

DRAFT: Schwerin – New Statesman v7
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Global Leadership in a Changing World
By Hillary Clinton

When I touched down in Beijing last month for the fourth round of the U.S.-China Strategic & Economic Dialogue, I knew I was stepping onto the diplomatic high-wire. Every trip to China is complicated, reflecting a bilateral relationship that is as complex and crucial as any in the world, but this was different. We had a full agenda of sensitive issues to discuss like cyber-security and the South China Sea, yet the world's attention was increasingly focused on the fate of a blind human rights dissident who had sought refuge in the American embassy. Suddenly, an already delicate trip had become an outsized test of the U.S.-China relationship.

Throughout history, the rise of new powers usually has played out in zero-sum terms. So it's not surprising that the emergence of countries like China, India, and Brazil has raised questions about the future of the global order the United States, the United Kingdom and our allies have helped build and defend. Against this backdrop, those few days in May took on even greater significance: Could the United States and China write a new answer to the old question of what happens when an established power and rising power meet?

When I became Secretary of State in early 2009, there were questions about the future of America's global leadership. We faced two long and expensive wars, an economy in free-fall, fraying alliances, and an international system that seemed to be buckling under the weight of new threats.

A lot has changed in three years. Under President Obama's leadership, the United States has ended the war in Iraq and begun a transition in Afghanistan; we have revitalized American diplomacy, strengthened our alliances, and reengaged with multilateral institutions; and while the economic recovery is not as strong as anyone would like, we have pulled back from the brink and are headed in the right direction.

New powers continue to play a greater role on the world stage. But this is not 1912, when friction between a declining Britain and a rising Germany

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set the stage for global conflict. It's 2012, and a strong America is working with new powers and partners to update an international system designed to *prevent* global conflict and promote global prosperity.

Along with trusted allies like the United Kingdom, the United States is leading in new ways that fit a new time – a time of complex challenges and scarce resources. And we are prioritizing our investment in the areas of greatest opportunity and consequence. This begins by understanding the current international landscape and the demands it places on American leadership.

Today, the great powers are at peace and no totalitarian empire threatens the world, as it did during World War II and the Cold War. But we face new and different challenges. The financial crisis, climate change, international terrorism, these are threats that spill across borders and defy unilateral solutions. At the same time, political and technological changes are allowing huge numbers of people around the world to influence events like never before. And new players, from those emerging economic powers to non-state actors like corporations and cartels, are reshaping the international landscape.

So the geometry of global power is becoming more distributed and diffuse even as the challenges we face become more complex and cross-cutting. That means that building coalitions for common action is becoming both more complicated and more crucial.

Still, amidst all this change, two constants remain. First, a just, open, and sustainable international order is still required to promote global peace and prosperity. And second, American leadership is as essential as ever.

For the United States, our traditional alliances in Europe and East Asia remain the bedrock of our global leadership. The United Kingdom and other allies are our partners of first resort, working side-by-side on everything from stopping Iran's quest for nuclear weapons to protecting civilians in Libya to achieving an AIDS-free generation. We have worked together for decades to shape the global order and to defend its core principles, and the future of that order depends on the enduring strength of our partnership.

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Yet as strong as our traditional alliances are, we also recognize the need to work with new partners. Because new regional and global centers of influence are quickly emerging – not just India and China but also countries like Turkey, Mexico, Brazil, Indonesia, South Africa, as well as Russia. These are complicated, multi-dimensional relationships and aligning our interests isn't always easy – we're seeing just how difficult it can be on

Syria. But we've also had successes, like maintaining broad-based pressure on Iran and North Korea. For the United States, the United Kingdom, and our allies, working with these new players in the years ahead, encouraging them to accept the responsibility that comes with influence, and integrating them more fully into the international order is a key test for our diplomacy.

