

Foreign Policy

The Foreign Policy program offered timely research, analysis, recommendations, and commentary on the world's pressing international security challenges. In 2008, program experts significantly influenced both U.S. and international policies, not to mention the substance of the U.S. presidential race. Brookings experts remained at the forefront of policy debates on Iraq and Afghanistan. Scholars balanced short-term realism with long-term aspirations on Arab-Israeli peace, averting Iran's nuclear intentions, and the push for greater democracy within Arab nations. Foreign Policy's experts helped make sense of the Russia-Georgia conflict, proposing measures to contain aggression and change the dynamic of confrontation between Russia and the international community.

Directed by Vice President Carlos Pascual, Foreign Policy generated groundbreaking research and innovative policy approaches this year in four core areas: war, peace, and transition; relations with world powers; transnational challenges; and reforming U.S. and global institutions. Along with Senior Fellow Charles Ebinger, Pascual also helped develop a new Energy Security Initiative with ideas to stimulate efficiency, cut emissions, and strengthen American competitiveness (see Energy Security box, page 16).

"Foreign Policy remained engaged with the changing pace of global challenges by offering research, analysis, and commentary on every major policy debate in an effort to guide the thinking of policy-makers and the U.S. presidential candidates," said Pascual.

War, Peace, and Transition

The Saban Center for Middle East Policy, directed by Martin Indyk, continued to promote a better understanding of the choices facing policy-makers in the United States, the Middle East, and in the Muslim world. Just weeks before the U.S.-sponsored Middle East conference in Annapolis in November 2007, the Saban Center held its fourth annual Saban Forum in Jerusalem. The Forum featured U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, King Abdullah of Jordan, former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, and Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Salam Fayyad.

Opening its doors in February, the Brookings Doha Center undertook research on the socio-economic and geopolitical issues facing Muslim-majority states and communities, encouraging increased dialogue between policy-makers from the United States and the Muslim world.

Timed with the U.S. presidential election, Brookings and the Council on Foreign Relations joined forces for the first time to develop a new approach to Middle East policy. Spearheaded by the Saban Center, the

TOM WILLIAMS





Carlos Pascual, vice president and director of Foreign Policy, testifies before a House Armed Services panel.



PAUL MORIGI

Thérèse Delpech, director for Strategic Studies at the French Atomic Energy Commission, delivers the Fifth Annual Raymond Aron Lecture.

initiative, "Toward a New U.S.-Middle East Strategy," will serve as a nonpartisan blueprint for the incoming president and his team of foreign policy advisers. To put policy guidance in a long-term strategic context, Senior Fellow Ken Pollack authored an authoritative new book, *A Path Out of the Desert: A Grand Strategy for America in the Middle East*

(Random House, 2008).

Both Pollack and Senior Fellow Michael O'Hanlon, the Sydney Stein Jr. Chair in International Security, traveled to Iraq in June 2008, publishing a fresh assessment of the challenges to stability in *Foreign Affairs* magazine. Spearheaded by O'Hanlon, the Iraq Index remains the most in-depth, nonpartisan assessment of stabilization efforts in Iraq. Its findings appear regularly in the op-ed pages of *The New York Times*. Writing for Brookings's Opportunity 08, Pascual outlined a strategy for political stabilization in Iraq. This opinion was widely cited during the presidential campaign.

More than six years after a U.S.-led invasion toppled the Taliban, Afghanistan remains a major foreign policy challenge for

the next president. The Center on the United States and Europe (CUSE), headed by Senior Fellow Daniel Benjamin, convened a series of discussions on the U.S. and NATO missions in Afghanistan. CUSE hosted NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer to assess the effectiveness of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan.

Pakistan also continued as a major policy challenge. Through congressional testimony, publications, and events, Senior Fellows Stephen Cohen and Bruce Riedel brought their considerable expertise to bear on managing political transition and threat of terrorism. Exploring the tribal tensions and extremist influences in Pakistan's western region, Senior Fellow Philip Gordon hosted a policy

discussion in February with former Pakistan Army Chief of Staff Gen. Jehangir Karamat, former Chief of U.S. Central Command Gen. Anthony Zinni, former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, and others.

Under the direction of Senior Fellow Peter W. Singer, the 21st Century Defense Initiative continued to address critical issues facing U.S. military commands in this decade and beyond. Singer's work has helped bring to light the role of private contractors in both the Abu Ghraib prison abuse scandal and the Blackwater controversy in Iraq, prompting Congress, with Singer's advice, to create the country's first-ever legislation on oversight of private contractors.

Brookings Senior Fellow Elizabeth Ferris continued her



RALPH ALSWANG

Charles K. Ebinger, director of the Brookings Energy Security Initiative.

Energy security is one of the most important strategic challenges facing the United States and the world. With its Energy Security Initiative and other activities, Brookings is well positioned to tackle energy in a comprehensive and integrated manner, guiding effective, pragmatic policies to address U.S. and global energy security issues over the next decade.

The Brookings Energy Security Initiative brings together a team of respected experts with policy-makers, industry leaders, journalists, and

other stakeholders in much-needed dialogue on a range of critical energy issues. Briefings and public events included such high-level speakers as James Connaughton, chairman, White House Council on Environmental Quality; Yvo de Boer, executive secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change; Mutsuyoshi Nishimura, special adviser to the Japanese Cabinet on Climate Change, and Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana.

To offer constructive input for the G8 Hokkaido Summit, as well as future international climate negotiation processes, the new initiative hosted a workshop on climate change in Tokyo this year that brought together approximately 30 of the top climate and energy policymakers, analysts, and business leaders for a briefing and discussion on the latest climate change research efforts undertaken at Brookings.

