



The Asia Foundation

***Challenges in U.S.-Asian Relations
Awaiting a New American President***

Luncheon Remarks Prepared for Delivery

by

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INTRODUCTION

Thank you for the kind introduction; and I want to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for taking time out of your schedules today to attend this luncheon event. The hospitality that you and others have extended to me and my staff during our brief visit to Seoul has been most gracious, and I am very appreciative for it.

Although my current visit to Seoul is brief, the agenda which the Foundation's Country Representative in Korea, Dr. Edward Reed, and his staff have developed for me promises to be a very productive one. And, I am pleased that the opportunity for me to meet with you today and to discuss the subject of Challenges in U.S.-Asian Relations Awaiting a New American President is a part of the agenda for my visit.

Many of you have a very strong understanding of the history and ongoing commitment of The Asia Foundation to "*build a peaceful, prosperous, just, and open Asia-Pacific region.*" Therefore, I don't want to spend the bulk of my short time with you today focused on the expansive and diverse programs and projects to which the Foundation is committed in over 20 countries throughout the Asia-Pacific region.

However, for those of you who may not have an extensive knowledge or experience with the Foundation, I would like to offer you an introduction to the Foundation and its mission which I have been pleased to lead over the past four years. And, as I address the primary subject of my presentation, I will occasionally highlight for you some of the initiatives in which the Foundation and its partners are addressing the challenges that face the United States and the countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE ASIA FOUNDATION

After serving in the U.S. House of Representatives for 26 years, I decided not to seek a 14th term. I wanted to try, if possible, to take that experience and serve the public interest in another manner. Therefore, it was my good fortune to be selected President and CEO of The Asia Foundation.

The Foundation is a non-profit, non-endowed nongovernmental organization (NGO) founded in 1954. It is primarily a development organization which also conducts a variety of programs in international relations. In that respect, the Foundation conducts its programming primarily as a grant-maker working through governmental and nongovernmental partners, although a major fraction of our work is now done with our own staff.

The staff of The Asia Foundation now numbers more than 640 (having increased more than 90 percent in the last five years), and it consists of more than 30 nationalities. More than 80 percent of the Foundation's staff are nationals of countries in the Asia-Pacific region. And, there are also Europeans, Canadians, Australians, and Americans who occupy key staff positions in the Foundation's

offices. During my time in Congress I grew to greatly respect and admire the work and accomplishments of the men and women of The Asia Foundation, and when I started my new position in September of 2004 I was pleased to find that we have a strong, very well-educated, and experienced professional staff and that there is a pervasive sense of altruism and dedication to our mission in our staff.

Our mission, broadly stated, is *“to assist in the development of a peaceful, prosperous, just, and open Asia-Pacific region;”* and this mission is fundamentally implemented through our work in more than 20 Asian countries plus some Pacific Island nations which altogether are served by the Foundation’s 17 offices stretching across South, Southeast, and Northeast Asia. Most of the Foundation’s core programming and projects are categorized in four theme areas:

- Economic Reform and Development
- Governance, Law, and Civil Society (including election training)
- International Relations
- Women’s Empowerment

In Fiscal Year 2007, the Foundation provided more than \$68 million (USD) in program and project support for the Asia-Pacific region. During that period, through the Foundation’s Books for Asia program, we also distributed 974,000 English-language books and educational materials throughout the region, which were valued at \$33 million. The Asia Foundation is not an endowed organization, and we depend solely on monetary contributions from donors – governments, corporations, other foundations, and individuals – to accomplish our work.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTNERSHIPS

If you go beyond this introduction to The Asia Foundation and put forth an effort to examine our work, you will undoubtedly determine that there are four pillars upon which the strength and success of the Foundation is predicated:

- A long history and very strong institutional knowledge of Asia and the Pacific based on our on-the-ground presence in the region
- The rich diversity and experience of our staff in Asia and the United States
- Our partners throughout the Asia-Pacific region
- The commitment of funding from diverse sources

During my service in the U.S. House of Representatives as Chairman of the House International Relations Committee’s Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, I greatly valued the longstanding positive role which the Republic of Korea has had in promoting peace and prosperity in Asia. Unquestionably, the Republic of Korea will

continue to have a positive role in addressing some of the key challenges in U.S.-Asian relations throughout the term of the next President of the United States.

