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SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS FROM PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS: THE SAN DIEGO ROUNDTABLE ON TRENDS IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

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March 20, 2001
San Diego, California, USA

8012.2E

ISBN: E2-424/2001E-IN
0-662-31202-3

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
Ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international

Canada

Summary of Key Points from Presentations and Discussions:
The San Diego Roundtable on Trends in U.S. Foreign Policy

March 20, 2001

The Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development *and*
Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California

San Diego, California, U.S.A.

On March 20, 2001, the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, in partnership with the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation at the University of San Diego (California), organised a roundtable on Trends in U.S. Foreign Policy. The roundtable launched a series of discussions which will take place in the U.S. and Canada in the near future (Edmonton - April 12, Washington - April 2, Toronto - May 18, Halifax - TBD, Denver - TBD). The San Diego Roundtable brought together prominent U.S. thinkers and former officials to address:

1) security in Asia,
2) Hemisphere Summits,
3) democracy in Latin America,
4) international trade and telecommunications,
5) Ballistic Missile Defence, and
6) the integration of Europe.

Among the participants were Ron Bee (Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, UCSD), Richard Feinberg (Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UCSD), and Susan Shirk (Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, UCSD). The discussion was chaired by Steven Lee (Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development) and web-cast by Liss Jeffrey (byDesign eLab, McLuhan Program in Culture and Technology, University of Toronto). Blair Bobyk (U.S. Relations Division) and Marketa Geislerova (CCFPD) attended from DFAIT.

I. Asia – Security Issues

Speaker: Susan Shirk (Research Director, IGCC)

- There has been at least a rhetorical shift in the approach of the Bush Administration toward China and Japan. China is no longer seen as a "constructive strategic partner," as was the case under the Clinton Administration, and relations with Japan seemed to have warmed-up. In this context, a recommendation was made to proceed cautiously so that a confrontation with the Chinese government is avoided and security in North East Asia maintained.

- President Bush expressed scepticism about the feasibility of the "agreed framework" with the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK), reached under President Clinton's Administration. This shift in U.S. foreign policy apparently surprised and disappointed the Republic of Korea President, Kim Dae-jung. The Administration, however, did show support for President Dae-Jung's conciliatory "Sunshine policy" toward the DPRK.

- A decision whether to go ahead with the sale of a new Aegis class destroyer and other controversial weapons to Taiwan will have to be made in the near future. There is a real danger that without meaningful dialogue with Beijing, the sale could seriously undermine security in the region. The move, which is being interpreted as the start-up of a theatre missile defence, could set off an arms race and lead to military conflict. Such a development would have serious security implications for the U.S.

- There are legitimate concerns that should the Bush Administration proceed with building a National Missile Defence (NMD), the Chinese government would accelerate the modernisation and build-up of its own military. This acceleration would undoubtedly undermine the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), signed by the Chinese government but not ratified by the U.S. Congress. It would also contribute to cementing the image of China as "the enemy" in the minds of some Americans. Such developments could spark off a cycle of arms proliferation-mistrust-arms proliferation reminiscent of the Cold War era. Policy options aimed at alleviating the potential tension in the U.S. - China relations could include:
  1) enhanced military cooperation (i.e., sharing technology for the development of penetration aids or/and early warning)
  2) a trade-off: abandoning the sale of controversial weapons to Taiwan for China's acquiescence to U.S. NMD.

- *While Canada's effort to pressure the U.S. to ratify the CTBT is commendable, it will likely not have any effect on the ratification process.*

II. Summitry of Americas

Speaker: Richard Feinberg (Professor, UCSD, International Relations and Pacific Studies)

Purpose of Summits in general:	Key Challenges at Summits in general:
• focus on the big picture and broad agenda setting • means to finding a consensus and solidarity on issues • chance to codify consensus issues	• unmanageable laundry lists of issues to be addressed • structural problems with implementation and monitoring

The Record of Hemisphere Summits:

- support for democracy reaffirmed
- strides in moving towards Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA)
- progress on other issues including: gender equality and sustainable development.

Issues and Expectations for the Quebec City Summit:

- Executive Committee is expected to be set up to address previously poor implementation and monitoring.
- Financial constraints are expected to be addressed through the engagement of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).
- The draft text of the FTAA will likely be re-affirmed (President Bush requires Congressional support to proceed with Fast Track).
- Democracy Clause may be included in the FTAA.
- Other issues that will likely be addressed at the Summit include: narcotics, connectivity, financing, and the engagement of civil society.
- President Bush could surpass expectations by expressing a commitment to have a FTAA with a Democracy Clause concluded by 2003 (as opposed to 2005).

