

PRESENTATION OF
THE HANS J. MORGENTHAU
AWARD
TO
SECRETARY OF STATE
COLIN L. POWELL



SEPTEMBER 12, 2002

Purpose

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) was founded in 1974 by Professors Hans J. Morgenthau and George D. Schwab and others to serve as a nonprofit, independent foreign policy think tank to help shape U.S. foreign policy. Among members are experts from the worlds of diplomacy and academia and leaders from business and the professions.

The purpose of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy is to identify and articulate American foreign policy interests from a nonpartisan perspective within the framework of political realism. American foreign policy interests include:

preserving and strengthening national security

supporting countries committed to the values and the practice of political, cultural, and religious pluralism

improving U.S. relations with the developed and developing worlds

advancing human rights

encouraging realistic arms-control agreements

curbing the proliferation of nuclear and other unconventional weapons

promoting an open and global economy.

A distinguishing activity of the NCAFP is the publication of firm, reasoned positions designed to help formulate U.S. foreign policy. When, after study and discussion, the Committee or one of its study groups reaches a consensus on an aspect of foreign policy that affects American national interests, the NCAFP makes that judgment known to the administration, Congress, the media, and the general public.

Bill Moyers

It's my good fortune on behalf of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy to welcome you to this extraordinary event. I say extraordinary because of the timing. Not only is this a week of remembrance for those who died in the massacre of September 11th, but America is in a state of high alert.

More timid folk might have postponed a gathering such as this for a safer, less stressful time. But, of course, that is what the terrorists would have had us do. They win when our fear of them fixes our agenda around our fears.

They aim to govern our gross national psychology—the GNP that measures our state of mind. They aim to possess our psyche, pillage our trust and confidence, keep us from ever again believing in a safe, decent, or just world and from working to bring it about.

Their real target is to turn each and every American imagination into a personal Afghanistan where they can rule by fear, as the Taliban did. This gathering, among many this week, shows them it won't work. We will not be ruled by fear.

This morning around five o'clock I received an e-mail from my daughter who lives in New Jersey. Her husband was at the World Trade Center and escaped a year ago September. They adopted a beautiful Indonesian child who was one year old the other day.

She asked, "Would you like to know how Jassy spent 9/11? He ate an entire cinnamon raisin bagel, two bowls of Basami rice with coconut, two bowls of cheesy cornbread and milk, three sausages, one third of a buttermilk pancake, several large chunks of kielbasa, a cup of Goldfish, several Wheat Thins, one graham cracker, and assorted cereals, which he found in various corners of the kitchen.

"He walked four blocks to the corner four times with his stroller and his bucket of rocks and Ellie, his pet elephant. He danced the hey diddle diddle on his Teletubbies videotape.

"He got a new set of stacking cups and learned how to flip and arrange them like a tower. He laughed at the leaves spinning in the air and the strong gusts of wind that blew his hair straight back. With considerable gusto, he threw a cup of water from the bathtub over his mother's head.

"He played 'Sort the Junk Mail' with Daddy and went to bed exhausted and happy at 7:00 p.m. Now," said his mother, our daughter, "if that's not thumbing your nose at evil, I don't know what it is." So to all of you, our supporters and guests and to the man we honor tonight, the National

Committee on American Foreign Policy says thank you for showing up and thumbing your nose at evil.

It's also extraordinary who's here. A former secretary of state, the present secretary of state, and a score of people who expect to be secretary of state. I'll call no names but if someone at your table is blushing, you'll know who I mean.

William J. Flynn, on the other hand, never aspired to that job. What a shame because he has all the qualifications of a great diplomat. He knows how to fish tranquilly in troubled waters. He knows to have a pretext to come back after saying goodbye. He always remembers a woman's birthday but never her age. And he can tell you to go to hell in such a way that you actually look forward to the trip. This committee has had no chairman more loyal and this country no patriot more devoted than the longtime chairman of the Mutual of America Life Insurance Company and, with Peg, my longtime close friend from Garden City, William J. Flynn. Bill. ...

William J. Flynn

Bill Moyers, thank you. I love to be introduced by Bill Moyers. Mostly I get abused, but Bill never does that. He's a good friend, a great American, and a great TV personality.

I'd like us all, if I may, to observe a moment of silence. We had a man on our National Committee for 30 years, Maxwell Rabb, former ambassador to Italy, a really fine gentlemen. We're honored tonight by the presence of his wife, Ruth, and his son Bruce.

Also, we want to take a moment to remember all of those men and women who lost their lives on September 11, 2001.