Now, from my perspective as President and CEO of The Asia Foundation, I also want to candidly emphasize the importance of the Foundation's partnerships with government institutions, nongovernmental organizations, corporations, and citizens of the Republic of Korea. Moreover, I want to candidly address the need to expand these partnerships as a very important element in the successful implementation of the Foundation's mission which will ameliorate some of the challenges in the Asia-Pacific region and in U.S.-Asian relations.

During the past several years, one of the major efforts of our Korea team has focused on supporting the Korean Government's goal to become a leader in development cooperation in other lesser developed parts of Asia. In partnership with the Korea Development Institute School for Public Policy and Management (KDI School) we have launched a new program to provide on-site learning opportunities in developing Asian countries for young Korean government and NGO development workers. We have also initiated a series of international conferences on development issues. Most recently the Foundation's Korea office organized a meeting on "Development Assistance in Areas of Conflict in Asia," where experts from Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and other countries joined Koreans to discuss this difficult and critical issue. Yesterday, I met with President Park Dae-won, president of the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA). We discussed ways that the Foundation and KOICA can collaborate in the field. Already the Foundation is working with other bilateral aid agencies in nine other countries to enhance the effectiveness of their programs using our deep ties throughout the Asia region.

We are also seeking partnerships with Korean corporations that have deep commercial ties with developing Asia. Many of these corporations are seeking to expand their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs overseas. For example, too, the Korean Business Council for Sustainable Development has joined us in exploring ways to address environmental problems in China that affect the whole region. The Foundation is talking with a number of corporations (some perhaps represented here) about how we might assist them to achieve their corporate and social responsibility goals through programs that bring real change to the lives of the most needy in the region. Such programs often can not only achieve corporate goals, they strengthen the human ties on which Korea's long-term relationship with its neighbors and developing Asia must be built.

I also want to acknowledge the essential and pioneering role of the Friends of The Asia Foundation in Korea. Under the leadership of former Prime Minister Lee Hong-koo – a distinguished Trustee of The Asia Foundation, the individual and corporate members of the Friends have provided encouragement, advice, and resources to the Foundation to initiate the development partnerships like those I have described in my remarks today. I warmly thank the members of the Korea Friends of The Asia Foundation who are here today, and encourage others to consider joining their efforts.

Working together in this way will not only contribute to the noble and essential purpose of reducing the gross levels of poverty and inequities among the people and countries in this region – but also at the same time offer a new way for strengthening the ties between Korea and the U.S.

Now, on to the primary subject of my talk today: Challenges in U.S.-Asian Relations Awaiting a New American President.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD

First, I would say that I believe that anyone who quickly surveys the political landscape of the Asia-Pacific region over the past several months will note that this is a period of potentially momentous change in many countries of the region. Moreover, it is evident that elements of the democratic process (such as political campaigning, elections, and protests) and challenges to the democratic process continue to be key factors for momentous change in such countries as Bangladesh, Japan, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand, and Timor-Leste and in Taiwan. In our two countries – the Republic of Korea and the United States – the democratic process also continues to promote change. Of course, Korea has recently elected a new President and is undergoing a contentious transition of its political scene. And, the U.S. is in the midst of one of the most exciting and perhaps pivotal elections in recent history.

On a positive note, the democratic process and the changes which it promotes often provides a special opportunity to assess challenges within countries and between countries. And, in the balance of my time with you this afternoon, I would like to summarize a few of the major challenges and issues in U.S.-Asian relations that the next President of the United States would need to address.

Every four years since 1992, The Asia Foundation conducts a project we call “America’s Role in Asia” to

- Examine the security, economic, and political challenges occurring in Asia
- Explore the implications of these challenges for U.S. interests
- Produce reports making recommendations with respect to U.S. policies and priorities for Northeast, Southeast, and South Asia.

In short, the “America’s Role in Asia” reports examine a myriad of critical issues in Asia; and its reports are presented to the administrations of new U.S. Presidents. Thus, in late 2007, The Asia Foundation again launched an “America’s Role in Asia” project for 2008 to coincide with the upcoming Presidential Election in the United States.

Over the past few months, we have collected the ideas of leading Asian and American foreign policy experts on whether U.S. policy towards Asia – including such issues as

the environment, energy, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and China – should be overhauled, fine-tuned, or continued largely on the same track in 2009. We organized leading international relations scholars from across Asia into three strategy groups for meetings held in India, in Korea (led by Ambassador Han Sung-joo), and in Singapore so they could candidly share and prepare their joint views on what U.S. foreign policy requirements or challenges might be for their sub-region of Asia. At this time, this information is being compiled into a comprehensive volume which will be released in September 2008. I and other Trustees and officers of The Asia Foundation will soon take these Asian and American recommendations of the appropriate American role in Asia and concrete recommendations for U.S. foreign policy for consideration by the conventions and presidential nominees of both political parties and the next Administration.