Challenges for the Quebec City Summit:

- Linking democracy with free trade through the inclusion of a Democracy Clause in the FTAA poses considerable challenges. How does one define democracy? Who decides which country is democratic and which is not? How do U.S. policy makers answer to the charge of inconsistent foreign and trade policy (i.e., excluding authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes in Latin America, while engaging regimes deserving the same label in Asia)?

  Peter Smith pointed out that including Democracy Clause in the FTAA is premature. Its inclusion into the FTAA may be interpreted as neo-colonialism by the U.S.. He emphasised the asymmetry of power among Latin American countries, leading him to conclude that even if the Organisation of American States (OAS) was to make decisions about who to admit to the "democratic club" the outcome would not be particularly fair. He also reminded participants that comparisons to the European Union's own democratic clause are inadequate for several reasons. (The EU democracy clause is used a membership system, in the OAS and Summit system it would be used as an expulsion criteria). The assumption that free trade leads inevitably to democracy is uncertain. Including a democracy clause in a free trade agreement may not lead to expected results.

- Another challenge for the policy makers is the media and managing public opinion. In order to ensure that the media cover the Summit's proceedings and outcomes, rather than only the street protests, good visual and real stories should be provided to journalists each day. Government leaders and officials should be seen to be reaching out to civil society, including those protesting on the streets and cameras allowed into the sessions.

III. Democracy and Latin America

Speaker: Peter Smith (Director UCSD, Centre for Iberian and Latin American Studies)

- Democracy in Latin America is not mature and the 3rd wave of democratisation in the region continues to be fragile and uncertain. The democratisation process is not inevitable and there is considerable danger of regression to authoritarianism. Most Latin American countries have a so called "partial democracy," while elections are more or less free, basic political rights are lacking.

- There is a wide-spread disenchantment with neo-liberal reforms in Latin America, since they have not brought any improvement in objective living standards or alleviated poverty. In the meantime, the capacity of the state to deliver basic public goods has diminished as globalization intensifies – a development contributing to plummeting approval rates for Latin American governments. The governing contract is fragile and must be addressed. Protest stemming from these trends is legitimate and the U.S. government should adjust its approach to dealing with protestors as wrong-headed anti-progress trouble makers.

- The direction of U.S. Latin America policy is still uncertain. However, it appears that trade and investment will be emphasised, while less attention will be paid to human rights and development-related issues. The emerging hard line on Cuba and disengagement from Colombia seem to support this proposition.

- *Enforcing Helms-Burton and tightening the sanctions regime with Cuba may have economic consequences for Canada. The Canadian government may be faced with the prospect (or opportunity) to distance itself from the emerging U.S. Latin America policy for this and other more philosophical reasons (i.e., as the champion of human rights). This gives rise to an important question for Canadian policy makers: "Is it worth it? Many well intentioned Latin Americans would hope so."*

IV. International Trade and Telecommunications

Speaker: Peter Cowhey (Director IGCC)

- Support for free in general trade declined in the U.S. as economic prosperity increased. This trend may be attributed to fulfilled economic objectives of many businesses and to a growing conviction among some Americans that the new prosperity contributed to widening income disparity.

- The Bush team has given trade and other economic issues a new dynamic. There is optimism that the newly appointed U.S. chief trade negotiator, Robert B. Zoellick, will be able to obtain Congress authorisation to ratify multilateral trade agreements (by folding them together with bilateral trade agreements supported by the Congress). Mr. Zoellick also seems willing to support an "expanded agenda" for trade, which would include social and environmental concerns.

- While the Quad, and the U.S. - E.U. relationship in particular, remains important in World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiations, the voices of developing countries have been growing stronger as well. One of the biggest challenges facing the global agenda for trade negotiations and the U.S. - EU relationship continues to be agriculture.

- The telecommunications sector is a good indicator of where economic trends are moving because it is the largest and fastest growing market. It is a fundamentally revolutionary force. Liberalising the service sector, including telecommunications (and finance), is by far the biggest ticket on the trade agenda today. However, before this can be achieved policy makers must develop a coherent set of regulations at home first. (The current horizontal approach to liberalising telecommunications services does not tackle the communications infrastructure as a whole, bringing into focus the need for the development of a comprehensive broadband service policy). Indeed, with telecommunications systems and suppliers virtually the same around the world, the importance of policy (and coincidence of other factors) figures large in how a country's telecommunications systems run.

- The digital divide is more a function of how subsidies are allocated rather than due to poverty (and lack of access to telecommunications infrastructure and training in the developing countries).