As Bill Moyers said, this is a very special evening: Tonight we celebrate a real American hero and present to him the Hans J. Morgenthau Award. Today at the United Nations, President Bush delivered a very important foreign policy address, and tonight we have the opportunity to hear from a great American soldier and citizen, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell. And we're so delighted. He'll be introduced later, but I'd like to ask him and his lovely wife, Alma, to stand up and be recognized.

Thank you, general.

I have the honor of reading a letter from the President of the United States dated September 5: "I send greetings to those gathered for the Hans J. Morgenthau dinner at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy.

"I congratulate my friend Secretary of State Colin Powell and thank him for his years of extraordinary service to the American people. Secretary

Powell promotes our nation's values and interests around the world with honor and distinction.

“Following the events of September 11th, he demonstrated critical leadership, commitment, and vision in helping to build a coalition of nations to fight terrorism. This mighty coalition continues to fight a global war on terrorism on many fronts, including law enforcement, intelligence sharing, military action, and humanitarian aid.

“As Secretary Powell accepts the Hans J. Morgenthau Award, he joins a distinguished group of men and women who have made invaluable contributions to foreign policy. These individuals have helped define the course of our nation and the world.

“As we face the challenge of a new era, Secretary Powell's ongoing work will be vital to efforts to ensure peace, freedom, and opportunity for all. I am proud to call him my friend. Laura joins me in congratulating Secretary Powell and thanking his wife, Alma, who has been a beacon of strength to the secretary throughout his service to the nation.

“Best wishes to all of you for a memorable evening.”

Signed George Bush, President of the United States.

Thank you.

Bill Moyers

Thank you, Bill. It's often surprising how someone we know well earlier in our lives turns out to be even more impressive than we once imagined or remembered. The late Paul Goodman, in fact, said that few great men could pass Personnel. When Ronald Lauder served in the Pentagon in the early 1970s with Colin Powell, Mr. Lauder recognized there a great man and so did Personnel. They became close friends. The Powells and the Lauders have known one another for 25 or more years. So the National Committee asked Ronald Lauder, who served as our country's ambassador to Austria in the 1980s, to tell us about Colin Powell the man.

Ambassador Lauder. ...

Ronald Lauder

I've been asked to speak briefly about the man we honor tonight—not the statesman or the soldier, but the man. There is certainly not much that I can add about his brilliant career that all of you don't know already.

What I can offer is the Colin Powell that I know best. And that is Colin Powell, the friend. There is a story I wish to relate to you that I believe sums up the side of Colin Powell many of you may not be aware of. Back in 1987, when I was U.S. ambassador to Austria, both our families took a trip to Berlin where we met many senior and key people in the military and the diplomatic corps.

Colin was, of course, gracious to all of them, greeting them cordially. But at one point, he noticed a group of young American soldiers standing to one side. When he saw them, the look on his face changed. And he walked directly over to speak to them. I could see his eyes light up. And he spoke with informality, warmth, and great interest. That to me is the real Colin Powell.

I cannot tell you how many times I have seen this enthusiasm when we are together. No matter what else is happening, Colin always takes a minute or two to go out of his way to speak to young people and, what is more important, to listen to them and their concerns. This is one of his great passions because he understands that the future of our country lies in the next generation.

And that great passion led him to create America's Promise in 1997 to provide the tools for young people who are at risk to lead happy and healthy and productive lives. Many corporations, organizations, and foundations and national, state, and local governments have joined Colin in this effort.

Colin remembers vividly what it's like growing up here in New York City. He remembers the values given to him by his parents who wanted a bright, rich future for him. And the same bright, rich future is what he wants, no, what he demands for the young people of America. He has gone a long way to making their future clear.

Colin, I hope you won't mind my saying so, but I've always thought of you as a stealth mensch—always doing the right thing, always thoughtful and considerate but at the same time, forceful, focused, determined, yet quiet about these gracious acts. If there were more people like you in the world, the world would surely be a better place.

I am deeply honored to call you my friend. Thank you.

Bill Moyers

Thank you, Ambassador Lauder. To grasp what the Hans J. Morgenthau Award really means, to understand why it is the grand prix among awards, you need to have known Hans J. Morgenthau. His daughter, Susanna Morgenthau, is here tonight. Would you stand and let us acknowledge you. Thank you.

We're also fortunate that George D. Schwab not only knew Hans Morgenthau but cofounded this organization with him in the 1970s. They met when both were teaching at City College and each became the other's student and teacher. It is my pleasure to introduce the president of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, Dr. George D. Schwab.

George D. Schwab

My task is an easy one tonight. I have to articulate the significance of the Hans J. Morgenthau Award. But before I do, I would like to thank Bill Moyers for being with us tonight.