In Asia, Ambassador Han Sung-joo, (President of the ASAN Institute), Ambassador Tommy Koh (Chairman of the Institute of Policy Studies and Ambassador-at-Large in Singapore), and Dr. C. Raja Mohan (Professor at the Rajanathan School of International Studies) led roundtables in Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia regions. In the U.S., two of America's most distinguished diplomats – and Trustees of The Asia Foundation – Ambassador Michael Armacost (Former U.S. Ambassador to Japan and the Philippines and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs) and Ambassador J. Stapleton Roy (Former U.S. Ambassador to China, Indonesia, and Singapore) – led a group of foreign policy and Asian specialists with combined experience of hundreds of years to provide their assessment of challenges and opportunities facing the administration of a new U.S. President in the Asia-Pacific region.

After months of analysis and debate, 18 essays on recommendations for bilateral and transnational issues between Asia and the U.S. – including stability on the Korean Peninsula; conflict in Afghanistan; the Global War on Terror; energy security; environmental degradation; and trade, investment and finance – have been collected and are in the editing stages. I would encourage the representatives of Korean media who are attending today's luncheon event to contact the Foundation's office in Seoul later this month to request a copy of the 2008 "America's Role in Asia" report as soon as it becomes available to foreign policy decision-makers in Washington, D.C. on September 10th. At that time, we would be pleased to provide copies to you.

Today, it is still premature for me to highlight the challenges and recommendations that the 2008 "America's Role in Asia" report will soon present in significant detail. Therefore, based on my own observations and assessment of a growing array of reputable information on the subject, I will instead present my personal assessment of a few of the more prominent Asia-related foreign policy challenges and issues which I see facing the administration of the next U.S. President.

THE IMAGE AND ENGAGEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

First, I believe Americans must surely recognize that in recent years the image and engagement of the United States in the international community very obviously has plummeted to unacceptably low levels.

America has lost political influence in absolute terms in the Asia-Pacific region because of its preoccupation with Iraq and terrorism, its perceived excessive unilateralism and interventionist actions, its failure to focus on multilateral fora as well as its bilateral relationships, and a perception that it has violated norms and principles that were thought central to its international respect and legitimacy. And, there is broad consensus in Asia that U.S. “soft power” has declined in absolute terms in the region and in the world as a whole since the invasion of Iraq. Additionally, Muslim consciousness is growing throughout the world; and in Southeast Asia, there now is an increased focus on U.S. policies and actions in the Middle East rather than on Asia. This is compounded by increases in Middle East fundamentalist Muslim school financing and other ties in Southeast Asia and South Asia.

In June of 2007, The Chicago Council on Global Affairs and WorldPublicOpinion.org released an in-depth study of world public opinion on a number of key international issues including U.S. leadership in the world. This study (titled World Public Opinion 2007) reported that, *“in 10 out of 15 [surveyed] countries, the most common view is that the United States cannot be trusted to act responsibly in the world.”* With respect to this study, it should be noted that, in response to the question *“How much do you trust [the United States] to act responsibly in the world,”* 53 percent of the South Korean respondents indicated *“Not at all / Not very much.”*

In a comparison of annual BBC World Service Polls over the past four years *“positive views of the U.S. eroded from 2005 (38 percent on average), to 2006 (32 percent), and to 2007 (28 percent); recovering for the first time this year [2008] to 32 percent.”* According to the BBC World Service Poll released on April 2, 2008, South Korea was among the countries that have shown the sharpest increase in their positive views of the U.S. (from 35 percent in 2007 to 49 percent today).

Also, in aggregate terms, while the U.S. economic position in Asia is stronger than ever in all areas of economic transactions, its dominance has declined. Economic trends point toward declining U.S. influence in Asia, certainly in a relative sense.

