

President Obama's First 100 Days

Managing Global Insecurity Project Recommendations and an Evaluation of U.S. Global Engagement

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We must strengthen our cooperation with one another, and with other nations and institutions around the world, to confront dangers that recognize no borders. As the world has become less divided, it has become more interconnected. And we've seen events move faster than our ability to control them -- a global economy in crisis, a changing climate, the persistent dangers of old conflicts, new threats, and the spread of catastrophic weapons. None of these challenges can be solved quickly or easily. But all of them demand that we listen to one another and work together.

--President Obama's remarks in Prague; April 5, 2009.

OVERVIEW

President Obama took office with a sweeping agenda to restore America’s image globally and to rebuild U.S. alliances to meet the common challenges of the 21st Century—from economic instability and climate change to nuclear proliferation and terrorism. As the new administration reaches the 100 day milestone, the following brief assesses initial progress on rebuilding global partnerships and tackling transnational threats. We compare the early actions of the Obama administration to the recommendations of the Managing Global Insecurity (MGI) Project, a two-year initiative on global challenges and modernizing the international security system. The intent is not to grade the new administration against their degree of fulfillment of MGI’s recommendations – but to use the MGI project, one of many projects on international cooperation and multilateral reform, as a useful backdrop for understanding and assessing the administration’s initial messaging and early action.

MGI previously recommended a four track agenda for the new President, working alongside global leaders, to revitalize international cooperation:



President Obama faces an unenviable set of foreign policy challenges, including a global financial crisis and two ongoing wars, as well as obstacles in building domestic constituencies for a globalist agenda in a dismal budgetary environment. It is also premature to evaluate success on issues and policies that will take months and years to achieve. However, high-level appointments, speeches, diplomatic visits, and early policies provide an indication of the new administration’s priorities and strategies. Despite these challenges, the new administration has changed the tone of U.S. engagement with the international community and arguably made progress towards re-establishing U.S. leadership in specific areas. Assessing across MGI’s four tracks, the following summary chart reflects many similarities between early action and MGI recommendations.

¹ “Responsible sovereignty” is the notion that sovereignty entails obligations and duties both to one’s own citizens and to other sovereign states. As initially articulated by African statesman and scholar Francis Deng (Nonresident Fellow at the Brookings Institution and UN Special Advisor for the Prevention of Genocide), responsible sovereignty meant that “national governments are duty bound to ensure minimum standards of security and social welfare for their citizens and be accountable to both the national body public and the international community.” (Francis M. Deng, *Protecting the Dispossessed: A Challenge for the International Community* (Brookings, 1993), pp. 14-20)

MGI Tracks	Summary - Obama Administration Action
Restoring Credible American Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Executive Order to close Guantanamo within a year and steps toward a revised U.S. detention policy worldwide ✓ Executive Order and national dialogue on an end to torture ✓ U.S. commitment to international agreements/bodies: e.g. START, CTBT, post-Kyoto climate agreement, joining Human Rights Council ✓ Messaging on international cooperation – Asia, Russia, Latin America, Muslim World, Europe ✓ Increase of civilian-side foreign affairs budget request by 11%
Revitalizing International Institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Active participation in the G20 as an expanded group of nations to address the global financial crisis ✓ Support for International Monetary Fund and World Bank reform ✓ Push to evolve NATO and the EU toward 21st Century challenges ✓ Commitment to reform/expand the UN Security Council
Tackling Shared Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ <i>Nuclear proliferation</i>: new strategy with Russia on disarmament; seeking ratification of CTBT; effort to revitalize the NPT treaty ✓ <i>Climate change</i>: pledge to negotiate a post-Kyoto agreement; leadership on Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate; declaring carbon a health risk ✓ <i>Economic instability and poverty</i>: commitment to conclude WTO round; new U.S. focus on global development ✓ <i>Global terrorism</i>: shift from Global War on Terrorism to interagency strategy to address Al Qaeda and its affiliates ✓ <i>Conflict management</i>: developing strategy for U.S. support for UN peacekeeping
Internationalizing Crisis Response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ <i>ME Peace</i>: Early and high level attention on Israeli-Palestinian peace deal – special envoy; President Obama engagement ✓ <i>Afghanistan</i>: New strategy for Afghanistan/Pakistan; new troop commitments; regional/international engagement on strategy ✓ <i>Iraq</i>: Announcement of target date for troop withdrawal; regional/international diplomacy for political settlement. ✓ <i>Iran</i>: U.S. to be active participation in P5+1 talks; President Obama Nouruz message; engagement of Iran in international conference on Afghanistan

The Obama administration has demonstrated progress in articulating a new vision for global engagement. However, the test will come in implementing this vision—developing policies on complex and interrelated issues and ensuring domestic politics are aligned to support the global agenda. Five issues pose a particular challenge to success:

- The threat of protectionism in the wake of the global financial crisis. Protectionist policies could undermine U.S. relations with China, jeopardize achievement of G20 goals, and threaten the global economic recovery;
- U.S. domestic opposition to the climate change agenda, both to U.S. cap and trade legislation and to U.S. commitment to binding targets for greenhouse gas emissions cuts within an international agreement. America's failure to price carbon within its borders could undermine a global climate agreement;
- The potential for deteriorating relations with Iran. Worsening of US-Iran relations would undermine progress toward a global standard for states seeking nuclear energy, erode the core bargain of the nonproliferation treaty, and impact U.S./Russia arms control efforts;
- The challenge of implementing the U.S. Afghanistan/Pakistan strategy and making progress, working closely with the international community, in addressing the broader threat of Al Qaeda. (Pakistan poses a particular threat as its volatile politics and state weakness are potentially explosive); and
- The task of generating the strategy, political will, and resources to strengthen international institutions to more effectively address transnational threats.

