

Out of Focus: Executive Decision Making in Foreign Policy and the Asian Pacific



Fulbright Flinders University Lecture Series 4

Professor Victoria A. Farrar-Myers

Distinguished Chair in American Political Science



Professor Colin J Stirling
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When I joined Flinders, I was delighted to discover that the University has sponsored the Fulbright Distinguished Chair in American Political Science since 2012. The scholars appointed to the post have been outstanding, and Professor Victoria Farrar-Myers is another example of the calibre of this intellectual exchange.

I am pleased that Flinders University continues to be a sponsor of the activities of this well renowned and internationally recognised organisation, the Australian-American Fulbright Commission.

Professor Farrar-Myers' research on executive leadership in foreign policy is relevant not only to the continuation of the crucial Australia-America alliance, but also to the increasing importance of such leadership across the Asia Pacific, a region of vigorous economic growth.



Professor Phyllis Tharenou
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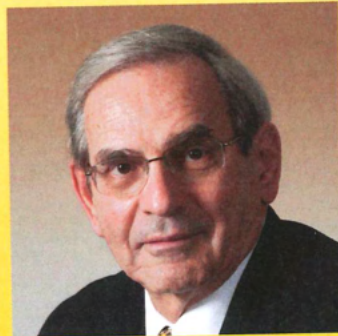
The Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences is proud to continue supporting and hosting the Fulbright Flinders Distinguished Chair in American Political Science.

Each Distinguished Chair has contributed to the comparative political analysis of Australia and the United States, and has added significantly to the teaching and research profiles of the Faculty and University.

Professor Farrar-Myers has made an important contribution to this analysis through her work on executive leadership in foreign policy.

The Distinguished Chairs are an invaluable resource for our staff and students, and they continue to foster research links between Flinders and universities in the United States.

The Distinguished Chair program series of publications, including this Series 4, provide a worthy record of the work of each Distinguished Chair.



Professor Don DeBats
Head, American Studies
Flinders University

All the scholars who have held the Fulbright Flinders University Distinguished Chair in American Political Science have a fine record of addressing significant issues of public policy, domestic and foreign, in our two nations.

Professor Farrar-Myers calls for nothing less than the reconstruction of the post-Cold War world order. She advances a new connectivity and a new social contract among nations, through working together to solve shared problems. This "collective determinism" will maintain U.S. global leadership while allowing the U.S. a greater flexibility in responding to issues. She argues for self-interest, rightly understood, and its development, through collective problem solving. Trust networks will build greater cooperation and from these trust networks will emerge patterns of greater transparency, greater cooperation, and reduced hostility.

Economic statecraft, premised on ever-expanding free trade, is critical to this vision. Let us hope the 2016 U.S. elections bring forth a Congress and a President who share this vision and will finally achieve that long-sought post-Cold War "New World Order."



Tangerine Holt
Executive Director
Australian-American
Fulbright Commission

The Distinguished Chair Program is viewed as among the most prestigious appointments in the Fulbright Scholar Program with approximately 40 Fulbright Distinguished Chairs across 15 countries. The Australian-American Fulbright Commission is pleased to support the publication of the principal public lecture of each of the Fulbright Flinders University Distinguished Chairs in American Political Science. During her national Fulbright lecture series which was coordinated by the Fulbright Commission, Professor Farrar-Myers shared her opinion on what U.S. foreign policy should be in relation to the world, each region, and its allies. This publication is a valued and highly regarded resource written by a Fulbright Scholar who engaged Australians, including former and current politicians on a contemporary issue by asking challenging questions.

Professor Victoria A. Farrar-Myers



2014 Fulbright Flinders Distinguished
Chair in American Political Science

Victoria A. Farrar-Myers is a Senior Fellow in the Tower Center and the Director of the Tower Scholars Program at Southern Methodist University (SMU). As a former U.S. Congressional Fellow, she has published extensively in the areas of presidential-congressional relations and separation of powers, political leadership, and the democratic process. In 2015, her co-edited volume, *Controlling the Message*, consolidated a series of cutting-edge studies examining the use and impact of social and new media during the 2012 elections.

Her current research examines U.S. foreign policy from a global perspective, particularly the growing importance of the Asian Pacific region in intermestic issues.

Prior to joining SMU, Farrar-Myers was a Full Professor, Distinguished Teaching Professor, and University of Texas (UT) System Regents' Outstanding Teacher of

Political Science at the UT at Arlington. Farrar-Myers' teaching awards include the highest honor granted in the UT System in recognition of teaching excellence.

During 1997-1998, Farrar-Myers earned a prestigious American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship, and worked in the U.S. House of Representatives for the lead House sponsor of legislation that would eventually become the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act. This led to the publication of two books, *Legislative Labyrinth* (CQ Press, 2001) and *Limits and Loopholes* (CQ Press, 2007).

Farrar-Myers earned her Ph.D. in Political Science from the University at Albany, SUNY. She also holds a M.A. in Political Science from the University of Illinois, and a B.S. in Political Science and Public Administration from Russell Sage College in Troy, New York.

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Introduction



Since the end of the Cold War, the U.S. has been in search of a redefinition of what U.S. foreign policy should be in relation to the world, each region, and its allies. This lack of coherence and the inability to articulate that vision creates anxiety with allies, who wonder if they can turn to the U.S., and whether the U.S. will be there for them when needed. It creates a pressure to act or to be in a continuous reactive state. It also raises concern about what an alternative worldview might look like, why it should come about, and what potential vehicles might be used to facilitate the process.