I join Bill Flynn in welcoming you to the Hans J. Morgenthau Award ceremony. As many of you know, Hans Morgenthau was a founder of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, a privately funded foreign policy organization dedicated to promoting interest in and understanding of the U.S. role in world affairs. A distinguishing activity of the National Committee is identifying and articulating American foreign policy interests from a nonpartisan perspective in the framework of Hans Morgenthau's political realism.

Before proceeding to summarize the significance of the award, I shall read the last paragraph of the congratulatory letter written recently by the 1985 Morgenthau Award recipient, George P. Shultz, who was then secretary of state. The full text is reprinted in the program. After citing the contributions that Colin Powell has made to his country as a soldier and a statesman, Mr. Shultz states and I quote:

"You were also fun to work with. I'll always remember your description of how you taught your son to buy a used car. If the National Committee on American Foreign Policy is smart, they will ask you, in addition to your comments on foreign policy, to give them that instruction. It would be fun to see that august body rolling in the aisles."

Mr. Secretary, rolling in the aisles would be a first for the National Committee, as I suspect it would be for many other members of this august audience. But we will wait to roll with laughter until we receive your instruction.

On the rare occasions when the National Committee on American Foreign Policy presents the Hans J. Morgenthau Award, it does so not only to commemorate one of the foremost theorists of international relations, an icon of foreign policy analysis, but also to celebrate an individual judged so exemplary in the tradition of Professor Morgenthau that he or she merits the singular honor. There is no doubt that Secretary of State Colin L. Powell is such an individual. Thank you very much.

Bill Moyers

Henry Kissinger needs no introduction. However, he insists on it. So although he's accomplished so much in his life that it's hard to exaggerate his talents, I'll do my best. We first met in the 1960s. He hasn't changed.

We know he's brilliant. He's the only man I know who quotes himself just to add spice to the conversation. We know he's engaging. He's the kind of man who can be disarming, even though his country is not. And we know he's complex. Every time I've heard him speak, in person or on TV, I recall the candor of the great lawyer Clarence Darrow who said, "I've suffered from being misunderstood. But I would have suffered a hell of a lot more if I'd been understood." We also know he's a good sport who doesn't mind being kidded even when it's true.

Ladies and gentlemen, Henry Kissinger. ...

Henry Kissinger

Ladies and gentlemen, the people who put on my program that I should confine my remarks to two minutes did not realize that my native language is German. And I usually go for more than two minutes before I reach my first verb.

For me it is a great privilege to participate in the award to my friend Colin Powell. Those of us who have had the privilege of serving in that office know the complexity of the pressures and demands that are made on the secretary of state.

No recent secretary of state has been so admired and supported by his colleagues in the State Department as Colin. And for those of you who do not know the Foreign Service, you do not realize what an achievement this is. Most Foreign Service officers are convinced that whoever is imposed on them as secretary of state could not have passed the Foreign Service examination.

Colin is serving as secretary of state in an extraordinary period, at a time when the international system is going through one of the changes that occur only every few centuries. Right now we are in a period where many activities are global. But political allegiances are national. And how to reconcile the two is the overwhelming challenge of our period.

For the United States, it is a particular challenge. As the uniquely powerful country in the world, we have the capacity to impose many of our preferences. But we also have a responsibility to translate our capability into a sense of participation. The challenge for America today is to achieve

our aims by translating the national interests into a general interest at this moment when the President has spoken so forcefully about the challenge. What remains now is to translate it into some international policy.

There's no one in whom one can have more confidence and more faith than the secretary of state who will bear a major burden of this responsibility. And so I want to thank the National Committee for giving me this opportunity to pay this tribute to Colin. And as a friend of Hans Morgenthau, who was my teacher and my inspiration and my colleague, I know that Colin represents the hopes and values and purposes that Hans Morgenthau represented. It's in this spirit that I would like now to call Colin to come to the podium and accept the award that we give him with pride, admiration, and great confidence.

George D. Schwab

The Hans J. Morgenthau Award inscription: In recognition of his prowess as a military leader and his judicious political realism in formulating, articulating, and implementing United States foreign policy, the National Committee on American Foreign Policy presents this singular award to the country's ultimate diplomat, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell. New York City, September 12, 2002. Congratulations.



Secretary of State Colin L. Powell

Thank you so very much, ladies and gentlemen. It's a great pleasure to be with you this evening and to receive this award. Madame President, excellencies, so many good friends who are here this evening, I am so pleased that you have come out to participate in this event.

