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Remarks at the Cleveland Council on World Affairs

Marc Grossman, Under Secretary for Political Affairs

Cleveland, Ohio

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Thank you very much, Dr. (Raj) Aggarwal, and your colleagues from the Cleveland Committee on Foreign Relations who have joined you tonight. And thank you, Wat (Cluverius), for that kind introduction and inviting me to the great city of Cleveland. It's a pleasure to be here with the Cleveland Council on World Affairs, which you represent with the same admirable energy and integrity that you brought to the State Department. You have been a mentor to so many of us.

My thanks to Meghan Ahern on your staff, for her terrific help in planning this event. Thank you also to Ms. Patricia Jansen Doyle, Chair of the Council's Board of Trustees. Let me also thank your co-sponsors, Bob Mahoney and Sandy Pianalto of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland. The Bank celebrates its 90th birthday this year.

Since the Council's start in 1923, the same year this bank moved to this beautiful location, you have engaged the public on the international issues of the day. Secretary Powell, Deputy Secretary Armitage -- all of us at the State Department -- support your efforts and thank you for being leaders in America's conversation about foreign policy.

Just as we are proud of what you do, I want you to be proud tonight -- and every night -- of the 48,000 men and women of your U.S. State Department -- Foreign Service, Civil Service and Foreign Service Nationals -- who serve you in 164 embassies and 263 total posts around the world. Every one of them has earned your support.

You are represented tonight by your State Department in Baghdad, Bogota, Kabul, Port au Prince, Jakarta, Khartoum, Beijing, Tel Aviv and Astana. We are inspired by a common mission: to protect and promote the security, prosperity and freedom of the United States of America.

I subscribe to a magazine called *The American Heritage of Invention and Technology*. It is published in association with the National Inventors Hall of Fame, headquartered in Akron, Ohio. The quarterly arrival of this magazine amuses my wife, since I have never invented anything except a tall tale from time to time.

But I enjoy this magazine because in it I learned that Thomas Edison, born in 1847 in Milan, Ohio, was never afraid to ask,

“How can we make it work better?” I read about Orville and Wilbur Wright and was able to understand something about the accomplishment of these sons of Ohio. And I know the cash register was invented in Dayton. I’ve read about the revolution in American china painting and art pottery born in Ohio, thanks to patents granted to Laura Fry and Mary Louise McLaughlin in the 1880’s and 90’s.

Legend also has it that it was a Cleveland DJ who invented the term “Rock and Roll” – but I think I read that somewhere else! Since I don’t understand the science, what grabs me is the ability of inventors to observe facts and phenomena that appear unrelated – and uncover what connects them.

Now I don’t intend to try to invent a foreign policy for you tonight. But I do hope we can spend a few minutes considering this proposition: we need to think in new ways about the trends that we see in our world, bring them together in a way that is connected, and then deal with them coherently and simultaneously.

So I’d like first to propose four trends that I see shaping our world, and then – inspired by Ohio’s inventors – describe how we are trying to think about our connections and our opportunities in new ways.

The Global War Against Terrorism, and Terror’s Connection to WMD

The attack on the United States on September 11, 2001 changed America and the world. Al Qaeda’s goal is to disrupt and then try to end our way of life.

- We are fighting a network of terrorists operating from more than 60 countries.
- Since September 11, 2001, terrorists have murdered innocents in Bali, Jakarta, Casablanca, Bombay, Mombasa, Najaf, Jerusalem, Riyadh, Istanbul, Baghdad, Kerbala, and elsewhere. The Global War on Terrorism will shape our lives and policies for years to come. It is a war we must win. And we will.

We must also stop the production, distribution and use of weapons of mass destruction, potential instruments of terror unlike any other.

Globalization

Tom Friedman writes in *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* that in 1990 there were 800 computer systems linked on the Internet. Friedman wrote in a column this past June that, “In the past 3 years, Google has gone from processing 100 million searches per day to over 200 million searches per day ... only one-third come from inside the United States. The rest are in 88 different languages ... VeriSign, which operates much of the Internet’s infrastructure, was processing 600 million domain requests per day in early 2000. It is now processing 9 billion per day.”

No change comes without cost. Globalization has its critics. Some say that globalization is good just for wealthy countries. But I say to embrace self-sufficiency or to deride growth, as some protesters do, is to glamorize poverty.

There is also a debate about whether globalization is a reality or a reversible trend. What seems to me not debatable is that the way nations and people respond to globalization is a matter of choice and policy -- for the same networks that allow the free flow of commerce and communication can be exploited to facilitate terrorist attacks and proliferation, traffic human beings, and spread HIV/AIDS.

Our goal must be to open the opportunities of globalization through the third trend.