We have all watched events unfold that are leading to an evolving worldview, creating new challenges for all nations collectively and to friends like Australia and America. These challenges,

though, are creating new opportunities for countries like the U.S. to redefine how they approach the world and deal with old powers like Russia and China. These challenges and opportunities also require a focused leadership and intent.

We have all watched events unfold that are leading to an evolving worldview, creating new challenges for all nations collectively and to friends like Australia and America.

Constructing a New World Order: Collective Determinism

We are at a moment in history where a new world order can be constructed that does not dismiss what has been built in the past, but recasts it and challenges us to rethink relationships and how they can be used to boost safety, security, and economic prosperity.

If the U.S. is to consider such a reconstruction, what are the alternatives, and what are the potential vehicles? I contend that the 21st century world order will be built around the notion of collective determinism.

First, though, we need a way to understand and articulate what is meant by "collective determinism."

What is Collective Determinism?

The term's meaning is not only a shared understanding of how we work together, but also how we must think anew about taking our own self-interest and advancing that to the world.

Collective determinism is contrasted with self-determinism, where each country has its own sovereignty and controls its own affairs. Each country has its own problems, issues, and worries. That has gotten us so far, but it has not created the connectivity that a dialogue between and among nations about common problems, such as the environment, might foster.

Collective determinism is similar to a social contract in a sense that individual states give up some of their individual rights in order to have greater individual and collective security. To many, that notion is alarming: What do we mean by rights? It is not in a sense of giving up who they are, but in a sense of building broader interconnected coalitions, which build greater understandings. In turn, greater understandings create greater potential for future development.

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The Need to Redefine Security



Along with reconstructing on the basis of collective determinism, we must also redefine the notion of security.

Security often means military. We thought about that in the Cold War environment; we thought that military might mean security. I argue that the definition of security be broadened as it needs to be thought of not merely as military, but also as economic in nature. Furthermore, it is environmental, ideological, regional, and contextual, and it is built on social policy. All these matters could be called “transnational issues” in that no one country could potentially or possibly solve them. Though oceans divide our world, we share common problems that can be solved collectively.

A world order based on collective determinism would allow the U.S. to maintain a leadership role internationally with less cost and greater selectivity. During the Cold War era, the U.S. was one of the poles in a bipolar international system focused on the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The U.S. was expected to be involved, engaged and responsive to every issue and crisis; in short, to be on call at all times.

Rebuilding or recasting the framework to be based on a notion of collective determinism would give the U.S. latitude to pick and choose its response to world events. It could have latitude to work with regional alliances, economic sanctions, diplomacy, and, dare we say, soft power. The U.S. would have a panoply or a toolbox of choices where “might does not make right.” Might,

plus diplomacy and regional alliances, would be a better strategy. Additionally, such a system would allow the U.S. to respond to domestic concerns, namely addressing intermestic issues.

The American public goes through cycles. At times the public supports policies of interventionism, but at other times, such as now when we are in a period of malaise, the public believes the U.S. needs to focus internally. The U.S. public is saying to President Obama “fix things at home, fix our economy, bring us jobs, let’s not go into another folly.”

A collective determinism approach would allow the U.S. to build an effective domestic strategy of dealing with jobs and markets, and to share innovations in developing its friendships and alliances based not strictly on who has a listening post where, or who has a military presence where. Rather, it is a system based on who and how we share information that, in turn, helps the U.S., in particular the President, to build a domestic coalition willing to see that foreign policy could be a way forward in achieving both domestic and foreign policy goals.

I argue that the definition of security be broadened as it needs to be thought of not merely as military, but also as economic in nature.

Out of Focus

Naysayers will say, “it may never happen,” but this is the reason why the U.S. foreign policy, to many, is out of focus; they think the U.S. is adrift.

Even with this lack of focus, however, there is a destination. Potentially, it is a destination that could be travelled through collective determinism; a destination that could be achieved most readily and conveniently at this juncture where the old world order binds us to old ways of thinking and where a re-conceptualized new world order uses these frameworks in a way that provides for, potentially, more collective security and opportunities for the future.

Why is the U.S. Out of Focus?

U.S. foreign policy has usually been guided by an overarching regime based on the idea of principles, rules, norms, and structures. For example, we came out of World War II and adhered to structures like Bretton Woods.

Structure and order make us feel comfortable because we know the working principles. However, many of the structures of the international system do not address nations’ current needs, particularly those of middle state powers. They no longer work for the U.S. and do not provide room for different kinds of dialogues. Essentially, the old tenets dictate the U.S. must use force to solve Syria or Russia, or to deal with Ukraine. Those tenets deny the pursuit of collective problem solving where you build partnerships, not just alliances, solve problems and legitimately work together to build a relationship that helps regions to collectively achieve goals that advance their respective self-interest.

Think about the issue this way: are you apt to listen to a friend with whom you have dealt 20, 30 or 40 times, and are you apt to understand, trust and work with them? Or, are you apt to deal with someone you meet for the first time? You do not know about them, and all you have heard is that they are a powerful nation likely to tell you what to do. It is that basic. International foreign policy is about relationships, and to move forward there needs to be a redefinition of relationships through collective action.