We will need to work together to renovate the global architecture to better reflect the dynamics of today's world. International rules and institutions designed for an earlier age may not be suited to today. But there are principles that are universal and that must be defended: fundamental freedoms and human dignity; an open, free, transparent, and fair economic system; the peaceful resolution of disputes; and respect for the territorial integrity of states. These are norms that benefit everyone and that help all people and nations live and trade in peace.

The international system based on these principles helped fuel, not foil, the rise of emerging powers such as China and India. Those nations have benefited from the security it provides, the markets it opens, and the trust it fosters. As a consequence, they have a real stake in the success of that system. And as their power grows and their ability to contribute increases, the world's expectations of them will rise as well.

So the rise of new powers doesn't have to be a *threat* to the global order built and defended by the United States, the United Kingdom and our allies. In fact, it's in part the *result* of that order – of the stability and prosperity we foster around the world.

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A zero-sum approach will only lead to negative-sum results. So the United States has devoted significant diplomatic effort to building stronger relationships with these emerging powers, and to encouraging them to engage more fully in an international system that provides incentives for cooperation and disincentives for sitting on the sidelines. We look to our allies to join us in this effort.

Our aim is to strengthen mature and effective regional and global institutions that can mobilize common action and settle disputes peacefully; to build consensus around rules and norms that help manage relations between peoples, markets, and nations; and to establish security arrangements that provide stability and build trust.

To understand how this can work, consider the East Asia Summit, which brings together the leaders of all the key nations in the Asia-Pacific to grapple with the region's biggest challenges and pursue comprehensive solutions, whether it's on nonproliferation, disaster response, or maritime security. Until last year, no U.S. President had ever attended. But the United States has spent recent years deepening our engagement all across the region and in particular with its multilateral institutions. So President Obama decided to participate this past November, and we quickly saw the value of an institution like this.

The South China Sea connects many of the nations of the Asia-Pacific, some of whom have competing claims on its waters and islands. Half the world's merchant tonnage flows through the South China Sea, so the stakes for maritime security and freedom of navigation are high. The United States has no territorial claims there, and we do not take sides in those territorial disputes. But we have always been a seafaring nation, and we have an abiding interest in protecting the seas and respecting international law and promoting the peaceful resolution of disputes that arise out of navigation.

Trying to settle complex disputes like this bilaterally, one-on-one, is a recipe for confusion and even confrontation. There are just too many overlapping claims and interests. But when President Obama joined his fellow leaders at the East Asia Summit, they were able to come together and support a region-wide effort to protect unfettered access to the South China Sea, work toward

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developing a code of conduct, and respect the legitimate interests of all claimants to ensure that disputes are settled through a consensual process based on established principles of international law.

Recent renewed tensions in the South China Sea only underscore the importance of pursuing such a multilateral approach.

The productive discussion at the East Asia Summit was a reminder that, for certain issues, there's no substitute for putting the relevant players in the same room and letting giving them a chance to begin to exchange ideas and work towards sorting out problems. In cases like this one, smaller countries can be sure their voices are heard. And larger countries, which have a significant stake in broader regional stability and security, can pursue solutions to these complex challenges. That's what an effective international architecture permits.

With this in mind, the United States has made it a priority to reengage with regional institutions and partners, including increasingly effective organizations like the Arab League and the African Union. Just a few years ago, some of these institutions lacked both capability and credibility. That's changing fast. And this presents a real opportunity to bring nations together to promote regional stability and security in hotspots like the Horn of Africa. The United States, the United Kingdom, and our allies need to work together to seize this opportunity and build stronger relationships with these emerging institutions.

There's also a lesson here about what it takes to lead and to solve problems in today's complex world. It is no longer enough to be strong. Great powers like the United States and the United Kingdom also have to be smart and persuasive. The test of our leadership going forward will be our ability to mobilize disparate people and nations to work together to solve common problems and advance shared values and aspirations.