From an economic perspective, experts in Global Economy and Development focus on supply disruptions and price spikes and their effects on the U.S. and the world energy markets. In June, the program held a conference that explored ways in which climate change policies might interact with the trading system. With experts that included William J. Antholis, Warwick McKibbin, and Peter Wilcoxon, prospects were discussed for heading off conflict between carbon policies and trade rules.

Senior Fellow David Sandalow released a new book titled *Freedom from*

Oil (McGraw Hill, 2007), which explores the next administration's options for breaking U.S. dependence on foreign sources of oil. In June, an overflow crowd attended a conference hosted by Brookings



PETER KROGH

Brookings Trustee Daniel Yergin



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Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana

and Google.org to assess electric vehicle technology, its potential to reduce U.S. oil dependence, and the role of federal policy in promoting this technology. Sandalow was joined by O'Hanlon and Antholis for an Opportunity 08 forum on energy and national security in Iowa City in the countdown months to the Iowa caucus. ■

BROOKINGS EXPERTS ON ENERGY SECURITY

Secretary-General of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon addresses foreign policy leaders in Berlin at a meeting convened by Brookings's Managing Global Insecurity project.



MARC DARCHINGER

leadership as co-director of the Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement. With more than 2 million Iraqis displaced by the ongoing conflict in their country, Ferris developed recommendations to address the growing security and humanitarian crisis within Iraq and surrounding nations. Her recommendations served as the basis for the Recovery and Stability of Iraq Act of 2008.

Relations with World Powers

With the success of the 2008 Beijing Olympics, China continued its emergence as an economic and political force. Directed by Senior Fellow Jeffrey Bader, the John L. Thornton China Center continued to address both the internal and international challenges associated with China's stunning growth. Senior Fellows Cheng Li, Wing Thye Woo, and Geng Xiao and China Energy Fellow Erica Downs authored a number of important policy analyses that focused on China's future as a world power and on the country's changing political and economic landscape.

In its first full year of operation, the Brookings-Tsinghua Center brought together experts from the United States and China in collaborative work to increase the understanding of China's growing influence on the world stage.

The Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies (CNAPS), under the direction of Senior Fellow Richard Bush, the Michael H. Armacost Chair, conducted research and analysis to enhance policy development and understanding on the pressing political, economic, and security issues facing the Northeast Asia region. CNAPS visiting fellows—this year from China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Russia, and Taiwan—conducted in-depth research on such topics as the change of political leadership in Taiwan, the six-party negotiations on North Korea's nuclear weapons program, and the emergence of new political leadership in Japan.

CUSE oversaw a broad agenda focusing on relations between the United States and its European allies. CUSE's Frontiers of Europe project explored the impacts of possible European expansion to include Turkey, Ukraine, and the countries of the Caucasus and West Balkans.

Cuba faced major political transition in the past year as long-time leader Fidel Castro ceded authority to his brother Raul. Pascual and Visiting Fellow Vicki Huddleston continued a two-year project to improve U.S. policy to support the aspirations of Cubans seeking a representative democracy. Carol Graham, the Charles W. Robinson

Chair in Foreign Policy, began pathbreaking work on labor markets, unemployment, and inequality in Russia and Latin America.

Transnational Challenges

The United States and its allies face a multitude of challenges that cut across national borders, including energy security, global warming, nuclear proliferation, and violent extremism. Brookings experts addressed these challenges through in-depth research and international dialogues, shaping policy approaches within the United States and beyond. Senior Fellow Bruce Riedel completed a new book, *The Search for Al Qaeda: Its Leadership, Ideology, and Future* (Brookings, 2008), which explores the world's most dangerous transnational terrorist network and offers solid recommendations for confronting this global challenge.

In February 2008, Brookings launched the "Index of State Weakness in the Developing World." The Index ranks 141 developing nations according to their relative performance in four critical areas: economic, political, security, and social welfare.

Addressing the links between energy security and climate change, Senior Fellow David Sandalow released a new book, *Freedom from Oil* (McGraw Hill, 2007), which explores the next administration's options for breaking U.S. dependence on foreign sources of oil. In June, an overflow crowd attended a conference hosted by Brookings and Google.org to assess electric vehicle technology. Keynote speakers included Sen. Lamar Alexander and Rep. John Dingell.

Reforming Institutions

Under the leadership of Pascual, the Managing Global Insecurity

(MGI) project conducted a series of international consultations in an effort to reform multilateral institutions and address 21st-century global challenges. An MGI gathering in Berlin this summer featured Nobel Peace Prize laureate Rajendra Pachauri, German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, and U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. These respected international figures endorsed MGI's identification of "responsible sovereignty" as a key precept for a new international order, leading to a new "Plan for Action" released in fall 2008 and a major new book, *Power and Responsibility*, that can underpin the revitalization of U.S. leadership on global security and prosperity.



RALPH ALSWANG

U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates (left) and Brookings President Strobe Talbott at a board dinner at the Newseum.

Senior Fellow Ivo Daalder completed a major study on U.S. national security advisers and their role in shaping U.S. foreign policy. Based on hundreds of primary interviews, the study (co-authored with I.M. Destler) examined the evolution of the role of national security adviser—from McGeorge Bundy to Stephen Hadley. The study concludes that the national security adviser is more important and powerful than ever and suggests ways in which the next adviser can enhance prospects for U.S. foreign policy success. ■