Free Markets and Democracy

You may have come across a book on foreign policy by Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World*. Mead argues that the ideas that have shaped American foreign policy throughout our history are influenced by “our nation’s interest in the international, trading and financial order that over the last few centuries has spread over the earth and integrated the economies of many new nations and continents.”

Free markets thrive on the best of individuals and nations. To be successful, free markets connect accountability, rule of law, human rights and democracy. Free markets, free people, democracy simultaneously reinforcing each other.

Look at the results in Ohio:

- Ohio is the sixth-largest exporting state in the nation. In 2003, Ohio companies exported \$29.8 billion in goods – to over 200 countries and territories around the globe.
- Since the end of 2000, Ohio’s exports have increased more than any other state in the union.
- Canada was your largest export market last year (\$16.9 billion), followed by Mexico (over \$2.1 billion). About 17% of your exports went to Europe, while 10% arrived in Asia.

According to a 2003 report by Freedom House, there are more free countries today than at any time in history, and the number is approaching a majority. Free countries today account for \$26.8 trillion of the world’s annual GDP (89%), as compared to Partly Free countries at \$1.5 trillion (5%) and Not Free countries at \$1.7 trillion (6%).

Of course, we must never forget that roughly half of human kind struggles to live on less than \$2 a day. For them, the benefits of free markets and democracy have yet to be realized. Poverty helps breed conflict, especially civil war. A study by Paul Collier of the World Bank, which was reported last May by *The Economist*, examines the world’s civil wars since 1960 and concludes that the most striking common factor among war prone countries is their poverty. The poorest one-sixth of humanity endures four-fifths of the world’s civil wars. And this poverty stifles democracy building, which is key to long-term prosperity, as Fareed Zakaria argues in his recent book, *The Future of Freedom*.

As President Bush said last November in London, “It is suggested that the poor, in their daily struggles, care little for self-government. Yet [it is] the poor, especially, [who] need the power of democracy.”

Fourth, American Power

While the first three trends – Global War Against Terrorism, Globalization, and Free Markets and Democracy – shape today’s international political landscape, the dominant trend in today’s world is American power. America must make the most of this chance. Mead writes that we need an “approach to foreign policy that highlights issues that were discounted by Cold War-era thinking, but that increasingly preoccupy us today: economics, the problems of the international order building or globalization, and the relationship of democracy and foreign policy.

The job we have before us as a nation – and the theme of the second part of my talk – is to take these four trends and – like Ohio’s inventors – connect them in new ways. We are creating new policies that can meet the challenges and opportunities of our new century, and we are pursuing them simultaneously.

Terrorism, poverty and authoritarianism are related pathologies, so the antidotes of peace, prosperity and democracy must be the unifying vision of America’s foreign policy. At the President’s direction, your State Department is working every day to

design and pursue a foreign policy that fights terror, poverty, and lack of freedom with peace, prosperity, and democracy.

Pursuing Policies That Are as Simultaneous as the Challenges We Face

Take, for example, the President's Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), a remarkable, new, and comprehensive way to think about development. Secretary Powell chairs the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which met for the first time on February 2 and has a mandate to turn the President's vision of MCA into reality – reducing poverty through growth by investing in poor countries that are already making simultaneous efforts to rule justly, invest in their people, and encourage economic freedom.

Congress authorized \$1 billion in initial funding for this year, and we will announce the first group of participant countries in mid-May. The President has pledged to increase annual funding for MCA to \$5 billion a year starting in 2006 – a 50% increase over current U.S. core development assistance. As Secretary Powell said on February 20: "It will be the largest boost in funding for development since George Marshall announced the Marshall Plan."

Consider next the fight against HIV/AIDS. Last May at the State Department, President Bush signed legislation that will provide \$15 billion over the next 5 years to fight HIV/AIDS abroad -- the largest single up-front commitment in history for an international public health initiative involving a specific disease. And on February 23, the first \$350 million of our \$15 billion commitment was announced.

We are using these initial resources on life-saving prevention, treatment, and care programs, such as rapid expansion of antiretroviral drugs, care for HIV/AIDS-affected orphans and vulnerable children, abstinence education for youth, and improving the safety of blood transfusion and medical injection programs in fourteen focus countries – twelve across sub-Saharan Africa and two in the Caribbean. Societies devastated by HIV/AIDS – whether in Africa, the Caribbean, Europe or Asia -- will not know peace, prosperity, and democracy.

Pursuing Policies That Build Partnerships

As Secretary Powell says in the last issue of *Foreign Affairs*: "Partnership is the watchword of U.S. strategy." We have created a global coalition to fight – and win – the war on terrorism:

- More than 100 nations have arrested or detained over 3,400 terrorists or their supporters.
- Since September 11, 2001, 209 of the 212 countries and jurisdictions in the world have expressed their support for the financial war on terror. Some \$150 million has been frozen or seized from terrorist-related accounts around the globe.

