
Challenges for European and American Diplomacy in the 21st Century

By

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Austria is a proud host of the world’s oldest diplomatic training school. Our connection to it is more than rhetorical. Our Embassy to Austria is the former home of the Consular Academy, the successor to the Oriental Academy. In his congratulatory letter last October to Foreign Minister Ferrero-Waldner, Secretary of State Powell wrote:

The Austrian Diplomatic Academy has played a significant role in the history of European diplomacy, and continues to occupy an important place in fostering good relations among the states of Central Europe, particularly those to Austria’s East.

The Diplomatic Academy prepares students for a variety of international careers: in the diplomatic corps, with international organizations and non-governmental organizations, in business and media. Fifty-eight Diplomatic Academy graduates serve as Ambassadors and the Diplomatic Academy has over 100 graduates from Russia and other former Soviet Bloc countries. Through its co-chairmanship of the International Forum of Diplomatic Training, the Diplomatic Academy has reached further afield than Empress Maria Theresa could ever have dreamed, working with institutions from Mexico City to New Delhi to meet the needs of tomorrow’s diplomats.

As my classmate, colleague, and friend Kathy Peterson, Director of the Department of State Foreign Service Institute, will happily confirm, Secretary Powell is a strong believer in the importance of training for tomorrow’s diplomacy. He says:

We have to make sure that . . . people are qualified and they have all the skills and we have done our very best to give them the very best training possible for their job.

We want to train 21st Century diplomats to meet 21st Century challenges. I believe this transformation of diplomatic training comes not a moment too soon because diplomacy is changing before our eyes. Our world and our profession is different from the one which existed during the almost fifty years after World War II, when international relations were governed by the Cold War. Europe, the United States, and the rest of the world are today confronted by political, economic, and security opportunities and challenges that the 21st Century diplomat must first confront and then successfully meet. What are these challenges and opportunities? How will a diplomacy for the 21st Century deal with them? Will our diplomats be ready? To answer these questions, we need to think in new ways about our world, analyze the trends we see in ways that recognize they are connected, and then commit to act on them coherently and simultaneously.

Let us first consider four trends that are changing the world and the profession of diplomacy. Then, let us consider the job diplomats will do in this new world. Here are the four trends that define our world and our profession:

The Global War Against Terrorism, and terror’s connection to weapons of mass destruction. The attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001 changed America and the world. Innocents from ninety-two different countries died in the World Trade Center attack including 156 victims from twenty-nine European countries. We in the United States have neither forgotten them nor the support we received from our European friends and others worldwide.

- Since September 11, 2001, terrorists have murdered innocents in Bali, Jakarta, Casablanca, Bombay, Mombasa, Najaf, Jerusalem, Riyadh, Istanbul, Baghdad, Karbala, Khobar, and elsewhere.

- The March 11 bombings in Madrid reaffirmed in the most horrible manner that terrorists were willing and able to strike in Europe.

- And so together we fight a network of terrorists operating in more than sixty countries.

- The Global War on Terrorism will shape our lives and policies for years to come. It is a war we must fight together and win. And we will. We must also make sure weapons of mass destruction potential instruments of terror unlike any other never come into the hands of terrorists.

Tom Friedman writes about globalization in *The Lexus and The Olive Tree* that in 1990 there were 800 computer systems linked on the internet. Friedman wrote in a column last June that,

In the past three years, Google has gone from processing 100 million searches per day to over 200 million searches per day [in approximately 90 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 nine 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 only self-sufficiency or to deride growth, as some protesters do, is to glamorize poverty. There is also a debate about whether globalization is a firm reality or a reversible trend. What seems to me not debatable is that the way nations, people, and organizations respond to globalization is a matter of choice and policy. 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. And so our goal must be to open the positive opportunities of globalization through the third trend that marks our world: Free Markets and Democracy.

Free markets thrive on the best of individuals and nations. Free markets connect accountability, the rule of law, human rights, and democracy. As Martin Wolf wrote in the *Financial Times* on May 10:

At present capital flows to developing countries are remarkable for their modesty. But if the commitments to protecting property and allowing capital to move freely were credible everywhere, the movement of capital to poor countries would increase hugely.

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 gross domestic product, 89 percent, as compared to partly free countries at \$1.5 trillion 5 percent, and not free countries at \$1.7 trillion 6 percent. As Martin Wolf continued in his *Financial Times* article:

As countries grow richer, they are better able to afford higher standards of education, health and public services. As citizens become better informed and more prosperous, they insist on higher standards in public life. . . . Meanwhile . . . very low standards of living mean correspondingly limited ability to provide any of the necessary public goods that underpin economic growth.

A study by Paul Collier of the World Bank, which was reported last year by *The Economist*, examined 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 as *The Economist* reported on May 29: 60 percent of least developed countries suffered conflict in 1990-2001, up from 40 percent in 1978-1989.