Isolationism and the Relational Nature of Market Economies

In the early history of the U.S., George Washington and, then, Thomas Jefferson addressed this idea of isolationism. George Washington talked about permanent alliances: “It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world” (1796 Farewell Address). Also, Jefferson discussed what he deemed “the essential principles of our Government ... peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none” (First Inaugural Address). Today, the U.S. has those types of alliances. How, then, do we deal with these relationships even if the nation wanted to pursue a path of isolationism? We cannot roll these relationships back. We simply cannot go back to isolationism.

One thing I will argue, though, is that the U.S. has never been isolationist. Capitalism itself requires markets, and market economies require interaction. So, perhaps the U.S. may have been isolationist in the sense of not wanting to militarily engage, but not to engagement itself. Even George Washington understood that when he talked about permanent alliances. What he saw was alliances that would constantly evolve.

Harry Truman, who is responsible for the Truman Doctrine during the Cold War, once made a comment that, although little remembered, demonstrates the importance of cooperative economic efforts:

“(W)e must have a world in which we can exchange the products of our labor not only among ourselves, but with other nations. We have come together in a great cooperative economic effort to establish this kind of world.” (April 9, 1949, Address on the Occasion of the Signing of the North Atlantic Treaty.)

Military statecraft is not the only means. Economic statecraft is also a means for developing those relationships. Further, economic statecraft is probably an even better way of building collective determinism; what better way than to bring self-interested nations with equal interests in developing markets together to enhance what they could not do alone.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, in trying to talk about this world order, Bill Clinton even talked about the creation of a system of global, expanded, and freer trade:

“Our decision at the end of World War II to create a system of global, expanded freer trade and the supporting institutions played a major role in creating the prosperity of the American middle class.” (September 19, 1993, NAFTA Will Create 200,000 American Jobs in Two Years, available at articles.philly.com/1993-09-19/news/25987801_1_global-trade-nafta-american-jobs).

Trade is a language that brings differences together; jobs, economies, markets, education, and interests bring countries together. Potentially, these economic commonalities can bring nations closer together.

International foreign policy is about relationships, and to move forward there needs to be a redefinition of relationships through collective action.

An Historical Perspective



Since the end of the Cold War, U.S. foreign policy has been out of focus, and this fact needs to be acknowledged. Why has it been out of focus? There are a few things to which people point.

George Herbert Walker Bush talked about the creation of a “New World Order,” and many people have been playing with this term. What has become very evident, however, is that you cannot sweep away history. History is not prologue; it is prelude. Historical perspective provides a way to understand culture, dialogues, and interactions. When we think about the missteps that were made, George Herbert Walker Bush said “let’s create a New World Order and build a coalition” in the first Iraq incursion, but following the U.S.’s success in the Gulf War, Bush’s vision of the New World Order never materialized.

The call to develop a coalition of the willing then transformed into Bill Clinton’s unipolar moment where he missed an opportunity to engage Russia. If you recall, the U.S.S.R. broke apart. In 1994, Russia sought to work in cooperation with NATO and accepted an invitation to join NATO’s Partnership for Peace initiative (the first country to do so). Yet, Clinton led the push for NATO expansion of former Eastern Bloc countries, which Russia perceived as a threat and an impediment to future cooperation between Russia and NATO. Dare I say that history in the first half of 2014 will say that this was a misstep; a missed opportunity.

Bill Clinton’s administration almost missed being involved in APEC. Going forward with the Asian-Pacific, this region and APEC, ASEAN, and other of those alliances were critical dialogue forums, and the U.S. almost missed these opportunities to engage.

Of course, George W. Bush is known for a “go it alone” strategy. There was a moment, a 9/11 moment, where there was an opportunity for the U.S., when Article 5 of the NATO Treaty was invoked. The world said, “We’ll stand with you.” George W. Bush said, “We’ll stand alone. You’re for us, or you’re against us.” Again, this was a missed opportunity to grasp a new understanding of what this world order could be, sending us on a pathway of being out of focus.

In the current period, in the absence of a clear alternative, remnants of the Cold War regime are resilient. Finding an alternative, though, is not easy. It is a long-term strategy that will require the fortitude and leadership of the leaders in many nations; leaders in education, economics, government, and business.

Why? There is still an expectation that the U.S. accept the burden of leadership. Many thought that Barack Obama’s handling of Syria in 2014 and going to Congress made the President look weak. To the contrary, he may have done the best thing he could in the situation. He made a statement to the U.S. Congress that Article I of the United States Constitution says that the power to declare war is Congress’s, not the executive’s. Article II does not say the President is permitted to take action until Congress acts. That action alone was saying to his own Congress, his own government, there must be a collective determinism internally as well as externally. If we will lead in the world, we must lead together. Republicans in Congress may not have agreed with him, but with change comes opportunity.

Security Is Still at the Forefront of World Concerns

Are we worried about security? Absolutely.

Are we worried about the South China Sea, and China and its activities? Are we worried about Ukraine and Russia? Are we worried about rogue individuals who could create havoc at a world event? Absolutely. But, security defined merely as military might is security that is not serving the broader interests of the collective notion or of a 21st century interconnected world.

There is an acceptance of principles, though. One thing that has come out of the World War II and the post-Cold War structures is respect for the Rule of Law. There has been much discussion about using international law to guide our principles, and about the Rule of Law and democratic ideals as shared understandings. There has also been some pushback by other nations, such as China not wanting to codify a code of conduct like the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, eschewing such principles out of concern of tying one’s hands. What I am suggesting is that the U.S. is doing exactly what the rest of the world is doing; giving itself latitude to enable agility. Middle states, or “top 20” powers like Australia, are very good at being agile. The U.S. is trying to understand how it can be agile and use its leadership to create that collective notion.

