions, with the US playing a key role. The core problem is the reputation of the UN within the US—where much is based on caricature. So the UN has over time, been a rich target for political exploitation—and it is not clear whether this will change. So the big question is not so much one of institutional reform as it is about whether the US is now willing to reassume a major role as a leading member of the institution as it is. There is strong enthusiasm for Obama at the UN—as there is in nearly all of the individual member states—but there remains caution, too. Part of the reason for this caution is memories of the Clinton years, when a Democrat did less than expected to help. And the signs in the 2008 campaign were not encouraging, as the UN was never mentioned in any of the debates. But this *is* a time, given the recent past, to restore trust. The appointment of a first-rate ambassador would be a big help. Tharoor shares some of Burke-White’s reservations and Amato’s aspirations—but he does not see much enthusiasm in the US for “global governance.” He

agrees that a “re-signing” of the ICC treaty would help, but more is needed. He suggests sending Al Gore to Copenhagen, to the next round of climate change negotiations, as a more tangible signal of engagement. More fundamentally, the US needs to contemplate seriously the kind of world it wishes to inhabit in the future, when it is no longer the world’s sole superpower. It would be in the nation’s interest to begin to structure cooperative and rule-bound arrangements now, ceding some of its own freedom of action in order to provide healthy examples for a future world in which it will have to live with others who have grown to approach or equal its stature.

An exhilarating atmosphere prevailed throughout the week, an atmosphere perhaps best captured in the following comments of session participants:

Interesting and stimulating week in a splendid setting - thank you to the team for your hospitality, warmth and commitment. I learned a lot which I can take back home and enjoyed meeting the group.

Fellow, Germany

The collection of people and the atmosphere of Salzburg allow critical analysis of all approaches to problems, and a chance for objectivity. It also allows people to relax, sometimes for the first time in a very long time, soaking up the wisdom and wit of people they respect. It allows people to have fun, as they work hard.

Fellow, USA

The opportunity to get representatives of two dozen countries in a setting like the Seminar really does produce a dialogue that resonates in the mind for years. For me meeting fellows and faculty members from countries which I cannot visit is particularly rewarding.

Fellow, Israel

Salzburg was a remarkable experience for me and I consider it a milestone in my quest for finding the ideal platform to exercise and experiment with skills of negotiation.

Fellow, India

PARTICIPANT STATISTICS

Number: 50
Gender: Male 31
Female 19
Average Age: 47

Professional Sectors*

Education/Research 50%
Bus/ Private 19%
Government/Public 22%
NGO 08%

*numbers may not add due to rounding



Fellows by Country or Region

Austria	2	Pakistan	1
Belarus	1	Portugal	1
Canada	1	Spain	1
China	4	Thailand	1
Czech Republic	1	Turkey	1
Finland	1	United Kingdom	4
France	1	USA	13
Germany	3	Viet Nam	1
Greece	1		
India	4		
Indonesia	1		
Israel	1		
Italy	2		
Japan	3		
Malta	1		
Mexico	1		

ACADEMIC FORMAT

The academic format of Session 458 was structured around several components: a series of panels, each followed by a working group period; an evening fireside discussion; and a final summary session during which the findings on the panels and discussions of the week were wrapped up.

PANEL TOPICS

PANEL ONE: New Administration: Key Actors and Factors Shaping US Foreign Policy

Lecturers: *Richard Gardner, Gideon Rachman*

PANEL TWO: Evening Lecture: Managing Global Insecurity

Lecturer: *Carlos Pascual*

PANEL THREE: Future of Transatlantic Relationships in the Coming Decade

Lecturers: *David Hannay, Beate Maeder-Metcalf, Richard Gardner*

PANEL FOUR: The US and Emerging Powers: Challenges and Strategies of Adjustment

Lecturers: *Edward Luce, Fumio Matsuo, Wu Jianmin*

PANEL FIVE: Climate Change, Energy and Other Transnational Threats

Lecturers: *Carlos Pascual, Wu Jianmin*

PANEL SIX: Guiding Principles for US Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East

