

# Foreign Policy Studies

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he Brookings Institution was founded in 1916, a period of global conflict that shaped the modern world. Today, the world again faces a transition of global proportions. In 2006, under the leadership of vice president and director Carlos Pascual, the Foreign Policy Studies Program was at the forefront of analysis of major foreign policy challenges.

“America’s conduct of foreign policy demands that we address new threats and opportunities in a world that is more interdependent, where technology has eclipsed traditional understandings of borders and security,” said Pascual, former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine and former director of the U.S. State Department’s Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization.

The Foreign Policy Studies Program has two core goals: understanding the dynamics of world affairs and the challenges they pose to the international community; and influencing policies and institutions across the globe that promote sustainable peace, security, and prosperity. In 2006, Foreign Policy scholars continued to serve as a key resource for the executive branch, Congress, foreign governments, the media, and the public. Scholars shared their expertise in congressional testimony, press briefings, panel discussions, media interviews, opinion articles, books, papers, and reports.

## Crisis and Diplomacy in the Middle East

Middle East strife escalated substantially as Israel confronted Hezbollah in Lebanon. Adding to the region’s instability were Iran’s pursuit of nuclear arms, continued fighting in Iraq, the Hamas victory in January in Palestinian elections, and further attempts at Israeli disengagement from the West Bank.

Amid these crises, the Saban Center for Middle East Policy provided expert analysis under the guidance of Martin Indyk, former U.S. ambassador to Israel and former Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs. The Saban Center boasts top analysts Kenneth Pollack, Peter W. Singer, and Tamara Wittes. Pascual and Senior Fellows Ivo Daalder, Michael O’Hanlon, Philip Gordon, and Susan Rice joined in cutting-edge analyses and recommendations to reverse the spiral of insecurity in the Middle East.

In a series of Brookings lectures, Indyk proposed a strategy for restarting Middle East diplomacy and creating a viable Lebanese state



Carlos Pascual, vice president and director of Foreign Policy Studies, and Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana prepare to give remarks at the Brookings 90th Anniversary Leadership Forum on Energy Security.



committed to peace. Senior Fellows O'Hanlon and Gordon, appearing in several Brookings forums, questioned the efficacy of Israel's bombing campaign in Lebanon and offered alternatives. In a July briefing, Pascual and scholars Pollack, Gordon, and Jeffrey A. Bader examined constraints and capabilities to manage the nuclear issue with Iran. Pascual and Indyk testified before Congress, respectively addressing reconstruction in Lebanon and Iran's nuclear ambitions.

Brookings focused attention on strengthening understanding and engagement between Muslims and non-Muslims at the 2006 U.S.-Islamic World Forum, which brought together more than 180 world leaders from 38 countries to discuss issues ranging from the war in Iraq to the Danish cartoon controversy. Held in February in Doha, Qatar, under Singer's leadership, the event defined policy agendas and programs to improve relations between the United States and the Islamic world on issues such as security, political transition, and development.

Events and policy forums were underpinned by outstanding scholarship. Wittes wrote *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process*, which won "The Best of the Best University Presses: Books You Should Know About" award from the Association of American University Presses. Daalder and Gordon edited *Crescent of Crisis: U.S.-European Strategy for the Greater Middle East*, and Jonathan Laurence and Justine Vaisse, Brookings visiting fellows who co-wrote *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France*.

#### Iraq and Its Aftermath

Brookings remained on the frontlines of the reconstruction of Iraq.

In *A Switch in Time: A New Strategy for America in Iraq*, published in February, Pollack offered alternative strategies to U.S. policy on security, political consolidation, management of oil revenues, and economic reconstruction.

O'Hanlon, the holder of the Sydney Stein, Jr., Chair in International Security, is one of Brookings's most sought-after commentators on national security. In 2006 he continued to spearhead the Iraq Index, a nonpartisan, comprehensive assessment that is consulted widely by journalists, scholars, and other experts, and appears regularly in *The New York Times*.

Daalder led a project addressing the controversy stirred by the pre-emptive use of force in Iraq. The Force and Legitimacy in the Evolving International System project conducted workshops worldwide on the use of force in response to terrorist threats or the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, in humanitarian emergencies, or to support democracy.

#### Homeland Security, Terrorism, and Insecurity

As the nation commemorated the fifth anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Brookings led research and discussion on the politically charged issue of homeland security. In June, Brookings hosted a keynote address by Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff. In *Protecting the Homeland 2006/2007*, Brookings scholars reviewed the state of homeland security and presented recommendations for reforming intelligence, fostering international cooperation, and increasing infrastructure and border protection.

Scholars continued to analyze the roots of terrorism, state capacity to manage it, and the changing nature of conflict within states. Rice examined the relationship



Saban Center director Martin Indyk (left) hosts a September 2006 talk with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Barham Salih.

between security and development, particularly the manner in which poverty erodes a nation's capacity and creates incubators of transnational threats. Singer received distinguished honors from the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial for *Children at War*, which explores child soldiers and how this phenomenon threatens the social fabric of countries subjected to it.

#### China's Emergence

China, transformed into a major economic power in the past 20 years, continued an ascension that will present one of the world's most complex and vital foreign policy challenges for years to come. Through the support of Board Chairman John L. Thornton, Brookings expanded its China Initiative into the John L. Thornton China Center, which will be led by Bader (see China Center, page 17).

In April 2006, China's President Hu Jintao met with President Bush at the White House. Their talks focused on security issues such as Korea, Iran, and Taiwan; energy; intellectual property rights; human rights; currency; and the growing U.S.-China trade deficit. On the eve of that visit, the Brookings Institution and Phoenix Satellite Television held the Brookings-Phoenix Forum on U.S.-China Relations that was broadcast throughout mainland

China and the world to an audience of tens of millions.

