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AMERICAN INTERNATIONALISM



It is America's honor and gift to be a nation of nations, whose people and aspirations touch every nation on the face of the earth. From universal dreams of freedom, equality, and prosperity, we became a country that melded many different cultures, ideas, perspectives, and talents — giving us a rich diversity that continues to make us strong today.

With this strength comes great responsibility and a desire to engage with the international community. We are proud to say that the American way in the world is to promote freedom, democracy, free trade and development. It is to seek security for people who have already suffered too much. It is to inspire and be inspired by other nations to work together toward a peaceful and prosperous future. And words are not enough. Americans are committed to turning these visions into action.

Differences among nations and their governments are inevitable, of course. But our differences should not be equated with American unilateralism or American isolationism. On occasion, our experiences, our interests, will lead us to see things in a different way. For our part, we will not join a consensus if we believe it compromises our core principles. Nor would we expect other nations to join in a consensus that would compromise their core principles. When we feel strongly about something, we will lead. However the United States will always endeavor to achieve international agreement, and a look around the globe shows the United States working intensively with allies and partners on every continent.

I am pleased to welcome you to this electronic journal, which illustrates America's extensive record of cooperation, consensus and leadership as we strive to live up to our global responsibilities and our founding principles. I hope you'll share it with others who believe — like you — in the importance of American internationalism.

Colin L. Powell
Secretary of State

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AMERICAN INTERNATIONALISM

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AMERICAN INTERNATIONALISM: PROMOTING FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

By Kim R. Holmes

Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs



“Neither protectionist nor expansionist, American internationalism seeks to preserve liberty and to promote opportunity, human dignity, freedom, prosperity, and peace, both at home and abroad,” says Kim R. Holmes, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. U.S. actions in support of these goals, he says, are illustrated by the articles in this journal, which provide pertinent examples of America’s engagement with the world.

Peace, prosperity, and freedom — these fundamental principles fuel the unique form of foreign policy known as American internationalism. We in America have a long tradition of acting on core values and promoting ideals like freedom of speech, the right to vote, freedom of religion, and a free press that so often challenge the power of dictators and ideologues. Unlike the leaders of unfree societies, we believe that economic and political freedoms, human rights, and opportunity are not privileges to be handed out by the elite to those they favor; they are rights of every man and woman that must be protected and promoted.

President Bush explained American internationalism this way in 2002 to the graduates of West Point: “Our Nation’s cause has always been larger than our Nation’s defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace, a peace that favors liberty. We will defend the peace against the threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.... Building this just peace is ... America’s duty.”

Americans understand this awesome obligation. That is why we gave the President strong support for fighting terrorism, freeing the Afghan people from the Taliban, and liberating Iraqis from Saddam

Hussein’s horrific regime. American values today echo those that fueled the United States’ determination to win World War II and its dedication to rebuilding those war-torn nations. These values also guided our efforts during the Cold War. Time and again, our deeply held desire to see that everyone is free has inspired a generosity of time, talent, and life itself.

We have largely met with success. Henry Kissinger, as national security adviser, once observed that, “No foreign policy — no matter how ingenious — has any chance of success if it is born in the minds of a few and carried in the hearts of none.” American internationalism succeeds precisely because it is based on values carried in the hearts of multitudes. These values are not uniquely American, but universal and global in their appeal. They do not seek to impose specific cultural norms, but rather provide the tools and freedom for each society to realize its own potential based on its own cultural, ethnic, and religious traditions.

History has shown that the strongest, most stable, tolerant, and prosperous countries are those that respect the universal principles of human rights, rule of law, and democracy. The promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms is in the national interest of every member of the international community because governments that protect human rights are those best able to secure peace, promote

economic development, combat international terrorism and crime, avoid humanitarian crises, and improve the global environment.

Neither protectionist nor expansionist, American internationalism seeks to preserve liberty and to promote opportunity, human dignity, freedom, prosperity, and peace, both at home and abroad. When America has intervened, it has done so reluctantly and stayed only as long as necessary. We seek to leave countries better than they were before. To help those in desperate need, we contribute more to humanitarian relief, both publicly and privately, than any other country. We engage in the United Nations system to advance these objectives and all of our other interests. We also seek to make the United Nations more effective, whether we are talking about the Security Council, the Commission on Human Rights, peacekeeping, or the work of its specialized agencies.

Our core values can be seen not only in what our government does bilaterally and multilaterally. They also are reflected in the day-to-day efforts of American citizens, the private sector, religious groups, and nongovernmental organizations that promote freedom and opportunity around the world. Our dedication to principles and values is not lost on the world, even as American internationalism remains a lightning rod for criticism from those who view our motives with suspicion.

American internationalism, after all, is not a rigid doctrine. It can and often does take on the character of a president as he responds to the urgency of problems facing the world. President Bush's "distinctly American internationalism" resonates with Americans because it is a response to the real and global threats of terrorism, pandemic disease, poverty, trafficking in persons, and more. Americans support his efforts to protect innocent people from weapons of mass destruction in the hands of al-Qaeda and other terrorists; to promote freedom, good governance, and prosperity through new initiatives like the Millennium Challenge Account; and to fight HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases that ravage societies through a multimillion-dollar commitment to the Global Fund and other programs.

American internationalism is, in fact, best illustrated by U.S. actions. The articles that follow will discuss these and other pertinent examples of America's engagement with the world. We begin with a discussion of the principles and priorities that guide our multilateral engagement in the United Nations to promote freedom, democracy, peace, and prosperity.

Economist Kevin Hassett and scholar James Glassman consider how America's trade policy benefits the world economy and helps developing countries, even when it adds to our trade deficit. U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick presents a frank assessment of America's "building-block approach" to promoting security, prosperity, and freedom through trade agreements and liberalization. University of Notre Dame Law Professor Jimmy Gurulé, a former Under Secretary of the Treasury, considers how U.S. foreign policy successfully built and expanded international consensus on restricting terrorist financing.

Next, Under Secretary of State Paula Dobriansky and National Endowment for Democracy (NED) President Carl Gershman examine America's drive to spread democracy and freedom through public and private efforts. Together, their articles offer a broad picture of our effectiveness, including the growth of nascent movements in undemocratic states with our support and that of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) like the NED.

Secretary of Health and Human Services (HHS) Tommy Thompson discusses America's effort to improve global health by improving international capabilities to respond to public health threats like SARS, and to rid the world of infectious diseases that know no boundaries but devastate whole societies. The Early Warning Global Health Initiative and the HHS Global Health Security Initiative are two examples.

Environmental threats also know no boundaries. Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs John Turner discusses America's efforts to create responsible international environmental policy to protect the world's resources and reduce the use of

harmful chemicals and pollutants. Finally, Robert Kellett of Mercy Corps discusses the work of NGOs that further America's efforts to alleviate poverty and oppression and help people secure political and economic freedoms and human rights.

Much more could be written on this issue, of course. But as these articles make clear, American internationalism is far from unilateralist. Americans believe freedom, peace, and prosperity are universal aspirations, and free countries have a responsibility to

help others realize them. As President Bush put it, and the multilateral policies described in these articles attest, "No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture [on others]. America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity." Working with our friends and allies, we will continue striving to defeat terror, alleviate hunger, disease, and oppression around the world, and spread the opportunities that liberty and democracy provide. ©

THE UNITED NATIONS AND AMERICAN MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY: PRINCIPLES AND PRIORITIES FOR A BETTER WORLD

By *Kim R. Holmes*

Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs



U.S. actions in the United Nations are based on three principles, according to Kim Holmes, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. He says America seeks: to have the organization live up to “the vision of its founders;” to have an effective, results-oriented multilateralism — not “empty declarations;” and to ensure the “good stewardship of U.N. resources.”

Nations the world over live in an age of unprecedented promise made possible by political liberty and free markets, technology and trade, and peaceful relations among the great powers. Our time is also one of extraordinary problems and escalating dangers, both natural and man-made. Pandemics such as HIV/AIDS visit misery and death on untold millions, endangering whole societies. Too many of our fellow human beings live under dictatorial and corrupt regimes that deny them the most basic of rights and the possibility of a better future.

Finally, in the greatest threat of our time, terrorists and tyrants, who fear freedom’s advance, seek to destroy the open societies that foster it. They have murdered the innocent in appalling numbers in every corner of the world. They seek to get chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons to destroy lives wholesale, and all else that men and women of goodwill around the world cherish.

This administration’s overarching aims are to meet the major foreign policy challenges of our time while helping greater numbers of people to realize freedom and democracy’s gifts. We see multilateral diplomacy as essential to this effort. Whether it is in the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, or one of the many other international organizations in which

the United States participates, our diplomats energetically work with other nations to find solutions to the problems of our era. As President Bush has declared: “This is America’s agenda in the world — from the defeat of terror, to the alleviation of disease and hunger, to the spread of human liberty. We welcome, and we need, the help, advice, and wisdom of friends and allies.”

Effective multilateralism, the Bush Administration believes, should always have a clear, worthy, and attainable purpose. Multilateralism should seek more than laudable goals; it should seek practical actions with achievable outcomes to address the significant problems of the day. Consensus is desirable and potentially useful. But achieving it should not come at the expense of results, which ordinary people around the world need if they are to get the peace and security, health and economic opportunity, liberty and dignity they need.

Not every member of every international organization will agree on every issue every time. We think, however, that U.N. members owe an obligation to each other to make a good-faith effort to reach an agreement consistent with higher principle and interest. The United States has done this on numerous issues, going to great lengths, for example, in the U.N. Security Council to achieve consensus around controversial questions.

In the last year, despite vigorous American efforts, the Security Council could not always bridge its differences on the necessity of using force to bring Iraq into compliance with its solemn duties. But before the recent war and afterward, the United States did succeed in working with other Security Council members to secure approval, where possible, of important resolutions.

The first, Resolution 1441 (November 8, 2002), demanded that Iraq end its material breach of its international obligations or face serious consequences. The second, Resolution 1483 (May 22, 2003), coming after Iraq's liberation, lifted the decade-old U.N. sanctions on the country; recognized Coalition authority there until a representative, internationally recognized government would be established; and affirmed the U.N.'s vital role in cooperating with the Coalition to help the Iraqi people build a better future.

The United States works for effective Security Council action when feasible. It also invests huge financial resources in a host of U.N. agencies to help nations everywhere in myriad ways — from feeding their hungry, to creating a natural disaster early warning system that will save lives, or even to helping keep the international postal system, which every nation depends on in our interconnected world, functioning smoothly.

PRINCIPLES

The United Nations and many of its specialized agencies have their success stories. They also have their failures. The United States seeks more U.N. successes and fewer failures. Three principles guide America's engagement with the United Nations and, more broadly, multilateralism:

Principle No. 1: We want the United Nations to live up to the vision of its founders, which calls upon all member states to contribute to international peace and security while giving their citizens freedom, health, and economic opportunity. Americans, desirous that the United Nations system succeed, want their leaders to ensure that it adheres to

that vision, whether the specific objective is getting Iraq to comply with its Security Council obligations, promoting peace and democracy in East Timor, or helping stop a global illness like SARS.