Lecturers: *Hanan Ashrawi, Gideon Rachman, Özdem Sanberk*

PANEL SEVEN: *Strategies to Advance Democracy, Civil Society and the Rule of Law*

Lecturers: *Eva Nowotny, Fumio Matsuo, Farah Pandith*

PANEL EIGHT: *Brandon Lecture: The Global Economic Crisis: Consequences for European Security*

Lecturer: *Francois Heisbourg*

PANEL NINE: Economic and Trade Policy

Lecturers: *Alan Beattie
Richard Gardner*

PANEL TEN: Responses to Terrorism

Lecturers: *Giuliano Amato
Francois Heisbourg
Farah Pandith*

PANEL ELEVEN: Future of the US-Indian Relationship

Lecturer: *Shashi Tharoor*

PANEL TWELVE: Engaging with the United Nations and other Multilateral Institutions

Lecturers: *Giuliano Amato
William Burke-White
Shashi Tharoor*

WORKING GROUPS

The working groups took place after each panel. Each group consisted of approximately 15 participants each. One moderator and one rapporteur led each of the three groups.

Working Groups

GROUP 1: GUIDELINES FOR THE FIRST 100 DAYS	
<i>Denver Mullican Christiane Höhn Franz Wasmeier Yoshinori Nakai Carlos Pascual Thomas Mansbach Beate Maeder-Metcalf</i>	<i>Yuan Zheng William Burke-White Lord David Hannay Shobhana Rana Valeria Biagiotti Ricken Patel Sujan Dutta</i>
<i>Meets in Seminar Room 1 on the second floor of the Schloss</i>	
GROUP 2: LONG-TERM STRATEGIES OF US FOREIGN POLICY	
<i>Mark Notturmo Ngyuen Trong Do Joaquin Molina Natthanan Kunnamas Volha Charnysh Colin Munro Kathryn Crockart Toshi Knell Thomas Nowotny</i>	<i>Jun Furuya Giuliano Amato Gideon Rachman Wu Jianmin Christian Harijanto Valentina Cassar Seema Sridhar Arik Bachar</i>
<i>Meets in Seminar Room 2 on the second floor of the Schloss</i>	
GROUP 3: CHALLENGES TO US FOREIGN POLICY AND PITFALLS TO BE AVOIDED	
<i>Gabriela Caldas Atim George Scott Malcomson Eleni Pavlou Shashi Tharoor Marju Hannonen Song Guoyou Faiza Rashid</i>	<i>Tej Singh Özdem Sanberk Fumio Matsuo Fatemeh Shafiei Wang Quingxin Krystof Kozak Maria Parraguez Kobek</i>
<i>Meets in Seminar Room 3 on the second floor of the Schloss</i>	

LECTURE SCHEDULE

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10

- Arrivals
- 13.00 Lunch
- 15.30 Coffee/Tea
- 16.00 **Welcome and Introductory Meeting**
- 17.00 **Panel One “New Administration”**
- 18.15 Tour of the Schloss/Library
- 18.30 Dinner
- 20.00 **Evening Lecture**
- 21.00 Welcome Reception

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11

- 09.00 **Panel Two “Transatlantic Relationships”**
- 11.00 Coffee/Tea
- 11.30 **Continuation in Working Groups**
- 13.00 Lunch
- 14.00 **Panel Three “Emerging Powers”**
- 15.30 Coffee/Tea
- 16.00 **Continuation in Working Groups**
- 17.30 **Panel Four “Climate Change”**
- 19.00 Dinner
- 20.00 Fire-side Chat

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12

- 09.00 **Continuation in Working Groups**
- 10.30 Coffee/Tea
- 11.00 **Panel Five “Guiding Principles”**
- 12.45 **Group Photo**
- 13.00 Lunch
- 14.00 **Continuation in Working Groups**
- 15.30 Coffee/Tea
- 16.00 **Panel Six “Civil Society”**
- 17.30 **Continuation in Working Groups**
- 19.00 Dinner
- 20.00 **Brandon Lecture**