To meet that test, the United States, the United Kingdom, and our allies will have to use the power of our example as well as the example of our power. We will have to lead with purpose, guided by our core democratic values

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and the belief that our interests are advanced by widening the circle of peace, prosperity, and opportunity. We will have to lead with partnership, based on a principle of mutual responsibility, mutual respect, and mutual interest. And we will have to lead with pragmatism, keenly focused on results that benefit our people and all people.

I call this kind of leadership Smart Power, and putting it into practice requires us to adapt and innovate. That means using technologies like twitter and SMS to reach beyond embassy walls and engage directly with people, from civil society advocates in Russia to farmers in Kenya to students in Colombia. It means leveraging new groups of nations to work on specific issues like the new Global Counterterrorism Forum that we launched last year, or our new coalition on climate and clean air that is specifically targeting the short-lived pollutants that account for up to 30 percent of global warming. And means finding new partners in the private sector and using the power of markets to solve strategic problems in entirely new ways.

This last point is especially important because our security today depends on decisions made not just in diplomatic negotiations and on the battlefield, but also in financial markets and on factory floors. Most emerging powers are gaining influence less because of the size of their armies than because of the growth of their economies. So we too are working to harness the tools of global economics to advance our strategic aims abroad, and to use diplomacy to create jobs and strengthen our economy at home.

My experiences as Secretary of State are also helping me see even more clearly the link between standing up for human dignity abroad and ensuring national security at home. It's no coincidence that many of the places where we see the most instability and conflict are also places where women are abused and denied their rights, young people are ignored, minorities are persecuted, and civil society is curtailed. Those aren't just symptoms of instability – they actually undermine societies. And by the same token, it's also no coincidence that many of our closest allies are countries that embrace pluralism and tolerance, equal rights and equal opportunities. These are not Western values, they are universal values. So it is in our interest to help those who have been historically excluded become full

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participants in the economic and political lives of their countries. And it is in our interest to support citizens working for democratic change, whether they're in Tunis or Rangoon. Otherwise, we'll keep facing the same cycles of conflict and volatility.

In particular, empowering women and girls around the world is crucial to seizing long-term opportunities for promote peace, democracy, and sustainable development. We know that when women have the opportunity to contribute, they can drive social, political, and economic progress not just for themselves, but for entire societies. That's now a cornerstone of foreign policy for America and many of our allies, and a guiding principle for all our diplomats and development experts around the world.

Even as we seek out new partnerships and new ways of solving problems, there will continue to be times when the United States will and must act boldly, directly, and alone. For example, to pursue a terrorist like Osama bin Ladin. Such occasions will be rare, and we will turn to them only as a last resort, but we take seriously our responsibilities as a global leader and our responsibilities to the American people. And we believe that leadership includes going it alone when we have to. But that is no contradiction. In fact, our ability and willingness to do what is required, alone if necessary, makes us a more credible partner and negotiator.

All of this – the changing international landscape, the shifting demands on America's global leadership, and our efforts to revitalize diplomacy for the 21st century -- was on my mind as I arrived in Beijing on that tense day in May. And it gave me confidence as we negotiated our way through the week. In the end, the relationship we've worked so hard to build with China proved more durable and dynamic than many feared. Both countries stayed focused on our shared agenda and engaged candidly on a wide-range of critical issues. And today, that blind dissident is safely studying law in New York, surrounded by family and friends.

America and our allies have come through a long decade of war, terrorism, and recession. And these continue to be difficult days for many of our citizens. But as I travel the world, nearly everywhere I go I see evidence

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that our leadership is still respected and required. Yes, this is because of our military and our material might, but it's also because of our commitment to fairness, justice, freedom, and democracy.

America's record may not be perfect, but the United States consistently over history seeks to advance not just our own good, but the greater good. There is no real precedent in history for the role we play or the responsibility we have shouldered -- and there is no alternative. That is what makes American leadership so exceptional and it is why I am confident that we will continue to serve and defend a peaceful and prosperous global order for many years to come.

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