The Bush administration's policy during the most recent session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights reflected this results-oriented approach. When we declared our opposition to Libya — one of the world's worst human rights violators — as Commission chair, we stood up for the U.N.'s founding principles and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. When we now work to reform this troubled body, our goals are to help it live up to its potential and become a support for those millions of men, women, and children around the globe denied their inalienable political and civil rights. A Commission on Human Rights, true to its values, will find new reservoirs of goodwill among Americans and other people throughout the world.

Principle No. 2: We seek multilateralism that is effective. Multilateral diplomacy should produce more than empty declarations; it should tangibly advance peace, freedom, sustainable development, health, and humanitarian assistance to the benefit of ordinary people on every continent. When U.N. organizations perform well, the United States will be enthusiastic. If they fall short, the United States is obligated to say so, as it believes other nations should. Likewise, while the United States will act in its self-defense whenever necessary, it will not hesitate to work with the Security Council when collective action is possible and justified to thwart violence and promote freedom.

Principle No. 3: We seek good stewardship of U.N. resources. An effective United Nations must spend its resources wisely. The intended beneficiaries of its programs must, indeed, benefit. The United States will work with other member states to ensure that the management and finances of U.N. entities and programs are sound. We will continue to promote reforms that make the U.N. more capable and efficient.

PRIORITIES

These three principles of U.S. engagement, in turn, give rise to five American priorities:

Priority No. 1: Preserving Peace and Protecting the Innocent Threatened by War and Tyranny.

These are key challenges that United Nations members must meet if the organization is to be successful. Terrorists, proliferators, and aggressive dictators like Saddam Hussein — who had attacked several neighboring states — endanger international safety. In the coming year, the United States will, therefore, strive to:

- **Strengthen** the Security Council's effectiveness in dealing with threats to international peace and security, especially the danger of terrorists or outlaw regimes acquiring weapons of mass destruction.
- **Build** greater capacities among U.N. members to defeat terrorism.
- **Ensure** equitable burden sharing and more effective peacekeeping that stops bloodshed and humanitarian disasters, particularly in Africa where the United Nations is already deeply involved.
- **Advance** an Arab-Israeli peace settlement that achieves President Bush's vision of an end to terrorism, and a democratic Palestine and Israel living in a peaceful Middle East. We will continue working with the U.N. through the Quartet to realize these goals, which also require full inclusion and fair treatment of Israel in all U.N. forums that it does not currently enjoy, but deserves.

Priority No. 2: Putting Multilateralism at the Service of Democracy, Freedom, and Good Governance. These objectives should drive nearly every U.N. activity. At the 2002 International Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey, Mexico, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa, we brought to international attention the reality that governments that deny their citizens freedom and that rule them without respect for their

fundamental needs often keep their populations in poverty. Such governments often become the leading sources of international violence. Nations, however, that democratize and institutionalize the rule of law at home create the conditions necessary for economic development. These nations also become the foundation stones for a peaceful international order.

The United States, therefore, has made a priority of ensuring that all parts of the U.N. system recognize that promoting freedom, the rule of law and good governance is integral to their missions. The United States will, likewise, remain vigorous in its support of U.N. efforts to help budding democracies hold elections, train judges, promote the rule of law, and diminish corruption.

Priority No. 3: Helping Nations and Individuals in Desperate Need. The United States has frequently praised U.N. provision of humanitarian relief to people in severe distress. We continue to be a leader in supporting U.N. programs that reduce poverty and famine, assist refugees, and fight HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases. We plan on remaining the largest donor to the World Food Program, having contributed, in 2002 alone, \$929 million. We hope that other nations will continue to join us in generously funding such critical U.N. endeavors.

Priority No. 4: Advancing Results-Oriented Economic Development. At the 2002 Monterrey Conference on Financing for Development and the Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development, the United States helped create an international consensus on the factors that foster economic growth in developing nations. Sustainable development comes from working with market forces rather than against them, and giving people economic freedom and the rule of law. Years of experience have shown that foreign financial assistance can help promote growth if, and only if, governments of developing nations make the necessary reforms at home first.

The United States is now working with other U.N. members to ensure that agencies such as the U.N.

Development Program and the U.N. Environment Program integrate the Monterrey principles into everything they do. We are also trying to raise international awareness of the positive role that biotechnology can play in promoting economic development and food security in the world's poorest regions.

Priority No. 5: Urging U.N. Reform and Budget Discipline. Focusing on core missions, living up to original purposes, and wisely using member contributions will not only improve U.N. institutions, but also increase their credibility and support in the United States and elsewhere. The United States will team up with other members to help the U.N. reform poorly performing agencies, and terminate ineffective and antiquated programs. We will, moreover, strive to ensure that only countries that uphold the United Nations' founding ideals get leadership positions.

CONCLUSION

Multilateralism in the service of freedom, sustainable development, healthy populations, and a secure peace: That is President George W. Bush's objective. That is the goal that Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and American diplomats pursue daily with other nations in a host of venues. Regardless of our objective — whether it is expanding liberty, encouraging economic growth, combating deadly diseases, or achieving peace — we must recognize that realizing any one will often depend on the others' success. Each aspiration, simultaneously advanced, will reinforce the other, creating a virtuous cycle. If the United States and other nations pursue this agenda of constructive multilateralism together, we can improve the lives of ordinary men, women, and children around the world. President Bush and Secretary Powell are confident that, with good will and effort, we can succeed. ●

UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

By Kevin A. Hassett

Director of Economic Policy Studies, American Enterprise Institute (AEI)

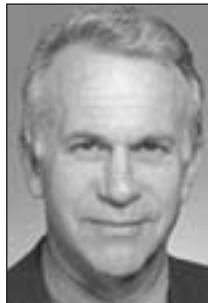
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James K. Glassman

AEI Resident Fellow and Washington Post Financial Columnist



Kevin A. Hassett



James K. Glassman

“The notion that wealthy countries and big businesses are the main beneficiaries of global free trade is flat-out nonsense,” say Kevin Hassett, Director of Economic Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and former Senior Economist at the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, and James Glassman, AEI Resident Fellow and Financial Columnist for the Washington Post. In this article they point out that 44 percent of the U.S. trade deficit is with developing countries, and warn that a slowdown in global trade would hurt developing countries most.

Rarely in history has one nation been as dominant in the world economy as the United States is today. The U.S. output of goods and services — that is, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) — exceeded \$10 trillion in 2002. That’s greater than the total GDP of the next five countries combined. All told, the United States, with 1/20th of the world’s population, accounts for one-third of the world’s output and, last year, more than three-fifths of its growth.

The U.S. economy is so large that its metropolitan areas produce more than entire countries. For example, in 2002, Chicago had about the same GDP as Australia. Boston had the same as Taiwan; Dallas, the same as Saudi Arabia; San Francisco, Hong Kong; and Milwaukee, Pakistan.

It’s only natural that such a dominant position can sometimes provoke envy and anger from other nations, but the truth is that economics is not a zero-sum game. In a world that is tied together by trade, the United States wins when other nations prosper — and other nations win when the United States prospers.

Trade is a two-way street. Consumers benefit from imports, which provide goods and services of higher quality or lower prices (or both) than those made at

home. And producers (that is, owners of businesses and employees) benefit from exports, which provide more customers for goods and services.

In 2002, imports to the United States from developing nations totaled a whopping \$317 billion. (The United States is the single largest market for developing nations’ goods.) Exports from the U.S. to those nations totaled \$130 billion. Both imports and exports are important, but look at the difference, that is, the trade deficit that resulted for the United States: \$187 billion. That’s 44 percent of the entire trade deficit that the United States ran last year with all nations.

In other words, with developing countries, the United States buys a good deal more than it sells. Consider a few examples. Last year, the Philippines sold exports worth \$11 billion to the United States and bought American imports worth \$7 billion, for a deficit (to the U.S.) of \$4 billion. Malaysia’s exports to the United States exceeded its American imports by \$14 billion. For Korea, the surplus relative to the United States is \$13 billion; for Brazil, \$3 billion.

It may be surprising, but high technology is now the largest export sector for developing countries. Information and communications technology accounted

for \$450 billion worth of exports by developing nations — compared with \$235 billion for resource-based goods and \$405 billion for low-tech goods.

Not only does the United States buy hundreds of billions of dollars worth of goods produced by developing nations, it also invests heavily in those countries. Roughly three out of every eight dollars in foreign direct investment in Africa comes from the United States — more than from any other country (France is second at 18 percent — less than half as much). Between 1996 and 2000 (latest figures), the United States invested \$9.2 billion in Africa, compared with \$4.4 billion invested by France and \$3.3 billion by the United Kingdom.

The integration and liberalization of financial markets over the past 20 years has allowed capital to flow to its best uses, with broad benefits globally. An academic paper published earlier this year by Geert Bekaert of Columbia University and two colleagues found that “equity market liberalizations, on average, lead to a one percent increase in annual real economic growth over a five-year period.” That figure, say the authors, “is surprisingly large” (after all, GDP growth averages only about 3 percent a year). “Liberalization” means that foreign investors can invest in the securities of other countries — their stocks and bonds. The researchers also discovered that the countries that gained the most from liberalization were those — such as developing nations — that were furthest behind but moving forward in implementing macroeconomic reforms.

For example, in the five years after liberalization, GDP growth in India averaged 5.7 percent annually, compared with 3.2 percent in the five years before liberalization. Thailand’s average five-year growth was 8.7 percent after liberalization of its securities markets and 3.5 percent before. Of course, not all developing nations enjoyed such increases, but the average country did, and the results are powerful.

Again, investment is a two-way street. Because the United States is a relatively stable and safe place to invest, it provides an enormous haven for capital investments (in stocks, bonds, real estate, and whole businesses) from abroad. Those capital inflows

provide the necessary support for imports into the United States, so that this country can sustain those large trade deficits. Income generated through investments in the United States is often used by foreign entrepreneurs and investors to start and expand businesses at home. Think of the United States as the engine room, powering the world economy.

The success of the United States has come not from its natural resources or its large population but from its free-market system, which allows people, either alone or in groups, to make their own choices (where they work, what they buy, what they pay), with little government interference. Capital and labor move to where they are most efficient. No wonder studies have shown a direct correlation between how free an economy is and how successful it is.

Liberalized trade — in broadly multilateral, regional or bilateral agreements — is a key ingredient in the recipe for prosperity. And the benefits for developing countries are even greater — on a proportional basis — than for the United States. New global trade negotiations will, if they succeed, generate \$90 billion to \$190 billion a year in higher incomes for developing nations, according to a study by Joseph Francois of Erasmus University in Rotterdam. Recent World Bank research found that developing countries that embraced globalization grew three-and-a-half times faster than developing countries that did not. As Kofi Annan, the United Nations secretary general, put it, “The poor are poor not because of too much globalization but because of too little.”

The trade liberalization that was introduced in the Uruguay Round provides a good illustration. In the six years after the round, exports from developing nations grew by \$1 trillion, to a total of \$2.4 trillion in 2002. During that time, the United States boosted its imports from developing countries by 82 percent. The reason is not hard to guess: Three-fifths of those imports came into the United States duty-free.