There is also the related question of alliances versus partnerships. President Obama has talked about partnerships, which has been poorly received domestically. The American public thinks, “Oh, how could you tarnish us by making us equal to others,” or “Why are we leading from behind?” On the other side, though, one could argue how the U.S. could not want to partner with other countries: partners pay for things, join you, and do not leave you behind. Partners defend you, see things you do not see, and equally own collective decisions and actions.

What has become very evident, however, is that you cannot sweep away history. History is not prologue; it is prelude.

Security defined merely as military might is security that is not serving the broader interests of the collective notion or of a 21st century interconnected world.

U.S. Foreign Policy and Collective Determinism

What would U.S. foreign policy in the 21st century be like if it were based on this notion of collective determinism? It would be built on a notion of "self-interest rightly understood". Unenlightened self-interest is really about gains for oneself. In the international context, this means every nation is out for its own self-interest.

Tocqueville reminded us many years ago on his travels throughout the new America that "it is to the individual advantage of each to work for the good of all." Working together can create enlightened self-interest, or self-interest rightly understood. The way we get that done is through a mutual exchange of what we need.

If We Work Together, We Rise Together

To advance this notion of self-interest rightly understood in the international context, in practice it means that U.S. military, economic and other components of national security are improved if other countries are similarly improved. In other words, the U.S. does not have to engage anywhere and everywhere. It does not have to send its military troops abroad. If it works with joint initiatives and helps others develop appropriate tools of their own, the U.S. would be freed from having to spend so much on its military budget and, perhaps, be able to reallocate that budget to other more productive areas that enhance the U.S.'s overall national security.

Partnerships also create a notion of a rising tide lifting all ships. If we work together, we will rise together, and that same statement holds here with countries. If other countries work together and they establish stability, if they face their population concerns, economic interests, and other instabilities, if they define those in a way that we work together to resolve them, then this self-interest of your nation, of my nation, other nations, could be rightly understood to help the world be more secure. This approach can help the world devise more innovative ways of thinking about common problems.

Self-interest rightly understood, however, is not a Utopian answer. It is a tough answer that requires executive leadership at all levels and in all sectors of society to help realize the vision and to see those connections where others see difference: to see those differences and bring them together, and to form that collective determinism, which would be predicated on the common challenges that reinforce the need to form a "new world order."

Consider just some of the issues common to all nations. Do all Western countries have a problem with an ageing population? Yes. Similarly, all nations deal with some form of economic instabilities. Try to find a country that does not have some form of economic instability, including China and Singapore, and does not worry about this each day. It is not possible in the current economic and international arenas.

Do all countries have needs for markets, jobs, and capital investments in a globalized economy with a globalized workforce? Absolutely. Is there a strain on food sources and food insecurity, and water and environmental issues? Do you think each nation faces those problems? Do you think a bomb set off in one area of the world would not affect other parts? Is there growth in the middle class? The idea of the growth of a middle class is predicated on us realizing all these other things. The middle class is only going to be able to rise if there are jobs, security, investment, and businesses where the cost of doing business is brought down so you can bring more influx of resources. Collectively, we gain more.

Collective determinism is building a network of opportunities for furtherance of trade and of potentially bringing in reluctant countries, such as China, that could benefit if it is able to see through the leadership and guidance of collective determinism how they can benefit from involvement.

Working together can create enlightened self-interest, or self-interest rightly understood.

Collectively, We Gain More

Figure 1 offers a reminder that in the new world order – what I am calling this collective determinism order that takes the old Cold War structure in order to recast it and to recalibrate it – some key things are going to happen by 2030.

By 2030, there will be 480 million single person households, and the total global population will be 8.4 billion people. The average age of the global population will be 34. The new Lowy poll shows that people over the age of 60 like the U.S./Australian Alliance. People 18-24 years old – the new generation – do not understand this Alliance or how it is going to be important to their generation. It is the same in the U.S.: The importance of alliances needs to be translated for this younger generation domestically about why alliances help advance U.S. interests.

Fifty-four percent of people will live in Asia Pacific. Why is everyone focused on this region? This is where the growth is happening, and this is where the educational process and creating this new structure potentially can evolve and develop.

Global GDP will be at US\$147 trillion, global per capita spending is expected to reach US\$13,620 and 2.4 billion babies will be born between 2014 and 2030. Will we have a geographic and demographic problem? Yes. Will these problems create more stress and more strain on the international community? Absolutely. Does this demand a collective way of understanding where issues are no longer internal but transnational? Absolutely. That is what I am arguing, because it really is grounded in what we are seeing before us.