And I thank you, Henry, for that warm and loving introduction. It was wonderful to be introduced by a dear and treasured friend. Henry has been the model by which all subsequent secretaries of state have measured themselves. When I was in private life a few years ago, Henry and I crossed paths constantly in business and in a number of other areas but especially in the speaking circuit. And I used to make a great deal of money telling Henry Kissinger stories. I've got a lot of them, but you're not paying me tonight, so no Henry Kissinger stories.

My favorite, of course, is the night that the late Princess Diana—a wonderful, gracious lady—was here in New York for a benefit and Henry, her host, was taking her around. Can you imagine Henry hosting Princess Diana? He was rather shameless. I mean, it was just awful. He was just showing off everywhere.

But I had a little game to play on Henry. Both Princess Diana and I were receiving awards. I was the first to receive the award and took note of the fact that Princess Diana and I had something in common. Researching my heritage, through my Jamaican roots and back to England, one of the newspapers discovered that I was directly related to the earl of Coote, who lived in the 16th century. Princess Diana was related also to the earl of Coote. So, in effect, we had a relationship.

The crowd was stunned. Henry was appalled that I had stolen his evening. Henry recovered as best he could. He looked down at me as he took to the lectern, and then he gave this long, flowery, interminable introduction of Princess Diana, trying to recapture the momentum from me. And he thought he had succeeded—until Princess Diana took to the lectern and said, “Ladies and gentlemen, and Cousin Colin, good evening.”

It was also a special pleasure to have been introduced by my dear friend Ron Lauder. Jo Carole, his wife, is also here. They are more than friends; they are family. I can't say enough about the affection that Alma and I have for both of them and their children. If I ever got going on the Lauders, we'd be here all evening. Thank you, Ron, for those very, very beautiful words.

And thanks to Bill Flynn and George Schwab and the members of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy for honoring me with the Hans J. Morgenthau Award. I am pleased to accept it not only on my behalf but especially on behalf of all the dedicated men and women in the Foreign Service and in the military, for that matter, with whom I've served over the years. It's been my privilege in the course of my career to be in a

position of leadership with those who have served their nation so well.

And I would like to take this opportunity to commend the National Committee for over a quarter of a century, almost 30 years now, of leadership in shaping our nation's foreign policy debate. In the finest traditions of Hans Morgenthau, the National Committee continues to articulate an American role in the world that combines realism with our core values. And never before have our core values been more important.

The ideas that Hans Morgenthau stood for have never meant more to us than they do this evening here in my hometown of New York City. Just one year and one day ago, as we all know, the terrorists of September 11th murdered over 3,000 innocent people on American soil. And since that tragic day, President Bush has led an American response that combines power and principle in the global war against terrorism, a war that the President has said to all of us is a war that we will pursue to the very end with vigor, with determination, with dedication. And I just want to tell you that the President is as committed today as he was a year and a day ago, and you should be proud of the leadership that he is giving to this campaign and to this crusade.

Our nation can be so proud of what we have accomplished in that one short year. The President succeeded in assembling and leading an international coalition that liberated Afghanistan from the yoke of Al Qaeda and the Taliban. For the first time in over a decade, you can look at television and see young Afghan girls going to school. Young people are playing soccer. Television stations are up and running. Commerce is starting again. Music fills the air. We can be so proud of our men and women in uniform, our intelligence services, our diplomats, our aid personnel who have done such a wonderful job in bringing this about.

Now that the Taliban is gone, Afghanistan has a dedicated new interim government under President Karzai, who met with President Bush earlier today and thanked the American people for all we have done to liberate Afghanistan. He is leading his country on a path to a full representative government that will be chosen when the election is held in less than 18 months.

The whole world community, this coalition, is coming together and working with President Karzai to meet the humanitarian needs of the Afghan people and to begin the very difficult and enormous task of recovery and reconstruction: recreating a society, recreating an infrastructure. Billions of dollars have been committed; more will come in. President Bush was very pleased this afternoon to announce that the United States is committing \$80 million toward a \$180 million project to improve the major roads system in Afghanistan, working with Saudi Arabia and Japan, each of whom is contributing \$50 million. Just a simple road, but a paved road that will begin to connect the country again, and a road that won't just connect places but will connect people so that commerce can flow and

the central government can extend its reach.

We are committed to Afghanistan for the long term. We will not make the mistake that was made some years ago when people abandoned Afghanistan after the Soviets had left. The Afghan people know now that the United States and the international community will be there for them however long it takes.

