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PASSING THE BATON

FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES AND  
OPPORTUNITIES FACING THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

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THURSDAY  
JANUARY 8, 2009

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PANEL 3: 3:15-4:15 P.M.  
NEW STRATEGIES FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

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Room 202 A  
Walter E. Washington Convention Center  
801 Mount Vernon Place, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20001

PANELISTS:

ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER  
ROBERT ORR

RICHARD ARMITAGE

MODERATED BY ABIODUN WILLIAMS

This transcript done from audio provided

by the United States Institute of Peace.

1 P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

2 1:50 p.m.

3 MR. WILLIAMS: I'm Abiodun  
4 Williams, Vice President of the Center for  
5 Conflict Analysis and Prevention at the U.S.  
6 Institute of Peace. And I'm pleased to  
7 welcome you to this panel discussion on New  
8 Strategies for International Cooperation.

9 This is a period of transition for  
10 the United States. The hand over from one  
11 President to another is approaching. At such  
12 a significant time, we at the Institute  
13 thought it would be useful to organize this  
14 Passing the Baton Conference with three  
15 objectives: first, to identify key issues for  
16 the new administration in the foreign policy  
17 arena; second, to highlight issues central to  
18 the Institute's work; and third, to form the  
19 public debate on these critical challenges.  
20 These objectives certainly apply to the  
21 subject of this panel discussion.

22 It may be asked why bother with

1 international cooperation. Why do we need it?  
2 I think there is an evident need for  
3 international cooperation in attaining U.S.  
4 foreign policy goals in a range of important  
5 issues from nuclear proliferation to  
6 terrorism, climate change, energy security,  
7 poverty and disease. International  
8 cooperation is also important for legitimacy  
9 and burden sharing.

10 In short, international  
11 cooperation is no longer a question of if, but  
12 how. And policy makers must necessarily find  
13 ways of securing international cooperation in  
14 promoting the national interests. It is a  
15 challenge that must be met. But it is a  
16 challenge which could be so easily missed.

17 This brings us to strategy.  
18 Strategy is essential in achieving  
19 international cooperation. It is important to  
20 give priority to strategy over tactics, though  
21 you need both. How can the new administration  
22 pursue cooperation with major powers such as

1 Russia and China and continue to develop  
2 strategic partnerships with India, Brazil and  
3 other emerging powers? What will be the  
4 relationship between the United States and the  
5 United Nations and the role of the U.N in the  
6 U.S. strategic equation? What does  
7 international cooperation mean and how can it  
8 be pursued in a networked world?

9 To discuss these issues today, we  
10 have a distinguished panel with a wide range  
11 of military, diplomatic and academic  
12 experience. In varied worlds and in different  
13 capacities, our three panelists have been  
14 active in working to achieve international  
15 cooperation on the major issues of our time.

16 Let me introduce them briefly in  
17 the order in which they will speak.

18 Dr. Robert Orr is Assistant  
19 Secretary-General for Strategic Planning and  
20 Policy Coordination in the Executive Office of  
21 the United Nations Secretary-General. From  
22 1996 to 2001, Dr. Orr served in senior posts

1 in the United States government, including  
2 Deputy to the U.S. Ambassador to the United  
3 Nations and Director of the U.S. U.N.  
4 Washington office, and was instrumental in  
5 securing an agreement to have the United  
6 States pay its arrears to the United Nations.

7 Professor Anne-Marie Slaughter is  
8 Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public  
9 and International Affairs at Princeton. She  
10 has held a professorship at Harvard Law School  
11 and is a former president of the American  
12 Society of International Law. Her most recent  
13 book is *The Idea that is America, Keeping*  
14 *Faith with our Values in a Dangerous World.*  
15 Professor Slaughter has an article in the  
16 current issue of *Foreign Affairs* entitled  
17 *America's Edge, Power in the Network Century.*

18 Ambassador Richard Armitage is  
19 President of Armitage International. He was  
20 Deputy Secretary of State from 2001 to 2005.  
21 From 1989 to 1992, he filled key diplomatic  
22 positions as Presidential special negotiator

1 for the Philippines Military Bases Agreement,  
2 and Special Mediator for Water in the Middle  
3 East. President Bush sent him as a special  
4 emissary to King Hussein of Jordan during the  
5 '90-'91 Gulf War. A graduate of the U.S.  
6 Naval Academy, he completed three combat tours  
7 in Vietnam.

8 I'm going to ask them each to  
9 limit their opening remarks to ten minutes.  
10 Then we'll have a question and answer period.

11 So Bob, you have the floor.

12 MR. ORR: Thank you, Abi.

13 It's a real pleasure to be here  
14 today. And I'm honored to kick off this  
15 panel, first of all because the U.N. never  
16 gets to go first in Washington. So something  
17 really is different in the air here if the  
18 U.N. actually gets to go first. And secondly  
19 because of the distinguished fellow panelists  
20 on either side. It's a real honor to be here.

21 If we're talking about new  
22 strategies for international cooperation, what

1 I want to talk about this afternoon is really  
2 a new twist on a very old strategy. And that  
3 is using multi-lateral instruments like the  
4 U.N. to build coalitions, to share burdens,  
5 and to form joint approaches to the global  
6 problems facing the United States.

7 I say a new twist on a very old  
8 issue because for many in Washington I think  
9 it's safe to say many of the people in this  
10 room are unaware of just how much the U.N. is  
11 doing today and how much is being asked of it.  
12 It is truly unprecedented what not only the  
13 United States is asking the U.N. to do but the  
14 rest of the countries of the world as well.

15 And from Washington which can --  
16 if you'll pardon my saying it -- be very  
17 Washington-centric, there are many things that  
18 have happened in the U.N. that I think have  
19 been missed here. So I'd like to flag some of  
20 the key issues today and the role the U.N. is  
21 playing so you are aware, and also flag where  
22 there's room for even more use of multi-

1 lateral instruments in the coming years.

2 I think the trend to using the  
3 U.N. in multi-lateral instruments is likely to  
4 increase. And I think there are various  
5 reasons for this. First, in an increasingly  
6 globalized world, legitimacy of any kind of  
7 operation has become much more important than  
8 it was even ten, certainly 20, 30 years ago.  
9 And the kind of legitimacy that the universal  
10 organization of the U.N. which a wide-ranging  
11 mandate provides offers the United States  
12 options that in -- not in all cases -- but  
13 that in most cases it produces strikingly  
14 better results if it can be done through the  
15 U.N.

16 Secondly, some of the key 21st  
17 Century challenges are global goods issues --  
18 global public goods issues. These are the  
19 issues that affect all and require all for the  
20 solution -- climate change, key global health  
21 challenges, nonproliferation, disarmament,  
22 global terrorism. These are the kinds of

1 issues that need a universal answer. There is  
2 only one forum for that. That's the U.N. And  
3 this is increasingly being reflected in what  
4 we're being asked to do.