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13

- 09.00 **Panel Seven “Economic and Trade”**
- 10.30 Coffee/Tea
- 11.00 **Continuation in Working Groups**
- 12.30 Lunch
- Free Time
- 15.00 Coffee/Tea
- 15.30 **Panel Eight “Responses to Terrorism”**
- 17.00 **Continuation in Working Groups**
- 18.30 Barbecue
- 20.00 **Panel Nine “US-Indian Relationship”**

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14

- 09.00 **Panel Ten “United Nations”**
- 11.00 Coffee/Tea
- 11.30 **Continuation in Working Groups**
- 13.00 Lunch**
- 14.00 **Preparation of Working Group Presentations**
- 15.30 Coffee/Tea
- 16.00 **Presentations of Working Groups and Session Summary**
- 18.30 Reception
- 19.00 Concert
- 20:00 Farewell Banquet

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15

- Departure

LIBRARY RESOURCES

During the course of the week, participants enjoyed access to the Salzburg Global Seminar library holdings and to the Internet on the library's computer facilities. A reserve shelf was assembled for the purpose of this session and was supplemented during the course of the session with books, articles, papers, CDs, and DVDs contributed by the participants.

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES

In addition to the academic program of Session 458, participants took part in a variety of other scheduled activities including a guided tour of Schloss Leopoldskron, a barbecue in the Great Hall, a classical piano concert in the Great Hall, a reception, and a farewell banquet.



*Session 458
Participants and Seminar Staff*

Session Record Submitted by:

Russell Riley
Rapporteur

Tatsiana Lintouskaya
Session Director

Astrid Koblmüller
Program Associate



SALZBURG GLOBAL SEMINAR



FINANCIAL
TIMES

Roadmap for Re-engagement: The World's Advice to the New Administration

Memo

From: 44 decision makers and analysts from 24 countries outside the United States (24 Europeans, 17 Asians, 3 from the Americas and Australasia) who met with 13 of their US counterparts in Salzburg, Austria, from November 10 to 14, 2008, to discuss **“The United States in the World: New Strategies of Engagement”**.

To: President Elect Barack Obama, members of his transition team, members of Congress, and the American people

Re: ways to preserve, and build on, the remarkable enthusiasm that has greeted the US election result throughout the world.

Note: This memorandum is addressed to the incoming US administration. That should not be taken as implying that responsibility for seizing the opportunity for a new start in relations between the US and the rest of the world lies with Washington alone. On the contrary, all of us take home from Salzburg to our own countries and institutions a strong message that it is also for them to “step up to the plate” and help the new US President realize his objectives. If the response from abroad to his initiatives is carping or simply passive, the present moment of hope will soon pass, and America may revert to unilateralism if not isolationism. We fully understand that that would be in no one’s interest. The following suggestions should therefore be taken not as self-righteous preaching or dogmatic criticism, but rather as a good-faith effort to suggest ways for the new administration to maximize the chances of lasting support and cooperation from its main foreign allies and partners.

Part One: Strategic objectives

It should go without saying that the new administration's long-term objectives are peace, stability and prosperity both at home and abroad. The avowed aim of its foreign policy should be to build and maintain a world economic and political order based on mutual **openness, international cooperation, and observance of agreed rules**. As promised in the 2008 Democratic Platform, it should work with other nations to "rebuild the alliances, partnerships, and institutions necessary to confront common threats and enhance common security". This can only be achieved if America succeeds in restoring and maintaining the trust and respect it once enjoyed in the rest of the world, and if it maintains and acts on its commitment to assist the economic development of other peoples. While advocating freedom and openness worldwide, it should be pragmatic, avoiding any appearance of imposing an ideology of its own on other peoples without their full-hearted consent.

- Inevitably first priority will, and should, be given to **confronting the global financial crisis**. This requires all nations to take appropriate domestic measures, but America should also take the lead in forging a common approach. It must do its utmost **to ensure, by appropriate policies and the creation of appropriate mechanisms, that the crisis does not recur**. Such mechanisms should include reformed global financial institutions, empowered to monitor financial instruments and practices worldwide as well as providing a forum in which currency imbalances can be discussed multilaterally.