The international coalition against terrorism is hard at work, and hardly a week goes by that we don't hear news of a terrorist cell being smashed or terrorist money being seized. More than 90 nations around the world, as part of this coalition, have arrested or detained over 2,400 terrorists and their accomplices. Over 160 nations have frozen terrorist assets worth over \$100 million—\$100 million that is no longer available to plot, to scheme, to purchase the materials that could be used to conduct terrorist activities.

Despite our success, we have to understand that the war against terrorism is far from over. This is a different kind of war against a new kind of enemy, not like any enemy I was ever trained to fight during my years of being a soldier. We are not fighting a state that is within a geographical boundary. We are not fighting an empire that is separated from us by an iron or a bamboo curtain. We are not fighting with the kinds of rules that I knew so well as a soldier. It's a different kind of enemy, an enemy that knows no borders, has no allegiance to any particular state; it's a fluid organization that knows no geographical constraints.

We can break Al Qaeda's back in Afghanistan, but we cannot destroy it with bombs and bullets alone. To defeat the terrorists, we have to wage war on many different fronts, all at the same time. We have to wage a war of diplomacy to persuade other nations to work with us and to dry up whatever ponds of terrorist activity might exist within their countries. We have to wage a war of politics to encourage leaders to take difficult steps in their own countries in order to beat the terrorists and prevent them from forming a network of terrorists in other countries. We have to wage a war of intelligence and law enforcement to uncover and destroy terrorist cells before they can commit new murders. We have to wage a war of finance to deny the terrorists the money that fuels their plots.

And we have to wage a war of public information to make sure that people everywhere understand our message of democracy and free markets and our message of human dignity. What we are not waging, however, is a war against Islam. We are not waging a war against any culture or creed. We are fighting those who tried to hijack a great religion, a religion of peace, a religion of reconciliation. They hijacked that religion for their own evil purposes in order to kill innocent civilians.

In this campaign, as the President has often said, we must be steadfast, we must be persistent, and we must be resolute. September 11th leaves us

under no illusions. Terrorists will stop at nothing until we stop them. They accept no law, no morality. There is no limit to their violent ambitions.

Today, speaking to the United Nations General Assembly, President Bush spoke of a grave and gathering danger to the world community, the danger that an outlaw regime could supply terrorists with the technologies to kill on an even more massive scale than we saw here in New York a little over a year ago. President Bush urged the world's nations to stand together and to confront Iraq. Its tyrant-leader, Saddam Hussein, has long made an unholy alliance with terrorists. He has for a decade defied United Nations resolutions. He has defied not just the United States. He has defied the international community; he has defied the Security Council; he has defied the United Nations, the multilateral organization that for ten years has spoken for the civilized world against his activities.

And he has demonstrated time and again his aggressive intent. One can argue as to what his development activities are. One can argue as to what his stockpiles look like. One can argue at the pace of development within Iraq of these terrible weapons. But what is not arguable is that Saddam Hussein is in violation of international law and the international constraints that were placed upon him. And what is also not arguable is that he has the intent—he never lost the intent—to develop these kinds of weapons. That's why he won't let inspectors back in. That's why he has violated United Nations Security Council resolutions.

To assume the Iraqi regime's good faith is to bet the lives of millions of people and the peace of the world in a reckless gamble. And as the President said to the assembled delegates of the United Nations General Assembly today, this is a risk we must not take. We have to respond. The President gave a clear call for response. It wasn't a declaration of war. It was a statement to the United Nations that it is time to act; it is time to do something.

People will say, "Why now? Why this year?" The question could be asked, "Why not last year, the year before, or the year before that? Why not wait till next year?" The danger is real and present, and the President gave a challenge to the United Nations today to respond.

In the days ahead, I'll be meeting with my colleagues on the Security Council of the United Nations to explore the appropriate way forward from this point. But the challenge has been put down. If the United Nations is to remain relevant, if the United Nations is to meet the founding purposes of its charter, it cannot turn away from this challenge. We must not turn away from it.

I am confident we will be successful in making that case before the international community, and I know that we will have the full support of the American people and people around the world once they have

paused to examine the President's speech and once they have examined the information that will be made available to them. And I know that we have the support of all of you assembled here this evening.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a stark choice we are facing with respect to Iraq, and there are many sobering realities that we have to deal with in foreign policy. We worry about many of these issues, but I always make sure that in worrying about these challenges, these crises, I don't let myself—and I refuse to allow the Department of State to close its eyes—be blinded to the soaring opportunities we also see at the dawn of this new century.

The President is not blinded to these opportunities. He is embracing them. President Bush and his administration seek to build a world that is not only safer but better, a world that benefits the American people even as it brings new freedom and fresh hope to men and women on every continent. The spread of democratic and economic freedoms, combined with technological advances, opens unprecedented opportunities to lift millions and millions of people around the world out of misery, out of poverty, and we are determined to seize these opportunities.