5 Lastly -- and this is something  
6 that I think many in Washington have missed --  
7 the U.N. has much more effective operational  
8 capacity today than it had five years ago, ten  
9 years ago, 15 years ago, 20 years ago. In  
10 fact, the U.N. is probably unrecognizable to  
11 some people that maybe worked with it a decade  
12 ago. And I use a decade. Maybe say eight  
13 years ago. For anyone who, like me, served in  
14 the Clinton Administration, if you went  
15 somewhere else and came back today, you'll be  
16 dealing with a very different operational  
17 capacity at the U.N. than you were eight years  
18 ago.

19 Under Secretary-General Ban Ki-  
20 Moon, the U.N. has emphasized three core  
21 priorities: first, the global goods issues  
22 that I just mentioned; secondly, securing

1 operational goods -- humanitarian peacekeeping  
2 and the like -- for the world's most  
3 vulnerable people. And this is a specialized  
4 area that the U.N. has always ended up with  
5 some might consider the dregs, both in terms  
6 of the various crises and the problems. But  
7 it means we are operational in the places  
8 where most people are not. And lastly, focus  
9 on accountability, both within the U.N. and  
10 among U.N. member states. There has to be  
11 mutual accountability to solve a lot of these  
12 problems. And we do not have the tools  
13 currently to have that full accountability.  
14 So these have been the three areas of  
15 emphasis.

16 I am struck looking at our agenda.  
17 I run the policy committee which is  
18 effectively the cabinet for the Secretary-  
19 General. If you look at our agenda for the  
20 next three months and the issues on the agenda  
21 for this conference today, guess what?  
22 They're the exact same things with one big

1 difference. I don't see Africa on the agenda  
2 today. If you come to the U.N., Africa is  
3 very much on the agenda -- Sudan, DRC,  
4 Zimbabwe, Somalia. So that would be the one  
5 big distinction I would make between what  
6 you're looking at today and what we're looking  
7 at. Otherwise, it looks almost the same.

8 A few words on some of these key  
9 challenges that I've mentioned. The global  
10 goods issues that everyone recognizes like  
11 climate change clearly 2009 the Secretary-  
12 General has declared this the year of climate  
13 change for two reasons. One, the negotiation  
14 is scheduled to conclude at the end of this  
15 year. That's a very, very aggressive time  
16 line. Two, the science is telling us that the  
17 clock is ticking very loudly. But three, the  
18 stars are lining up for a global climate deal.  
19 And I would not have said that two years ago.  
20 I will say it now. The stars are lining up.  
21 But the stars start lining up here in  
22 Washington. And there will be real need for

1 Washington to lead on the global climate  
2 negotiation. And if Washington leads, the  
3 chances of they're being a global climate deal  
4 are very good.

5 Second in the global kind of  
6 public goods area is the question of global  
7 financial stability. The U.N. is not the  
8 vehicle for achieving global financial  
9 stability. But the U.N. is currently being  
10 asked to be really one of the front line, if  
11 not the front line organization, for dealing  
12 with the consequences of the lack of financial  
13 stability and the economic downturn.

14 The shock waves are hitting the  
15 people around the world that can least afford  
16 it. And right now, we are bearing the brunt  
17 of that. But in the coming year, the United  
18 States is going to have to have its own  
19 strategy and work with us to make sure that  
20 those most vulnerable populations around the  
21 world don't continue to bear the brunt or the  
22 consequences in security terms as well as in

1 human terms will be quite significant.

2 I would very quickly mention a  
3 couple other things. The global food crisis.  
4 No talk of it anymore in the newspapers. No  
5 talk of it in Washington that I can see.

6 The global food crisis is alive  
7 and well. It was not ever a global food price  
8 crisis. The prices have gone down. It's a  
9 global food security crisis. Planting is way  
10 down in many places in 2008. Guess what?  
11 Hunger is going to be much greater in 2009 in  
12 key places where we cannot afford to have  
13 hunger be greater.

14 The food crisis is real, needs  
15 attention, needs U.S. attention. The U.S. has  
16 been good on these issues. We will need the  
17 U.S. to continue to help lead on them. But we  
18 will need followers.

19 Another issue that I think bears  
20 underlining is the global health basket. In  
21 the same way that years ago the U.S. helped to  
22 mobilize global public opinion that HIV-AIDS

1 was a security threat and that everyone needed  
2 to rally around, create new institutions and  
3 deal with this in a new way, so too, a whole  
4 range of global public health threats.

5 The Secretary-General has helped  
6 to bring all the key actors together to help  
7 set an agenda in this area. And I think we  
8 will need really active U.S. participation in  
9 this effort. We have had good cooperation  
10 with the Bush Administration on this. I think  
11 we will need even broader cooperation with the  
12 Obama Administration and the new Congress.

13 I would note on nonproliferation  
14 and disarmament, this is a moment in which  
15 there are great expectations for change. If  
16 I had to put a measuring stick in the  
17 international community, I would say one of  
18 the key areas that pops off the charts is all  
19 around the world people are hoping Washington  
20 is going to turn the page and do some things  
21 very differently.

22 I would strongly advise for anyone

1           who might be dealing with these issues, an  
2           early down payment that the U.S. is going to  
3           do some things differently in this area will  
4           reap large, large benefits to U.S. prestige in  
5           the world and ability to leverage that into  
6           other areas. Whether it is quick ratification  
7           of CTBT or in other areas I think an early  
8           investment will pay large rewards.

9                     One other area that I'd like to  
10          underscore is counterterrorism. No one thinks  
11          of counterterrorism and the U.N. in the same  
12          word. There are very few people. It's time  
13          you start thinking about it. The U.N. is very  
14          different today than it was four or eight  
15          years ago on counterterrorism. There's a  
16          global counterterrorism strategy agreed to by  
17          all member states of the U.N. that is a robust  
18          framework for counterterrorism.

19                    The U.N. can't do everything in  
20          counterterrorism. Shouldn't be asked to. But  
21          there are a whole range of things that the  
22          U.S. is currently doing bi-laterally that it

1           could do multi-laterally and leverage gains in  
2           the counterterrorism area much more  
3           effectively than is currently happening.

4                        A quick word on some of our old  
5           business lines, if you will.  Peacekeeping.  
6           I think most of you know peacekeeping of the  
7           U.N. handles a lot of the problems in places  
8           that the U.S. does not generally do bi-  
9           laterally.  But I don't think the scale is  
10          fully appreciated by many.

11                      Over 110,000 people are currently  
12          deployed in U.N. peacekeeping, second only in  
13          terms of people deployed around the world to  
14          the United States.  While we do not have an  
15          army or anything like it, the fact that the  
16          U.N. has that number of people deployed means  
17          that you need to think of us in a very  
18          different way when we talk about managing  
19          global security.

20                      One other business line that works  
21          so we talk about it very little is  
22          humanitarian response.  But the demands are

1 going up in key areas. Natural disasters  
2 going off the charts in part related to  
3 climate change. We expect those to continue.

4 The mechanisms we have work. It's  
5 a great mechanism for burden sharing. And the  
6 U.S. is generally one of our most supportive  
7 member states in that area. But again, you  
8 need to build coalitions that expand and  
9 deepen the support in this area so that the  
10 U.S. is not carrying inordinate burdens in  
11 this area.