An absolute prerequisite for long-term economic growth is full participation in the global economy and trading system. Still, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has a budget of \$1.2 billion for food assistance this year, up from

\$850 million in 2002. The United States is the largest donor to the World Food Program's operations in southern Africa, and USAID has recently provided funding for emergency assistance in Central America, the Sudan and other parts of the world. In addition, private U.S. charities, like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation are giving billions of dollars to fight poverty and hunger.

The notion that wealthy countries and big businesses are the main beneficiaries of global free trade is flat-out nonsense. The United States could continue to prosper if it backed away from the world-trade stage. Even if it stopped trading altogether, the United States would continue to enjoy a high standard of living, with a GDP of more than \$30,000 per person. America's lifestyle might slip from 2003 levels to

mid-1990s levels. That's all. But if trade stops or even slows down, developing countries would be devastated. No longer would citizens be able to get quality goods at bargain prices. No longer would smaller nations be able to increase their markets on a vast scale.

But the United States understands the responsibilities that come with being the world's largest economy. By giving foreign nations access to its domestic markets — and pushing other nations to open up even more — the United States has become a key contributor to growth in developing nations. ©

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GDP in Major U.S. Metropolitan Areas Relative to Specific Countries

Rank	Metro Area	GDP (Billions)	Country	GDP (Billions)
1	New York, NY	523.43	India	502.42
2	Chicago, IL	389.46	Australia	399.09
3	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	373.77	Australia	399.09
4	Boston, MA-NH	285.92	Taiwan	281.51
5	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	282.18	Taiwan	281.51
6	Houston, TX	212.88	Austria	206.2
7	Philadelphia, PA	210.6	Austria	206.2
8	Atlanta, GA	210.2	Austria	206.2
9	Dallas, TX	195.72	Saudi Arabia	190.98
10	Detroit, MI	179.31	Turkey	182.83
11	San Francisco, CA	155.56	Hong Kong	162.98
12	San Jose, CA	153.49	Hong Kong	162.98
13	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	145.6	Greece	133.24
14	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA	138.18	Greece	133.24
15	Orange County, CA	137.73	Greece	133.24
16	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	132.38	Finland	132.23
17	San Diego, CA	119.26	Ireland	121.8
18	Newark, NJ	109.41	Iran	106.39
19	Oakland, CA	108.7	Iran	106.39
20	Baltimore, MD	106.33	Iran	106.39

Source: The Dismal Scientist from Economy.com

Near East & Northern Africa	GDP (Billions)	Metro Area	GDP (Billions)
Saudi Arabia	190.98	Dallas, TX	195.72
Iran	106.39	Baltimore, MD	106.33
United Arab Emirates	71.24	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	70.26
Pakistan	65.14	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	64.19
Algeria	54.15	Fort Lauderdale, FL	54.39
Kuwait	33.22	Omaha, NE-IA	33.52
Syrian Arab Republic	22.14	Des Moines, IA	22
Tunisia	21.25	Ann Arbor, MI	21.3
Libya	19.74	Columbia, SC	20.08
Lebanon	17.33	Bakersfield, CA	17.47
Qatar	17.26	Fort Wayne, IN	17.12
Yemen	10.04	Springfield, MO	10.02
Jordan	9.3	Tallahassee, FL	9.27
Bahrain	8.51	Newburgh, NY	8.56

Source: The Dismal Scientist from Economy.com

UNLEASHING THE TRADE WINDS: A BUILDING-BLOCK APPROACH

*By Ambassador Robert B. Zoellick
United States Trade Representative*



Achieving free trade across the globe is a daunting task. But America is committed, says Ambassador Robert B. Zoellick, the United States Trade Representative and a member of President Bush's Cabinet. He handled the NAFTA talks and the Uruguay round at the State Department from 1989-92. The following is adapted from an article he wrote for the December 7-13, 2002, issue of The Economist.

As President Bush's first term approaches its midpoint, the commentary about American trade policy has shifted. The debate is now over how — not whether — the United States is advancing free trade.

America has stated its intentions plainly. We will promote free trade globally, regionally and bilaterally, while rebuilding support at home. By moving forward on multiple fronts, the United States can exert its leverage for openness, create a new competition in liberalization, target the needs of developing countries, and create a fresh political dynamic by putting free trade onto the offensive.

America's trade policies are connected to our broader economic, political, and security aims. This intellectual integration may confound some trade scholars, but it follows in the footsteps of the architects of reconstruction after 1945. In fact, its roots extend to the protesters who dumped English tea in Boston harbor. To be sustainable at home, our trade strategy needs to be aligned with America's values and aspirations — as well as with our economic interests. And to be influential abroad, we seek to listen and learn from our trading partners, large and small. To lead globally, President Bush recognized that he had to reverse the retreat on trade policy at home. Any American president building support for trade must overcome protectionists,

special interests, anti-globalization nihilists and partisanship against the President. Nevertheless, the President was not diverted by an economic slowdown or terrorism. He pressed Congress to enact the Trade Act of 2002, which re-established the vital trade authority ("fast track") that had lapsed for eight years. Republicans compromised with pro-trade Democrats on an environmental and labor trade agenda, without overstepping concerns about sovereignty and protectionism. The act included a large, immediate down payment on open trade for the neediest, cutting tariffs to zero for an estimated \$20 billion in American imports from the developing world.

To rebuild a congressional coalition, the administration had to demonstrate that the United States would use international rules to pursue its interests. Since American trade-weighted tariffs average only about 1.6 percent, congressional support for lower barriers depends on the Executive's willingness to use the same rules employed by other countries. One Republican leader in the Senate told me that the administration's record of enforcing international rules was the most persuasive argument for granting the president more negotiating authority. By leading the fight at home for freer trade within a system of enforceable international rules, President Bush has strengthened America's power to promote free commerce abroad.

THE TASK AT DOHA

Coming to office as it did in the wake of the Seattle debacle for the World Trade Organization, the Bush administration recognized the importance of launching a new global trade round. Working with the European Union (EU) and others, and against long odds, we helped to launch the Doha Development Agenda (DDA). The WTO itself has been strengthened by adding China and Taiwan as members, and efforts are in train to add Russia before long.

The United States is fully committed to completing the DDA by the agreed deadline of 2005. We have already tabled far-reaching proposals in agriculture, industrial and consumer goods, and services, to highlight the primary goal of the WTO: to open access to markets and to spur growth and development.

America's goal in the farm negotiations is to harmonize subsidies and tariffs while slashing them to much lower levels, on a path toward elimination. The last global trade negotiation — the Uruguay round — accepted high and asymmetrical levels of subsidies and tariffs just to get them under some control. For example, the United States accepted a cap for the European Union's production-distorting subsidies that was three times the size of America's, even though agriculture represents about the same proportion of our economies.

The farm bill — which authorized up to \$123 billion in all types of food-stamp, conservation and farm spending over six years, amounts within WTO limits — made clear that America will not cut agricultural support unilaterally. But America's farmers and Congress back our proposal that all nations should cut together. The United States wants to eliminate the most egregious and distorting agricultural payments, export subsidies. We would cut global subsidies that distort domestic farm production by some \$100 billion, slashing our own limit almost in half. We would cut the global average farm tariff from 60 percent to 15 percent, and the American average from 12 percent to 5 percent. The United

States also advocates agreeing on a date for the total elimination of agricultural tariffs and distorting subsidies.

The American proposal for manufactured goods would free the world of tariffs on these products by 2015. This was the trade sector first targeted by the founders of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947; after more than 50 years of work, about half the world's trade in goods has been freed from tariffs. It is time to finish the job.

With zero tariffs, the manufacturing sectors of developing countries could compete fairly. The proposal would eliminate the barriers between developing countries, which pay 70 percent of their tariffs on manufactured goods to one another. By eliminating barriers to the farm and manufactured-goods trade, the income of the developing world could be boosted by over \$500 billion.

The American proposal on trade in services would broaden opportunities for growth and development in a sector that is just taking off in the international economy. Services represent about two-thirds of the American economy and 80 percent of our employment, but account for only about 20 percent of world trade. The World Bank has pointed out that eliminating services barriers in developing countries alone would yield them a \$900 billion gain.

The United States listens to the concerns of developing countries striving towards free trade. This year, we devoted \$638 million to help such countries build the capacity to take part in trade negotiations, implement the rules and seize opportunities. We have acted in partnership with the Inter-American Development Bank to integrate trade and finance, and we are urging the World Bank and the IMF to back their rhetoric on trade with resources.

We agreed at Doha that the flexibility in the global intellectual-property rules could be used to allow poor countries to license medicines compulsorily to deal with HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and other epidemics. We are also committed to helping those poor regions and states obtain medicines produced

abroad — if they cannot manufacture them locally — as long as other countries with pharmaceutical industries do not carve these special terms into loopholes to circumvent the intellectual-property protection that rewards research on the medicines of the future.

The Doha negotiations include customized treatment for developing countries. Yet flexible transitions and special needs should not degenerate into perpetual protectionism. “Good intentions” that cover up trade barriers raise prices for the poorest people, profit cosseted interests, increase costs for competitive businesses and block exports from productive firms and workers to other developing countries. We are pleased that nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as Oxfam now recognize the benefits of trade for development, but they need to acknowledge that these benefits flow from removing barriers to imports as well as from promoting exports and competition at home. The WTO can foster export-driven growth for developing countries without reviving the neo-colonialist trade patterns promoted by an earlier generation.

EUROPE AS PARTNER

As one African minister told me recently, when the United States and the EU agree on a course in the WTO, we cannot ensure success, but we make it much more likely. Fortunately, I have no doubt that my respected and close colleague Pascal Lamy, the EU trade commissioner, is just as committed to completing the Doha negotiation on time.

The United States and the EU share a common aim of trade liberalization, but have pursued different approaches. In the lexicon of the EU, the United States is pressing to “deepen” the WTO by freeing trade across the core agenda of market access. The EU’s distinguishing agenda is to “widen” the WTO mandate by developing new rules to cover more topics. As one Asian colleague observed, the EU sees the world through the lens of recent European experience: it wants gradually to achieve a supranational system of governance for globalization. Yet many developing countries have no wish to add

new topics to the WTO, believing our priority should be to spur more trade and investment. There is a risk that the EU will trade off cuts in barriers in order to add rules and institutions.

At Doha, the United States helped bridge the gap between “deepeners” and “wideners” because the EU needs progress on its broader agenda to achieve movement on agriculture, which is critical for many developing countries. The United States will continue to work to accommodate the EU’s objectives, as long as the EU is committed to liberalizing trade in agriculture, goods and services. We need to ensure that any new negotiating topics and rules enhance free markets, strengthen transparency in the WTO and facilitate trade, while respecting the prerogatives of sovereign states. Another European perspective might also be borne in mind — Hayek’s “spontaneous order,” which advises that rules should be forged first through markets, rather than through government controls.

Even if America and Europe cooperate, the Doha agenda will still be hard to achieve. (Sadly, Japan’s mercantilist, zero-sum approach to trade is typified by its recent agriculture proposal, which argued for cutting its quota on imported rice.) It is encouraging to find a network of trade ministers, in both developing and developed countries, working together.