With high expectations in the U.S. and globally, the administration will have to deliver results. President Obama and his team must build on early success and translate a compelling vision into a comprehensive strategy with priorities, timelines, and resources to build an international system that can meet the challenges of the 21st Century.

ACTION ACROSS A FOUR TRACK AGENDA

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST 100 DAYS

The following pages provide a detailed comparison of Obama administration's early policies and action against the recommendations of the Managing Global Insecurity (MGI) Project. We do not intend to assert causation or correlation between MGI's recommendations and initial actions taken by the Obama administration, nor to assess the new administration by its completion of MGI recommendations. Rather, we believe that it is useful to use the MGI project as a reference point for a broader emerging consensus, both U.S. and international, on the urgency of transnational threats – the financial crisis, climate change, terrorism, nuclear proliferation – and about the need for global partnerships and reform of the existing international architecture to better address these threats.

Over the past two years, MGI created a simultaneous dialogue—American and global—about today's global challenges, America's role in the world, and action needed to modernize the international system. With two high-level advisory groups—one American and bipartisan, one international—MGI held meetings and events across the United States and in key capitals worldwide. Given the Project's bipartisan and international participation, and extensive consultation agenda, MGI recommendations reflect broad input and an emerging global consensus on the need for multilateral security reform. The Project's consultations and research form the foundation for the Project's *Plan for Action Report: A New Era of International Cooperation for a Changed World – 2009, 2010, and Beyond (November, 2008)*, policy briefs, a book, *Power and Responsibility: Building*

International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats (February 2009), and an extensive web of MGI supporters.²

Many leaders and organizations around the world have made similar calls for change and issued related recommendations on transnational threats and international cooperation. While there are considerable differences between the proposals set forth, the similarities and common ground across diverse projects are noteworthy. From Beijing to Washington Paris to Cape Town, Mexico City to Moscow – there is remarkable convergence of global opinion around the need for stronger international architecture to combat the threats of the 21st century. The financial crisis has only further highlighted the interconnectedness of global security and prosperity – and the need for revitalized institutions to handle this complexity. The below comparison presents an assessment of the Obama team’s initial progress in moving forward this agenda – not simply a scorecard against the MGI project recommendations.

TRACK 1 – RESTORING CREDIBLE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

MGI calls for the United States to re-establish itself as a good faith global partner and demonstrate American commitment to a rule-based international system. Polls show that

Ultimately, the challenges of the 21st century can't be met without collective action... But I am committed to respecting different points of view and to forging a consensus instead of dictating our terms. –President Obama’s remarks following the G20 Summit; April 2, 2009

President Obama has been able to capitalize on his global popularity and to begin to reverse much of America’s lost prestige and popularity in his first months in office. The new President has acted quickly to send strong signals that he remains committed to a cooperative approach to U.S. global leadership and that the new administration will listen, not just dictate outcomes. During his first 100 days, he showed commitment to consult both America’s traditional allies and emerging powers, abide by international law, and

reach out to the Muslim world.

U.S. COMMITMENT TO A RULE-BASED INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

To signal U.S. commitment to the international rule-of-law, MGI called on the new U.S. administration to close the Guantanamo Detention facility, initiate efforts toward a more sustainable U.S. detainee policy, and declare U.S. commitment to uphold the Geneva Conventions, the Convention Against Torture and other laws of war.

- ☑ *Target Date for Closing Guantanamo:* President Obama signed an Executive Order pledging to close Guantanamo within a year. The Obama administration appointed a senior diplomat as a special envoy on the detention camp to navigate the political, security, and legal issues to meet the closure timetable.
- ☑ *Toward a Sustainable Detainee Policy:* The President’s Executive Order sets up a taskforce to study what longer-term policy the U.S. should embrace for detention facilities worldwide. Attorney General Eric Holder named two lawyers to develop guidelines for

² See Appendix 2 for full list of MGI consultations and outreach.

interrogation, transfer of detainees and legal rules for detention of future terrorism suspects.

- ✓ *Executive Order on Interrogation Methods:* President Obama signed an Executive Order revoking the Bush administration legal re-interpretations of interrogation methods permitted under the 1949 Geneva Conventions. CIA Director Leon Panetta has said the so-called "black sites" - have been closed and decommissioned.

EARLY OUTREACH TO DIVERSE REGIONS

In the face of transnational threats and profound security interdependence, MGI underscored that even the strongest nations depend on the cooperation of others to protect their own national security. MGI called for a new era of international cooperation built on the principle of responsible sovereignty: the idea that states must take responsibility for the external effects of their domestic action—that, in an interconnected world, sovereignty entails obligations and duties toward other sovereign states as well as to one's own citizens.

At home, I've often spoken about a new era of responsibility. I believe that this era must not end at our borders. In a world that's more and more interconnected, we all have responsibilities to work together to solve common challenges.