In addition, the Obama administration should aim to:

- **Dispel the US's image as a "hypocritical superpower"** by matching deeds to words, being careful to judge its own actions by the same standards as those it applies to other powers, and – to quote President Clinton's speech at the Denver Convention – leading "by the power of our example, not the example of our power". This should be true of economic and trade policies as well as security and human rights. The US should respect the rules and judgments of the World Trade Organization, as it expects others to do. It should aim to build a vibrant global economy based on genuinely open markets, and to negotiate trade agreements that safeguard environmental and labor standards without using these as a disguised form of protectionism.
- **Work toward a political solution in Iraq** that will allow the US to withdraw its troops as soon as possible but without leaving chaos and mass bloodshed behind them. This is crucial to America's future credibility. There should be "no exit without strategy".
- **Revitalize, strengthen and deepen transatlantic relations** – notably by working with the EU, NATO and other world actors to devise and implement **a new strategy to stabilize Afghanistan**, with a view to sharing the burden and responsibility of both military and institution-building tasks; but **also by addressing shared interests and mutual concerns in areas such as trade and investment**. A balance needs to be struck in cultivating relations with the EU as a group as well as bilaterally with its leading member nations. Besides working to improve relations with each other, governments on both sides of the Atlantic should seek to increase opportunities for contact and exchange between their respective societies, at the level of groups and individuals. **Where security is concerned, NATO should be the main transatlantic forum** and the US should provide constructive leadership within that framework,

seeking to transform the alliance's capabilities to meet the military challenges of the 21st century.

- **Combat international terrorism with methods closer to those used by European nations and less likely to alienate the Muslim world** – notably by: dropping the vocabulary of “global war on terror”; showing greater concern for human rights; concentrating more on the prevention of terrorist attacks through collaboration with other countries in police and intelligence work; helping to promote jobs and alternatives to violence for young people in populations where terrorist groups currently find supporters and recruits; and recognizing that such support springs, in part at least, from resentment of US policies in the Middle East and elsewhere; also by preparing populations to react with resilience rather than panic or misdirected anger if and when major terrorist attacks do occur.
- **Strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime**, notably by breathing life into Article VI of the NPT through new disarmament agreements with Russia, including the extension or renegotiation of START I. In addressing potential nuclear dangers, greater use should be made of diplomacy and less of threats to use force.
- **Improve relations with Russia**: while continuing to uphold the independence and territorial integrity of Georgia and Ukraine, as well as existing NATO allies, and firmly rejecting any division of the world into spheres of influence, the Obama administration should take steps toward establishing a productive partnership with Russia within the NATO framework, and in particular should seek Russian cooperation in dealing with Iranian, North Korean or other attempts to break out of the non-proliferation regime. In this context the plan to place a missile defense system in east-central Europe should be carefully reconsidered.
- **Work closely with the EU to forge a global strategy on climate change**, which must include both investment in new technologies and globally binding, though differentiated, limits on carbon emissions. This imperative should not be subordinated to the response to the financial and economic crisis, but integrated into that response – for instance, by linking any bail-out of the auto industry to changes in the technical design of motor vehicles.
- **Create conditions for achieving a lasting peace in the Middle East** – notably by establishing or re-establishing contact with those parties with which the US currently has no direct dialogue, for example Hamas, as well as naming a senior envoy respected by all parties to revive the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. This includes fulfilling the campaign pledge to initiate an open dialogue with Iran. Engaging Syria, too, would be important for progress in the Middle East. An effort is also needed to encourage cultural, social and educational exchanges between the US and the Islamic world, with a view to correcting widespread mutual misconceptions.
- **And, finally, strengthen relations with emerging powers**, especially China and India, using all available channels to engage them in serious and constructive discussion of global issues.

Part Two: The First Hundred Days

The new administration comes into office with a level of international good will unprecedented in recent times. It can and should use this to restore the trust and “soft power” that the US has regrettably lost during the last eight years. Although at the level of policy-makers and professional analysts abroad there is a relatively sophisticated understanding of the constraints binding the new president, and of the time that substantive policy changes inevitably take to implement, this is not necessarily true of world public opinion at the grassroots level. The latter can very quickly turn sour if its current, often unrealistically high, expectations are disappointed.