Before September 11th of last year, President Bush was vigorously pursuing a broad foreign policy agenda. After September 11th, it is equally broad. We haven't pushed it aside. We aren't so focused on terrorism, as important as it is, that we have forgotten these opportunities or what our obligations are. Indeed the very process of marshaling the civilized world into the global antiterror campaign has opened the door for us to strengthen international relationships and to explore new areas of cooperation.

For example, Russian President Putin's reaction to September 11th marked a profound shift in our bilateral relationship with Russia from a relationship that just ten years ago was based on a balance of fear to one that is based on a mutuality of interests. It overturned, and I hope forever, the cold war chessboard. It used to be divided into red and blue squares on which a gain for red communism was a defeat for blue, the free world.

When last assembled, we agreed to disagree, for example, with the Russians on our withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Everybody was worried: "The Americans are being unilateral; they're getting out of this treaty; it's going to create an arms race; it's going to create a crisis in relationships with Russia and other nations in the world."

Quite the opposite. We discussed it with the Russians. We explained why it was necessary for us to leave the constraints of this treaty. We didn't do it in a threatening way. We made sure they knew they would be secure as a result of this, and we reassured them we would develop a new strategic framework. And when last assembled, we did notify the Russians that we were leaving. President Bush called President Putin. I then visited President Putin in Moscow to explain it all.

After my conversation with President Putin was finished and as the meeting was ending, he looked across at me and said, “We think you’re wrong. We disagree with you. We don’t think you should leave the ABM Treaty. But that’s your decision to make. You have the right to leave that treaty. And guess what, we don’t feel threatened by it. We will get beyond this. It is now a problem behind us, and let us now work together to create a new arrangement that will reduce the number of strategic offensive weapons, the weapons that kill people, not defensive weapons that defend against weapons that kill people.” And we did that. And some six months later, in a gilded hall in the Kremlin, President Bush and President Putin signed the Treaty of Moscow, a historic strategic arms reduction treaty.

And then a few days later in Rome, the President joined our allies and President Putin in forming a new NATO-Russia Council that will bring Russia to the Euro-Atlantic Community and bring the West closer to Russia. I am astonished. I have to think about these things when I meet with my good friend and colleague Igor Ivanov, the foreign minister of the Russian Federation. And American troops are now south of Russia in Afghanistan, and we have bases, for the time being, in places like Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan and Tajikistan, working with all these Central Asian republics that used to be considered an essential part of the Soviet Union, so essential that the Soviet message “don’t you dare go there” was understood.

We’re there now, and you might think this would be a threat to the Russians. And when my colleague Igor Ivanov gets asked about it, “Mr. Ivanov, aren’t you troubled that the Americans are in these former republics of the Soviet Union? Aren’t they a threat to us?,” Igor’s answer now is, “Quite the contrary. They’re our friends. They’re our allies. We’re dealing with common threats—terrorism, fundamentalism, smuggling, drugs. We are allied in a new kind of campaign, in new kinds of conflict against common enemies.” This is a remarkable change, a change that has come about just in the last two years and really accelerated after 9/11/2001.

Our relationship with China also has come a long way. Every day I think about China and Russia, these two important countries, former adversaries who are drawing closer and closer to us. Not too long ago, last year, April, we were in the midst of a crisis with China when we had the accident that I think you all remember involving one of their fighter planes that ran into a reconnaissance plane of ours. The Chinese pilot was lost, and our plane had to make an emergency landing on a Chinese island.

Some concluded, “There it is again, a crisis. We’ll never get through this.” But in just two weeks’ time we resolved it. We solved the problem, and our youngsters came home, and we got back to the right direction, the right course of action, working with China. And today we talk to China about shared global challenges, from terrorism to HIV/AIDS, in new forms and in unprecedented ways. We have initiated a dialogue with

our Chinese colleagues on terrorism and are working together to promote stability in South Asia.

Next month our two presidents will hold their third meeting since September 11th. The meeting will be held at a special place, the President's ranch in Crawford, Texas. We are talking to China more than ever before because our cooperative agenda is richer and deeper than ever before. We have many differences. We haven't stepped back from our principles. On human rights, on proliferation, on other issues, on the very nature of their system, we have disagreements. We present those disagreements. But we do it not as two enemies facing each other but as two countries with an interest in the well-being of each other and an interest in seeing that the world moves in a more peaceful direction, where we can trade, where we can break down barriers to understanding, where we can break down barriers to trade, and as a result get to know each other better and from that knowledge move forward together into a brighter world, never forgetting basic differences on human rights and proliferation.