--President Obama's remarks following the G20 Summit; April 2, 2009

- ✓ *Early outreach to Asia:* Secretary of State Clinton chose Asia as the destination for her first foreign trip, emphasizing a new focus on the "trans-Pacific" relationship and solutions to the problems of the 21st Century lie through Asia. Stopping first in Japan, Clinton reinforced U.S. relations with this traditional ally.
- ✓ *Cooperation with China:* Secretary Clinton made clear that pressing China on human rights issues would not trump engaging the Chinese on other critical issues such as climate

The clear lesson of the last twenty years is that we must both combat the threats and seize the opportunities of our interdependence. .. America cannot solve the most pressing problems on our own, and the world cannot solve them without America. The best way to advance America's interest in reducing global threats and seizing global opportunities is to design and implement global solutions. This isn't a philosophical point. This is our reality. —Hillary Clinton's confirmation hearing; January 13, 2009

change and economic insecurity. President Obama and President Hu Jintao of China agreed on a "U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue" for issues from economy and trade to counterterrorism, proliferation and health.

- ✓ *Sustaining the Trans-Atlantic Dialogue:* In President Obama's trip to Europe for the G20

Summit, NATO 60th Anniversary Summit, EU-US Summit, and a speech in Prague, he underscored the importance of transatlantic partnership as a foundation for revitalizing international institutions to address 21st Century threats.

- ✓ *Engagement with Russia:* During a meeting with the Russian Foreign Minister, Secretary Clinton sought to "reset" relations (albeit with a bad translation) opening a cooperative dialogue on issues from arms control to Middle East peace and Iran's nuclear ambitions.
- ✓ *Shared Responsibility in Latin America:* The Obama administration pledged a "shared responsibility" to address regional challenges and committed to work with Mexico on

both the supply and demand sides of the war on drugs and consequent violence spilling across the border. During the Summit of the Americas, Obama said that the U.S. would be a leader, not a lecturer, of democracy, focusing on conciliatory outreach to Venezuela and Cuba.

- ☑ *Building Bridges to the Muslim World:* President Obama visited Turkey as his first visit to a Muslim country as President and emphasized U.S. support for Turkey's membership in the European Union. In a wider message intended to be heard across the Middle East, Obama said America was "not at war with Islam". Secretary Clinton has reached out publicly to both Iran and Syria, inviting the Iranians to attend the regional conference on Afghanistan and sending two senior envoys to Damascus.

STRENGTHENING CIVILIAN TOOLS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

In order to meet complex 21st Century challenges, MGI recommends a dramatic strengthening of U.S. civilian-side national security instruments, including doubling the size of the foreign service in 10 years and re-writing the Foreign Assistance Act to elevate development priorities and improve aid effectiveness.

- ☑ *Increased Civilian-Side Foreign Affairs Budget:* The President and Secretary Clinton have emphasized the importance of strengthening diplomatic and development tools for national security. The President's FY2010 international affairs budget request of \$53.8 billion is an increase of 11% from last year and includes the creation of several hundred diplomatic and development jobs.
- ☑ *Shift of Defense Budget Toward 21st Century Challenges:* Secretary Gates announced a U.S. Defense budget that will move the U.S. away from spending for conventional warfighting and high technology to a more balanced approach that includes both convention and irregular warfare, including counter-insurgency capacities.
- I *Incomplete/In Progress:* Despite a commitment to global development and building civilian side capacity, the administration has yet to name a USAID Administrator, leaving questions regarding administration priorities, and stalling reforms. Re-writing the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act is also still a work in progress and will require concerted cooperation between administration officials and Congress.

TRACK 2: REVITALIZING INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

MGI calls for increasing the legitimacy and effectiveness of key international institutions by pushing for greater representation of emerging powers and re-focusing mandates to 21st Century challenges. The global financial crisis has sparked the emergence of the G20 leaders Summit and reform of the International Monetary Fund. But economic security is but one shared goal. Revitalized international institutions are also vital to progress on issues such as climate change, nuclear proliferation, and global poverty.

G8 EXPANSION AND REFORM FOR LEGITIMACY AND EFFECTIVENESS

MGI calls for the creation of a Group of 16 (G16) to foster cooperation between the G8 and other major and rising powers. Replacing the outdated G8, the G16 would serve as a pre-negotiating forum to forge preliminary agreements on major global challenges

- ☑ *U.S. Active Participation at the London Summit:* President Obama provided leadership at this historic Summit, working alongside an expanded group of Heads of State to put forward an unprecedented set of comprehensive and coordinated actions. The President also offered to host a follow-up G-20 Summit in late 2009.

*In an age when our economies are linked more closely than ever before, the whole world has been touched by this devastating downturn. And today, the world's leaders have responded with an unprecedented set of comprehensive and coordinated actions --*President Obama remarks following the G20 Summit; Feb 24, 2009

- I *Incomplete/In Progress:* The U.S. has not announced a clear policy vis-à-vis the Italian hosted G8 in July, 2009. In order to be effective on issues such as climate change and nuclear proliferation, an expanded group of countries must be at the table. Questions also remain regarding the relationship between the G20 and an expanded G8 and how these leaders Summits relate to other international institutions.