Yet any decision by the WTO requires a consensus among its 144 members. Any one country — for whatever political or economic reason — can stop the Doha agenda in its tracks. We will not passively accept a veto over America’s drive to open markets. We want to encourage reformers who favor free trade. If others do not want to move forward, the United States will move ahead with those who do. It is time for others to tell us when they are ready to open their markets, to table proposals to liberalize and to match their criticism with commitment.

Some trade specialists cavil about America’s use of leverage to push for greater openness. I urge them to broaden their perspective. We want to strengthen the hand of the coalition pressing for freer trade. It

would be fatal to give the initiative to naysayers abroad and protectionists at home. As we have seen in the League of Nations, the U.N., the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, international organizations need leaders to prod them into action.

NAFTA AND ITS IMITATORS

To multiply the likelihood of success, the United States is also invigorating a drive for regional and bilateral free-trade agreements (FTAs). These agreements can foster powerful links among commerce, economic reform, development, investment, security and free societies. The North American Free-Trade Agreement (NAFTA) not only almost tripled American trade with Mexico and nearly doubled its trade with Canada, but also made all three members more competitive internationally. NAFTA proved definitively that both developed and developing countries gain from free-trade partnerships. It enabled Mexico to bounce back quickly from its 1994 financial crisis, launched the country on the path of becoming a global economic competitor, and supported its transformation to an open democratic society.

Ironically, a number of European publications that have criticized America's "competitive liberalization" through regional and bilateral free-trade negotiations were noticeably silent when the EU negotiated 30 such pacts; the United States only has three, but we are hard at work.

Since Congress granted the president fast-track authority, the United States has signed FTAs with Singapore and Chile and started talks for FTAs with the five nations of the Central American Economic Community, the five countries of the Southern African Customs Union, Morocco and Australia. We helped push forward the negotiations among 34 democracies for a Free-Trade Area of the Americas. We will co-chair this effort, with Brazil, until it is successfully concluded.

Our free-trade agenda conveys signals. We are open to free trade with all regions — Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, Asia-Pacific, the Arab world — and

with both developing and developed economies. We want to expand commercial links with these countries. Equally important, all our free-trade partners, though varying greatly in size and development, are showing political courage at home by making the case for open markets and connecting those ideas to economic reforms. These are governments we want to help.

One Europe-based publication recently claimed that the United States "has little to offer other countries" because America's barriers are relatively low already. But the "market test" is proving such commentaries mistaken, as countries are lining up to negotiate FTAs. Countries recognize that assured access to the huge, dynamic American market is a valuable economic asset. Because American FTAs are comprehensive, with high standards, our FTA partners stand out as good places to invest, as strong links in a global sourcing chain, or simply as promising markets in which to do business.

We will work with our FTA partners — through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and with the multilateral development banks — to link liberalization to sectoral reforms. For example, we have been discussing with Morocco how to support its shift, backed by the World Bank, from the production of cereals to fruits and vegetables for export. For Southern Africa and Central America, our FTAs can encourage regional integration, the reduction of local barriers to regional competitiveness, the development of a larger market for investment, and greater political cooperation. Many other countries are working with us on market and trade reforms simply to prepare for an FTA.

As our FTA negotiation with Singapore showed, our agreements can also serve as models by breaking new ground and setting higher standards. The United States-Singapore FTA will help advance areas such as e-commerce, intellectual property, labor and environmental standards, and the burgeoning services trade. As we work more intensively with nations on FTAs, the United States is learning about the perspectives of good trading partners. Our FTA partners are the vanguard of a new global coalition for open markets.

These partners are also helping us to expand support for free trade at home. Each set of talks enables legislators and the public to see the practical benefits of more open trade, often with societies of special interest for reasons of history, geography, security, or other ties. There is an old adage in American politics: “You can’t beat something with nothing.” We want the American debate to be focused on our agenda of opening markets, not on the protectionists’ defensive dogma of closing them.

Whether the cause is democracy, security, economic integration or free trade, advocates of reform often need to move toward a broad goal step by step —

working with willing partners, building coalitions, and gradually expanding the circle of cooperation. Just as modern business markets rely on the integration of networks, we need a web of mutually reinforcing trade agreements to meet diverse commercial, economic, developmental and political challenges. The United States is combining this building-block approach to free trade with a clear commitment to reducing global barriers to trade through the WTO. By using the leverage of the American economy’s size and attractiveness to stimulate competition for openness, we will move the world closer toward the goal of comprehensive free trade. ●

THE GLOBAL EFFORT TO STOP TERRORIST FINANCING

By Jimmy Gurulé

Professor of Law, Notre Dame Law School, University of Notre Dame



The ultimate success in the fight against those who would commit acts of terrorism requires the active support of all nations, says Jimmy Gurulé, Professor at Notre Dame Law School and former Under Secretary of the Treasury during the first two years of the Bush administration. Gurulé says that international alliances against terrorism are crucial since the overwhelming bulk of terrorist assets and cash lie outside the United States: “Terrorist financing networks are global, and consequently, efforts to identify and deny terrorists access to funds must also be global.”

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, an essential component of the United States government’s counter-terrorism strategy has been to identify, disrupt, and dismantle the financial networks of terrorist organizations. The global effort to stop terrorist financing is fundamentally a preventive strategy. Simply stated, if the United States, with the support of the global community, is able to impede the transfer of funds needed to finance acts of terror, it can prevent the commission of future acts of terrorism, and, in the process, prevent the killing of thousands of innocent people.

In a speech delivered on September 24, 2001, President George W. Bush unequivocally declared that the war on terrorism would be waged on the financial front:

Today, we have launched the first strike on the financial foundation of the global terror network . . . We will direct every resource at our command to win the war against terrorists; every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them against each other, rout them out of their safe hiding places, and bring them to justice.

THE LEGAL UNDERPINNING TO U.S. ANTI-TERRORIST ACTION

On September 23, 2001, the President directed the first strike against the financiers of terror by issuing Executive Order 13224. That order, issued under the authority of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), declared a national emergency with respect to acts and threats of terrorism committed by foreign terrorists against the United States. The order allows the United States to freeze assets subject to U.S. jurisdiction and prohibits transactions by U.S. persons with any designated person or entity based on their association with terrorists or terrorist organizations. Specifically, the order authorizes blocking all U.S. assets and transactions of foreign individuals, groups, and entities designated by the President, the Secretary of State, or Secretary of the Treasury as committing or posing a significant risk of committing acts of terrorism threatening the U.S. national security, foreign policy or economy. The order also permits blocking the property of persons found to provide support to, or to be otherwise associated with, any of these designated foreign persons, and forbids U.S. persons from doing business with those individuals. Executive Order 13224 includes an annex that lists 27 organizations and individuals whose assets are blocked because of their ties to terrorism.

RESULTS

Under Executive Order 13224, \$138 million in assets have been blocked against 281 individuals and entities. This includes the assets of organizational leaders such as Usama bin Laden, his key lieutenants and terrorist operatives, financiers, and intermediaries around the globe. Moreover, the Executive Order applies to all global terrorists and includes al-Qaeda as well as other terrorist organizations such as the Real IRA, Shining Path, ETA, the East Turkistan Islamic Movement, Hamas, and Hizballah, among others. Of the \$138 million in assets blocked, \$36.4 million have been blocked in the United States through July 2003. The international community is responsible for blocking \$101.6 million.

However, progress in the war against terrorist financing should not be measured solely in the millions of dollars of assets blocked. As the result of the public designation process, the international banking system is no longer safe for terrorists to use. Thus, terrorists must resort to nonconventional, less reliable, and more easily detectable methods of transferring money globally.

These anti-terrorist financing efforts have further had a deterrent effect. Many who formerly provided financial support for terrorism have backed away for fear of being designated a terrorist and having their bank accounts frozen. Additionally, entire terrorist funding networks have been dismantled, making it more difficult for terrorist organizations to raise money to finance terrorist operations. For example, in November 2001, the U.S. blocked the assets of the Benevolence International Foundation, a corrupt Islamic charity which for years funneled money to al-Qaeda.

INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS

Terrorist financing networks are global, and consequently, efforts to identify and deny terrorists access to funds must also be global. Moreover, because the overwhelming bulk of terrorist assets, cash flows, and evidence lie outside the United

States, international alliances against terrorism are crucial. Recognizing the importance of international cooperation, the United States has worked not only through the United Nations on blocking assets, but also through multilateral organizations and on a bilateral basis to promote international standards and establish protocols for combating terrorist financing. It should further be noted that currently 172 countries and jurisdictions have issued blocking orders against some or all of the names on the Treasury list of terrorist financiers.

UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations has played a key role in the global strategy to starve the terrorists of funds. On September 28, 2001, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution (UNSCR) 1373, requiring all member states to “[f]reeze without delay funds and other financial assets or economic resources of persons who commit, or attempt to commit, terrorist acts.”

On January 16, 2002, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1390, which modifies and continues the international sanctions against the Taliban, Usama bin Laden, and al-Qaeda as set forth by UNSCRs 1267 (1999) and 1333 (2000). Resolution 1267 was adopted on October 15, 1999, and targeted the Taliban by freezing its funds and other financial resources and those of any entity owned or controlled by it. On December 19, 2000, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1333 requiring member states to freeze “without delay” the funds and other financial assets of Usama bin Laden and al-Qaeda associates.

Resolution 1267 further established a U.N. Sanctions Committee, consisting of all members of the Security Council, which has proven to be a very useful mechanism for internationalizing asset freezes against the Taliban, Usama bin Laden, al-Qaeda and those linked or associated with them. The names of targeted individuals and entities are submitted to the 1267 Sanctions Committee for inclusion in the committee’s list of terrorists and terrorist financiers. Once a name is placed on the U.N. list, member states are obligated to freeze the funds and assets located within their respective countries.

The U.S. has worked closely with the 1267 Sanctions Committee. For example, prior to being publicly designated under Executive Order 13224, the names of individuals and entities are submitted to the 1267 Sanctions Committee through the U.S. Mission to the U.N. If no member of the Sanctions Committee objects, the U.S. government names are added to the U.N. list, and the assets of the suspected terrorist financiers are blocked worldwide.

EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union and the United States have worked closely together to ensure that terrorist financiers designated by one party are also designated by the other. For example, in August 2002, Italy joined the United States in submitting to the U.N. Sanctions Committee the names of 25 individuals and entities linked to al-Qaeda so that their assets could be frozen worldwide. Furthermore, in February 2002, the United States joined Spain in designating 21 individuals linked to ETA, the Basque terrorist group.

G7/G8

The Group of Seven (G7) Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors (the United States, Japan, Germany, France, United Kingdom, Italy, and Canada) have played an important role in combating the financing of terrorism. The G7 issued an Action Plan on October 6, 2001. In April 2002, it submitted a list of 10 names to the U.N. so that the assets of those individuals would be frozen worldwide, and in September 2002 it released a one-year report on terrorist financing.

In June 2002, G8 (the G7 countries plus Russia) Foreign Ministers endorsed a revised set of recommendations on counterterrorism, which included a commitment to full implementation of UNSCR 1373 and the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) eight special recommendations on terrorist financing.