The European Commission observed in May 2001:

Corrupt and autocratic governments . . . generate conflict and instability. . . .
Democratic, pluralist governments which respect the rights of minorities are less
likely to resort to nationalism, violence or aggression, either internally or externally,
against their neighbors or further afield.

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.

The role of Europeans and Americans in the world have a unique opportunity to create a better
world together and we must make the most of it. As President Bush and German Chancellor
Schroeder said in a Joint Statement this past February:

We renew our determination to work together . . . to achieve a more secure,
prosperous, and just world. [We share a] commitment to the values of freedom,
democracy and rule of law, and to economic opportunity and prosperity through free
and open markets. These are fundamental . . . to our common efforts in meeting the
great challenges of a new era: the nexus of threats posed by terrorism, weapons of
mass destruction, tyranny, poverty, the lack of opportunity, and violent extremism.

The job 21st Century diplomats have and so the theme of the second part of my talk is to take
these four trends and try to connect them and act on them in new ways. What kind of diplomat
will meet this 21st Century challenge? I am reminded of a passage from David McCullough's
biography of John Adams, our first minister to the Court of St. James and the second American
president. One critic of the period wrote of Adams that he is

“not qualified by nature or education to shine in courts. His abilities are undoubtedly
equal to the mechanical parts of his business as Ambassador; but that is not enough.
He cannot dance, drink, flatter, promise, dress, swear with the gentlemen, and make
small talk and flirt with the ladies; in short he has none of the essential art or
ornament which constitute the courtier.”

What a job description! And, clearly, one that has no connection with the daily work we do
as diplomats. 21st Century diplomats:

- Must recognize that the global trends I have described are connected.
- They must not only be proficient in languages, but in intercultural communication.
- They must have negotiating skills to deal effectively with other governments,
international organizations, non-governmental organizations, the private sector, and the media.
- They must understand the important role that public diplomacy plays.
- They must understand the principles of preventive diplomacy and international peace
operations.
- They must be good managers, knowing how to get the most from their employees
while developing each one of them to their fullest potential.
- They must work with the latest technologies, which will be changing in ways we
cannot even imagine.
- And they must perform their duties while serving in dangerous places. As many as 30
State Department officers have given their lives in the line of duty since 1990.

To do all this, I believe 21st Century diplomats will pursue policies that are as simultaneous
as the challenges we face. Take, for example, the challenge we face to reduce poverty through

sustainable economic growth by investing in countries that are making simultaneous efforts to rule justly, invest in their people, and promote economic freedom. This is a challenge that the World Bank and regional development banks are taking up as they consider how best to uplift the poorest one-sixth of humanity. It is why President Bush created the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which works with countries that take these steps through substantial, focused assistance. Congress has authorized \$1 billion in initial funding and, in May, the Millennium Challenge Corporation named the first sixteen countries eligible to apply for Millennium Challenge Account assistance. President Bush has pledged to increase annual MCA funding to \$5 billion a year starting in 2006 a level, Secretary Powell noted earlier this year: [that represents] the most substantial international development assistance effort since the Marshall Plan.

The European Union has taken a similar approach in its development programs in Africa by focusing simultaneously on: economic assistance and integration; protection of human rights, democratic principles, and the rule of law; and conflict prevention and peace-building. Consider the global fight against HIV/AIDS. Fifteen billion dollars in U.S. assistance will be used simultaneously on life-saving prevention, treatment, and care programs. As President Bush has stated, This is the largest, single up front commitment in history for an international public health initiative involving a specific disease. Money is already being spent in 14 focus countries 12 across sub-Saharan Africa and two in the Caribbean.

The European Union's HIV/AIDS program in developing countries provides education, assistance, and healthcare measures.

- 21st Century diplomats will pursue policies that build partnerships.
- The United States remains committed to working with our allies, friends, and partners to create a better world.
- In these times, exceptional partnerships are needed.
- To fight the war on terrorism.
 - More than 100 nations have arrested or detained over 3,400 terrorists or their supporters.
 - \$150 million has been frozen or seized from terrorist-related accounts around the globe.

We work together on global programs like the *Container Security Initiative*, which aims to reduce the possibility that terrorists will plan attacks using maritime cargo containers a key element in the 90 percent of global trade that is transported on the high seas. There is also the *Proliferation Security Initiative* (PSI), a partnership of countries, using their own laws and resources, determined to stop shipments of weapons of mass destruction, delivery systems, and related materials at sea, in the air, or on land. Nearly sixty nations, many represented here, support PSI. And on April 28, 2004, the U.N. Security Council, in response to President Bush's call September 2004, passed Resolution 1540 requiring all countries to pass laws preventing the transfer of any weapons of mass destruction, delivery systems, or related materials to terrorists.

We are also building partnerships to address other transnational issues. The World Conference on Sustainable Development has brought countries together to eradicate poverty. And numerous transnational partnerships have been assembled to fight organized crime, prevent trade in human beings, and combat drug trafficking.