- *The dispute between Canada and the U.S. over soft wood lumber will likely be resolved since there is a bigger agenda to negotiate between the two trading partners besides this one issue.*

IV. Ballistic Missile Defence

Speaker: Herb York (IGCC)

- The future of the National Missile Defence is not certain. In historical context, this is the 6th time the U.S. government has proposed to build NMD (under the leadership of President Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Reagan). Most likely, support will be rallied for the scheme and the Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld, will continue to promote the idea. In the end, President Bush will likely say that "we are going ahead [with the construction of the NMD] when it becomes possible." Consequently nothing much will actually happen.

- There are several elements that the policy makers should consider before launching NMD:
  1) going ahead may be interpreted as breaching the ABM treaty and as a unilateral step that could further undermine the already fragile non-proliferation regime,
  2) there will be massive costs associated with building the NMD which will have to be squared with the promise of tax cuts and somehow integrated along with other items in the defence budget,

3) there is a range of technical issues to solve,
4) there are other, often more practical, means of delivery of nuclear weapons not addressed by NMD,
5) theatre defence systems could be developed instead.

- A debate about the acceptability of deterrence as a long-term posture should be launched and the concept reviewed.

- Transparency, collective action, and making nuclear weapons illegal should be the long-term goal of the international community.

- *The idea of common interest in defending North America is an inevitable fact. The U.S. can not afford to have real enemies in the North American space. Washington is prepared to defend Canada and thinks about Canada as a necessary part of its own defence. In this context, in the 1950's as the Korean War intensified, the U.S. government was considering moving its missile testing system from the Marshall Islands to the Canadian North (under the wrong assumption that there are no people living there).*

VI. EU Integration

Speaker: William Chandler (Professor, UCSD)

Issues on the European agenda ranked by importance for the Europeans (the ranking does not necessarily reflect the weight assigned to these items by the U.S. Administration):
- Economic Union
- Institutional development (i.e., building supranational institutions)
- Enlargement of the European Union
- Trade (with a particular challenge in liberalising agriculture)

Security issues include:
- Redesigning NATO
- Emerging European defence capacity
- Scepticism about U.S. plans for NMD

Other key emerging issues:
- organised crime
- trafficking in human beings
- porous borders and mass migrations

The integration of Europe depends in large part on the relationship between France and Germany.

There is ambivalence on the part of the U.S. Administration about where NATO is going. While the U.S. encourages building European capacity to respond to regional crises like Kosovo, it is suspicious about the implications this could have on the viability of NATO.

Notwithstanding the philosophical differences between the Bush Administration and the European centre-left governments (i.e., Germany and Great Britain) relations between the U.S. and Europe are not likely going to change. However, there is a sense in Europe that the Americans are starting to disengage – a trend which will be tested through the new U.S. approach to the Balkans and the Middle East. What seems to be clear is that the Bush Administration is not interested in nation building exercises and supports a hands-off policy.

List of Participants
Foreign Policy Trends in the U.S. Roundtable

March 20, 2001

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San Diego, California, U.S.A.

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Susan L. Shirk

From July 1997 to July 2000, Susan L. Shirk served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs, with responsibility for the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mongolia. In July 2000, Dr. Shirk resumed her faculty position as professor in the University of California San Diego's Graduate School of International Relations. She is also Research Director at the University of California system-wide Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation; prior to serving in the State Department, she was Director of the Institute from 1991 to 1997. Dr. Shirk's publications include her books, *How China Opened Its Door: The Political Success of the PRC's Foreign Trade and Investment Reforms; The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China;* and *Competitive Comrades: Career Incentives and Student Strategies in China*; as well as her edited books, *Power and Prosperity: Economics and Security Linkages in the Asia-Pacific* and *The Challenge of China and Japan.* Before she joined the government, Dr. Shirk was a member of the Defense Policy Board, the Board of Governors for the East-West Center (Hawaii), and the Board of Trustees of the U.S.-Japan Foundation. She is a member of the Aspen Strategy Group, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the International Institute for Strategic Studies (London). She also served on the editorial boards of *The China Quarterly* and *Modern China.* Dr. Shirk received her BA in Political Science from Mount Holyoke College, her MA in Asian Studies from the University of California, Berkeley, and her Ph.D. in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She is married to Dr. Samuel Popkin, professor of Political Science at University of California, San Diego.

Richard Feinberg

Professor Feinberg is an authority on U.S. foreign policy, multilateral institutions, and summitry. He is an expert on trade and investment, economic modernization, democratization, and non-governmental organizations. Feinberg serves as director of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Study Center. He is co-director of the Leadership Council on Inter-American Summitry, a 16-member council that evaluates progress in U.S.-Latin American relations since the first Summit of the Americas in 1994. Feinberg has authored more than 100 articles and books. His book, *Summitry in the Americas: A Progress Report,*provides the first in-depth analysis of how U.S. foreign policy is made in the Clinton Administration. Other publications include *The Intemperate Zone: The Third World Challenge to U.S. Foreign Policy and Subsidizing Success: The Export-Import Bank in the U.S. Economy.* He served as special assistant to President Clinton for National Security Affairs and senior director of the National Security Council's (NSC) Office of Inter-American Affairs. While at the NSC, Feinberg was a principal architect of the 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami. He previously served as president of the Inter-American Dialogue, executive vice president of the Overseas Development Council, and has held positions on the policy planning staff of the U.S. Department of State and in the Office of International Affairs in the U.S. Treasury Department. Feinberg joined IR/PS in 1996.