More than 60 years ago, our leaders understood that a global institution that brings all of the world's countries together would enhance, not diminish, our influence, and bring more security to our people and to the world. The President-Elect has affirmed America's commitment to the United Nations as an indispensable, if imperfect, institution for advancing America's security and well-being in the 21st century.—Susan Rice confirmation hearing; US PermRep to the UN – January 19, 2009

IFI REFORM FOR LEGITIMACY AND EFFECTIVNESS

MGI calls for an end to the U.S. and Europe monopoly on leadership at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, and refocusing these institutions toward 21st Century challenges.

- ☑ *IMF and World Bank Reform:* President Obama pushed for reform and resourcing of the IMF and World Bank as a key component of the G20 Communiqué. The success of the G20 process will drive outcomes on IFI reform measures.

STRENGTHENING REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

MGI highlights the important role regional institutions play in the international system and calls for bolstering regional organizations, particularly a 10-year capacity building effort for the African Union and support for a regional security mechanism for the Middle East.

- ☑ *NATO/EU Summits:* At the NATO 60th Anniversary Summit and the EU-US Summit, Obama focused on strengthening these regional organizations to respond to the crisis in Afghanistan and evolve to address 21st Century transnational challenges.
- ☑ *OAS Summit:* At the Summit of the Americas, President Obama emphasized the need for regional cooperation to address regional energy needs, climate change, drug trafficking and the global economic crisis. He also spoke of a fresh start for U.S. relations in the region, particularly with Cuba and Venezuela.

- ☑ *Resourcing the AU for Somalia:* The U.S. pushed for investments at the AU to address the conflict in Somalia.
- I *Incomplete:* While a mid to longer-term strategy to support a ME regional mechanism has not emerged, the Obama administration has made regional engagement a theme of its policy toward regional crises.

UN SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM

MGI argues that decisive expansion of the G8 in 2009 would lay a credible foundation for action on UNSC expansion within Obama’s first term.

- ☑ *Commitment to UNSC Reform:* U.S. PermRep to the United Nations Susan Rice has stated that the U.S. supports expansion of the Security Council in a way that will not diminish its effectiveness or its efficiency. A U.S. policy process to explore reform measures has been initiated.

TRACK 3: TACKLING SHARED THREATS

MGI calls for enhanced international cooperation and revitalized international institution to manage key global threats—from climate change and nuclear proliferation to global poverty and terrorism. Due to the global agenda—the 2009 conference of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the 2010 review conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the economic crisis, MGI prioritizes climate change, proliferation, and economic instability. President Obama has similarly focused on these critical issues in his opening days in office.

CLIMATE CHANGE

To move forward a new climate change agreement under the UNFCCC, MGI calls for G16 negotiations to generate consensus on the two necessary tracks of a future agreement: 1) emissions targets for 2020/2050 and 2) investments in technology and mitigation.

The Major Economies Forum will facilitate a candid dialogue among key developed and developing countries, help generate the political leadership necessary to achieve a successful outcome at the UN climate change negotiations that will convene this December in Copenhagen, and advance the exploration of concrete initiatives and joint ventures that increase the supply of clean energy while cutting greenhouse gas emissions. —President’s statement; March 28, 2009

- ☑ *Major Economics Forum on Energy and Climate:* President Obama called for an international forum of 17 major economies to speed up work towards a new agreement to curb greenhouse gases to replace the Kyoto Protocol when it expires in 2012. The group’s first meeting was hosted in Washington at the end of April.
- ☑ *Carbon as a Health Risk:* The Environmental Protection Agency has ruled that carbon dioxide is a health risk, a ruling that could lead to regulation of emissions around the nation and may encourage Congress to pass far-reaching legislation on greenhouse gases.

- ☑ *Obama-Biden New Energy for America Plan:* Goal is to create five million new jobs by strategically investing \$150 billion over the next ten years to catalyze private efforts to build a clean energy future. The plan also supports an economy-wide cap-and-trade system to reduce greenhouse gas emissions 80 percent by 2050
- I *Incomplete: Education and Constituency-Building:* The Obama administration will have to educate the American public on climate change, and motivate constituents from across the political spectrum on this issue. Without creating a domestic dialogue on climate change, Congress and the administration will struggle to surmount the political obstacles which have stalled U.S. carbon-pricing legislation in the past.
- I *Incomplete: U.S. Domestic Cap and Trade Legislation:* While the Waxman-Markey bill may be passed by the House Energy and Commerce Committee, its future remains uncertain. If it is passed by the House, the W-M bill will still have to go through a lengthy process within the Senate. It risks being voted down or water-downed in the process, failing to achieve its core objective of

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

MGI focuses on revitalizing the core bargain of the non-proliferation regime, particularly disarmament measures between the U.S. and Russia. MGI calls for all states to reduce their arsenals, endorse the Additional Protocol and work to develop an international fuel bank under the IAEA.

- ☑ *U.S./Russia Arms Reductions:* President Obama and President Medvedev announced they will negotiate a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty this year before the expiration of the START Treaty in December 2009. The agreement will take major steps to reduce and limit strategic offensive arms in accordance with U.S. and Russian obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.
- ☑ *U.S. Ratification of the CTBT:* To achieve a global ban on nuclear testing, the Obama administration has pledged to immediately and aggressively pursue U.S. ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and to revive negotiations on a verifiable Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty.
- ☑ *International Fuel Bank:* President Obama has committed to building a new framework for civil nuclear cooperation, including establishing an international fuel bank, so that countries can access power without increasing the risks of proliferation.