Just this past April 2004, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) concluded its second Conference on Anti-Semitism, leading to the Berlin Declaration condemning acts motivated by anti-Semitism and other forms of religious or racial hatred. The OSCE will also gather in Paris in June 2004 to denounce use of the internet to promote racism,

xenophobia, and anti-Semitism, and again in Brussels during September 2004 to confront racism, xenophobia, and discrimination throughout society. The 21st Century diplomats will pursue policies that emphasize a willingness to act on a shared vision of freedom.

Consider the following cases:

- NATO has been transformed, expanded, and adapted to meet today's opportunities and threats. At the Istanbul Summit next week, 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 totalitarian rule. Seven states which now free are working in Afghanistan and Iraq to help other people be free.

- Together, we are acting to support Afghans as they build a stable and democratic Afghanistan free from terror. Over thirty European countries, the United States, and other important partners have provided over 15,000 troops to the International Security Assistance Force NATO's first operation outside Europe, North America, and Operation Enduring Freedom. The United States has provided over \$3.7 billion in economic and security assistance to Afghanistan since 2001 and the European Union has pledged over \$1 billion in assistance. There is still much to do. But together, we have rehabilitated 205 schools and 140 health clinics, built roads, and trained thirteen battalions of the Afghan National Army.

- Iraq, too, is moving towards stability, prosperity, and free, fair elections. Recent attacks show there is much to be done. But the unanimous passage of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1546 demonstrates the international community's support for building a democratic Iraq built on a foundation of freedom and rights for all. On July 1, 2004 the Iraqi Interim Government will have the sovereign responsibility for administering Iraq's day-to-day affairs, providing for the welfare of the Iraqi people, promoting economic development, and preparing for national elections. Thirty-one Coalition partner nations have 23,000 soldiers in Iraq to help Iraqis secure this transition. Sixteen of NATO's now twenty-six members, as well as additional European and other partners, have troops on the ground. And it is not simply troops. Last fall's donors conference in Madrid secured pledges totaling more than \$32 billion in aid. Over sixty-five nations pledged financial, humanitarian, reconstruction, and military assistance.

- Beyond Iraq, let us look to the future of the Broader Middle East and North Africa. President Bush announced in a speech at the National Endowment for Democracy last November 6, 2003 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. Reform in the Middle East and North Africa cannot be imposed from outside. Many leaders in the Middle East and North Africa, 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. And we did so with the creation of the Partnership for Progress and a Common Future at the recent G-8 Summit, and will do more this week and next at the U.S. and E.U. Summit in Ireland and the NATO Summit in Istanbul.

Our focus on supporting reform in the Middle East and North Africa is not a substitute for active engagement on an Israeli and Palestinian settlement, but neither can the difficulties in

reaching a settlement be used to justify lack of democratic and economic reform throughout the region.

- We are also alert to opportunities for acting on our shared vision of freedom in other regions of the world.

- In Africa, our shared vision of freedom focuses on conflict prevention and 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 African countries were considered free.

Recently, however, Africa has made important progress. According to Freedom House's 2003 report, of the forty-eight countries in sub-Saharan Africa, thirty-two are now free or partly free. But sixteen remain not free, so there is still important work to be done. As part of our commitment to act, we must respond to the crisis in Darfur, where humanitarian assistance is urgently needed to save hundreds of thousands of lives. The government of Sudan must: end the Jingaweit violence; enter a ceasefire with the armed opposition and consent to international monitoring of that agreement; and allow unrestricted humanitarian access. And those responsible for atrocities in Darfur must be held accountable.

- In Latin America, our shared vision 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 2004, the OAS Special Conference on Security met in Mexico City. The charter 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, these threats are and a successful defense therefore also must be simultaneous and multi-dimensional.

- In Asia, too, our shared vision of freedom simultaneously focuses on improving governance, promoting individual freedoms, bridging the economic gaps across the region, and unifying in the War on Terrorism. At last October's Asia and Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in Thailand, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) nations agreed that sustainable economic development requires empowering people and strengthening societies.

As 21st Century diplomats, it is our job to pursue foreign policies that defeat our enemies, turn the trends that define our world into opportunities for all of us, and inspire not only our current allies and friends but also those allies and friends yet to be made.

As Austrian President (Thomas) Klestil observed in January 2000:

The closer Europe and the world move together, the more important becomes an open dialogue throughout the whole international community. . . On the threshold of the third millennium, human suffering is of concern to all mankind and must no longer be regarded as an internal matter. In this framework, the transatlantic dialogue also gains additional importance. . . What is involved are by no means only questions of security but also the future shape of international economic, trade and financial relations, the protection of the environment, and effective responses to social and cultural challenges. Clearly, diplomacy matters more than ever. I can imagine neither a successful United States nor a successful Europe in the 21st Century without a successful diplomacy for the 21st Century.

I would like to let Secretary Powell have the last word on the challenges our profession faces:

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 that 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.