FATF

Another good example of international cooperation in the war against terrorist financing involves the Financial Action Task Force (FATF). FATF is the premier international body dedicated to the establishment of legal and regulatory standards and policies to combat money laundering. Established by the G7 in 1989, FATF has grown to 31 member states covering five continents. The fundamental FATF document is the FATF 40 Recommendations, which represent a set of international standards for countries to establish an effective anti-money laundering regime.

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the FATF expanded its mandate to include terrorist financing. Specifically, the FATF articulated eight special recommendations which, when combined with the FATF 40 Recommendations, establish the basic framework to detect, prevent and suppress the financing of terrorism. One of the eight special recommendations encourages countries to implement legislation to authorize the forfeiture of funds intended to be used to finance terrorism. FATF is monitoring compliance with its recommendations. It has invited members as well as non-members to respond to a questionnaire on compliance with these recommendations, and is assessing these countries' needs for technical assistance.

Most recently, FATF has established a Terrorist Financing Working Group to oversee FATF's counter-terrorist financing activities. The Working Group is currently chaired by the United States and Spain.

BILATERAL EFFORTS

The United States has worked bilaterally with a number of other countries in the fight against terrorist financing. For example, collaborative efforts with Middle East countries have resulted in the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Egypt, and Qatar enacting anti-money laundering legislation. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have established government

entities to oversee charities and prevent abuse of financial donations. Additionally, in September 2002, Saudi Arabia joined the United States in submitting to the 1267 Sanctions Committee the name of a Saudi supporter of al-Qaeda so that his assets could be frozen worldwide.

CHALLENGES AHEAD

As we approach the second year anniversary of the heinous attacks of September 11, 2001, the challenge is to strengthen successful anti-terrorist financing

initiatives and develop new and creative strategies to starve the terrorists of funds. The international community must continue to play a central role in these efforts. Finally, Islamic donor countries must assume a leadership role in developing policies, procedures and regulations to govern Islamic charities and prevent them from being used to underwrite acts of terror. ●

The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Government.

SHINING A LIGHT: U.S. EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY WORLDWIDE

By Paula J. Dobriansky

Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs



“By supporting emerging democracies in their development, the United States seeks to build a more secure and economically prosperous world in which individuals can live freely and enjoy healthy and productive lives,” says Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs Paula Dobriansky. At the same time, she says America seeks to “shine a light on those governments that deny their citizens basic freedoms and liberty.”

The American way of life is rooted in the freedoms and liberty guaranteed by a democratic government. Recognizing the vital importance of democracy, the United States is firmly committed to helping other governments in their democratic development. Accordingly, the U.S. government and its citizens are actively engaged throughout the world in helping countries to consolidate democratic institutions, bolster emerging democracies, and shine a light on those governments that deny their citizens basic freedoms and liberty.

The promotion of democracy globally benefits not only the citizens of recipient countries, but also helps other democratic nations and the international system as well. By expanding the global community of democracies and supporting emerging democracies in their development, the United States seeks to build a more secure and economically prosperous world in which individuals can live freely and enjoy healthy and productive lives.

Experience teaches us that democracies are stronger partners in promoting peace and security, supporting open and free markets, protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms, and fighting international crime and terrorism. Democracies are better equipped to avoid man-made humanitarian crises and better able and willing to provide political, economic, and civic opportunities for their citizens, and to enable them to reach their full potential. Democracies are tolerant and provide the best environment in which people of diverse faiths,

beliefs, and cultures can live in peace. Democracies are better stewards of the environment and more committed to sustainable development and poverty eradication. In short, it is in the interest of everyone around the globe to see democracy flourish. The United States is not alone in this belief, and therefore has scores of partners in this effort.

Democratic goals and values can, of course, be fostered in various ways. The U.S. government recognizes and celebrates the many faces of democracy, as this political system takes hold in countries with a variety of ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds.

While democratic countries are diverse, their core elements are consistent and uniform. Democracies protect the rights of all citizens and respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all people. Democratic institutions work in the interest of a country’s citizens, are accountable to these citizens, and operate in a transparent manner.

The rule of law guides governmental and citizen action, establishing needed protections and mechanisms for resolving disputes. Governmental powers are diffused so as to avoid their undue concentration in the hands of a single individual or institution. More broadly, good governance provides the assurance that a country’s resources will be shepherded in ways that benefit the populace, and that people will be free to improve their lives and contribute to achieving the aspirations of their

families and societies. A vibrant civil society — which includes free media, active nongovernmental organizations, and an educated citizenry — is essential to overall democratic development and to holding governments accountable. Recognizing that a private sphere exists and ensuring that it remains free from government regulation is an essential attribute of a system of ordered liberty.

The United States government utilizes numerous tools to expand the global community of democratic nations and assist emerging democracies. It provided more than \$700 million in the past year to assist democracy and governance efforts throughout the world, including training of judges and lawyers, building the capacity of nongovernmental organizations, supporting and educating journalists, helping political party development, monitoring elections, and strengthening the institutions, policies, and practices that create the fabric of a democratic society. While much of our support is bilateral, we also work actively through international organizations and multilateral lending agencies. We advocate the inclusion of key democratic principles — such as the promotion of transparency, accountability, active civil engagement, and civic education — in multilateral programs.

At the same time, the United States continues to raise its voice on behalf of those whose voice is silenced. Our government has spoken out against those regimes that deny citizens the right to express their views or practice their religion, select their government freely, or to hold governments accountable for protecting citizens' best interests. Working individually and in multilateral fora, such as the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, the United States has been a consistent advocate for respect of international standards of human rights. The State Department's annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices shed light on the progress being made on governments' commitment to protecting the freedoms that are at the very heart of democracy.

Organizations like the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) have been stalwarts for advancing democratic principles for 20 years. Their work, including building the capacity of local organizations to carry the mantle of change, has been a major

engine of growth in the democracy movement. In many countries where the government has continued to refuse to be responsive to its citizenry, the United States supports nongovernmental organizations and activists that are fighting for the most basic principles of freedom and liberty. The United States recognizes the essential nature of these voices in helping others know their right to be governed well and to have a say in the development of their families, societies and countries.

In exceptional cases, where government oppression has reached extreme levels, the United States has been willing to utilize various forms of pressure, including economic sanctions, travel bans, and criminal indictments of guilty officials to help promote change. U.S. policy toward the Burmese military regime is a good example of this approach. In carrying out these pro-democracy initiatives, the United States seeks to engage the support of other countries and of the appropriate regional and global organizations.

In addition to vigorous public statements, bilateral assistance and actions, and multilateral engagement, there are numerous initiatives that the United States supports or leads to accomplish its goal of promoting democracy worldwide.

One such initiative is the Community of Democracies (CD), a unique movement that brings together democratic nations from around the globe to join forces to bolster democratic development and support emerging democratic nations. While there are numerous multilateral organizations in which countries work, based on regional, linguistic, religious, or sub-regional ties, this forum brings countries together based solely on their commitment to promote democracy. Here countries have recognized this common bond, committed themselves to shared principles, and are now putting those principles into action. The United States has maintained its leadership role in this effort, given our commitment to utilizing effective multilateral opportunities to promote democracy. We recognize and support the inherent value of strengthening coordination among countries that share basic democratic principles.

Last November in Seoul, at the second ministerial meeting of the Community of Democracies, more than 100 nations expressed their support for the Seoul Plan of Action, a dynamic approach to turning into action the principles enshrined in the 2000 Warsaw Community of Democracies Declaration. Countries noted the importance of strengthening regional cooperation, countering challenges to democracy, bolstering civic education, promoting good governance and the rule of law, increasing volunteerism, and coordinating democracy assistance. As a follow-up this past June, the U.S. government hosted 14 African and Latin American countries — all members of the Organization of American States or the African Union — to discuss how these countries and organizations can address threats to democracy and consolidate democratic institutions throughout their regions. Country participants — from Botswana to Chile, Jamaica to Senegal — commended the meeting for allowing a frank and honest exchange of views on the challenges faced at home and in their regions.

Another major U.S. initiative is the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), announced by President Bush in February 2002. MCA will increase current levels of core development assistance by 50 percent over the next three years, thus providing annual funding of \$5 billion by fiscal year 2006. But this is not simply an effort to provide more money. It is a means of showing our commitment to lasting development progress and it is a historic new vision for development based on the partnership and shared interests of developed and developing nations alike. It will provide funding to countries that demonstrate a strong commitment to ruling justly, investing in their people, and encouraging economic freedom. Indeed, MCA is focused on accelerating

growth, promoting success and lasting results, thereby further improving the global record of poverty eradication.

This initiative recognizes the fundamental importance of ruling justly, which includes upholding the rule of law, rooting out corruption, and protecting human rights and political freedoms. We place particular value on advancing the cause of women and ensuring their full political, legal and economic equality. MCA recognizes that sound political and economic governance that sustains both freedom and opportunity are the bedrock of stable, prosperous democracies. Transparent and accountable institutions held together by the rule of law support both vibrant and effective public and private sectors that are mutually reinforcing in improving living standards. The MCA illustrates that the United States' commitment to democracy is a consistent thread throughout our foreign policy goals.

In numerous multilateral fora, such as the World Summit for Sustainable Development, we have worked with other countries to ensure that progress on the democratic front is actively integrated into overall development. It is central to our key foreign policy priorities, such as the U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative and our engagement in Iraq and Afghanistan. The United States recognizes that this will be the best hope for lifting people out of poverty, ending human rights abuses, and allowing people to claim their futures.

The United States will continue to work with governments and nongovernmental organizations that share our commitment to making the world more secure, prosperous, and peaceful. Together we will work to strengthen democracy worldwide. ●

BUILDING A WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRACY: THE ROLE OF NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

By Carl Gershman

President, The National Endowment for Democracy



The National Endowment for Democracy [NED] supports hundreds of groups throughout the world that are engaged in “virtually all of the areas of work that contribute to the promotion of democracy,” says Carl Gershman, President of the NED since 1984. The Endowment is a private, nonprofit organization created in 1983 to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. The Endowment is governed by an independent, nonpartisan board of directors. With its annual congressional appropriation, it makes hundreds of grants each year to support pro-democracy groups in Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the former Soviet Union.

In recent years, it has become fashionable to bemoan the setbacks to the process of democratization, the persistence of dictatorial regimes in the world, and the growing strength of anti-democratic ideologies and political movements, most prominent among them being Islamic radicalism. But this new pessimism overlooks an extremely significant, if also unexpected, development that contains a hopeful message about the state of democratization in the world and the possibilities for further progress in the years ahead. Like the dog that did not bark in the Sherlock Holmes mystery, this unexpected development is not something that has happened, but rather something that has not happened — namely the absence of a “reverse wave” of authoritarian resurgence following what the political scientist Samuel Huntington dubbed democracy’s “third wave.”