GLOBAL TRADE AND ECONOMIC INSECURITY

In order to break the deadlock on the Doha Round of World Trade Organization talks, MGI proposes that the G16 pre-negotiate about an open and inclusive trade regime that benefits poor countries and build momentum toward a conclusion of the trade round.

- ☑ *Commitment to Conclude WTO Round:* President Obama and G20 leaders committed to promote global trade and investment and to reject protectionism to restore global growth. The G20 Communiqué includes a provision to “reach an ambitious and balanced conclusion to the Doha Development Round, which is urgently needed.”

THREATS TO BIOLOGICAL SECURITY

MGI calls for states to build local public health capacity to achieve full implementation of the International Health Regulations (2005) and, in the longer-term, to develop an Intergovernmental Panel on Biotechnology to forge scientific consensus on the dangers and benefits of biotechnology.

- I *Incomplete:* The recent swine flu outbreak has underscored the importance of creating global measures, institutionalized cooperation, and contingency planning to address the threat of pandemics. It has also highlighted the importance of the World Health Organization as a regulatory body.

REGIONAL CONFLICT AND CIVIL STRIFE

To meet demand over the coming decades, MGI calls for increased international investment in conflict management with a goal of 50,000 international peacekeeping reserves and two billion in funding for peacebuilding

- ☑ *U.S. Funds for Peacekeeping:* The FY09 supplemental includes additional funds to sustain current UN peacekeeping operations, fund an expanded mission in the DRC, and support new missions in Chad and the Central African Republic.
- ☑ *U.S. Strategy:* The U.S. has initiated a strategy review to determine where additional U.S. investments are required for UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

GLOBAL TERRORISM

MGI recommends a shift from a U.S. Global War on Terrorism to a comprehensive international strategy to defeat Al Qaeda and its affiliates, using a variety of diplomatic, intelligence, development, and defense tools. In the long-term, MGI calls for a UN High Commissioner for Counter Terrorism Capacity Building to focus international efforts on CT norms and capacity.

- ☑ *Comprehensive Strategy Targeting Al Qaeda and Affiliates:* As demonstrated in the new Afghanistan/Pakistan strategy, the U.S. is focusing efforts on containing and defeating Al Qaeda and its supporters through an approach that will not rely on military and defense capabilities alone, but will also include economic, diplomatic, and development sticks and carrots. The Administration has also stopped using the term GWOT and instead focused on individual terrorist and jihadist movements.
- I *Incomplete:* No discussion has taken place regarding a

Equally important will be a comprehensive plan using all elements of our power – diplomacy, development, and defense – to work with those in Afghanistan and Pakistan who want to root out al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and other violent extremists who threaten them as well as us in what President-Elect Obama has called the central front in the fight against terrorism. We need to deepen our engagement with these and other countries in the region and pursue policies that improve the lives of the Afghan and Pakistani people.—Hillary Clinton’s confirmation hearing, January 13, 2009

UN High Commissioner for Counter Terrorism or other international forum for international cooperation on CT. The Somali pirate incidents in recent months underscore the challenge of developing international agreements and new procedures for addressing cross-border terrorist activities.

TRACK 4: INTERNATIONALIZING CRISIS RESPONSE IN THE BROADER MIDDLE EAST

MGI argues that the U.S. must seek regional and international partners to address crises and transnational threats in the broader Middle East and focus on political settlements, not just military prescriptions, to resolve regional conflicts. The administration has made a concerted effort to chart a new course in the region. With the rapid appointment of three high-level envoys-- George Mitchell (Special Envoy for the Middle East), Richard Holbrooke (Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan), and Dennis Ross (Special Envoy to Southwest Asia and the Gulf)—the administration has made an early drive to generate civilian-led strategies to actively engage regional political leadership, address conflict and aid recovery.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE

MGI emphasized that the new administration must focus early attention on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and make a concerted effort to engage key regional and international actors to move toward a final settlement.

- ☑ *Early and High-Level Attention on ME Peace:* On his first day in office, Obama telephoned Prime Minister Olmert of Israel, President Mubarak of Egypt, King Abdallah of Jordan and President Abbas of the Palestinian Authority, giving a clear signal that he would give early attention to the conflict. Palestinian, Egyptian and Israeli leaders have all been invited for talks in Washington in early June in a new push for Middle East peace.
- ☑ *Regional Engagement:* Both Secretary Clinton and George Mitchell have traveled to the Middle East and focused on engaging critical regional and international partners in working toward a final settlement. This initiative included Clinton sending two U.S. envoys to travel Damascus for talks – where there has been no ambassador since 2005. President Obama has also reached out to the Arab League and Gulf States, thanking them for their role in promoting an Arab peace plan.
- I *Incomplete:* Daunting domestic politics threaten success not only in the region, but also among U.S. policymakers and constituencies. At home, the Obama administration should strive to build bipartisan consensus for engagement. In the region, the Obama team must recognize the weakened governing capacity on the Palestinian side and likely spoilers from both sides.