A president's time is inevitably limited, and he cannot do everything at once. What he *can* do is signal to the world that change is going to be real. This can be done in three ways: a) through strong messages and symbolic actions; b) by laying out his longer-term agenda in one or more clear statements, preferably with indicative timelines; c) by taking a few concrete measures early on.

Objectives

The objective of all such actions, statements and measures should be threefold:

- **Rebuild the world's trust** in America by showing willingness to lead in concert with allies and partners, rather than unilaterally
- **Restore the US's moral standing** and credibility throughout the world
- Demonstrate commitment to maintaining a world economic and political order based on mutual **openness, international cooperation, and observance of agreed rules**

All three of these objectives require the President to **be bold, to work with others, and to listen well**. With this in mind we offer the following 8-point plan for his first 100 days in office:

1. “Go Big” in the Inaugural Address

The address should powerfully convey the new presidency's global vision. The President must speak directly to the world in terms that clearly convey his intention to achieve the three objectives listed above, including through:

3. A call **to the world to meet the financial crisis together** through reformed and newly empowered global financial institutions, and a large coordinated fiscal stimulus focused on the renewable energy sector (a **“Green New Deal”**)
4. A pledge to work for global **nuclear disarmament** and take initial unilateral steps in that direction, while also making a direct appeal to **Russia** to join in this effort and negotiate deeper, agreed cuts in nuclear arsenals
5. A pledge to negotiate a new, binding global treaty to **stop catastrophic climate change**.

2. Fight terrorism under the Rule of Law

The inaugural must be followed by rapid action to correct the most damaging aspects of the previous administration's foreign policy. Executive orders should be issued to implement an action plan for **eliminating all Guantanamo-type extra-territorial prisons, ending secret detentions and extraordinary renditions**, banning interrogation

techniques that contravene the Convention Against Torture and the Geneva Conventions, and clearly demonstrating the US's resolve to abide by international humanitarian and human rights law.

3. Review the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan

The President must deliver on his **commitment to a timeline for withdrawal from Iraq**, but this should be accompanied by a vigorous diplomatic strategy (a “**peace surge**”) to ensure the country's long term stability. The President should also send Vice-President Biden or the Secretary of State to Europe to **develop a new roadmap for Afghanistan which European allies feel ownership of**. Any request for more European troops in Afghanistan, with tougher mandates, must be presented in the context of this new, collectively developed strategy.

4. Strengthen the Transatlantic Partnership

The President's journey to Strasbourg for the NATO summit in April 2009 should be preceded by an **open strategic debate and consultation between senior US and European officials**, encompassing not only Afghanistan but also the Mid-East peace process, relations with Russia, and other common concerns. The President should take advantage of being in Strasbourg to address the European Parliament, reaffirming the US's commitment to international law and to genuine consultation with his European allies.

5. Recommit the US to the United Nations System

This can be signaled by such measures as **inviting the UN Secretary-General and heads of UN Specialized Agencies to the White House** to discuss pressing global challenges, as well as public statements in support of multilateralism. A more tangible proof would be to **submit the Law of the Sea Treaty to the Senate for ratification**. Above all, the President should seek actively to **foster a change in the prevailing American political discourse about the UN**, explaining clearly to the American people how and where the Organization serves US interests and encouraging civil society groups that make this case.

6. Engage in Global Public Diplomacy through carefully staged events

Besides the address to the Muslim world mentioned above, the President should schedule **a major address in a large public forum** (such as the Brandenburg Gate or Trafalgar Square) during his first visit to Europe. Speaking directly to the world and setting out his foreign policy in greater detail than his inaugural address allowed, he should strike the same note as in his Berlin speech last July – both making and inviting commitment to change, while also building on positive aspects of the Bush legacy such as the commitment to the Millennium Development Goals. In particular he should stress his own commitment to multilateralism and to a more effective and credible United Nations. In the vein of Kennedy's “Ich bin ein Berliner” he could declare “I am a global citizen”, or “I am an internationalist, because I love my country.” Besides being televised, the speech should be webcast and include an interactive element, giving a **global town hall** feel to the event. In addition, the President should consider scheduling **a major address in a Muslim country**, speaking directly to the Muslim world.