The third wave refers to the two decades of global democratic expansion that followed the Portuguese revolution in 1974, a period when the number of democracies in the world increased exponentially, from 41 to anywhere from 76 to 117, depending on how one counts. After each of the preceding two waves of democratic expansion, the first starting with the American Revolution and running through World War I, and the second following World War II, democracy suffered a significant retreat. The first retreat occurred during the 1920s and 1930s with the rise of fascism and communism, and the second came

during the 1960s and early 1970s when fragile new democracies in Africa and Latin America succumbed to party and military dictatorships.

Something similar was supposed to have happened over the last decade in the wake of the third wave, but it didn’t. Larry Diamond, relying upon data compiled by Freedom House in its annual Freedom in the World survey, has written that “only 14 of the 125 democracies that have existed during the third wave have become authoritarian, and in nine of these, democracy has since been restored.” The picture is not all bright, since progress toward democracy has stalled in many post-authoritarian countries, leading scholars to speak of the emergence of hybrid or semi-authoritarian regimes that combine illiberal features, such as a dominant executive authority that largely controls the media and the judiciary, with democratic (or pseudo-democratic) elections. But a standoff is a far cry from a roll-back, and the fact that so many emerging democracies have not collapsed bespeaks a new reality that bears the seeds of hope.

Certainly one factor that accounts for the resilience of democracy today is the absence of an antidemocratic ideology with universal aspirations, as communism and fascism were in the past, that offers a rival alternative to democratic universalism. But there is an even more important factor, one that animates the principle of democratic universalism in the everyday life of people around the world and, by

so doing, also validates its authenticity. This factor is the presence in every culture and region of the world where democracy is weak or nonexistent of grassroots democratic movements composed of ordinary people who are struggling and sacrificing, often at great risk to their own safety, to build societies that respect the right of all people to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Such movements represent a new agent of change in the world, and also a powerful pressure against the return of dictatorship. Just a quarter of a century ago they hardly existed at all, except for small enclaves of dissidents in communist countries or isolated “third world democrats” who defied the conventional wisdom in their insistence that developing countries needed and could achieve democracy. But by the 1980s the Solidarity movement had emerged in Poland, and throughout Central Europe and even in the Soviet Union independent cultural and media groups started springing up, along with groups pressing for human and minority rights. As the third wave gathered momentum, a wide variety of civic and democratic reform groups also became active in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, among them the National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) in the Philippines, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (IDASA) in South Africa, the Human Rights Activists in Uganda, the women’s organization *Conciencia* in Argentina, *Radio Nanduti* in Paraguay, the National Civic Crusade in Panama, and the Movement for Free Elections in Chile. Such groups soon began to proliferate by the hundreds and even thousands.

Today these groups exist throughout East and South Asia, Latin America, Africa, Central Europe, the Eurasian region of the former Soviet Union, and the Middle East. The National Endowment for Democracy alone supports hundreds of them engaged in virtually all of the areas of work that contribute to the promotion of democracy. Many work on human rights issues, not just monitoring and investigating violations and alerting the international community to abuses, but providing legal aid, educating the public, and advocating for legislative and institutional reforms. Others focus on educating and involving young people in the political process, or motivating and empowering women by training them in the new communications technologies, informing them of

their rights, and also protecting them against both domestic violence and socioeconomic discrimination.

Civic education is a large area of work, both in the formal school system and in the community, as are conflict resolution and peace education, especially in deeply divided societies. The promotion of independent media is also a priority, involving everything from sustaining independent publications and radios to training groups in the use of desktop publishing, connecting them to the Internet, training investigative reporters and also developing support systems to protect them from intimidation and violence.

Political party development is a critically important area of work, as are election monitoring by trained domestic observers and get-out-the-vote drives. There are think tanks and business groups that encourage good corporate governance, fight corruption, and aid the development of a legislative and political environment that will encourage economic investment and growth. And there are also trade unions that defend the rights of workers and give them a voice in shaping the governmental and international financial policies that affect their well-being. There are groups that work to strengthen local government and to make government accountable at all levels; while others train civilians in issues of national defense to enable them to monitor security policy and discourage the involvement of the military in politics.

This by no means exhausts the areas of work or types of activities carried out by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) throughout the world. It is especially important to note that these activities are developed and initiated by the groups themselves and are therefore tailored to address the specific problems in each country and local situation. Thus, in countries ruled by dictatorships, the programs focus on defending human rights and promoting the free flow of information, which are the most relevant and feasible kinds of activities in closed systems. In semi-authoritarian countries, programs tend to focus on defending the political space available to independent NGOs and media, empowering civil society and linking it more closely to democratic political groups and parties, thereby developing a more united opposition as a counterweight to the

dominant state. In emerging democracies the emphasis is on fighting corruption, monitoring the performance of public officials and making government accountable to the society, and strengthening the rule of law. And in war-torn and post-conflict societies, NGOs focus on curbing violence, fostering reconciliation, and building a culture of tolerance and respect for pluralism and minority rights. In Muslim countries in the Middle East and other regions, many programs focus on promoting women's rights and liberal ideas that reconcile Islam with modern concepts of pluralism, citizenship, and democracy.

As this vast constellation of NGOs has developed over the past decade-and-a-half, a corresponding system of donor and support agencies has come into being in the established democracies. Government development agencies now provide democracy assistance, as do embassies and even foreign ministries. Multilateral agencies have also become involved, including the United Nations Development Program and other parts of the U.N. system, as well as regional bodies such as the Organization of American States, the European Union, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. These governmental and multilateral agencies work primarily on issues of governmental reform, though they also provide help to NGOs. But governments often find it difficult to support independent NGOs, so this function is increasingly being performed by a growing array of publicly funded democracy and party foundations like the NED and its four core institutes, which represent the two major U.S. political parties, the trade union movement and the business community. Such foundations now exist in most European countries and in Canada, and the first Asian foundation has just been established in Taiwan. In addition, there are many privately funded foundations that play an important role in this field, especially the Ford Foundation and the foundations established by the philanthropist George Soros.

The growth of democracy organizations in the post-communist and developing countries and of support agencies in the established democracies is an entirely new feature of the architecture of contemporary politics. It is still too early to judge the impact of these new structures of cooperation, though it is probably safe to say that they have increased the democratic pressure from below on governments in both authoritarian and post-authoritarian societies, thereby forcing reforms that might not have otherwise been implemented and also restraining governments from taking regressive measures. But much more needs to be done, in particular in two broad areas.

First, the established democracies must find new ways to exercise their collective weight in all aspects of democracy promotion, from developing coordinated strategies to influence the behavior of recalcitrant and corrupt governments to defending and empowering groups working nonviolently for democratic change. The Community of Democracies (CD) offers a new forum where such strategies can be developed, though it remains at a nascent stage. Second, the nongovernmental groups themselves must strengthen their capacity to network and aid each other, share experience, defend those who face persecution and danger, and forge a deeper sense of common purpose regionally and internationally. Here, too, there is a new global initiative, the World Movement for Democracy (WMD), which is only beginning to develop its structures and potential.

Taken together, the CD and the WMD can be mutually reinforcing, creating the governmental pressures from above and the nongovernmental pressures below that will help new democracies consolidate their institutions and also stimulate further democratic gains. Whether this will lead to a fourth wave of democratization is anyone's guess, but even progress short of that will make the world a much safer and more peaceful place. ●

The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Government.

PUBLIC HEALTH KNOWS NO BORDERS

By Tommy G. Thompson

U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services



“Global public health, by its very nature, is a multilateral effort,” says Tommy Thompson, the U.S. Secretary for Health and Human Services. Thompson, who was formerly Governor of Wisconsin for 14 years, says in this article that the United States “can lead and contribute to the cause of global health, but cannot accomplish its mission alone.”

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

— American Declaration of Independence, adopted July 4, 1776

Americans asserted their belief in the dignity of human nature as the nation was founded, and since then have developed a long tradition of helping the neediest people of the Earth in countless ways — including with soldiers, missionaries, economic advisers, Peace Corps programs, trade, and student exchanges.

Few include public health on this list, yet public health is among the most vital fronts in America’s engagement with the world. As secretary of Health and Human Services (HHS), it is my privilege to run a department that performs a critical role in America’s mission of compassion abroad. Public health knows no borders and no politics. In recent memory alone, we have seen AIDS leap from Africa into our own cities; we have seen severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) spread with shocking rapidity from southern China to North America; we have seen the West Nile virus somehow cross the Atlantic and begin a slow spread across our

continent; and we have seen that a key to controlling tuberculosis in the United States is controlling it in potential visitors to and from abroad.

Indispensable to our public health efforts, then, is the cooperation, leadership, and engagement of our partner nations. The United States can lead and contribute to the cause of global health, but cannot accomplish its mission alone.

A prime example of our cooperation with fellow nations was seen in our response to the SARS epidemic. To fight this disease, U.S. health officials cooperated with and worked in places like China, Singapore, Thailand, Taiwan, and Vietnam. We swiftly undertook several measures designed to turn the tide and defeat the epidemic before it became a serious threat on U.S. soil. Among the most crucial was the deployment of medical officers, epidemiologists, and other specialists to China. And on May 7, as part of a presidential initiative to fight SARS, the U.S. Agency for International Development provided \$500,000 in emergency funds to help China procure needed medical equipment to deal with the epidemic.

As a result of this experience, the United States is deeply committed to enhancing collaboration with China to strengthen fundamental public health infrastructures and improve China’s capacity to

manage not only SARS, but also other diseases such as hepatitis, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and cancer. HHS personnel already have a relationship with their Chinese counterparts in the fight against influenza; we hope to build on these ties and the ties established during the SARS crisis to form a lasting partnership for public health.

That's an effective, committed response. And let me emphasize that it is a response that would be impossible without the partnership of our Chinese counterparts. It's just one way that America is working with the nations of the world for the sake of public health.

We're going to build on the lessons we learned from SARS. The ill effects of delay in the identification and acknowledgement of this disease are self-evident and must not be repeated. That's why the United States is launching an Early Warning Global Health Initiative to train laboratory personnel and epidemiologists; improve management and surveillance; foster communications; and improve laboratory capabilities. This initiative will complement and augment the critical global efforts of the World Health Organization's Global Outbreak Alert and Response Network. We want to provide resources to extend response capabilities to more regional levels. We also want to provide more public health experts from my department to assist with training, mentoring, and technology transfer so we can fill gaps in expertise. Our goal is to build upon pre-existing programs in countries that can show the swiftest progress, for the benefit of entire regions.

We're not stopping with the Early Warning Global Health Initiative. We're also moving forward with the HHS Global Health Security Initiative. This initiative seeks to establish — in strategic areas outside the United States — networks of regionally affiliated partners with strengthened clinical, epidemiologic, laboratory, and communications capabilities. This will facilitate more timely and effective detection and response to biological threats and truly make a difference in the security of all peoples.

Again, these efforts would be simply impossible without the cooperation and vision of our partner nations. Global public health, by its very nature, is a multilateral effort.

Moving beyond SARS and early warning, we are also working with our friends and allies abroad to bring basic health care to parts of the world that desperately need it. A tremendous example can be found in the newly free nation of Afghanistan, where the United States is working with the transitional government to bring hope and health to a long-suffering people.