Consider also the President's Proliferation Security Initiative, a broad international partnership of countries, using their own laws and resources to focus on practical steps to interdict proliferation shipments of WMD, delivery systems, and related materials at sea, in the air, or on land. Fourteen nations are currently participating, and nearly sixty nations have stated their support.

Consider also the global effort to rebuild Iraq. Last fall's donors conference in Madrid secured pledges totaling more than \$32 billion in aid. Over sixty-seven nations pledged financial, humanitarian, reconstruction, and military assistance. Making good on those Madrid pledges, thirty countries and a large Iraqi delegation met in Abu Dhabi February 28-29 to put the finishing touches on the World Bank/UN donor trust fund for Iraq.

Thirty-four Coalition partner nations have 25,000 troops in Iraq. Seventeen (including the U.S.) of NATO's twenty-six current

and future members have soldiers on the ground. And on Monday, International Women's Day, Secretary Powell announced two landmark partnership programs for Iraqi women: a \$10 million Iraqi Women's Democracy Initiative -- to provide training in leadership, political advocacy, education, entrepreneurship, and media -- and the U.S. Iraq Women's Network, a forum for Iraqi women and American program partners to share information and resources.

Consider also our partnerships that address transnational issues. We work with countries to eradicate poverty through the World Summit on Sustainable Development. We have regional and transnational partnerships to fight organized crime, drug trafficking, and trade in human beings.

Meeting the Challenges of the 21st Century: Pursuing Policies That Emphasize America's Willingness To Act on Our Vision of Freedom

We seek -- in the words of our National Security Strategy -- "a balance of power that favors freedom." Consider these cases:

-- We have transformed NATO. The world's greatest Alliance has expanded and adapted to the security realities of the 21st century. At the Istanbul Summit this June, NATO will welcome the leaders of the seven new members of the Alliance: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Seven states whose people once suffered under totalitarian rule, and seven states who -- now free -- support our efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq to help other people be free.

-- We are helping Afghans build a stable and democratic Afghanistan free from terror. We have provided over \$3.7 billion in economic and security assistance to Afghanistan since 2001. Also since 2001, the United States and our partners have rehabilitated 205 schools, 140 health clinics, and trained 13 battalions of the Afghan National Army. President Bush's commitment to de-mine and repave the entire stretch of the Kabul-to-Kandahar Highway was met this past December 31st. What was once a 30-hour journey now takes only 5 to 6 hours. In January Afghanistan adopted a new constitution, which guarantees equal rights for men and women, and the Afghan people are now preparing for democratic national elections in June.

-- The President's Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI) merges our diplomatic and development programs into one of our primary tools for the forward strategy of freedom. Founded by the President and Secretary Powell in December 2002, MEPI champions opportunity for all people of the region, especially women and youth. The President's initiative partners Arab, U.S., and global private sector businesses, non-governmental organizations, civil society elements, and governments together to develop innovative policies and programs that support reform. So far, the Administration has committed \$249 million to MEPI -- \$120 million this year -- funding that supplements the more than \$1 billion in the bilateral economic assistance we already supply annually across the region.

-- In our own hemisphere we support Colombians in the fight for their democracy against narcoterrorism. Colombia is a powerful example of how the interconnected threats of terrorism, narcotics, poverty and the struggle for democracy must be met by a simultaneous approach. The United States supports Colombia's military fight against narcoterrorism. We also help Colombians create legal, sustainable economic opportunities, a functioning judicial system, and a strong commitment to human rights.

-- And let us not forget how far we have traveled from the '90s in South-Eastern Europe, when the Balkans were at war: 200,000 killed, two million forced from their homes, countless raped. America and our NATO Allies acted to stop this horror. Those who once fought each other are now working on political and economic reform, and Balkan countries have improved relations with one another. Still, there is much left to do. On my recent trip to the region we emphasized that political reconciliation and economic reform must continue.

-- And let us look to the future of the Greater Middle East.

Cleveland football great and civil rights activist Jim Brown once said, "There is no hope for change without risk."

President Bush announced in a speech at the National Endowment for Democracy last November 6 that “the United States has adopted a new policy, a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East.” He went on to note that, “questions arise: Are the peoples of the Middle East somehow beyond the reach of liberty? Are millions of men and women and children condemned by history or culture to live in despotism? Are they alone never to know freedom, and never even to have a choice in the matter? I, for one, do not believe it. I believe every person has the ability and the right to be free.”

After the President spoke, I reflected again on the first Arab Human Development Report, “Creating Opportunities for Future Generations,” released in 2002 by the UN Development Program and the Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development. With contributions from dozens of Arab scholars, it concluded, “The wave of democracy that transformed governance in most of [the world] has barely reached the Arab states. The freedom deficit undermines human development and is one of the most painful manifestations of lagging political development.”