7. Pursue a Bi-Partisan Legislative Agenda

The President should ask Congress for authority to **develop a domestic cap and trade system**, while also dropping the case brought by his predecessor aimed at reversing action on climate change by the State of California. This would signal his determination to move beyond mere debate on climate change and proceed to decisive action. He should also **request fast track trade negotiating authority**, and at least begin to build a constituency for ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and other key international instruments to which the US is not yet a party.

8. Be a Leader who Listens

Finally, President Obama should build on his well established reputation as a man who listens and reflects, by launching initiatives that demonstrate a consultative approach to international action, and by taking time early in his term to **build strong personal relationships** with key world leaders. In developing his foreign policy he should seek the advice of prominent experts from outside as well as inside the US. And he should launch a **large scale, web-based, grass roots consultation process** to engage with the global public.

Don't Stop There

In addition to these eight steps, the Obama administration should **consider the following proposals for action early in its term**:

- **Re-engage with Syria, Iran, Cuba and North Korea** by initiating quiet but direct consultations. Normalizing economic and diplomatic relations with Cuba, in particular, could be very easily achieved and would have an immensely positive symbolic effect for the rest of the world.
- **Get started early on Mid-East Peace** by appointing a high-level special envoy for the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. This must be a person of unquestioned impartiality – possibly former President Clinton – who would have direct access to the President and would be charged with an ambitious but long term mandate to bring about full final status negotiations
- **Go to China on Climate Change**: in advance of the Copenhagen summit, President Obama might visit China with a clear proposal, supported by the EU, asking China to accept a binding commitment to limit its carbon emissions in return for large technology transfers. The earlier in his term the President makes this trip, the more good will he will generate.
- **Expand the G8**: the President should announce his support for expanding the G8 to include China and other key emerging powers, and his intention of tabling a specific proposal for that purpose at the summit in Sardinia next July.

Part Three: Pitfalls to Watch Out For

As Robert Burns wrote, “the best laid plans gang oft a-gley”. There are many events and issues which, even with the best of intentions on both sides, could derail relations between the US and one or more of its key partners, leaving a legacy of bitterness and distrust. The following are some to which we believe forethought and planning should be devoted:

- **Unconscious unilateralism:** A new administration may be tempted to think its policies will be acceptable to allies or partners simply because they are new and different. But the reverse could be true, especially if the policies emerge from a domestic interagency process and are then presented to the rest of the world as cut and dried. (As one participant put it, “*Yes, we can!*” may be a good slogan in domestic affairs, but could be dangerous if applied to global issues.”) In an alliance of equal sovereign states – and indeed in a multi-polar world – foreigners need to be brought into the discussion *before* decisions are made, not after.
- **Kneejerk protectionism:** in a world recession, pressure to “protect” jobs at home by restricting imports, or immigration, or outward investment, may seem irresistible, and arguments can always be found to justify such measures. But they are seldom effective in promoting the overall welfare of the country’s population, and often have the very opposite effect.
- **“Afghanistan First”:** one of the Obama campaign’s strongest arguments has been that in invading Iraq President Bush chose the “wrong war”, and candidate Obama was able to advocate withdrawal from Iraq without sounding too soft on national security by arguing that troops and resources should be transferred to the Afghan front. It is undoubtedly true that the original *casus belli* in Afghanistan was stronger, and that Afghanistan suffered from international neglect – both military and civilian – while attention was focused almost exclusively on Iraq. But that does not necessarily mean that the war in Afghanistan is winnable, and certainly does not mean that it can be won by military means alone. The administration must beware of thinking that a “surge” of troops in Afghanistan will produce any lasting political gains, and should listen carefully to its allies’ views before judging them simply on their willingness to provide more troops or to adopt a “war-fighting mandate”.
- **Mishandling Pakistan:** A related danger stems from the need to stabilize the tribal areas on Pakistan’s border with Afghanistan and prevent them being used as a base by Al Qaeda or the Taliban. This too is unlikely to be achieved by military means alone, and the direct use of American force on Pakistani territory could antagonize NATO allies while also alienating and or destabilizing the now democratic but fragile regime in Islamabad. There is also a danger that the US could antagonize India if it seeks to strengthen Pakistan through a well-meant but ill-judged attempt to reach a political settlement of the 60-year-old Kashmir conflict.
- **Irritation with Iran:** Iran is a notoriously difficult country to negotiate with, and its internal politics are very hard to analyze. Although further dialogue, including direct dialogue with the US, should undoubtedly be tried, its success cannot be guaranteed. It may transpire that only strengthened sanctions can prevent or retard Iran’s acquisition of a nuclear weapons capability. If so, policy-makers need to keep in mind that sanctions have a much better chance of success when backed by a broad international consensus. Any attempt to demonize Iran or intimidate it with aggressive rhetoric is likely to be counterproductive, both with public opinion inside the country and with the international community.