In July 2005, Brookings convened a private meeting in Beijing of senior experts from China, Japan, and the United States to address the deepening chill in Sino-Japanese relations. These trilateral dialogues—the second was held in Tokyo in May 2006—helped lay the groundwork for a limited but discernible warming trend, and will continue in 2007.

#### Addressing Challenges in Northeast Asia

North Korea's continued nuclear ambitions, the cross-strait relations between China and Taiwan, and growing tensions between Japan and China and South Korea have reverberated around the world. Foreign Policy Studies analyzed these critical issues through the Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies (CNAPS), led by Richard Bush, who holds the Michael H. Armacost Chair in Foreign Policy Studies. CNAPS welcomed six accomplished visiting fellows from China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Russia, and Taiwan who published independent works. Brookings and the Sejong Institute, an independent Korean think tank, co-hosted the inaugural session of the Seoul-Washington Forum in May. The forum, which featured U.S. Ambassador Christopher Hill, stimulated intensive

discussion of the U.S.-Republic of Korea alliance.

#### Repairing Transatlantic Relations

Celebrating its third year, the Brookings Center on the United States and Europe continued to offer a forum for research, high-level dialogue, and public debate on how the United States and Europe address global insecurity.

The center—led by Gordon from its 2004 inception until this year—produced an array of books, monographs, and articles as well as Web-based U.S.-Europe Analysis Series. Gordon and deputy director Jeremy Shapiro convened more than 20 policy roundtables, which featured senior policy-makers such as Ambassador R. Nicholas Burns, under secretary of state for political affairs; and Javier Solana, European Union high representative for the common foreign and security policy. In November 2005 and April 2006, the center organized the semi-annual DaimlerChrysler Forum, which brings together top-level officials, former officials, and analysts from the United States and Europe for in-depth discussions of major issues in transatlantic relations.

#### Russia and Its Neighbors

Brookings also turned its attention to Russia. Leaders of the world's eight global powers gathered in St. Petersburg for the first G8 summit hosted by Russia, which came as international concerns arose over Russia's policies on energy and civil liberties.

Senior Fellow Clifford Gaddy continued to focus on Russia's economic and political development. Gaddy's recent work on the political economy of oil and gas in Russia has attracted the attention of policy circles in Russia and the West. Senior Fellow Fiona Hill

published, advised policy-makers, and made presentations on the regional role of "energy superpower" Russia, its role in Europe, and its relations with its neighbors and the United States.

#### Engaging India and Pakistan

In early March, President Bush traveled to India and Pakistan, both part of a region characterized by crisis and by promise. Senior Fellow Stephen Cohen led an expert panel that examined issues that Bush would face when he met with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Pakistani President and Army Chief Pervez Musharraf.

U.S. and India relations were bolstered in the spring of 2006 by an agreement for the United States to sell civilian nuclear technology to India. Before and after the deal was made, Cohen testified before the U.S. Senate and House. He worked with other India experts, including Brookings President Strobe Talbott, who in the late 1990s represented the United States in nonproliferation negotiations with India and Pakistan.

#### The Situation in Darfur

Roberta Cohen, co-director of the Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, focused attention on the Darfur region of western Sudan. Former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick, in a Brookings address, examined the spread of the Darfur disaster into neighboring Chad and current policy options for the region. Senior Fellow Cohen, along with William G. O'Neill, an international human rights lawyer who trained United Nations officers in Darfur, wrote a report, "Protecting Two Million Internally Displaced: The Successes and Shortcomings of the African Union in Darfur." ■

## China Center Emerges

In 2006, Brookings launched the John L. Thornton China Center, creating a focus for well-researched and creative thinking on U.S. policy toward and understanding of China. Thanks to a generous gift from Board Chairman John L. Thornton, the center expands the work of the China Initiative, begun in 2004 with an earlier gift from Thornton. His new commitment—\$12.5 million over five years to underpin the work of the center—is expected to provide a magnet for additional resources from other donors.

Thornton, chairman since 2003, was firmly convinced that policy-makers needed to understand the implications of China's emergence as a world power.

"What happens in China—now and especially in the future—is of enormous significance to the United States and the rest of the world," said Thornton. "We need to understand what is happening there, and in response, we need to make intelligent decisions to help assure that the 21st century is one of peace and prosperity for America."

A former president and co-chief operating officer of The Goldman Sachs Group, Inc., Thornton chaired Goldman Sachs-Asia

in the late 1990s and has since taught future industry and government leaders at Tsinghua University in Beijing.

Senior Fellow Jeffrey Bader, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, became the center's first director. The center launched with a commitment to being the "go-to" place for research and policy recommendations to help U.S. and Chinese leaders address long-term challenges, such



Brookings chairman John L. Thornton converses with Zhou Wenzhong, the Chinese Ambassador to the United States.

as energy security, political and economic reform, and China's regional and global security interests.

Bader's team of scholars will include Wing Thye Woo, an economist specializing in U.S.-China economic relations and implications for the world of China's economic growth; Jing Huang, who focuses on Chinese politics and security affairs; Erica Downs, who is examining China's energy needs and linkages to politics and security, and Cheng Li, an expert on Chinese

leadership, political reform, and China's telecom industry.

"Based on his unique experience in China, John Thornton has a keen understanding of that country's role in the world," said Strobe Talbott, president of Brookings. "And based on his experience in the governance of American public-policy and educational institutions, John also sees the role that Brookings can play in providing sound analysis and recommendations

for policy-makers in China and the United States."

One of the first activities planned for the center is the planned opening of the Brookings-Tsinghua Center for Joint Research at Tsinghua University. This Beijing base will facilitate U.S. and Chinese scholars working independently and collaborating on research into the challenges facing China's development and U.S.-China relations. The project will disseminate research findings in Mandarin and English. ■