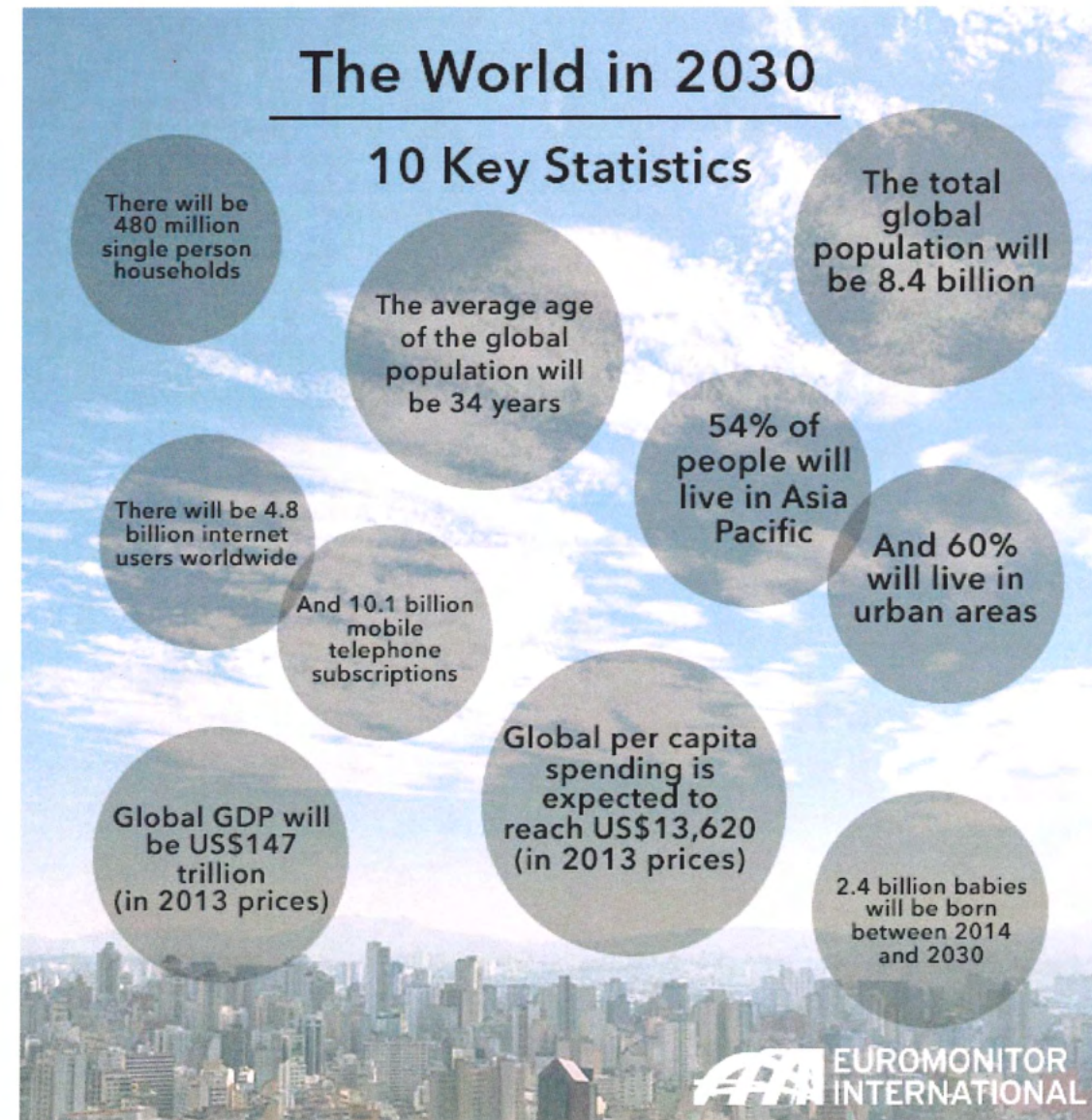


Figure 1: The World in 2030
Source: Euromonitor International

Consider the population and projections from 1950 through to 2100, and consider the year 2050 (see Figure 2). One has to notice the world are changing. Asia and Africa are growing, and where are the U.S. and Europe? What does Figure 2 tell us? We must build a world order that is not based on just what is going on now, but something that offers a holistic approach for the future built around collective determinism; and perhaps the problems alluded to in Figure 1 will not be problems. It will be an opportunity to build something that is much more profitable than economics and security broadly understood.

If one considers the twelve largest economies by world gross domestic product (GDP), featuring the U.S. and China, this ranking will change soon. GDP itself tells us a lot about economies. What it does not tell us, however, is where those opportunities for economies can overlap.

One of the interesting things in Figure 3 is that many of the countries down on the list are on the rise. These countries have potential, but right now they do not have the infrastructure, labor pool, information, or educational output.