SALZBURG GLOBAL SEMINAR

Session 458

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD: NEW STRATEGIES OF ENGAGEMENT

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D I R E C T O R Y

SESSION-CHAIRS

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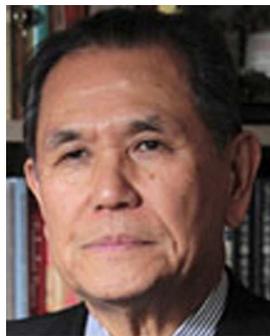
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Yuan Zheng is an associate research fellow and deputy director of the Division of American Foreign Policy Studies at the Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Studies (CASS), in Beijing. His research areas include US foreign policy, US-China relations, politics of interest groups, and political corruption in the US. He is a member of the Young Leaders Program of the Pacific Forum in Hawaii. Dr. Yuan has published over 300 commentaries in newspapers and magazines such as *People's Daily* and *Beijing Review*. He holds a Ph.D. in international politics from the Graduate School of CASS in Beijing.

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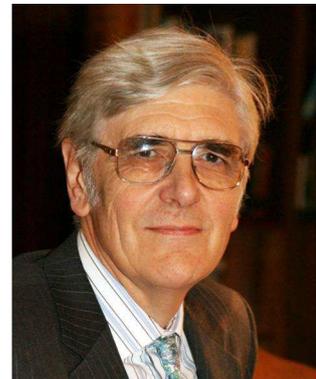
James F. Blue III is a producer in the Koppel Group at the Discovery Channel. Prior to joining Discovery, Mr. Blue was an award-winning producer with ABC News for twelve years, most recently based in the network's London bureau as the *Nightline* producer. He has made several reporting trips to Afghanistan, including visits to the southern region near the Pakistani border. Before joining *Nightline* in 1994, Mr. Blue spent three years at NBC News as a producer with *Today*, *Now*, and other broadcasts. Mr. Blue began his journalism career as a desk assistant at ABC News in New York in 1990. He is a graduate of Princeton University where he studied domestic policy in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. He is assisted by **Julian BORN** and **Matthias GRABNER**.

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Edward MORTIMER is senior vice president and chief program officer at the Salzburg Global Seminar. From 1998 to 2006 he served as chief speechwriter and (from 2001) as director of communications to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He has spent much of his career as a journalist, first with *The Times of London*, where he developed an expertise in Middle East affairs, and later with *The Financial Times*, where from 1987 to 1998 he was the main commentator and columnist on foreign affairs. Mr. Mortimer has also served as a fellow and/or faculty at several institutions, including Oxford University, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the International Institute of Strategic Studies, and (as Honorary Professor) the University of Warwick; and on the governing bodies of several non-governmental organizations, including Chatham House and the Institute of War and Peace Reporting. His writings include "People, Nation, State: The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism" (co-edited with R. Fine 1999), "The World that FDR Built" (1989), and "Faith and Power: "The Politics of Islam" (1982). Mr. Mortimer received an M.A. in modern history from Oxford University.



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