The perceived unilateral approach of the United States and its possible decline as a world power is already a subject of some international attention. In its major report released in November of 2007, the Center for Strategic & International Studies’ (CSIS) Commission on Smart Power provides a well-reasoned answer to the critical question, *“How did the United States lose the stature and goodwill it had*

accumulated during the Cold War and in its immediate aftermath?” The CSIS Commission on Smart Power concluded that there are at least five significant causes of America’s declining influence:

- First, **America’s sole superpower status** is a factor...when the Cold War ended, America stood alone as the towering superpower on the world stage, while Cold War allies, less dependent on U.S. assistance or security guarantees, started to resent America’s unbounded dominance.
- Second, **reaction against globalization**...Today, many abroad view the United States as the main promoter and beneficiary of globalization and blame America for jobs lost and what they perceive as an assault on their traditions and culture.
- A third factor is **America’s [perceived] isolation from [,bypassing,] or non-concurrence with agreements and institutions with widespread international support.**
- Fourth, **America’s response to 9/11**...In short, the widespread perception was that the U.S. applied methods that we had previously decried when used by other governments, fueling a widespread belief that America employs a double standard.
- The fifth factor, according to the Smart Power Commission, is the **perceptions of American incompetence**...The U.S. Government’s slow, badly coordinated response to the catastrophe caused by Hurricane Katrina at home and, abroad, our inability to restore civil order and basic services such as electricity, water, and sanitation to Iraq in a timely fashion have created the impression that America may have lost some of the can-do techniques, knowledge, and attitude for which it had been widely admired.

Consequently, I am convinced one of the challenges that the administration of the next U.S. President must address is the tattered image and influence of the United States in the international community. And, in doing so, it must address such causes for this decline as those that the CSIS Commission on Smart Power has studied. Why is that critical? A failure to address the tattered image and influence of the United States in the international community as well as the causes for this decline, if unaddressed, will further erode the ability of the United States to partner with other countries and effectively confront challenges of mutual concern.

Additionally, as the administration of the next U.S. President grapples with this challenge, I must also candidly suggest that we ask our friends – the people and governments of countries in the Asia-Pacific region – to responsibly move beyond purely subjective rhetoric and view the initiatives of the United States and its international relations more objectively.

And, this may be made more difficult by the fact that fewer Asians study and have studied in the U.S. than previously, and a higher percentage don’t return home – U.S. is losing influence among senior policymakers and elites in the region.

Closely tied to America's image problem is the perceived problem of America's lack of effective engagement with the international community. As the administration of the next U.S. President grapples with the tattered image and influence of the United States, it must concurrently more fully engage on a multilateral level within the international community.

In its World Public Opinion 2007 study, The Chicago Council on Global Affairs and WorldPublicOpinion.org underscored this problem by noting that “*majorities in most countries want the United States to participate in international efforts to address world problems but in a more cooperative and multilateral fashion.*”

A 2008 report of the Center for New American Security candidly points out the importance of multilateral engagement in Asia. It suggests the following:

America's lack of strategic engagement in the region [Asia] – highlighted by skipping important meetings, such as the ARF – is sending the signal to our friends and allies in the region that America doesn't care and [gives] China's [increasingly] adroit diplomatic corps space to capitalize and develop stronger bonds in East Asia [and Southeast Asia]. Fortunately, American absence in the region has not yet translated into strategic demise – our values and presence remain largely enduring. However, failure to more fully interact in Asian institutions may undermine many gains America has made in the past 50 years.

Moreover, it is important to note that America's soft power approach emphasizes democracy and related objectives while also re-enforcing its security objectives, but China's non-interference policy is more palatable with nationalist elements of countries in the Asia-Pacific region, and especially attractive to more authoritarian regimes.

The new U.S. president who takes office in January 2009 will face many urgent foreign policy challenges; and while Iraq and the wider Middle East are the most urgent, increased attention must also be given to the U.S.-Asian relationships. Perhaps the most fundamental American challenges in Asia will be to strengthen existing partnerships, help build a new and inclusive strategic architecture in Northeast Asia, and encourage intra-Asian cooperation to address the growing inequities within and between societies.

There is much discussion about what kind of structure is needed for strengthening stability and cooperation in Northeast Asia. I believe thinking must go beyond a focus on conventional security and power balance and instead begin building new relationships based on practical and constructive cooperation in a broad range of areas, such as on energy efficiency and environmental issues just to name the most obvious.

Again, citing the 2008 report of the Center for New American Security: “*Bilateral alliances remain the lynchpin for American engagement in the region.*” While multilateral engagement in Asia should be an important concern for the next U.S. President, bilateral relationships among the countries of the Asia-Pacific region and between the United States and the countries of the Asia-Pacific region remain vital for the administration of the next U.S. President to understand and appropriately navigate.

Now, let’s turn to U.S.-Korean relations and this region of Northeast Asia.