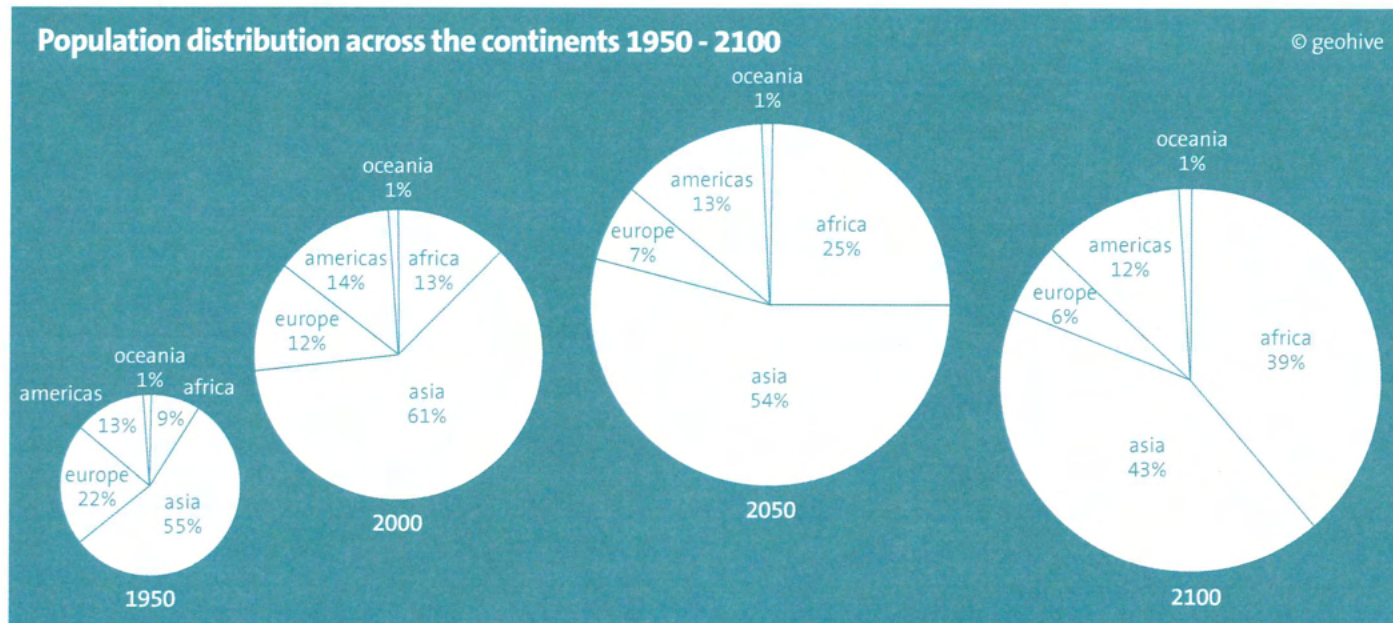


Figure 2: Population Distribution Across the Continents, 1950-2100
Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2013)

Twelve largest economies by share of world GDP

Share of world GDP
PPP-based, world = 100

- United States
- China
- India
- Japan
- Germany
- Russian Federation
- Brazil
- France
- United Kingdom
- Indonesia
- Italy
- Mexico
- Other Countries

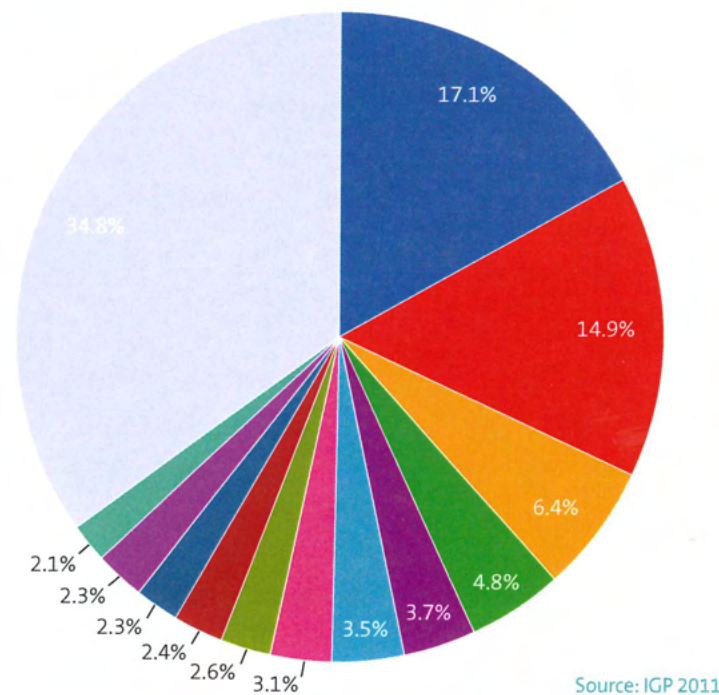


Figure 3: Twelve Largest Economies by Share of World GDP
Source: 2011 International Comparison Program by World Bank Group

A Tiered Approach

So what will foreign policy in the 21st century look like if it were based on collective determinism? Economic statecraft will be first and foremost. With self-interest rightly understood, as discussed previously, each nation has its respective interest in its economic well-being.

One way to start moving toward collective determinism is through appealing to each country's economic well-being. Security is a non-starter when talking about military might and use of force. But when talking about building economies and ways in which to interact with those economies, it has the potential to create cooperation.

Regional alliances, like the U.S. and Australia, are going to be vital in this future. To build a collective notion of determinism, you must have strong alliances with allies as true partners not just dependent on each other but who understand each other and their worldview, and act as regional powers.

This foreign policy will also see selective and shared military engagements by the United States. Such an approach will be very important in the sense that the U.S. wants to get away from being reactive – as we have seen with the Obama administration. It wants to think strategically about using military force only when necessary and in a way that provides for greater outcomes.

Lastly, the result is a multilayered and multidimensional world order. The U.S. will have to change if it is going to reach this collective understanding or collective determinism; changes that must happen at the executive, individual national, regional and global level.

Executive Leadership

At the executive leadership level, President Obama has already articulated that he wants to get off a "permanent war footing":

"I will not send our troops into harm's way unless it is truly necessary, nor will I allow our sons and daughters to be mired in open-ended conflicts. We must fight the battles that need to be fought, not those that terrorists prefer from us – large-scale deployments that drain our strength and may ultimately feed extremism" (2014 State of the Union Address).