September 11th also reminded us that even though we have made progress with these two former adversaries, there are still a number of critical issues that we have to face, for example, the situation that brought India and Pakistan to the verge of conflict. We have made it clear to both the Indian leader and the Pakistani leader, Prime Minister Vajpayee and President Musharraf, that we no longer see the relationship that we have with each of them through the prism of their own disagreement. We want a strong, powerful relationship with India and a strong, powerful relationship with Pakistan. And it is not zero sum; because we do something for India, it is not against Pakistan or vice versa.

And because we are succeeding in persuading them and demonstrating the validity of this point of view, we are able to help them in resolving their conflict. And that was so apparent this afternoon when President Bush met with both of them, Prime Minister Vajpayee and then later in the afternoon with President Musharraf. President Bush has made it clear that strengthening our relationship with India and with Pakistan, individually and bilaterally, is one of our highest priorities.

Our relationship with Pakistan is a unique one. I will never forget the days immediately after 9/11/2001 when we knew that we had to persuade the Pakistan leadership to abandon their support for the Taliban that was harboring the Al Qaeda terrorists who had performed such murderous acts against the United States. And President Musharraf, in one of the boldest decisions I have ever seen any leader take, in 48 hours realized that this was a historic moment for him and his country. He made the decision to become a partner with us in this campaign against terrorism, this campaign for a better future, a better relationship with the United States.

So it's a challenging new environment that we work in, that we live in,

with new friends and new arrangements that would have been unthinkable just ten years ago. President Bush and his administration and your State Department are working hard not only to take advantage of these opportunities but to deal with the thorniest of issues. None is more difficult than the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The President again today reaffirmed his vision of two states living side by side in peace and security. On the 24th of June, he put down a firm statement of what we want the Palestinian side to do with respect to reforming itself, becoming a more responsible partner in the peace process. And he also put obligations on Israel—the need to end occupation, the need to end the settlement activity that has taken place over the years, the need to do more to help the humanitarian plight of the Palestinian people—and for both sides to take the risks necessary to move forward on a path to peace.

And next week, here in New York, I will be having a series of meetings with members of what is called the Middle East Quartet—Russia, the European Union, the United Nations, and the United States—as well as a number of Arab leaders, who will all come together to try to move this process forward.

As difficult as the Middle East peace process is, we will not turn away. We will not walk away. We will not abandon our quest for peace. It is a fascinating time to be secretary of state when all the rules that my last 10 predecessors worked under have gone away, and Russia, China, and the United States are working together to keep the peace. We're determined that this not be only a pause in hostilities between major powers but really will culminate in a new future—a future that will help all of us come together, all of us with resources, all of us with power, all of us with wealth, and find ways to share that wealth, share that power, use that power for good, tell the people all over the world to rise up.

What we see on the political and economic fronts gives us even greater grounds for optimism. Because democracy and free markets are spreading, people are understanding it's democracy combined with a free-market system that is the successful system. And in virtually every meeting I have with foreign officials now, we spend time on political issues; we spend time on geostrategic issues; but most of the time is spent on economic issues, on trade. And the message we give them consistently is that the free market works. But the free market works only in a free political system. It works only where corruption has been ended; where the rule of law is in place; where capital is respected; where profit can be earned; where profit is a good word, not a dirty word; where people are investing wealth in the infrastructure of their societies, especially in educating youngsters to rise up and have the education they need to participate in the 21st-century economy. And that is why President Bush is so determined to push forward with his agenda of free trade, pleased to have received trade promotion authority from the Congress. And we will use that authority to create more and more free trade agreements around the world with nations that are

committed to democracy and the free enterprise system.

As you may know, I just returned from the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg. And at that conference I reaffirmed President Bush's commitment to include the world's poor in an expanding circle of development, and I spoke of the critical role of public-private partnerships, the public and the private sectors working together. Most of the money for sustainable development will come from the private sector, which has such an important role to play in alleviating poverty throughout the world.

You probably saw my attendance at that summit on television, when, in an auditorium with a thousand delegates, 12 hecklers suddenly rose up in the back and started to interrupt my speech. They were Americans, too. They got the headlines for a few moments, for a few hours, a few turns of the news cycle. But the reality is it was a very successful conference in which nations from around the world, 200 delegations, came together and committed themselves to sustainable development, the creation of public-private partnerships, a commitment to do something about health, education, clean water, sanitation—those basic things we take for granted but that cannot be taken for granted in most parts of the world.