12 Finally, I would wrap up with a  
13 word on human rights. The U.S. credibility  
14 right now I think it's safe to say is at an  
15 all-time low on human rights, certainly in the  
16 post-war period. Being an American at the  
17 U.N., you feel that on a daily basis. If the  
18 United States is to turn its image around in  
19 the international community, the area that you  
20 need to start with is probably on human  
21 rights. This is an area where there are some  
22 high rewards if the U.S. is able to do some

1 things differently, but not just do things  
2 differently for the United States, but to  
3 leverage those changes into changes in the  
4 international arena. You need an  
5 international human rights policy, not just a  
6 national human rights policy. You do need  
7 both. And I think again, this is a high value  
8 area for you to consider. In particular, the  
9 notion of operationalizing the responsibility  
10 to protect.

11 I know that Secretary Albright and  
12 Secretary Cohen this morning launched the  
13 report on preventing genocide. This is an  
14 area where the overlap between I think the  
15 U.S. agenda and the U.N. agenda is quite  
16 large, and should be leveraged.

17 I'm sorry. Finally a word on just  
18 the U.S./U.N. relationship. This is always  
19 kind of sine curve. It goes up and down and  
20 up and down. Right now, we're coming out of  
21 a real tough period and we're moving up the  
22 sine wave. But nothing is inevitable. The

1 importance of continuing to move up the sign  
2 wave of the U.S./U.N. relationship is that you  
3 use the U.N. intelligently. Do not turn to  
4 the U.N. for everything. Don't come to the  
5 U.N. for things that you know we are going to  
6 fail at. And I think this is a conversation.

7 The U.S. can't have a policy made  
8 here and then bring it to the U.N. and say we  
9 want you to do this. There has to be an  
10 iterative process of dialogue with key member  
11 states and with the U.N. Secretary-General to  
12 determine what the appropriate agenda at the  
13 U.N. is. And it's very important. And that  
14 basic approach has not been taken on key  
15 issues in the past. This time around, we have  
16 to get that right.

17 Final word on the U.S./U.N.  
18 relationship is about thinking big in multi-  
19 lateralism right now, not necessarily again  
20 that everything has a multi-lateral solution,  
21 but that we are at a moment where the U.N. was  
22 created 60 years ago and was itself a

1 combination of combining power and principle.  
2 And we are at a moment where we need to re-  
3 combine power and principle. And we need to  
4 do it not just in the securities sphere. Five  
5 members of the Security Council, or 15, cannot  
6 do all the security lifting. There has to be  
7 certain tasks that they do take unique  
8 responsibility for, but that that circle is  
9 broadened on a range of other issues.

10 In the economics sphere, the G8,  
11 or the G20 cannot do it all. They should do  
12 their part on key things, but then there has  
13 to be a strategy for how you broaden that out  
14 to make sure everyone is a participant in  
15 economic recovery and managing the  
16 consequences of these dire economic times.

17 And lastly in the climate area,  
18 the same analog. Sixteen emitters cannot lock  
19 themselves in a room and come up with a  
20 solution for climate change. While they do  
21 need to do that, those who emit the most do  
22 need to come to some understanding among each

1           other. There has to be a way to bring that  
2           then into a room of 195.

3                         This is something that I think is  
4           for the making. The combination of power and  
5           principle that was done 60 years ago does not  
6           serve for today. And you do need to think big  
7           about how to re-combine power and principle in  
8           these very challenging times. And the U.N.  
9           stands ready to work with the U.S. on this and  
10          all the challenges I've mentioned.

11                        Thank you.

12                        MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you very  
13          much.

14                        (Applause.)

15                        MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you very  
16          much, Bob. And thank you for the discipline  
17          in observing the time limit, which of course  
18          undercuts the prevailing view in some courses  
19          that U.N. officials cannot be disciplined when  
20          given the floor.

21                        Let me give the floor now to Anne-  
22          Marie Slaughter.

1 MS. SLAUGHTER: Right before  
2 Christmas, Prospect Magazine -- the British  
3 Prospect Magazine, not the American Prospect  
4 -- asked a number of thinkers to identify what  
5 was the most underrated event of 2008 and what  
6 was the most overrated event of 2008. I'm not  
7 going to tell you what I said was the most  
8 overrated event. You can go to the website  
9 and read that and the thoughts of many others.  
10 But I said I thought the most underrated event  
11 was the disappearance -- the replacement -- of  
12 the G8 by the G20. Because in fact, what  
13 happened in November when the G20 met in  
14 Washington, the leaders of 20 nations  
15 representing the developing world, emerging  
16 markets, rising powers, as well as established  
17 powers was in my view de facto the expansion  
18 of the G8. Doesn't mean the G8 can't still  
19 meet. But it will effectively meet as a  
20 subgroup of the G20.

21 That's very important if we're  
22 going to talk about international institutions

1           because I could probably fill this room with  
2           articles and reports produced by people like  
3           me and Bob and many people in this room  
4           arguing for what is the exact way to expand  
5           the G8 and what is the perfect number.

6                         Should it be the G13 where you add  
7           China and India and Brazil and South Africa  
8           and one other country?  Should it be the G16  
9           where you add those countries and a couple  
10          more?  Should it be variable geometry so it  
11          can be sometimes the G15 and sometimes the  
12          G17?  We could go on for another decade  
13          imagining what is the perfect number.

14                        But de facto what happened was  
15          that the G20 of finance ministers, which was  
16          created after the East Asian financial crisis  
17          in the late 1990s and hence is heavily  
18          weighted toward Asian countries -- it includes  
19          South Korea, Indonesia, India of course, but  
20          also Australia in addition to Latin American  
21          countries and African countries -- that group  
22          -- the G20 of finance ministers -- met as the

1 G20 of leaders and is supposed to meet again  
2 in April.

3           Once that group is seized of the  
4 financial global crisis, there's no going  
5 back. You can't expel some of those members.  
6 You can't now call for a meeting of the G13.  
7 You can have again smaller meetings within the  
8 G20.

9           But the G20 de facto became the  
10 informal grouping that was charged with  
11 dealing with the global financial crisis and  
12 will meet again in April with President Obama  
13 there, and will become the smaller group for  
14 the major decisions and often the group that  
15 will come up with proposals that will then be  
16 taken to the more formal international  
17 institutions.

18           So I want to start by saying we  
19 have now actually been forced into a much more  
20 representative grouping of countries in the  
21 G20. It includes India and Brazil and China  
22 and Indonesia, South Africa, Turkey, Saudi

1           Arabia, as I said also Australia, South Korea  
2           and a couple of other countries. That's a  
3           start. And it's an important start.

4                     But if we're going to go forward  
5           on informal networks for international  
6           cooperation -- and I'm going to come to the  
7           formal institutions in a minute -- the focus  
8           has been on getting that G20 of finance  
9           ministers to meet at the leaders' level just  
10          like the G8 does. And now we have the G8 of  
11          leaders.

12                    But I would say what we actually  
13          need are the G20 of food ministers, the G20 of  
14          environmental ministers, the G20 of energy  
15          ministers, the G20 of counterterrorism top  
16          officials. In other words, we need that group  
17          of nations.