He wants to move, as he stated, from open-ended conflicts and large-scale deployments to strategic negotiations about how to use and move military forces, and to use developments with alliances across the world to create what he considers executive leadership at a global level. For example, forums like the G7 and the G20 create opportunities to reinvigorate these existing structures into visionary bodies that can help the U.S. and potentially further the visionary development of this collective determinism.

One way to start moving toward collective determinism is through appealing to each country's economic well-being.

Individual National Leadership

At the individual national level, the key will be recalibrating expectations to use “American exceptionalism” to promote the “World Social Contract” as compared to reinforcing the old regime:

“(O)ur leadership is defined not just by our defense against threats but by the enormous opportunities to do good and promote understanding around the globe, to forge greater cooperation, to expand new markets, to free people from fear and want. And no one is better positioned to take advantage of those opportunities than America.” (2014 State of the Union Address).

Obama has his work cut out for him. I would argue that all leaders in their countries have their work cut out for them if they are going to talk about engaging with multilateral institutions in different ways. But with sustained leadership and visioning, collective determinism can transcend some major problems leaders face. This process also creates that intermestic conversation between domestic and international issues, and shows how they can work hand-in-hand to develop a stronger unit.

Regional Leadership

At a regional level, we will see involvement in regional economic agreements like:

- NAFTA – the first foray into trying to create an America region,
- Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) – regardless of the seemingly counter-intuitive political dynamics in the U.S. on this issue during 2015, with the President’s own party blocking his efforts to gain Trade Promotion Authority (aka Fast Track), the TPP represents a positive discussion about how we build markets together or, in other words, about economic determinism built on self-interest rightly understood. The TPP offers the opportunity to build upon the new framework and rules of engagement that were initiated in the Korean Free Trade Agreement.
- Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) – similar to the TPP, but as a grander discussion with the EU, and
- Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) – many

individuals are not talking about this potential agreement, but RCEP is going to be a very important discussion for Australia and countries in the Asian Pacific region. It is important to note that RCEP is not a competitor to TPP, even though many cast it as such because Russia and China are currently involved in RCEP and not TPP. Rather, as a number of regional countries like Indonesia and Philippines have indicated, they perceive RCEP as a stepping stone agreement to enable building the infrastructure to then join the gold standard of the TPP.

Security arrangements are still important, but will no longer solely be defined by military relations alone. Again, security, broadly defined, is about economics, culture, and open dialogue. For example, the invitation to China’s military to participate in joint exercises with the U.S. and other regional countries is an attempt to improve communications and to help build shared understandings of how the different militaries operate. The outcome here is pursuing interactions that may ward off the possibility of a “lone wolf” making a mistake in the South China Sea and beginning a conflict that could have been avoided if mutual understandings had been nurtured.

At the global level, there must be a resocialization both domestically and internationally. The old Cold War structure must be redefined, recalibrated and rearticulated, with policy outcomes being developed in a way that lead to collective engagements: A redefined world built on strategic and flexible alliances and partnerships that move in and out to create greater security and greater understanding of the ways in which we interact with one another.

The old Cold War structure must be redefined, recalibrated and rearticulated, with policy outcomes being developed in a way that lead to collective engagements.

“Obama Doctrine”, the Asian Rebalance and the TPP

Pulling these various levels together we see the “Obama Doctrine”; his effort to build a norm out of this “world social contract”. Obama’s attempt to “rebalance” (let us move away from “pivot”) takes the old structure and rebalances it to fit with what makes sense in the 21st century and beyond. It is really answering the question that President Obama has raised – it is not whether the U.S. will lead, but how it will lead, with the how being about having the fortitude to convene these conversations. It is a high risk/high reward strategy.

If successful, it can build a new world order structure that people have been talking about since the end of the Cold War. It could be that successful. If it fails, it can be blamed on his failures of executive leadership and taken as a lesson by some not to lead from behind.

The biggest challenges facing Obama include a lack of consensus, and resistance to rebalance. Among his biggest problems are free riders: People who do not want to pay the cost, rogue states that do not want to be involved, early adopters and fence sitters. Collective action always has free rider problems. One of the most important counters to the free rider problem will be to get others invested in the collective before the loss of U.S. leverage. U.S. policy makers are, or at least should be, well aware of the nation’s economic stance and standing in the world. The U.S. needs to engage in this type of discussion, and to use what might be seen

as the last vestige of “super power” leadership it has to brandish, to open up this dialogue for a collective notion of determinism and to restructure the old world order into a new world order for the 21st century.