I'm proud to tell you that this past April I was in Kabul to witness the opening of the newly refurbished Rabia Balkhi Women's Hospital. Rabia Balkhi is a critical facility for Afghan women — it admits nearly 36,000 patients each year and delivers more than 40 babies each day. The refurbishment — a joint project of HHS, the Department of Defense, and the Afghan government — is only the first step toward bringing health and hope to all Afghan women.

President Bush has asked Congress for \$5 million for further work at Rabia Balkhi and expansion to four additional affiliated facilities outside of Kabul. We will provide training for the medical staff and help to improve the hospital operations at Rabia Balkhi and at the four satellite clinics once the initial needs of Rabia Balkhi have been met. Each one of these maternal and child health clinics will provide direct health care to patients, and training to health care workers at all levels, including physicians, nurses, midwives, and community health workers.

Our goal is to develop a team of trained health care workers who can address the maternal and child health care needs of the entire nation. It's a small first step. But it is just the first.

When we put together those teaching clinics, and when we provide prenatal care to women in remote villages, we won't be helping just the women of Afghanistan. We'll be helping every man, woman,

and child of that ancient land who ever looked at his country, loved it, and wanted to make it a better, freer, more decent place. It could not be done without the help of the Afghans themselves or the help of the nations of Europe, Asia, North America, and elsewhere who have committed blood and treasure to securing Afghan freedom. Their staunch support is truly indispensable to our common goals.

I want to address one last facet of America's mission of compassion abroad — the fight against global AIDS. It's a mission that's particularly important to the President and to the world — for reasons of simple humanity.

In the developing world, and particularly in Africa, AIDS threatens peace and stability as it wipes out entire generations, orphans whole communities, and cripples nations. Three million people died from AIDS last year, and it is estimated that at least another 68 million will die in the next two decades. Of those deaths, 55 million will be in Africa. Life expectancy is suffering concurrently. A child born in Botswana, for example, now cannot even expect to see his 40th birthday.

That's why the nations of the world, in cooperation with nongovernmental organizations and local community groups, have come together to establish the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. The extraordinary demands of this crisis demand this extraordinary effort.

The fund is an indispensable component of the worldwide struggle against AIDS. A true public-private partnership, it provides desperately needed financial assistance to nations and communities in desperate straits. This assistance shores up health and medical infrastructures, gives families a fighting chance, and most important, saves lives.

I was honored to be elected chair of the fund this past January. As chair, I am happy to report the fund has approved 153 projects in 92 countries and committed almost \$1.5 billion since April 2002. The fund

has signed grant agreements with 58 countries amounting to more than \$660 million. Of that, approximately \$56 million has been disbursed so far, and the pace of disbursement is accelerating rapidly. Just a little more than a year since the fund was established, the first people are receiving anti-retroviral treatment under Global Fund grants in Haiti.

It will take the support and initiative of all nations to see it through. I'm proud to note that the United States is helping to lead the way.

For starters, we are the largest single contributor to the Global Fund. And that's just the tip of the iceberg. In his State of the Union Address last January, President Bush announced the Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief — a five-year, \$15 billion initiative to turn the tide against the global HIV/AIDS pandemic. This commitment of resources will help 14 of the most afflicted countries in Africa and the Caribbean wage and win the war against HIV/AIDS.

We expect to accomplish a lot with the emergency plan:

First, we want to prevent 7 million new infections, representing 60 percent of the projected new infections in target countries. The initiative will involve large-scale prevention efforts, including voluntary testing and counseling. The availability of treatment will enhance prevention efforts by providing an incentive for individuals to be tested.

Second, we want to treat 2 million HIV-infected people. Capitalizing on recent advances in anti-retroviral treatment, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief will be the first global effort to provide advanced antiretroviral treatment on a large scale in the poorest, most afflicted countries.

Finally, we want to provide care for 10 million HIV-infected individuals and AIDS orphans.

The President's plan will virtually triple our commitment to international HIV/AIDS assistance, which now stands at a government-wide base of \$1 billion a year.

Let me emphasize that the president's plan directly assists the mission of the Global Fund. The plan includes an additional \$1 billion for the Global Fund, bringing the U.S. pledge up to \$1.65 billion. Our efforts, and the bilateral efforts of other nations, provide the foundations for the Global Fund's work. We are all attacking the same problem, we are all serving the same people, and we are doing it together.

Our vision for the world, like our vision for our nation, is expansive, optimistic, and exciting. And

our mission of compassion abroad is nothing less and nothing more than the simple impulse of human kindness. History, conscience, and our precious heritage as Americans demand no less from us. As former President Ronald Reagan once said: "It is up to us ... to work together for progress and humanity so that our grandchildren, when they look back at us, can truly say that we not only preserved the flame of freedom, but cast its warmth and light further than those who came before us."

Working together with our friends, allies, and partners across the globe, we will fulfill this charge.



PROVIDING INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP: RESPONSIBLE ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

By John F. Turner

Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs



The Bush administration is committed to protecting the world's natural resources through responsible environmental policies that include promoting sustainable development, controlling and reducing the use of toxic chemicals and pesticides, preserving tropical forests, and pursuing innovative approaches to climate change, according to John Turner, Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. Turner previously served as President and Chief Executive Officer of The Conservation Fund, a national non-profit organization dedicated to public-private partnerships to protect land and water resources.

An expanding global population, rapid conversion of critical habitat to other uses, degradation of critical air, water, and land resources, and the spread of invasive species to non-native habitats pose a serious threat to the world's natural resources and to all of us who depend on them for food, fuel, shelter, medicine, and economic and social well-being. Many environmental problems respect no borders and threaten the health, prosperity, and even the national security of Americans. When people around the globe lack access to energy, clean water, food, or a livable environment, the economic instability and political unrest that may result can be felt at home in the form of costly peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions or lost markets. Pesticide contamination of food and water, polluted air, and invasive plant and animal species can take their toll on our welfare and economy. Policies that distort markets and provide incentives for unsustainable development intensify the problems. Addressing them and achieving sustainable management of natural resources worldwide require the cooperation and commitment of all countries.

In a world where half the human race — 3 billion people — live on less than \$2 a day and billions lack adequate access to safe water, sanitation, and electricity, responsible policy must promote sustainable development. This means achieving social and economic development while protecting the environment.

As recognized by the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), good governance within countries and internationally is essential. Sustainable development cannot be achieved where corruption is pervasive, markets closed, private property unprotected, and private contracts unenforceable. Developed and developing countries alike require a foundation of good governance in which free markets, sound institutions, and the rule of law are the norm.

WSSD underscored that sustainable development depends on the combined efforts of all stakeholders — government, civil society, and the private sector — working through partnerships to achieve results. At the summit, the United States launched a number of collaborative commitments to action, including five new “signature” partnerships in health (HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis), water (Water for the Poor), energy (Clean Energy Initiative), hunger (Initiative to End Hunger in Africa), and forests (Congo Basin Forest Partnership), as well as other key initiatives on oceans, biodiversity, sustainable agriculture, housing, geographic information, and education, among others.

President Bush has made support for sustainable development a major goal of his national security strategy. On February 5, he presented his groundbreaking Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) to Congress, calling it a powerful way to

“draw whole nations into an expanding circle of opportunity and enterprise.” The \$5 billion MCA, pending congressional approval, will be based on genuine partnerships between the United States and those developing countries that govern justly, invest in their people, and promote economic freedom. The MCA will build on our international leadership in financial support for sustainable development. In addition, the United States has long been the largest contributor to the Global Environment Facility (GEF), the world’s leading financial institution focusing on global environmental benefits for developing countries. This administration recently pledged to raise our contribution to the GEF to \$500 million over the next four years.

The United States plays a leading role in international environmental policy. We are active in efforts to control toxic chemicals around the world. We have led the way in integrating environmental and economic policy, in part by incorporating environmental agreements into free trade agreements. The United States is active in efforts to preserve critical habitats, and in the protection of endangered and threatened species. Around the world, in more ways than can be summarized here, we work to keep development, trade, and environmental protection on track. Our goal is a more prosperous world, one healthy for its people, with room for the sustainable ecosystems that provide habitats for people and wildlife around the globe.

The United States is a key player in international initiatives to reduce the use of toxic chemicals and pesticides. It has led efforts to conclude the Stockholm Convention, a treaty to deal with persistent organic pollutants (POPs). POPs are toxic chemicals that persist in the environment for long periods, and are transported globally through the atmosphere and oceans. The United States and many developed countries have phased out the most problematic POPs, but they continue to be used in large quantities elsewhere. The Stockholm Convention calls for a virtual phase-out of the 12 most hazardous POPs, plus others that may be listed in the future. This administration has attached a high

priority to ratification of the Stockholm Convention and is working hard to obtain the advice and consent of the U.S. Senate and the enactment of its implementing legislation.

We have also been working multilaterally to address the worldwide effects of mercury emissions. Mercury accumulates as it moves up the food chain; it is found in high concentrations in certain species. People living in the Arctic are at particular risk, because they rely on diets of fish and marine mammals with very high concentrations of mercury. Earlier this year, the United States led an effort to set up a program to help developing countries reduce mercury emissions, especially from power and chemical plants. Over the past two years, the United States has provided about \$1 million in funding for this effort.

Through its work on trade and the environment, the United States has helped advance the integration of economic and environmental policy. In the early 1990s, the United States was the first country to propose inclusion of environmental components in a trade agreement, the North American Free Trade Agreement. Over the past two years, this administration has worked to ensure that our free trade agreements (FTAs) with a growing number of countries include mutually supportive environmental cooperation agreements. When we recently concluded FTAs with Chile and Singapore, we also signed agreements that will support their efforts to implement strong environmental policies.

We have been increasingly active in forest conservation. In a recent Environmental Investigation Agency special report on illegal timber transshipped through Singapore, a lead article highlighted “U.S. Leadership on Illegal Logging Issues.” This administration has made illegal logging and associated trade and corruption a global priority. In 2001, the United States was a lead sponsor of a Forest Law Enforcement and Governance Ministerial hosted by Indonesia and the World Bank. The historic declaration from the ministerial provided fresh political will and commitment to address these

issues. An African Forest Law and Governance Ministerial is planned for October in Yaounde, Cameroon. Additionally, planning for a Latin American ministerial is underway.

In 2002, President Bush directed Secretary of State Colin Powell to “develop a new initiative to help developing countries stop illegal logging, a practice that destroys biodiversity and releases millions of tons of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere.” In response, we have devised a strategic initiative to assist developing nations in combating illegal logging, associated trade, and corruption in the forest sector.

One of my bureau’s first priorities was to develop a major partnership on forests. We started a partnership based on a South African proposal for an initiative in the Congo Basin. We announced the partnership at the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg in September 2002. The Congo Basin Forest Partnership stands as one of the summit’s success stories. It will help central Africa preserve threatened forests and endangered wildlife and address poverty. The partnership is a remarkable achievement — the first time 29 governments, international organizations, and environmental and business interests have joined to meet our goal of sustainably managing tropical forests. We hope to provide the people of the region with a sustainable livelihood, stronger institutions, improved natural resource governance, and networks of parks and protected areas.