18                    And it can certainly include some  
19          others depending on what the issue is. If  
20          it's the environment, it will include some  
21          other nations. If it's energy, it will  
22          include some other nations. But we need that

1           grouping to expand to many, many more  
2           substantive areas where we do not have the  
3           ability for top officials to get together  
4           informally to try out ideas, to develop  
5           proposals, to negotiate, and then to see where  
6           those can go on a regional or a global level.

7                         In addition, we're going to need  
8           that group to be able to connect to other  
9           officials in their own countries, so lower  
10          level working groups, and also connect to the  
11          many networks of nongovernmental organizations  
12          and of private sector institutions that  
13          already exist.

14                        We started by talking about the  
15          networked world. We're in the networked  
16          world. We are networked in every way we can  
17          imagine and becoming more so by the day.  
18          Every time I turn around, some other major  
19          institution has a MySpace page or a  
20          YouTube site, and is using MySpace for  
21          actually social networking, but also doing  
22          business.

1                   That's what we take for granted as  
2                   a matter of our daily lives. But our politics  
3                   and our ability to cooperate and to solve  
4                   problems has to harness the power of the  
5                   networks through groups like the G20 and all  
6                   the networks that can follow from them, but  
7                   also the connecting of those public networks  
8                   to all the nonprofit and private networks.

9                   What I'm describing looks a lot  
10                  like the way the EU runs its business,  
11                  although the EU is much more formal than  
12                  anything I'm talking about. But it is a way  
13                  for many countries to come together to work  
14                  with official actors and unofficial actors to  
15                  actually get things done on a pragmatic basis  
16                  without all the formal negotiations and the  
17                  endless, endless time that it takes to get  
18                  formal treaties.

19                 So the first thing I'd say about  
20                 cooperation going forward is that we've  
21                 already had the change that many of us have  
22                 spent a great deal of time calling for in the

1 informal sector, and we now need to build on  
2 that, tackling all the problems that Bob  
3 talked about.

4 That doesn't mean that there's not  
5 a key role for the formal institutions. And  
6 we've led off with the U.N. And that is, I  
7 think, significant. The formal institutions -  
8 - the U.N., the World Bank, the IMF, the World  
9 Trade Organization, the World Food  
10 Organization, the many other regional  
11 organizations and functional organizations --  
12 are often far more important than many  
13 particularly in this town realize, and as Bob  
14 said, often increasingly have operational  
15 capacity. They don't just talk and pass  
16 resolutions. They actually do things.

17 But many of them need fairly  
18 dramatic reform. And I'm not going to go  
19 through each one. But I will say something  
20 about the U.N. and specifically the Security  
21 Council.

22 I said the G20 has replaced the

1 G8, that the councils of power -- the table of  
2 decision -- is no longer limited to Japan,  
3 North America and Western Europe. It is now  
4 extended to countries on every continent,  
5 emerging countries as well as much more  
6 established countries.

7 But that's the informal group.  
8 That's the G-something. The Security Council  
9 still looks like the configuration of power in  
10 1945 with a sort of little boost for France  
11 because France actually wasn't in such great  
12 shape in 1945. But as members of the Security  
13 Council, that power configuration is  
14 completely outdated.

15 Now in this town or any town, talk  
16 about Security Council reform and I'll have  
17 you asleep in two minutes. And many people  
18 will just roll their eyes and say it can never  
19 happen. We shouldn't bother.

20 My response to that is that if it  
21 doesn't happen, the U.N. will become less and  
22 less relevant for major decisions. It's

1 specific agencies will remain very important  
2 -- the different departments. But the ability  
3 of the U.N. to legitimize global decisions,  
4 which is often when it is most important, that  
5 global counterterrorism strategy that Bob was  
6 talking about has been hugely helpful to U.S.  
7 counterterrorism efforts because we can say  
8 these measures were passed by the U.N. They  
9 are globally mandated.

10 Similarly, of course, when we use  
11 force, having a U.N. mandate is extremely  
12 helpful. But unless the Security Council  
13 represents the world that we are now in, it is  
14 increasingly seen as illegitimate, not just in  
15 the United States which is also true, but in  
16 many parts of the world.

17 And what to do about it? Well, I  
18 actually think there are many plans for  
19 Security Council reform. There are two  
20 perfectly good ones that were developed by  
21 the high-level panel on Threats, Challenges  
22 and Change by Kofi Annan. They put forward

1           their proposals. One was to add Japan and  
2           Germany and Brazil and India and two African  
3           nations as permanent members, not with a veto.  
4           The other was something called plan B that  
5           effectively would have achieved the same  
6           results where you would have had those six  
7           countries sitting on the Security Council all  
8           the time but in a rotating structure.

9                         Either one of those could have  
10          been passed in 1996 if the United States had  
11          been willing to put its own capital behind  
12          getting it passed. That doesn't mean the U.S.  
13          should come up with a plan, should drive  
14          Security Council reform. But I think if the  
15          United States were to say we understand that  
16          this organization has to be reformed and we  
17          will support whatever the other 194 countries  
18          can agree to or some large majority, whether  
19          that's adding those six countries as permanent  
20          members, they can get the votes. And Germany  
21          and Japan and Brazil and India think they can  
22          get the votes. I'd say let them try. If they

1 can get the votes, then do it that way. If  
2 they can't, then do the rotating structure.

3 But we ought to make clear that we  
4 understand that these institutions can't do  
5 what we want them to do and what we need them  
6 to do unless they are more representative.  
7 You can't ask people to share burdens if  
8 they're not part of the decisionmaking  
9 structure. And we've been pushing this and  
10 pushing this. We've come to the point where  
11 we're actually endangering our ability to use  
12 these institutions as effectively as we need  
13 to. So that's the informal institutions and  
14 the formal institutions.

15 Let me conclude with strategies of  
16 cooperation, since that was one of our tasks.

17 This summer the Center for A New  
18 American Security -- another very  
19 distinguished organization -- in addition to  
20 the U.S. Institute of Peace issued a report  
21 called Strategic Leadership that was authored  
22 by a number of people who are in the current

1 Administration -- Jim Steinberg, the soon-to-  
2 be Deputy Secretary State. Susan Rice wrote  
3 the forward. Kurt Campbell, Lael Brainard,  
4 Ivo Daalder, and yours truly and a couple of  
5 others wrote a report called Strategic  
6 Leadership. And the concept of Strategic  
7 Leadership says the United States has to lead.  
8 And indeed we just heard a number of places  
9 where unless the U.S. leads --  
10 nonproliferation, climate change -- nothing  
11 will happen. So we must lead in some areas.  
12 There is no choice. And it is time that we --  
13 and indeed over time -- that we return to  
14 leadership on some of those issues. In other  
15 areas, we've continued to lead.

16 But we no longer can claim the  
17 mantle of global leadership as if it were a  
18 unitary garment, that we can pick it up and  
19 take over on the full range of issues that Bob  
20 and others have discussed over the course of  
21 the day. Instead we need partners. We need  
22 to decide what are the issues where we have to

1           lead and where we should put all our energies  
2           into developing a leadership strategy.