This past October, UNDP released its second Arab Human Development Report. And what did that one say? Knowledge is the key to creating those opportunities for future generations. The impetus for reform can not be imposed from outside. It must come from the region – and it is. Many leaders in the region, in governments and in the economic, academic, and political worlds, have already concluded that reform is essential. Our job is to support that movement for positive change.

Politically, we want to support efforts aimed at strengthening freedom; democratic processes; equal rights for women; the rule of law; religious tolerance; civil society; good governance; and anti-corruption.

Economically, including through our G-8 and U.S.-EU partnerships, we want to support strengthening of market economies and indigenous capital markets; improving access to education, especially for girls and women, and reducing illiteracy rates; increasing economic opportunity and access to credit; removing barriers to investment, business, and trade; and facilitating integration into global trade markets.

On security issues, we want to work together with governments in the region, and transatlantic Allies through NATO, to address common security challenges -- including proliferation, terrorism, and border security; and interoperability of forces so we can work together more effectively in stability and peacekeeping operations.

Our focus on transformation in the Greater Middle East is not a substitute for active engagement on an Israeli-Palestinian settlement, but neither can the difficulties in reaching a settlement be used to justify lack of democratic and economic reform throughout the region.

Although we are currently focusing on the Greater Middle East, we should also consider the possibilities in other regions of the world.

-- In **Africa**, the forward strategy of freedom focuses on conflict prevention resolution, combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic, increasing economic freedom, strengthening democratic institutions, and increasing women’s political participation. We face in Africa simultaneous challenges and opportunities. Over the years, the absence of freedom and democracy has undermined human development. Even a decade ago only four countries were considered free. Recently, however, Africa has made important progress. According to Freedom House’s 2003 report, of the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, 32 are now “free” or “partly free.” But 16 remain “not free,” so there is still important work to be done.

Pursuing a simultaneous strategy in favor of peace, democracy and prosperity works in Africa. Our U.S. Trade

Representative reports that as of December 2003, since the passage of the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA) in 2000, 190,000 new jobs have been created in Africa and \$340 million has been invested in the continent.

Consider Angola, whose largest donor of humanitarian and development assistance is the United States. Angola has now in 2004 been granted trade benefits under AGOA -- two years after a long and devastating civil war. Peace is now lasting and has brought hope to the country and the region.

In Sudan, with heavy U.S. involvement, the government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement continue to make slow progress toward a comprehensive peace agreement. For the first time in over two decades, the people of Sudan have hope for a peaceful, prosperous, democratic future.

-- In **Latin America** as well, the forward strategy of freedom focuses simultaneously on defeating narcoterrorism, reducing corruption, and raising the poor out of their despair by removing obstacles to economic growth.

Last October, I represented the United States at the OAS Special Conference on Security in Mexico City. The charter we signed says that the security of all states in the hemisphere is affected by both traditional threats and new threats. The conference concluded that today, both the threat and a successful defense are simultaneously multi-dimensional.

-- In **Asia**, too, the themes and potential are similarly promising. The forward strategy of freedom simultaneously addresses improving governance, promoting individual freedoms, bridging the economic gap across the region, and unifying against the war on terror.

At last October's Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in Thailand APEC nations agreed that "sustainable economic development requires empowering people and strengthening societies."

Secretary Powell likes to tell this story:

"I have had...leaders come into my office who used to be communists. They used to be tyrants or lived in countries that had tyrants. They say now we're answerable to the people: They say, show us how to do it, show us how to embed our democracy firmly on the rule of law, show us how to put in place a judiciary, show us how a free press works."

The world is full of opportunity for every nation. India and Pakistan have agreed on a first roadmap for peace. After 40 years, we see a real way forward on Cyprus. An Iranian woman has won a Nobel Peace Prize for her courageous efforts on behalf of democracy and human rights, especially for women and children. Colonel Qadhafi has ended his WMD programs. Others should follow Libya's example.

There was a second round of six-party talks on North Korea the last week of February. China, Japan, Russia, South Korea, and the United States are working together in this multilateral diplomatic effort towards a nuclear-free Korean peninsula. Iraq's Transitional Administrative Law was signed on Monday -- a historic step for the Iraqi people towards a peaceful, prosperous, democratic future.

We can pursue a foreign policy -- and like Ohio's inventors, see things in new ways -- that defeats our enemies, turns the trends that define our world into opportunities for all of us and inspires not only our current allies and friends but those allies and friends yet to be made.

As Secretary Powell reminds us:

Here “are the central goals of American foreign policy in the 21st century: We fight terrorism because we must. We seek a better world because we can, because it is our desire, it is our destiny to do so. That is why we devote ourselves to democracy, development, global public health, human rights – as well as to the structure of global peace than enables us to pursue our vision for a better world....These are not mere high-sounding decorations for our interests. They are our interests. They are the purposes that our power serves.”

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