The Tropical Forest Conservation Act (TFCA) authorizes the United States to negotiate debt reduction and debt-for-nature swaps to help protect forests in developing countries. In return for specified debt relief, partner countries agree to spend an equal amount on local forest conservation. The TFCA agreements already concluded will generate \$60.3 million for forest conservation activities in six countries over the life of the agreements.

Often referred to as the rainforests of the sea, coral reef ecosystems are among the most biologically

diverse on Earth, with a higher species density than any other. In addition to being critical fish habitat, reefs provide food and employment, protect coastal areas, and are a major tourist destination. In response to ongoing degradation of reefs, the United States has worked with other countries to establish the International Coral Reef Initiative (ICRI). One of the first partnerships of its kind, ICRI has become a driving force for international efforts to protect coral reef ecosystems by mobilizing governments and stakeholders, and to improve scientific reef management.

The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES) is among the oldest and most successful international environmental treaties. Over the years, CITES has helped protect dozens of species — including elephants, crocodiles, whales, and tigers — some of which have been brought back from the edge of extinction. A founding member, the United States continues to play an active role. In November 2002, at the Twelfth Conference of the Parties, the United States opposed the relaxation of protections for Minke and Bryde’s whales. We expressed concern over resumed trade in African elephant ivory, and endorsed a carefully controlled export program to allow certain countries to gain resources for management of their elephant populations. We also addressed trade in Bigleaf Mahogany and Chilean Sea Bass, two species of commercial importance, to defend them against illegal logging and overfishing.

President Bush has committed the United States to innovative new approaches to climate change. The Bush administration is pursuing measures that will reduce domestic greenhouse gas emissions, relative to the size of the economy, by 18 percent over the next decade. This strategy will demonstrate U.S. leadership by slowing emissions growth and, as the science justifies, stopping and then reversing that growth. During the past 14 years, the United States has led the world in climate change research, investing more than \$20 billion. To maintain U.S. leadership, the Bush administration is working with partner countries on clean energy technologies,

including hydrogen, fuel cells, clean coal technology, and carbon capture and storage. The United States continues to work to advance the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change, which is intended to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations at a level that would prevent dangerous human interference with the climate. The United States is also a leading supporter of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the pre-eminent international body dealing with scientific, technical, and socio-economic information on climate change.

Since June 2001, the State Department has spearheaded U.S. partnerships on climate change with key countries, covering issues from climate change science to energy and sequestration technologies to policy approaches. Partners include Australia, Canada, China, seven Central American

countries, India, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, the Republic of Korea, the Russian Federation, and the European Union. And on July 31 the State Department hosted an Earth Observation Summit. This ministerial-level meeting initiated new efforts to develop an integrated Earth observation system in order to improve understanding of global environmental and economic challenges.

Prosperous societies are able to devote more of their resources to environmental protection, both to protect human health and preserve natural habitats. The United States will continue its efforts to promote a sustainable future for the Earth's people, its wildlife, and the many beautiful and vital ecosystems that are threatened by reckless exploitation. We will not lose sight of environmental goals as we develop the whole range of our policies around the world. ●

THE INTERNATIONAL OUTREACH OF U.S. NGOS

*By Robert Kellett
Online Managing Editor
Mercy Corps*



U.S. nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and their counterparts abroad promote participatory democracy, economic development and long-term stability worldwide, according to Robert Kellett, Online Managing Editor for Mercy Corps and a freelance writer living in Portland, Oregon. Mercy Corps describes itself as a nonprofit organization “that exists to alleviate suffering, poverty, and oppression by helping people build secure, productive, and just communities.” The agency’s programs currently reach over 5 million people in more than 30 countries, including the United States.

Ibrahim used to dread the walk. Every day, the 11-year-old would wake before sunrise and begin the lonely trek that took him over the rugged terrain of his native Eritrea until finally, after three hours and more than 11 kilometers, he would reach his elementary school just in time for classes to begin.

Tired and exhausted, the only thing that hurt worse than his calloused, bare feet was the gnawing pain of his empty, hungry stomach. Like many children in this impoverished, drought-ravaged eastern African country, Ibrahim’s parents could only afford to feed him one meal per day. So he was left to fend for himself, often attending a full day of classes and walking more than 20 kilometers back and forth to school before taking his first bite of food for the day.

Even though he was an honor student and considered by his teachers to be one of the brightest children in the entire school, Ibrahim was on the verge of dropping out.

“I was too hungry and too tired to learn,” he says. “I stayed home to make sure that I got something to eat.”

His dream of someday becoming a doctor was on the verge of ending before he even became a teenager.

In March 2002, Mercy Corps, an American nongovernmental organization (NGO) headquartered in Portland, Oregon, began a school-feeding program designed to assist children like Ibrahim. Each school

day, more than 54,000 boys and girls throughout Eritrea receive high-energy, nutritious biscuits at their schools. The results have been nothing short of phenomenal with dramatic increases in school attendance and student performance in schools across the country.

For Ibrahim, the food at school has made a world of difference. He is back in school and once again earning the highest grades in his class.

While the school feeding program’s primary goal might seem obvious — feeding hungry students so that they can continue their education — there is also another subtler goal that isn’t as easy to see, but in many ways is just as important. Every day, Mercy Corps staff works closely to implement the project with staff from Vision Eritrea, a local Eritrean NGO that focuses on community-based development programs, and the Ministry of Education. Together, they are also helping to train Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) so that parents in local communities can have more input in their children’s education and the future of their communities.

This transfer of knowledge will have benefits that will last long after the programs that Mercy Corps and roughly half a dozen other American organizations operate in Eritrea come to an end.

“U.S. NGOs have learned over the years that for any kind of program to be effective, whether it is responding to an emergency or long-term programs

in areas such as health, education, agricultural reform and economic development, there needs to be a healthy civil society,” says Mercy Corps Executive Vice-President Nancy Lindborg. “By working in partnership with local associations, government authorities, other NGOs and private businesses, we believe that they can be better positioned to identify and work towards solutions to their most pressing problems. The ultimate goal is to help the various actors in a society interact with one another to solve problems peacefully for the common good.”

In this age of instantaneous communication where images of disasters and war are beamed by satellites into homes around the world, it would be easy to associate the work of U.S. aid agencies only with emergency relief. Around the world, American aid workers labor under often grueling and difficult conditions to assist individuals and families struggling to survive the aftermath of natural disasters and wars. U.S. NGOs provide critical food, water and medicines that literally save the lives of hundreds of thousands each year.

What is often not seen on television and what doesn't often appear in the newspapers is the work that U.S. NGOs and their local counterparts are doing to promote participatory democracy, economic development, and long-term stability worldwide. From projects that provide AIDS education in Africa to microcredit lending in the Balkans to democracy building in the former Soviet Union, U.S. NGOs are playing a critical role in improving the welfare of millions around the world.

InterAction, the largest alliance of U.S.-based international development and humanitarian nongovernmental organizations, is made up of more than 160 member organizations that operate programs in every developing country in the world. These organizations are helping individuals to overcome poverty, exclusion and suffering by advancing social justice and basic dignity for all.

“There are myriad examples of how basic assistance has improved people's lives,” InterAction President Mary McClymont said in an interview last year. “Smallpox was eradicated in 1977; over the last 30

years, illiteracy has been reduced by 20 percent; life expectancy has increased by 20 years; river blindness, which killed hundreds of thousands of people throughout Africa, has been virtually eliminated. These kinds of things are going on all over the world because of development assistance.”

U.S. international NGOs as a rule strive to be politically neutral and independent. Most of the NGOs receive funding support for their international projects from a variety of sources including corporations, governments, faith groups, the United Nations agencies, and international institutions such as the World Bank. In addition, the organizations collectively receive close to \$3 billion in donations per year from individual American citizens and private donors.

One region where U.S. NGOs have played an especially important role in helping to empower individuals and groups over the past decade has been in Central Asia. By almost any measure, civil society in Central Asia has grown, if not flourished, in the decade following the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. From a few hundred scattered, informal groupings of citizens during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the nongovernmental sector in Central Asia has grown exponentially, and now encompasses over 10,000 organizations of varying sorts, from small, community-based organizations and initiative groups to large, regional NGOs with full-time staff and multiple offices.

As a result, individuals and groups who have often been marginalized — the disabled, single mothers, the elderly, refugees, ethnic minorities — have gained a new voice through the formation of local NGOs and community groups. In turn, these groups have received invaluable support from U.S. NGOs which have provided direct funding assistance, training, and technical support that has made the voice of Central Asian NGOs even stronger.

The combined efforts of U.S. and local NGOs can be seen in communities across the Ferghana Valley, an impoverished and ethnically diverse region where the twisting borders of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan meet. People living in the Ferghana

Valley have experienced their share of hardships since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and communities continue to face problems such as access to clean water, adequate health care, and crumbling schools.

Where local and national governments are often unable to assist communities to meet their basic needs, community members have begun to take matters into their own hands. With grants and technical support from a number of U.S. NGOs, community groups in the Ferghana Valley are working to fix schools, overcome ethnic differences, care for disabled children, advocate for legal reform, and lay the foundation for a better future for their children.

In Central America, U.S. NGOs are working throughout rural and urban communities to strengthen local organizations and to help community members to help themselves. In a region that suffers from high rates of infant and maternal death, there has been a recent effort to increase access to health care facilities and to provide health education.

CARE, an NGO with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, recently completed a maternal health care program in Guatemala that has dramatically improved the quality of health care in Baja Verapaz and Alta Verapaz. Working with the Guatemalan Ministry of Health, the program helped to train female community members to train others about maternal and child health care.

One of the lasting results of the program is that 53 community clinics have been established, helping to make health care more readily available to 22,400 families in remote areas for years to come. Children born in the region today will get a healthier start on life and grow up in communities that are better equipped to provide for their future.

Ultimately, any development program, whether it involves health care in Central America or hunger in Africa, can only be successful if it is sustainable long after U.S. NGOs leave an area. In countries around the world, a broad range of U.S. NGOs are working side-by-side with communities, local NGOs, governments, and individuals to lay the foundation for a more just, prosperous, and peaceful world. The results of these collaborations are clearly being seen today and they will be felt by people around the world for years to come. ©

The following Web sites provide general information about the work of U.S. international NGOs:

www.interaction.org
www.alertnet.org
www.reliefweb.int

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U.N. Commission on Human Rights
<http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu2/2/chr.htm>

U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
(UNESCO)
<http://www.unesco.org/>

U.S. Agency for International Development
<http://www.usaid.gov/>

The U.S. and APEC
<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/apec/>

The U.S. and the IMF
<http://www.imf.org/external/country/USA/index.htm>

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<http://www.fas.usda.gov/>

U.S. Department of State: Bureau of International
Organization Affairs
<http://www.state.gov/p/io/>

U.S. Department of State: International Health Affairs
<http://www.state.gov/g/oes/hlth/>

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Programs: Community of Democracies
<http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/rights/cd.htm>

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Programs: President Bush on Foreign Affairs
<http://usinfo.state.gov/products/pubs/presbush/foraf.htm>

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Programs: The Middle East: A Vision for the Future
<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/summit/>

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<http://usmission.ch/index.html>

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