3                         And what are the areas where in  
4           fact we should leave it to others? There are  
5           issues for instance like working with China to  
6           develop green technology -- the preparatory  
7           work on climate change. The U.S. doesn't have  
8           to lead there. Japan is anxious to lead  
9           there. In areas in Latin America, looking at  
10          a number of the major problems which we rarely  
11          focus on in Latin America, we can turn to both  
12          Brazil and Mexico, both of which are anxious  
13          to take a much bigger role in the region.

14                        Even in the Middle East, where we  
15          do need to lead in many ways, there are other  
16          actors who are anxious to play a role, and are  
17          playing a bigger role. Turkey urging Israel  
18          to open negotiations with Syria is just one  
19          example.

20                        Strategic leadership means looking  
21          for partners. It means occasionally  
22          suggesting that others take the lead. That is

1 a way of inviting much more cooperation than  
2 getting out front ourselves and expecting  
3 others to follow. Either we will get others  
4 to take up some of that leadership, or in many  
5 cases when we ask others to lead, they  
6 actually realize that there's a benefit to  
7 having us certainly as a full partner, that  
8 they don't actually want us to pull back.  
9 They want us to be part of that leadership  
10 structure.

11 In either case, leading  
12 strategically, thinking about where we can  
13 share burdens, where we can ask others to take  
14 the lead is a better way to invite cooperation  
15 and achieve it than getting out front and  
16 expecting others to follow.

17 Thanks.

18 (Applause.)

19 MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you, Anne-  
20 Marie. Richard?

21 MR. ARMITAGE: Thank you, Dr.  
22 Williams. I thank you and Dick Sullivan for

1 taking pity on an out-of-work Republican and  
2 bringing me in from the cold. Everybody's got  
3 to be somewhere. I guess I appreciate the  
4 invitation.

5 (Laughter.)

6 MR. ARMITAGE: Batting clean-up on  
7 a panel like this, you find that you're in the  
8 position of saying that everything that can be  
9 said has been said, just not by me. So I'll  
10 try to be as unrepetitive as possible.

11 You know the election of Senator  
12 Obama is something that allows us to really  
13 change the equation. After 9/11 as I've said  
14 in other forums, we've been busy exporting  
15 something which is quite foreign to us. In  
16 our fear and our anger, we were facing the  
17 world with a very angry and unwelcoming face.  
18 And I think Mr. Obama's election allows us to  
19 really change that and change it rather  
20 dramatically and quickly.

21 And in order to do that and in  
22 order to get some wind in the sails of

1 internationalism, I would suggest that he  
2 would do two things immediately upon assuming  
3 the Presidency. The first is call for the  
4 Senate to immediately ratify the Law of the  
5 Sea Treaty. It's been hanging around since  
6 1982. It's about time. And I would not dilly  
7 dally any longer on the closing of Gitmo. The  
8 President of the United States has said for  
9 two years he wants to close it. So, close it.

10 And I think those two issues taken  
11 off the table right in the beginning will put  
12 some wind -- as I say -- in the sails of  
13 internationalism and show that we have a  
14 different regard for the international  
15 community.

16 There's another item we can engage  
17 in it seems to me to help us really in this  
18 sort of proving to the world that we want to  
19 be part of an international equation, and in  
20 many parts will be the leader of that  
21 international equation. And that is to re-  
22 think our public diplomacy. It seems that for

1            successive administrations, public diplomacy  
2            has been defined as saying something louder,  
3            being a little more shrill. And let me assure  
4            you, of the 193 countries or whatever in the  
5            United Nations, there's not a country around  
6            that doesn't know exactly what we think on  
7            every issue. The question they have is  
8            whether we know what they think.

9                            So it would seem to me that if Mr.  
10            Obama and Mrs. Clinton wanted to be  
11            extraordinarily effective right off the bat,  
12            they'd send out their brand new diplomatic  
13            team with no talking points, and tell them to  
14            do what's very difficult for Americans -- to  
15            shut up and listen. First of all, after  
16            countries got over their shock and awe at this  
17            development, I think they might be able to  
18            actually assure themselves that this is a new  
19            day.

20                            I'm not suggesting that we have to  
21            agree, by the way, with our interlocutors.  
22            I'm just saying we have to listen to them.

1           And they have to know we heard them.  If we  
2           don't have the courage of our own convictions  
3           and enough knowledge ourselves to be able to  
4           react after that in a proper way and show why  
5           we think we might have a better way, or if  
6           they've got a better way to accede to their  
7           wishes, then shame on us.

8                        A couple of comments about the  
9           United Nations.  I wouldn't -- as you, Anne-  
10          Marie -- I don't want to put people to sleep  
11          and talk about Security Council reform.  But  
12          I do have a suggestion that the Security  
13          Council should think about.  And that is  
14          although it has been 60 years since the U.N.  
15          charter was written, we might want to think  
16          about reading the charter again and re-  
17          thinking the role of the Security-General.  
18          This is taking nothing away from Kofi Annan or  
19          Ban Ki-Moon, and follow the tradition of Doug  
20          Hamisheld (phonetic) and not Kurt Voldheim.

21                       But the fact of the matter is, the  
22          framers or the drafters of the charter

1           envisioned the Secretary-General to be the  
2           chief administrative officer of the body.  
3           That is a quote. That's not my cheap  
4           language. And that the Security Council in  
5           Chapter 5 of the charter was to be executive  
6           decision maker of the body to whom member  
7           states would be forces available for chapter  
8           7, et cetera, et cetera.

9                         So I'm not suggesting we go all  
10           the way back to administrative officer. But  
11           I think if you want a Security Council that  
12           works, then we're going to have to have a  
13           slight bit more sort of administrative  
14           activities by the Secretary-General. God  
15           knows there's plenty of work in that area to  
16           be done, and slightly more decision making --  
17           weighty decision making -- by the 15 both  
18           elected and appointed permanent members of the  
19           Security Council.

20                        I think President Obama has done a  
21           great favor to both the U.N. and to ourselves  
22           by nominating Dr. Rice to be our U.N.

1           ambassador. I think it's a good thing. She's  
2           seen as close to him. And I think there's a  
3           message in that. It's quite a different  
4           message from the message we sent when we had  
5           John Bolton go to the U.N.

6                         The irony here is John is probably  
7           by his training, by his intellect, and by the  
8           jobs he's had in government, I don't think  
9           there has ever been someone who is more  
10          ideally suited by background to the job of  
11          Ambassador to the United Nations. Now, his  
12          affection for the body was somewhat under  
13          control. But I think quite the opposite  
14          message has been sent by Dr. Rice. And I  
15          think this is a very good and necessary thing.

16                        We talk a lot about the U.N. and  
17          not much about other international  
18          organizations such as NATO, which is not in  
19          ascendancy. The U.N. may be, at least in the  
20          short term, I would say in some descendancy.  
21          The Georgia situation was not NATO's finest.

22                        If Afghanistan doesn't come out

1 well, the usefulness of NATO as an  
2 international organization will severely  
3 question and severely pressure. And well it  
4 should.