AFGHANISTAN

To succeed in stabilizing Afghanistan, MGI calls for a regional strategy that includes Pakistan and involvement of regional and international players to provide adequate forces and civilian support capacity for a stable peace.

- ☑ *Additional Troops:* As his first act as Commander-in-Chief, President Obama sent 17,000 additional troops to Afghanistan to help secure the south and east of the country.
 - ☑ *Afghanistan/Pakistan Strategy:* President Obama announced a new Afghanistan and Pakistan strategy following a policy review process led by the White House. The plan redefines the goal of the war—to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda and its safe havens. The U.S. will treat Afghanistan and Pakistan as two countries but one challenge and establish a regional contact group, including Russia, China, India and Iran. The U.S. will also allocate additional resources, including a major aid package for Pakistan, 17,000 additional combat troops, approximately 4,000 more U.S. troops to train the Afghan National Security Forces, and significantly step up civilian investments.
- Together with the United Nations, we will forge a new Contact Group for Afghanistan and Pakistan that brings together all who should have a stake in the security of the region -- our NATO allies and other partners, but also the Central Asian states, the Gulf nations and Iran, Russia, India and China. None of these nations benefit from a base for al Qaeda terrorists, and a region that descends into chaos. All have a stake in the promise of lasting peace and security and development. –Remarks by President Obama on new Afghanistan/Pakistan strategy -- March 27, 2009*
- ☑ *International Conference on Afghanistan:* Secretary Clinton called for an International Conference on Afghanistan that took place on March 31, 2009 to discuss international strategy and investment to foster a sustainable peace in Afghanistan and the region.
 - I *Incomplete:* While the Obama administration has focused significant political energy and increased investments in Afghanistan and Pakistan, acute challenges remain. The implementation phase of the revised Pakistan/Afghanistan strategy will be its greatest test. The continued political fragility and sensitivity to American intervention in Pakistan will stall progress in addressing the Al Qaeda threat. Building a viable state and securing southern and eastern Afghanistan will require a coordinated and effective U.S. diplomatic, development, and defense strategy, and strong international partnerships.

IRAQ

In order to prevent a failed state and a regional crisis, MGI calls for focusing U.S. and international efforts on forging a political settlement and civilian surge to support statebuilding in Iraq.

As we responsibly remove our combat brigades, we will pursue the second part of our strategy: sustained diplomacy on behalf of a more peaceful and prosperous Iraq ... the future of Iraq is inseparable from the future of the broader Middle East, so we must work with our friends and partners to establish a new framework that advances Iraq's security and the region's. –Remarks by President Obama at Camp Lejeune February 27, 2009

- ☑ *Target Date for Withdrawal:* Following a policy review, Obama announced the withdrawal of the majority of U.S. troops in Iraq by the end of the August 2010, but up to 50,000 to 142,000 troops

may stay into 2011 to “advise Iraqi forces” and “protect U.S. interests.”

- ☑ *Iraqi Ownership and Regional Engagement:* Obama has pledged that the United States will pursue principled and sustained engagement with all of the nations in the region for stability, including Iran and Syria. The Obama administration strategy highlighted that the long-term solution in Iraq must be political and that the most important decisions about the nation’s future must now be made by Iraqis.
- I *Incomplete:* In contrast to its strategy on Afghanistan, the U.S. has not carried out an in-depth interagency review process and revised strategy process for Iraq - nor has it made plans for a civilian surge to support political settlement and development. In contrast to the rapid assignment of special envoys for the Middle East, Iran, and Afghanistan/Pakistan – the new Ambassador to Iraq, Christopher Hill, faced a drawn out Senate confirmation process.

IRAN

MGI calls for the United States to participate in sustained regional and international diplomacy on Iran’s nuclear program to develop a shared set of incentives around nuclear energy and to establish enforcement measures to deter Iranian nuclear weapon ambitions.

- ☑ *U.S. Participation in International Talks:* The Obama administration announced that it will start fully participating in group talks with Iran about its nuclear program, including active participation in the negotiation group the P5 + 1 (Russia, China, France, Germany, the UK, and the U.S.). At the same time, the US has also made it clear that it will continue its alliance with Israel and the southern Gulf states and strongly oppose Iranian proliferation and support of extremist movement. The President announced he would continue sanctions and efforts to block arms and technology sales to Iran. (President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's speech at the UN anti-racism conference in Geneva and the jailing of journalist Roxana Saberi have recently added more layers to America's complex attempts to engage Tehran.)
- ☑ *Outreach to the Iranian People on U.S. Engagement:* President Obama delivered a videotaped Nowruz message on March 19th calling for better relations with Iran.