U.S.-KOREA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

While the U.S.-Korea relationship is fundamentally a strong one and South Koreans have a relatively positive view of the United States, recent protests in this country remind us that there are also some very real tensions between Koreans and America and that we must all continue to work on deepening the understanding and enhancing clear communications between our two societies. I must honestly say that many of Korea’s friends in the U.S. have been confused and disappointed by these dramatic protests over what might seem on the surface to be a relatively minor issue in our relationship – one which caused some of the resulting difficulties for the newly elected Korean Administration. We would like to better understand these developments and learn how we can work together to put our political and economic relations on a stronger footing.

RELATIONS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA

In President Bush’s March 13th speech to the Korea Foundation Forum, there is one element that I particularly want to underscore – the importance of the Six Party process. Certainly, since President Bush’s speech, there apparently at least has been a small amount of progress in the Six Party process with respect to promoting security on the Korean Peninsula and steps toward addressing concerns about a nuclear-armed North Korea. However, without a doubt, issues involving North Korea will be an ongoing challenge for the next U.S. President. I personally have limited optimism about the pace of progress that will be made.

In spite of the slow, halting, and often very disappointing progress in the Six Party process, I believe it is almost certain that North Korea will continue to be a central challenge for the region and, of course, for South Korea. President Lee Myung-bak has taken a firmer approach to the North; but at the same time, he has laid out a vision for accelerated South-North economic cooperation. To me it seems quite natural for the new team to reassess South-North relations since President Lee was elected with this as part of his campaign platform. Also, to me as an American, it seems entirely reasonable that South Korea should pursue quiet contacts with the North to explain its

proposals in detail and to say what steps it looks for on the part of the North. The DPRK leaders surely must know that, in the long run, they cannot succeed in meeting the needs of their people without cooperation and assistance from the South. Thus, if approached patiently with a firm and consistent message and positions, the DPRK may eventually have to respond more positively; and thus the South-North relationship can be put on a more stable and realistic basis.

INTRAREGIONAL BILATERAL RELATIONS

There are significant developments in the larger region as well. To name a few –

- Warming relations between Taiwan and mainland China.
- And, the opening of the Beijing Olympic Games next month will draw attention not only to the amazing economic developments in China but also some of the problems that China must give attention to, including political rights, severe environmental pollution, and the status of minority regions.

With respect to China, of course, America and China must continue to evolve a relationship that allows for a peaceful and stabilizing Chinese role in the region and the world that is commensurate with its rapidly increasing economic and political strength.

As America's bilateral relations with Korea, Japan, and China need tending, greater attention must also be given to the growing strength and importance of the ASEAN states. Recognizing these needs, the Foundation has recently increased its program attention both to cross-Pacific relations and to relations within Asia. In March this year, the Foundation's Korea office organized a major conference on Korea's relations with Southeast Asia where all of the increasingly complex issues in that relationship were discussed.

On the subject of focusing greater attention on the ASEAN states, I believe the administration of the next U.S. President would find it very advantageous to foster better multilateral relations by promoting U.S. accession to the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC). As you may know, the U.S. has not acceded to TAC for ASEAN. Accession would effectively, among other advantages, win the U.S. an invitation to join the East Asian Summit, along with China, India, Australia, Japan, Pakistan, Korea and other countries.

In the area of fostering effective bilateral and trilateral dialogue and cooperation, The Asia Foundation's core program area of International Relations has convened such important meetings as East Asia Community Building meetings as well as bilateral and multilateral dialogues (for example, the 10th U.S.-China-Japan Trilateral Dialogue). And, the Foundation's Korea program continues to give attention to international relations. We are launching a new program to be based in Washington

to generate new ideas for strengthening the U.S.-Korea bilateral relationship and put it on firmer footing. (In this new effort, we are moving ahead on establishing a Center for Korea Policy in Washington, D.C. under the leadership of Scott Snyder, our former Country Representative here in Korea, with support from the Smith Richardson Foundation. The goal of this new Center would be to promote broadened cooperation and understanding between the United States and South Korea, and by extension, to thus be a positive influence on the direction and development of Northeast Asia and U.S.-Asia relations.)

PROMOTING EFFECTIVE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Finally, I would like to briefly address the challenge of promoting effective foreign assistance programs by the United States and the developed countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

It seems clear to me that enhanced cooperation between the U.S. and Asia in the area of international development can be an effective way of strengthening the relationship among the more prosperous donor countries in Northeast Asia and between the donor countries and the emerging economies of Southeast and South Asia. And, increasing levels of aid is critical. Rising costs of food, energy, and other resources, as well as the threatening global economic downturn, increase the danger of unrest and instability in many parts of developing Asia, and such unrest will affect all of us.