5 I was going to talk also about the  
6 new grouping of the G20 and their meeting in  
7 London in April. You're right. In a way,  
8 it's the new G8.

9 Kevin Rudd, the Prime Minister of  
10 Australia writes about it today in the  
11 Financial Times. And he says how necessary  
12 for the great nations of the G20 to coordinate  
13 their financial activities, et cetera. But  
14 the word he used is coordinate and cooperate.  
15 And I think although it's not stated in the  
16 article, no matter useful the G20 can be --  
17 and it's going to be very useful -- it's not  
18 going to mean that a great economy like the  
19 United States or any of the other great  
20 economies subordinate their decisions on their  
21 economy to any international grouping.  
22 They're not going to do it, particularly in

1           these times when protectionism is now pushing  
2           at the doors of many countries including our  
3           own.

4                        So I like your term, Anne-Marie,  
5           about variable geometry. It's what I call  
6           functional coalitions.

7                        After the terrible event of the  
8           tsunami in 2004, 2005, we did just that. It  
9           did take the United States to coalesce it.  
10          Asked the Indians, the Japanese and the  
11          Australians to get together with us. We  
12          coordinated by telephone. And as people in  
13          Indonesia, Thailand, Sri Lanka, and Malaysia  
14          to some extent will tell you, it was an  
15          extraordinarily useful, functional coalition  
16          or a veritable geometry coalition.

17                       We've got other opportunities  
18          today. It's not a secret that the United  
19          States' credibility is suffering a little bit  
20          in the MPT arena because of the manner in  
21          which we engaged with India. I'm not  
22          apologizing for that engagement. There's a

1 long-term policy goal of the United States.  
2 I think in the long term it will be a very  
3 good thing. And I have no questions about  
4 India's ability to protect nuclear  
5 technologies. She's never had a problem at  
6 all.

7 But the manner in which we went  
8 about it I think has caused our credibility in  
9 that area to suffer. We have now a two-year  
10 member of the Security Council -- Japan --  
11 whose credibility in the MPT is enormous. So  
12 if you could align the credibility of Japan  
13 and let them take the lead with the capability  
14 for monitoring, et cetera, the MPT, and gather  
15 others with us, this would be a fantastic  
16 functional coalition. And it's one that's  
17 sorely needed if the intelligence communities  
18 are correct in what they have to say.

19 I completely endorse what you say  
20 about Japan, U.S. -- the two largest  
21 technological giants -- cooperating together  
22 to better the situation on environment,

1 climate, in China particularly. But you might  
2 also extend that to energy, whether it's the  
3 use of nanotechnologies, et cetera. You can  
4 have the most wired country in the world --  
5 Korea -- join us in this endeavor. It just  
6 takes a little imagination it seems to me, and  
7 a little spark.

8 I'm not sure -- and I don't wish  
9 this because I would put myself down on the  
10 side of internationals -- but 25 or 20 years  
11 from now, I'm not sure how the today's  
12 international organizations will look. I  
13 don't think they're going to look great. But  
14 I think they'll be a lot of functional  
15 coalitions which look a lot better.

16 The comment was made -- I think,  
17 Dr. Williams, you made it in the beginning  
18 about burden sharing. Let's be clear about  
19 one thing. Burden sharing is also power  
20 sharing. Now we can talk about this and  
21 people can nod their heads. But I can assure  
22 you at least for the U.S. Congress who always

1 yells about burden sharing, when you come back  
2 and then say yes, but there's a little power  
3 sharing, they don't like that part. They  
4 don't want to hear that part. But I think  
5 when we talk about sharing a burden, we need  
6 to also realize that there is of necessity a  
7 certain amount of power sharing. We've got to  
8 get used to that.

9           Asked about large powers or how to  
10 get along with the Indias and the Chinas and  
11 the Russia -- a resurgent Russia -- and  
12 Brazil, I don't think it's all that difficult.  
13 If you look at each of those countries, there  
14 are issues which we have and they have. We  
15 share with China the climate and the emissions  
16 problem. We share terrorism, and things of  
17 that nature. The financial meltdown affects  
18 them as us.

19           With Russia, we've got exactly the  
20 same problems with drugs, with HIV-AIDS and  
21 with terrorism. So there are sufficient  
22 centers of gravity with every country which we

1           can engage them that we have to do it in a way  
2           that is both respectful and not overbearing.  
3           And I'm not again suggesting in any way that  
4           we have to accede or agree with them on every  
5           issue. But it's the manner in which they  
6           engage them.

7                         Russia's problem with the United  
8           States in the last couple of years has been  
9           much more in the manner in which we engage  
10          them than actually surprise at our positions  
11          on different issues. They didn't have any  
12          surprises. But they were not happy because  
13          they felt they couldn't even get a hearing.

14                        So I think the engagement of the  
15          major powers and the upcoming developing  
16          powers is not so hard. You just have to be  
17          somewhat respectful. Sort of the same way  
18          you'd like me to deal with you and I'd  
19          certainly want you to deal with me.

20                        And finally, I'm one of those who  
21          I guess with Mrs. Albright and others puts  
22          myself in the camp of believing that most of

1 the people and most of the nations in the  
2 world want the United States to be an  
3 indispensable nation. It's not an arrogant  
4 comment. I think it's a true comment. Most  
5 of them do. They realize our power.

6 But they also realize our national  
7 characteristics. And when this nation has our  
8 national characteristics and our words and our  
9 actions in line, and I think most of the  
10 nations in the world want us to be an  
11 indispensable nation. It's when our  
12 characteristics and our words or actions are  
13 out of line that we fall in the degree of  
14 affection which other nations have for us.

15 So I guess at the end of the day,  
16 what I'm saying is for the United States where  
17 a principle is involved, we need to be deaf to  
18 expediency. We've got to make sure that the  
19 image others in the world have of us to use  
20 what's become almost a hackneyed phrase should  
21 be the shining city on the hill, and not Abu  
22 Ghraib and Guantanamo.

1 Thank you.

2 (Applause.)

3 MR. WILLIAMS: Well, thank you  
4 very much, Richard. And thank you our three  
5 panelists. They were excellent presentations.

6 And mindful that we have ten  
7 minutes before the end of the allotted time  
8 for this session. So what I think I will do  
9 is just take a set of three or four questions  
10 if we have four, and then turn it over to the  
11 panelists to react before wrapping up.

12 And if you can just give us your  
13 name and affiliation, that would be helpful.

14 PARTICIPANT: Hi. Sebastian Funs  
15 (phonetic) of American University.

16 First of all, thank you for  
17 speaking to us today.

18 We heard Dr. Orr say some of the  
19 new initiatives with Ban Ki-Moon being the new  
20 Secretary-General. And perhaps this is part  
21 of one of the steps you mentioned, but the one  
22 thing I've always noticed is the lack of

1 efficiency with big governing organizations,  
2 especially such as the U.N. And with voices  
3 such as those of Dean Slaughter calling for an  
4 expansion of perhaps even the Security Council  
5 to be more representative of the world, how do  
6 you find consensus? Would that have to  
7 include abolishing the veto right? Would that  
8 have to include having it be a vote and having  
9 to reach 51 percent? And then with issues  
10 such as state sovereignty having so much  
11 importance these days with certain countries,  
12 how do you come to a decision? Thank you.