Johannesburg was only the latest and not the last stop on a long road to a brighter future for the world. Last November in Doha, energetic American efforts were instrumental in the successful launch of a new round of world trade talks, the first ones that will be focused on sustainable development. So I'm pleased that in this administration we are showing the leadership necessary to move forward with trade talks. Just last March in Monterrey, Mexico, at the United Nations conference on financing for development, President Bush announced the Millennium Challenge Initiative. This will represent a 50 percent increase in the amount of foreign aid that we give to deserving nations.

For those who look at the United States and say, "You're unilateral, you're insular, you're only worrying about your own problems," they should look at something like the Millennium Challenge Account. In three years it will grow to a 50 percent increase—\$5 billion additional every year to help those nations that are committed to democracy and good governance—developing nations that need that kind of assistance—and will go only to those nations that have shown they can use that kind of assistance effectively.

The poor of the world don't need more inflated rhetoric. They need workable plans of action. And that's what Doha, Monterrey, Johannesburg all represented. But all these wonderful opportunities can be undercut by some of the threats that are out there. And one threat that troubles me perhaps more than any other does not come out of the barrel of a gun. It is not an army on the march; it is not an ideology on the march. It's called

HIV/AIDS. I've seen it up close. Alma and I have been to Africa and seen the consequences of allowing this disease and the related diseases that make people who have been weakened by HIV/AIDS more susceptible to malaria, tuberculosis, and many other things. We've seen what this disease can do; not only does it kill an individual, it kills a family. It kills a society. It can kill hope for an entire generation. There's nothing more painful than to visit grandparents who are trying to take care of many grandchildren whose parents are gone. They have been taken by HIV/AIDS, and the children are infected.

In that kind of a situation—teachers dying, soldiers dying, the guts of the society dying—we have to do something. And here President Bush is also showing a leadership role, working with Secretary General Kofi Annan to establish a global fund to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. We remain the largest contributor—over \$500 million to this fund alone—on top of several billions of dollars that we are dedicating to the campaign against AIDS.

Last June President Bush announced another new initiative, \$500 million for international mother and child HIV prevention using antiretroviral drugs to keep the transmission of the disease from occurring from mother to child.

Like the global campaign against terrorism, the world's efforts to combat HIV/AIDS must be long term, comprehensive, and relentless. When the terrorists struck on September 11th, their target was not just the United States. Their target was also citizens of the other 90 countries that were affected; but even beyond that, their target was the vision we have of a future—a future that we share with people all over the world, a future of increasing freedom, the rule of law, accountable governments, open markets, and growth-generating trade; a future of stability and peace. In short, a future in which no terrorist can survive.

The United States will continue to pursue a full international agenda for our own sake and for the world's. As President Bush said, "Out of evil will come good." Through our tears we see opportunities to make the world better for generations to come, and we will seize those opportunities.

Let me close and leave you with a picture of a stop I made in Luanda, Angola, on the way home from Johannesburg last week. I was attending a meeting of the Joint Commission for the Implementation of the Luanda Protocols that ended Angola's long and brutal civil war. Sitting around that table that day were representatives of the old colonial power, Portugal, there as a friend, as well as our old cold war adversaries, the Russians, and the Angolan government, which, in my days many years ago as national security adviser, was supported by Russian troops. We were all there, friend and foe in the past, now united in a common purpose: not only to celebrate the end of this war but to make sure that we would remove the conditions

of any future war; to make sure that these former enemies would now cooperate, would now move down a path to democracy, would use the oil wealth they have for good.

I realize just how much our world has changed when I see these kinds of things. The models that we knew from the past are gone and good riddance. And now we have to create new opportunities. We have to seize upon new models.

I think that Hans Morgenthau would have felt right at home in this new world of ours because he understood the essential partnership between morality and power, which is at the core of American foreign policy.

As we move forward, it is that essential partnership between morality and power that will see us through the perils that are ahead and will help us capture the promise that is out there waiting—the promise that will help us make this a better world for our children.

Thank you so very much.

Bill Moyers

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary and Mrs. Powell, for being with us.

Some wise observer, probably Arthur Schlesinger, said, “You can always get the truth from an American statesman after he’s turned 70 or given up all hope of the presidency.” Well, neither of those apply to this gentleman, and we got the truth.

Thank you very much. Good luck and thanks to all of you for being here tonight.



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**NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, INC.**

320 Park Avenue

New York, N.Y. 10022

Telephone: (212) 224-1120 • Fax: (212) 224-2524

E-Mail: ncafp@aol.com • Web site: <http://www.ncafp.org>