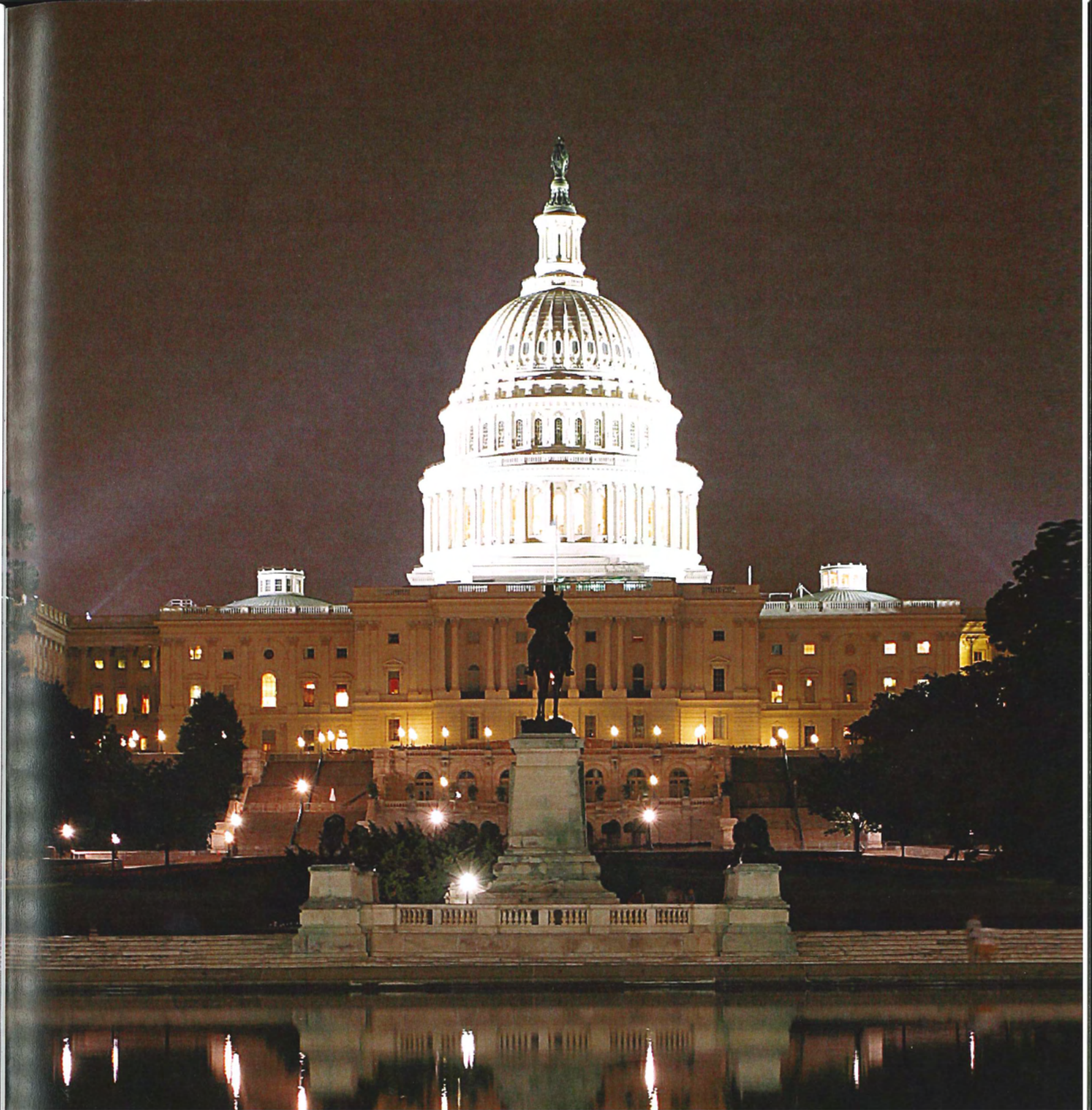
Let us consider the particular lens of the TPP and what lessons it offers to exemplify this new world order understanding.

The TPP has been talked about as a next-generation high standard, but for the purposes here it is also an example of collective determinism playing out in the Asian Pacific. The words “next generation” were chosen carefully in discussing the TPP because it is not just building another regional structure. It is a pilot test to get a region to work together with a key partner in Australia who understands the other nations’ cultures and the regional challenges better than the United States. Further, if 40 per cent of the world’s economies are working together there is an added security component, not about containment or deterrence, but about the eventual engagement of China in the dialogue. That is what is meant by “next generation”.

The biggest challenges facing Obama include a lack of consensus, and resistance to rebalance.



Most importantly, in the short-term the needs and interests cloud the realization of the long-term strategic benefit of economic statecraft. In other words, can it be hijacked? Obama will only serve for another couple of years. The fate of the TPP itself hangs on the outcome of the upcoming midterm elections. In some ways, Obama would be better served to have the Democratic Party lose seats in Congress (as expected) and have Republican majorities in the House of Representatives and Senate who might be supportive of giving trade promotion authority – the very tool minimally necessary to bring the TPP to a close. In any event, can a focus on economic statecraft transcend his administration? Can this dialogue continue? And, can you work with me to help craft



How can the U.S. get away from reacting to global crises in various regions and being expected to solve every problem alone?

As argued, the whole impetus behind moving from merely a “pivot” to the Asian Pacific to the use of “rebalance” was not merely a rhetorical choice, but rather a strategic means through which the U.S. has sought to signal other parts of the world (e.g., EU, Middle East, etc.) that at least during this administration the U.S. is seeking to reset expectations, be more agile in its approach to foreign challenges, and seek flexibility to ensure the U.S. does not have to be everything to everyone.

It should also be noted the U.S. is maintaining its ability to be a convenor for various dialogues and joint initiatives, providing it with an ability to lead in a more collective manner. While internally in the U.S. it appears this Administration is leading from behind, it is often missed by those arguing this particular position that leadership can come in many forms and from many angles.

Finally, the growing awareness of instabilities throughout the world internally, in countries like China and Russia as well as larger movements like the “Arab Spring” and the EU economic crises, has reintroduced to foreign policy the need to balance domestic pressures with international pursuits. This growing intermestic nature of issues raises even more support for the pursuit of collective determinism built upon collective understanding.

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