13 MS. REISER: Yes. My name is  
14 Mindy Reiser. I'm with the United Nations  
15 Association here in the National Capitol Area.

16 The Middle East challenge has been  
17 around a very long time. We've had special  
18 rapporteurs. We've had all kinds of missions,  
19 delegations, caucuses. I'd like to hear some  
20 creative ideas that haven't been tried. It's  
21 on the front pages. It continues to be, and  
22 the world is getting caught in this miasma

1           once again.

2                       MR. WILLIAMS: Two more brief  
3           questions. One in front.

4                       MR. DANSPECKGRUBER: Thank you.  
5           Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, Princeton University,  
6           indeed serving with Anne-Marie Slaughter.

7                       I wanted to add a question in  
8           terms of visionary elements. It's wonderful  
9           to talk about the development towards a G20  
10          and flexible geometry. It's also wonderful to  
11          talk about the U.N. Security Council reform.  
12          Where does all this fit in the increasing  
13          relevance of nonstate actors?

14                      MS. LINDSAY: Beverly Lindsay, Penn  
15          State.

16                      My question is for any of the  
17          panelists. And that is you've made a number  
18          of very insightful suggestions and  
19          recommendations. But how will one help the  
20          American public to understand this? Because  
21          if we look back historically, Woodrow Wilson  
22          -- we can name other Presidents since then --

1 had difficulty having their initiatives for  
2 change accepted by the American public and in  
3 the Senate, and other bodies voted against  
4 them.

5 MR. WILLIAMS: Okay. Thank you  
6 very much for those questions. I'll ask our  
7 panelists to now respond beginning with Anne-  
8 Marie Slaughter.

9 MS. SLAUGHTER: Let me see if I  
10 can do this in one sentence each per question.

11 So on are we going to make the  
12 U.N. Security Council even more dysfunctional,  
13 even more blocked, the G20 is bigger than the  
14 G8. It's hard to even get agreement in the  
15 G8.

16 Sometimes bigger groups actually  
17 create possibilities for linkages and also  
18 possibilities for shaming hold outs so that  
19 the game theory analyses -- and I'm certainly  
20 not going to try to do them here -- of an  
21 expanded Security Council indicate that there  
22 are actually possibilities to help it achieve

1 consensus, or at the very least it won't be  
2 worse.

3 On the Middle East, my colleagues  
4 will both have answers. I would say two  
5 things that I would suggest. One is that  
6 President-Elect Obama and Secretary-Designate  
7 Clinton both are clearly thinking about the  
8 Middle East as one region from Israel to  
9 India. It is not the Israeli/Palestinian  
10 problem, the Iraqi problem, the Iranian  
11 problem, the Pakistan/Afghanistan/India  
12 problem. It is an entire region. And we have  
13 to think about it in terms of linked problems.

14 Second point is the Middle East is  
15 the least institutionalized region in the  
16 world. There's the Gulf Cooperation Council  
17 and the Arab League, and not much else. And  
18 it is time that the EU, the U.S. and all the  
19 countries neighboring the Middle East work to  
20 try to get more institutions that can help in  
21 crisis prevention, and also things like water,  
22 food -- some of the less hot button issues.

1 That was more than one sentence.

2 Nonstate actors? Nonstate actors  
3 are a critical part of the networks that I was  
4 talking about. One of the great advantages to  
5 multiple geometry groups or networks is  
6 precisely that they can engage nonstate actors  
7 flexibly in important ways. But nonstate  
8 actors also increasingly have a role even at  
9 places like the U.N.

10 And the way you get America to pay  
11 attention? Well, electing or naming a U.S.  
12 Senator -- a U.S. Senator who has just run for  
13 President as Secretary of State is one very  
14 good way to raise the profile of the  
15 importance of diplomacy. She understands  
16 she's got an internal audience just as much as  
17 an external one.

18 MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you. Bob?

19 MR. ORR: Well, Anne-Marie tried  
20 to do one sentence on all four. I'm going to  
21 maybe do two sentences on two.

22 On the first question about the

1 efficiency, I know the question was about  
2 efficiency of the U.N. Security Council. And  
3 Anne-Marie I think answered that well.

4 I'm going to talk about a minute  
5 about the efficiency of the U.N. itself.  
6 We've seen study after study including by the  
7 U.S. government as recently as a GAO study  
8 less than two years ago that said U.N.  
9 peacekeeping is eight times more efficient  
10 than U.S. Eight times. That's a U.S. study.  
11 Well documented.

12 Now, they're not the same  
13 instruments. You want to use the U.S.  
14 military for something very different than you  
15 want to use U.N. peacekeeping for. But when  
16 you think about efficiency, think not just  
17 about deficiency of decisionmaking. The U.N.  
18 is not always the most efficient. It is the  
19 most legitimate. That may sound hackneyed,  
20 but in the eyes of the world, if the U.N.  
21 Security Council has acted, it is different.  
22 But in operational terms, the U.N. also has a

1 comparative advantage in efficiency in key  
2 areas, in particular humanitarian assistance  
3 and peacekeeping. And I think that's  
4 something that's underappreciated.

5 On Wolfgang's question on the G20,  
6 and where the nonstate actors fit in this  
7 world we're talking about, in every one of the  
8 global issues that I mentioned starting with  
9 climate change and on down the list -- health,  
10 et cetera -- nonstate actors are truly the key  
11 actors in the equation. While it's  
12 governments sitting down to make these deals,  
13 making these deals even if they are agreed  
14 real is going to require mostly nonstate  
15 actors.

16 If we take the model -- just one  
17 little piece of the health equation -- look  
18 what is happening on malaria. A U.N. centric  
19 drive to coordinate all the different actors  
20 on malaria has created a public/private  
21 partnership dynamic that has us truly on track  
22 to get full coverage of malaria by 2010, and

1 bringing deaths by malaria to near zero by  
2 2015 -- one of the biggest killers in the  
3 world today. This is phenomenal. We need to  
4 replicate that kind of mobilization of  
5 nonstate actors with state institutions, with  
6 intergovernmental organizations.

7 We can't do the malaria model on  
8 everything. But we can do it on a lot of  
9 things. And yes, there are a number of  
10 issues.

11 I'm sorry. One quick word on the  
12 American public point. Again, I am never the  
13 advocate that the U.N. is the answer for  
14 everything. But one thing we have seen, the  
15 American public does respond to things when  
16 they go through the U.N. It's not just the  
17 rest of the world sees it as more legitimate,  
18 the American public does.

19 The ideals-based side of American  
20 thinking in vis-a-vis foreign policy really  
21 resonates well with the institutions of the  
22 U.N. -- the ideals-based side of the U.N. We

1           may not be perfect. We may have lots of  
2           problems. But year-in, year-out, when things  
3           go through the U.N., the American public is  
4           more likely to sustain it. We've seen that on  
5           security issues. We've seen that on human  
6           rights issues. We've seen it on development  
7           issues, on down the list.