APPENDIX 1: RELATED OBAMA ADMINISTRATION SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS

Track 1 – Restoring Credible U.S. Leadership

April 20: Remarks by President Obama to CIA Employees at CIA Headquarters
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-to-CIA-employees-at-CIA-Headquarters/

April 17: Remarks by the President at the Opening of the Summit of the Americas
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-at-the-Summit-of-the-Americas-Opening-Ceremony/

April 6: Remarks by the President in Turkey
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-The-President-and-PM-of-Turkey-After-Meeting/

April 1: Joint Press Conference with President Obama and PM Gordon Brown
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Joint-Press-Availability-With-President-Barack-Obama-and-Prime-Minister-Gordon-Brown/

April 1: Joint Statement by President Dmitriy Medvedev of the Russian Federation and President Barack Obama of the United States of America
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Joint-Statement-by-President-Dmitriy-Medvedev-of-the-Russian-Federation-and-President-Barack-Obama-of-the-United-States-of-America/

Feb 24: Remarks of President Barack Obama - Address to Joint Session of Congress
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-of-President-Barack-Obama-Address-to-Joint-Session-of-Congress/

Feb 8: Remarks By National Security Adviser Jones At 45th Munich Conference On Security Policy
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/RemarksByNationalSecurityAdviserJonesAt45thMunichConferenceOnSecurityPolicy/

Feb 7: Remarks by Vice President Biden at 45th Munich Conference on Security Policy
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/RemarksbyVicePresidentBidenat45thMunichConferenceonSecurityPolicy/

Jan 21: President Obama's Inaugural Address
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/President-Barack-Obamas-Inaugural-Address/

Jan 13: Hillary Clinton confirmation hearing for U.S. Secretary of State
<http://foreign.senate.gov/hearings/2009/hrg090113a.html>

Track 2 – Revitalizing International Institutions

April 4: News Conference in Strasbourgh during NATO Summit
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/News-Conference-By-President-Obama-4-04-2009/

April 2: London Summit Communique
<http://www.londonsummit.gov.uk/en/summit-aims/summit-communique/>

April 2: Remarks by the President at the close of the G20 Economic Summit
http://www.upi.com/Top_News/2009/04/02/Obamas-remarks-about-G20-summit/UPI-21351238700930/

March 10: Remarks by the President and UNSG Ban Ki-Moon
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-of-President-Obama-and-United-Nations-Secretary-General-Ban-Ki-moon/

Jan 19: Remarks by Susan Rice at Confirmation hearing for U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN
http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2009/01/19/AR2009011900991_pf.html

Track 3 – Tackling Shared Threats

Obama's speech in Prague on nuclear weapons
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/04/05/obama-prague-speech-on-nu_n_183219.html

April 22: Remarks by the President on Clean Energy
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-in-Newton-IA/

March 28: President Obama Announces Launch of the Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/President-Obama-Announces-Launch-of-the-Major-Economies-Forum-on-Energy-and-Climate/

March 23: Remarks by the President on investments in clean energy and new technology
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-The-President-on-Investments-in-Clean-Energy-and-New-Technologies-3-23-09/

Track 4 – Internationalizing Crisis Response in the Broader Middle East

April 7: Remarks by the President to the Troops in Iraq
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-to-the-troops-Iraq-4/7/2009/

March 31: Secretary Clinton Remarks at the International Conference on Afghanistan
<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/03/121037.htm>

March 27: Remarks by the President on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-a-New-Strategy-for-Afghanistan-and-Pakistan/

March 20: Remarks by the President in Celebration of Nowruz
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Videotaped-Remarks-by-The-President-in-Celebration-of-Nowruz/

Feb 27: Remarks by the President on Responsibly Ending the War in Iraq – Camp Lejeune
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-of-President-Barack-Obama-Responsibly-Ending-the-War-in-Iraq/

APPENDIX 2: MANAGING GLOBAL INSECURITY PROJECT CONSULTATIONS AND OUTREACH

Book Launches and Outreach Around MGI Recommendations

- Apr. 22, 2009: Portland, Oregon Launch of Power and Responsibility
- Apr. 15, 2009: New York/United Nations Launch of Power and Responsibility (participants included MGI AG Members Javier Solana and Vincent Maphai)
- Mar. 23, 2009: Consultations in London with UK Government Officials
- Mar. 20, 2009: Beijing Launch of Power and Responsibility (participants included MGI AG Wu Jianmin and Cui Liru, President, China Institute of International Relations)
- Mar. 18-19: Briefings with High-Level Chinese Policymakers and Business Representatives (included Zheng Bijan, Executive Vice-President of the Party School of the CPC Central Committee and Yu Qingtai, China's Special representative for Climate Change Negotiations)
- Mar. 17, 2009: Stanford University Launch of Power and Responsibility
- Mar. 13, 2009: Briefings with National Security Council, White House, and U.S. State Department Officials
- Mar. 11-12, 2009: Consultations with United Nations Secretariat
- Mar. 10, 2009: Washington DC Launch of Power and Responsibility (panelists included MGI AG Members Richard Armitage, Samuel Berger, Strobe Talbott and Sadako Ogata)
- Mar. 9-10, 2009: Briefings with Senior Staffers from U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Members of the U.S House of Representatives International Relations Committee
- Mar. 4, 2009: Boston Launch of Power and Responsibility
- Mar. 4, 2009: Consultations with Danish Officials, Hosts of UNFCCC Copenhagen Summit
- Mar. 3, 2009: NYC Launch of Power and Responsibility at the Council on Foreign Relations
- Feb. 19, 2009: Briefings with Italian Officials, Hosts of G8 Summit 2009
- Feb. 18, 2009: Rome Launch of Power and Responsibility (panelists included Former Italian Prime Minister of Italy Giuliano Amato; consultations with Foreign Minister Frattini)
- Feb. 16, 2009 Doha Launch of Power and Responsibility
- Feb. 10-13, 2009: MGI consultations in Abu Dhabi
- Feb. 10, 2009: Delhi Launch of Power and Responsibility (participants included MGI AG Member Lalit Mansingh)
- Feb. 9, 2009: Berlin Launch of Power and Responsibility (panelists included Volker Stanzel, Political Director, German Foreign Office)
- Feb. 5, 2009: Paris Launch of Power and Responsibility (panelists included Jean-David Levitte, Diplomatic Advisor and Sherpa to the French President)
- Jan. 28-29, 2009: Brussels/European Union Launch of Power and Responsibility (participants included MGI AG Member Javier Solana and Landaburu Eneko, Director General for External Relations, European Commission)
- Jan. 27, 2009: London Launch of Power and Responsibility (keynote by UK Foreign Secretary David Miliband; panelists included MGI AG members Thomas Pickering and Samuel Berger)
- Jan. 15, 2009: Roundtable hosted by John Bruton, Ambassador of the European Union to the United States (participants include Nigel Sheinwald, Ambassador of the UK to the U.S. and Wegger Strommen, Ambassador of Norway to the U.S.)
- Dec. 2, 2008: Conference on Multilateral Approaches to Peace and Security, Tokyo (participants include MGI AG Sadako Ogata, Hirofumi Nakasone, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan and Masaru Tsuji, Director-General for International Affairs, Foreign Ministry of Japan)