As you all undoubtedly know, Korea is regarded as an emerging donor country, and it has made the commitment to significantly increase its foreign assistance and join the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) by 2010. Simultaneously, Japan also is now overhauling its ODA institutions and processes aiming to create a "new JICA" late this year. China is rapidly increasing its assistance to strategic states but without the considerations or development requirements that most donors attach to aid. The U.S. remains a major donor, but the Bush Administration's initiative, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, not surprisingly, has not fulfilled its promise. It is widely viewed as a bureaucratic failure, and I believe its future in the next administration is bleak no matter who wins the election. But, I also believe that all four countries – Korea, Japan, China, and the U.S. – are ripe for taking a fresh look at their foreign aid strategies and for learning from one another through practical cooperation.

As the United States and other developed countries have an expressed interest and have undertaken reform efforts to promote international development through foreign assistance, we at The Asia Foundation believe we are well-positioned and prepared to facilitate mutual interests and efforts. The Foundation has supported development in Asia for over fifty years, and today we continue to work in some of the most difficult and challenging parts of the region.

As some countries in Asia – like Korea – have advanced far more rapidly than others, the Foundation has added a new dimension to its work. We call it Partners in Asian Development. The aim is to encourage and facilitate increased development assistance from the more prosperous Asian countries to those that are lagging behind.

In Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, through our programs there, The Asia Foundation is seeking partnerships with governments, NGOs, and the business sector to deliver more effective assistance to the less developed regions in South and Southeast Asia. Since the Foundation has a network of 17 offices located throughout the region focused on assisting Asians to achieve their goals for peace and prosperity, we want to put this resource to work to facilitate more effective assistance from the wealthy to the poorest countries of Asia.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, I would suggest that, in any effort to examine the challenges in U.S.-Asian relations and the ability of the United States to successfully partner with the other countries on matters of mutual interest, the future leadership of the U.S. Government must first have a historical perspective on Asian-American relations, and that includes an objective evaluation of the Bush Administration's record. The three lead authors of a June, 2008 report from the Center for New American Security provide, I believe, a balanced analysis which offers an excellent summary perspective on the recent foreign policy history of the U.S. Government in the Asia-Pacific region. They write,

Certainly much has been achieved tactically in Asia over the course of the Bush administration, from successful disaster relief operations in Southeast Asia in the aftermath of the 2004 tsunami, to agreements that modernize and strengthen American alliances with Japan and Korea, to new levels of constructive engagement with both the People's Republic of China (PRC) and India. But the sum of America's tactical successes does not add up to a successful and comprehensive strategy. America's strategic preoccupation in Iraq and Afghanistan is undermining its ability to adapt to major power shifts in the Asia-Pacific that are actively challenging America's traditional balance of power role in the region.

Moreover, I believe it will be important for the administration of the next U.S. President to understand and realistically accept America's capacity to have a lasting, positive impact on U.S. Asia-Pacific foreign policy during the next President's four or eight year period of leadership. Douglas H. Paal, a former Director of the American Institute in Taiwan who is currently serving as a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in the United States, aptly points out that

Whether it wins one term or two, the life of any new administration will be short in retrospect. And the time for creativity and policy innovation is much shorter yet. This is compounded by the ever-lengthening confirmation process for important sub-cabinet officials. It will not serve the president to postpone key decisions until everybody is on board. The sooner the president-elect's attention can be focused on the necessary issues, the smoother will be his initial sailing, and the greater will be the likelihood of lasting accomplishments in Asia.

So, ladies and gentlemen, when the next President of the United States is inaugurated in January and his administration is urged to quickly define a strategic and sustainable approach for meeting the challenges in U.S.-Asian relations, a key realization is surely true that partnerships inside and outside the U.S. Government are crucial components to the success of any approach. Bilateral and multilateral engagement in the international community is needed to effectively address challenges in U.S.-Asian relations, and partnerships with nongovernmental organizations can have an important impact on international relations and development.

Although the challenges that I have briefly outlined for you will no doubt be significant, there is reason for optimism; I am confident that the U.S.-Korea alliance will be sustained and continue to have a positive role in an effort to resolve these challenges in East Asia. The Asia Foundation will continue its supportive, positive role in international relations and development. We will continue with our mission which is to promote *“the development of a peaceful, prosperous, just, and open Asia-Pacific region.”*

Thank you for your attention to my remarks.