8                         So part of the strategy is tapping  
9           into American idealism and sustaining that  
10          through what will be some very difficult  
11          times. We have to deliver the goods, so we  
12          have to focus on operationalization. But we  
13          need to tap into that deep reservoir of  
14          American idealism and then link that to  
15          outcomes.

16                        MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you. Richard  
17          Armitage?

18                        MR. ARMITAGE: Well, first on the  
19          Middle East, I guess I'd say first of all if  
20          I had any good ideas, I've already used them  
21          and still would be Secretary of State. And I  
22          clearly didn't have any very good ideas.

1           We're still in a mess.

2                       I think though I would say that  
3           probably three things have to be done. One  
4           has been alluded to by Dr. Slaughter. And  
5           that is that the whole Middle East is not only  
6           lacking in sort of international institutions,  
7           each country is lacking in any institutions  
8           that could ever support democracy. And I'm  
9           talking about everything from transparency to  
10          rule of law to institutions which can deliver  
11          goods and services, all of which are  
12          absolutely necessary if you're going to have  
13          anything that approaches a democracy. You  
14          have to have that first. Otherwise a  
15          democracy will very soon start to look like  
16          Venezuela.

17                      Second, part of this is to do  
18          something which is unpleasant for American  
19          administrations. And that is to stop new  
20          settlement activity by Israel. We can't have  
21          the specter of a Secretary of State  
22          continually going there saying settlements

1           must stop, they're a hindrance to peace, and  
2           have our Israeli allies turn around and then  
3           build more settlements while she's there. So  
4           it takes away from our credibility in a very  
5           serious way. And it's very well known by the  
6           Arabs.

7                         By the same token, it's quite  
8           clear that to a very large extent Hamas is  
9           getting what they deserve. The fact that they  
10          fire rockets and have for three years now  
11          notwithstanding the "cease fire" and disrupt  
12          life in certainly southern Israel, it's not  
13          acceptable.

14                        And finally in the Middle East,  
15          we're going to have to engage Iran. Note I  
16          say engage or not talk to, not negotiate with.  
17          Not necessarily. We don't even know if we  
18          have enough to negotiate with them. But we  
19          need to engage them. They are the new factor  
20          in the Middle East. And you have the specter  
21          of a non-Arab trying to become the dominant  
22          power in the Middle East. And this is not

1 generally recognized. It is in some of the  
2 states, and the Middle East more than others.  
3 But this is the dynamic that's going on. I  
4 think we have to recognize that.

5 On the question of the American  
6 public, I must admit to being quite surprised  
7 at something that happened recently. Dr. Joe  
8 Nye and I co-chaired something called a smart  
9 power commission. And in the development of  
10 our smart power recommendations, which we want  
11 to have a full tool kit, not just the military  
12 tools in our kit -- everything from public  
13 diplomacy to health care, et cetera, et  
14 cetera. You can imagine what it is. It's  
15 using soft and hard power together.

16 But in the development of this, we  
17 sent groups out to 300 or so different  
18 organizations as diverse as Liberty  
19 University, Stanford, everywhere. And we went  
20 to world affairs councils, went to town  
21 councils, high schools, everywhere, and had  
22 just open discussions. And much to my

1 surprise, overwhelmingly the American public  
2 was very aware that globalization -- they may  
3 hate it -- but that globalization was a  
4 phenomenon that in the long run was here to  
5 stay, and second of all that we cannot any  
6 longer expect our two great oceans to protect  
7 us from everything. We can't wall ourselves  
8 up, nor can we just hide behind the limits of  
9 American jurisprudence. We are involved in  
10 the world. And it was overwhelming that this  
11 was accepted by the American public.

12 So it leads me to the conclusion  
13 that if the President and his chief  
14 lieutenants are focused, put a point on their  
15 arrow in terms of public diplomacy, take  
16 advantage of international institutions where  
17 possible, don't ask a question the answer to  
18 which you don't already know is what I'm  
19 suggesting, which I think is what you were  
20 suggesting to the U.N., we can have a good  
21 support for the American public.

22 If on the other hand, we ignore

1 using this bully pulpit because of the depth  
2 of our own financial problems right now and  
3 economic problems, then we will have wasted an  
4 opportunity.

5 MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you very  
6 much. We've had three fascinating  
7 presentations from our panelists.

8 I think Bob was right to remind us  
9 at the start of three unique assets which the  
10 United Nations has. The first is its  
11 legitimacy, which is a unique morale and legal  
12 legitimacy. But it's a global forum which we  
13 can use to deal with global challenges. And  
14 I think third that the U.N. has improved  
15 operational capacities, and those capacities  
16 are particularly useful in peace and security  
17 and peacekeeping operations in humanitarian  
18 assistance.

19 And Anne-Marie Slaughter also  
20 underlined three I think important points.  
21 The first the need for top officials --  
22 ministers -- of the G20 to meet in various

1 fields to tackle a range of global problems,  
2 and second, the need to harness the power of  
3 various networks in a networked world to  
4 tackle problems without the impediments  
5 inherent in formal institutions and  
6 negotiations. And her third point linked to  
7 the point Bob made about legitimacy that if  
8 we're going to see a continuation of the  
9 U.N.'s key asset -- it's legitimacy -- there  
10 is a need to reform the Security Council to  
11 reflect the realities of power of the 21st  
12 Century and not the realities of power in  
13 1945.

14                   And Richard Armitage underlined  
15 three important points -- the need for the new  
16 Administration to take key actions to signal  
17 a difference and a different tone -- a  
18 different approach; the ratification of the  
19 Law of the Sea Treaty; closing of Quantanimo;  
20 second also, the importance of public  
21 diplomacy.

22                   Edward R. Morrow who knew a lot

1           about public diplomacy once observed that  
2           public diplomacy has to be at the take off if  
3           it's to be a crash landing. And I think that  
4           would be something for the new Administration  
5           to keep in mind.

6                           And the third point, to re-think  
7           the role of the U.N. Secretary-General.  
8           Clearly as having served in the U.N.  
9           Secretary-General's office together with Bob,  
10          there was a clear need for the Secretary-  
11          General to run the house and to be an  
12          administrative officer. But any Secretary-  
13          General now of course can't affect -- can't  
14          escape -- doing two more things -- having a  
15          political function and also using the bully  
16          pulpit when necessary.

17                          Just in closing, let me just say  
18          that at the very outset we had the report that  
19          the U.N. reflects the combination of power and  
20          principle in its structure and in the way it  
21          was founded. And I think the best kind of  
22          American foreign policy and leadership has

1           always been a combination of power and  
2           principle, and power being in the service of  
3           principle rather than the other way around.  
4           And one would hope that the new Administration  
5           will see that, and also the combination of  
6           vision and pragmatism which is what elevates  
7           politics into state craft apt for the moment  
8           and worthy of the ages.

9                           Thank you very much.

10                          (Applause.)

11                          (Whereupon, at 2:56 p.m., the  
12           above-entitled matter was adjourned.)

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