Advisory Group Meetings

- July 15-16, 2008: MGI Advisory Group Meeting – Berlin, Germany (participants included UNSG Ban Ki-Moon, German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, IAEA Director General Mohamed ElBaradei, Nobel Laureate Rajendra Pachauri and MGI AG Members Javier Solana and James Wolfensohn)
- Feb. 13-14, 2008: International Cooperation for Global Security – Ditchley Park, UK (participants included MGI AG Members Ashraf Ghani, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, and Salim Ahmed Salim)
- Dec. 9-10, 2007: MGI Advisory Group and Asian Regional Expert Meeting – Singapore (participants included MGI AG Members Kishore Mahbubani, Lalit Mansingh, Sadako Ogata and Ayo Obe)
- Oct. 1, 2007: MGI Advisory Group Meeting – New York City, U.S. (participants included MGI AG Members Paul Martin, U.S. Congressman Howard Berman and Senator Timothy Wirth)
- June 11, 2007: MGI Inaugural Advisory Group Meeting – Washington DC, U.S.

Events & Workshops

- April 8, 2009: Seminar with Nobel Laureate Martti Ahtisaari on Conflict Management in the Middle East (panelists included Lakhdar Brahimi, Dennis Ross, George Mitchell and Anne-Marie Slaughter)
- Jan. 5, 2009: Brookings Transition Series Event “Restoring American Leadership to Address Transnational Threats” (panelists included Bruce Riedel and Michael O’Hanlon)
- Dec. 3-4, 2008: Conference on Global Governance, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, Singapore (participants included MGI AG Kishore Mahbubani and Strobe Talbott)
- Nov. 20, 2008: MGI Plan for Action launch in Washington DC (panelists included MGI AG Members Madeleine Albright, Tom Pickering, Strobe Talbott and Javier Solana – as well as former Administrator of UNDP, Kemal Dervis)
- Nov. 13, 2008: MGI Plan of Action launch at Stanford FSI International Conference (participants included MGI AG Member Coit Blacker, Stephen Krasner and Timothy Garton Ash)
- Nov. 10-11, 2008: “The United States in the World: New Strategies of Engagement” Salzburg Global Seminar, (participants included MGI AG Member Wu Jianmin and Shashi Tharoor, Former UN Under-Secretary General)
- November 1, 2007: Diplomatic Community Roundtable Hosted by Finnish Embassy, Washington DC (participants included representatives from Embassies of Brazil, China, Germany, France India, the United Kingdom, Norway, South Africa, and Mexico)
- Oct. 18-21, 2007: New Challenges for International Regimes Conference – California
- June 26, 2007: Discussion of Foreign Policy with U.S. Senator Chuck Hagel – Washington DC
- June 22-24, 2007: The Future of the United Nations Conference, Ditchley Park, UK (participants included Thomas Matussek, Permanent Representative of Germany to the UN; and Louise Frechette, Former Deputy Secretary General, UN)
- Mar. 21, 2007: MGI Project Launch – Washington DC (keynote by MGI AG member Javier Solana)

Regional/Capital Consultations during Research Process

- May 12-13, 2008: MGI Consultations – Helsinki, Finland with Baltic and Nordic Representatives
- Mar. 19-21, 2008: MGI Consultations – Beijing, China
- Mar. 10-11, 2008: MGI Consultations – Mexico City, Mexico
- Feb. 15, 2008: MGI Consultations – London, UK
- Dec. 12-13, 2007: MGI Consultations – Delhi, India
- Dec. 5-6, 2007: MGI Consultations – Tokyo, Japan

Nov. 27-28, 2007: MGI Consultations – Washington DC with representatives from Presidential Campaigns, USG officials, and Capitol Hill
Nov. 19-20, 2007: MGI Consultations – London, UK
Nov. 12-16, 2007: MGI Consultations – Geneva, Switzerland
Nov. 1-2, 2007: MGI Consultations – Paris, France