Peter H. Smith

Professor of Political Science, Adjunct Professor of History, Adjunct Professor at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, Director of the Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, and Simon Bolivar Professor of Latin American Studies. He specializes in

comparative politics, Latin American politics, and U.S.-Latin American relations. His major publications include Politics and Beef in Argentina: Patterns of Conflict and Change (1969), Argentina and the Failure of Democracy: Conflict among Political Elites, 1904-1955 (1974), and Labyrinths of Power: Political Recruitment in Twentieth-Century Mexico (1979). He is co-author of Modern Latin America (1984), now in its third edition (1992) and a selection of the History Book Club. He is also the editor of Drug Policy in the Americas (1992), an interdisciplinary evaluation of current and alternative policies toward illicit drugs within the Western Hemisphere, and editor of The Challenge of Integration: Europe and the Americas (1993), a multi-faceted assessment of regional integration initiatives in the Americas in light of the historical experience of the European Community. Dr. Smith has served as president of the Latin American Studies Association and has been a consultant to the Ford Foundation (1984-89, 1991) and other institutions. He has also served as co-director of the Bilateral Commission on the Future of United States-Mexican Relations and of the Inter-American Commission on Drug Policy, blue-ribbon panels that issued practical policy recommendations for the benefit of governments, media, and interested citizens throughout the Americas. Ph.D. Columbia University, 1966.

Peter F. Cowhey

Peter F. Cowhey was named IGCC Director in 1999. Cowhey holds a joint appointment as Professor in the Department of Political Science and at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies. His major fields of research are international political economy, comparative foreign policy, and international relations theory. In 1994 Dr. Cowhey took leave from UC San Diego to join the Federal Communications Commission. In 1997 he became the Chief of the International Bureau of the FCC where he was in charge of all policy and licensing for international telecommunications services, including all satellite issues and licensing for the FCC. Prior to becoming Bureau Chief he was the Commission's Senior Counselor for International Economic and Competition Policy. His current research includes the political determinants of foreign policy, the reorganization of the global communications and information industries, and the future of foreign trade and investment rules in the Pacific Rim. His extensive research and writings on international telecommunications markets and regulation have been supported by such research institutes as the World Bank, the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Enterprise Institute, the Brookings Institution, the Markle Foundation, and the Twentieth Century Fund. His books include: The Problems of Plenty: Energy Policy and International Politics; When Countries Talk: International Trade in Telecommunications Services (with J. Aronson); Managing the World Economy: The Consequences of Corporate Alliances (with J. Aronson); and Structure and Policy in Japan and United States (co-edited with Mathew McCubbins).

Herbert York (Director Emeritus)

Dr. York, the founding director of IGCC, began his career working on the Manhattan Project at Oak Ridge, Tennessee during World War II. Dr. York was the first director of the UC Lawrence Livermore Laboratory. He was appointed director of Defense Research and Engineering by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. From 1961-64 and 1970-72, Dr. York was chancellor of UC San Diego. From 1979-81 he served as U.S. Ambassador to the Comprehensive Test Ban negotiation in Geneva. In 1983, he founded IGCC. York is also an Ex Officio member of IGCC's International Advisory Board. In 2000, Dr. York received the prestigious Vannevar Bush Award

from the National Science Board for his leadership in the arms control movement and his work in nuclear energy.

William M. Chandler

William Chandler is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego. His Ph.D. (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) was earned in 1971. His research has concentrated on the study of political parties, federalism and public policy. Publications include *Public Policy and Provincial Politics, Federalism and the Role of the State* and *Challenges to Federalism: Policy-Making in Canada and West Germany*, plus journal articles and book chapters on party government, christian democracy, party system change, European integration and immigration policy. His teaching interests within comparative politics place particular emphasis on European (Germany, France, Italy and the European Union) and Canadian politics. Prior to joining the Political Science Department at UCSD in 1997, Professor Chandler was Chair of Political Science at McMaster University, Canada. He has also served as guest professor in Germany, at Tuebingen and Oldenburg Universities. He is a member of the editorial advisory board of *German Politics* and has served on the Board of Directors of the Canadian Political Science Association.