

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
Außenstelle Washington

„Transformational Diplomacy“

Neuorientierung des diplomatischen
Dienstes der USA

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Am 18 Januar 2006 hat Secretary Condoleezza Rice an der Georgetown School of Foreign Service eine Rede zur Neuorientierung des diplomatischen Dienstes der USA gehalten. Unter dem Begriff „Transformational Diplomacy“ beschreibt Secretary Rice die neuen Tätigkeitsfelder und Schwerpunktsetzungen des Auswärtigen Dienstes der USA.

Die Ausführungen von Secretary Rice haben hier einiges Aufsehen erregt. Wohl aber eher unter den europäischen Beobachtern als unter den US-amerikanischen. Auch von den deutschen Korrespondenten wurde die Rede mit großem Interesse aufgenommen. In der Süddeutschen Zeitung vom Freitag, 20. 6., stand denn auch ein entsprechender Artikel mit dem Tenor, das State Department verringere seine Präsenz in Europa, weil Europa an Bedeutung verloren habe. Darauf hat man im State Department sehr rasch reagiert. Denn man wollte nicht den Eindruck entstehen lassen, daß kurz nach dem Besuch von Bundeskanzlerin Merkel und dem erfolgreichen Neustart in den transatlantischen Beziehungen nun gewissermaßen die "kalte Dusche" einer Abwendung von Europa und eine neue Schwerpunktsetzung folgt. So hat denn auch Assistant Secretary Dan Fried diesen Eindruck bei den deutschen Korrespondenten im Rahmen eines eiligst organisierten Briefings sogleich wieder zu zerstreuen versucht. Hierüber hat die Süddeutsche Zeitung in Ihrer Ausgabe vom 23. Januar kurz berichtet.

Gleichwohl weist die Presseerklärung des State Department explizit auf die Unterschiede in der Bevölkerungsgröße, z.B. Deutschlands (82 Mio. Einwohner) und Indiens (über 1 Mrd.) hin.

Neue politische und regionale Prioritäten?

In Kern handele es sich nach Darstellung von Secretary Rice nicht um eine Verlagerung der politischen/regionalen Prioritäten der USA nach Indien, China und Brasilien etc., sondern um eine Anpassung der diplomatischen Kapazitäten an die politischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen neuen Gegebenheiten in der Welt.

Die diplomatischen Vertretungen der USA seien, so Secretary Rice noch sehr an den Notwendigkeiten der Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg orientiert. Dies möchte sie vor dem Hintergrund der veränderten internationalen politischen Lage korrigieren. Europa sei weiter wichtig, aber die Anzahl der US-Diplomaten in Europa pro Kopf der Bevölkerung sei wesentlich höher als etwa in Indien oder China. Dies solle geändert werden. Und zwar im Rahmen eines mehrjährigen Prozesses.

Auch solle zukünftig für die Karrierechancen eines US-Diplomaten ausschlaggebend sein, ob er auch einige Jahre in einem "hardship post" gedient habe (z.B. Afghanistan, Irak, Afrika etc.).

Als Sofortmaßnahme sollten noch in diesem Jahr 100 Personalstellen von Europa und Washington abgezogen und nach Asien, in den Nahen Osten oder nach Afrika transferiert werden. Auch die Finanzmittel sollten entsprechend verlagert werden.

Langfristig sollten in den kommenden Jahren mehrere hundert Stellen transferiert werden.

Darüber hinaus sollte die einseitige Konzentration der diplomatischen Vertretungen auf die Hauptstädte der jeweiligen Länder aufgegeben werden. Es gebe über 200 Städte in der Welt mit mehr als einer Million Einwohner, in denen die USA nicht offiziell präsent seien. Deshalb sollten US-Diplomaten zukünftig ihre "Schreibtische vor Ort aufstellen". Ferner sei an die verstärkte Nutzung von Internet und anderen Medien gedacht. Darüber hinaus sollten neue Formen der Vertretung vor Ort eingeführt werden (z.B. American Presence Posts, Virtual Presence Posts etc.).

Auch die Qualifikation der US-Diplomaten müsse, so Secretary Rice, den neuen Anforderungen angepaßt werden. Zusätzliches Training sei geplant, ein US-Diplomat müsse Kenntnisse über mindestens zwei Regionen besitzen, mindestens zwei Sprachen sprechen, bestimmte Sprachen sollten besonders gefördert werden.

Geplant ist außerdem, daß US-Diplomaten sich zukünftig auch damit befassen, Demokratieförderungs- und andere Entwicklungsprogramme zu betreiben.

Schließlich wird erwartet, daß US-Diplomaten zukünftig verstärkt mit anderen Bundesbehörden zusammenarbeiten.

Anhang:

- Fact Sheet
Transformational Diplomacy
- **Transformational Diplomacy: Remarks at Georgetown School of Foreign Service**
Secretary Condoleezza Rice

Transformational Diplomacy

I would define the objective of transformational diplomacy this way: To work with our many partners around the world to build and sustain democratic, well-governed states that will respond to the needs of their people -- and conduct themselves responsibly in the international system...Transformational diplomacy is rooted in partnership, not paternalism -- in doing things with other people, not for them. We seek to use America's diplomatic power to help foreign citizens to better their own lives, and to build their own nations, and to transform their own futures...Now, to advance transformational diplomacy all around the world, we in the State Department must rise to answer a new historic calling. We must begin to lay new diplomatic foundations to secure a future of freedom for all people. Like the great changes of the past, the new efforts we undertake today will not be completed tomorrow. Transforming the State Department is the work of a generation. But it is urgent work that cannot be deferred.
-- Secretary Rice, January 18, 2006

Today, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announced her plans for global repositioning to restructure both our overseas and domestic staffing, and her vision for the future of the Department of State.

Global Repositioning At present, the allocation of American diplomatic resources still has vestiges of our Cold War posture. We have nearly the same number of State Department personnel in Germany, a country of 82 million people, as we do in India, a country of over one billion people. Diplomats are generally located in embassies in Europe, and centralized within capital cities.

To meet current diplomatic challenges, the Secretary will begin a major repositioning of U.S. diplomatic personnel across the world. In a multiyear process, hundreds of positions will be moved to critical emerging areas in Africa, South Asia, East Asia, the Middle East and elsewhere.

- **Immediate Action.** Beginning this year, 100 current positions largely from Europe and Washington will be moved. To accomplish this goal, existing State Department resources will be readjusted to fit new priorities.
- **Long Term Commitment.** In the coming years hundreds will move across borders and into the front lines of diplomacy where they are needed most.

Regional Focus Many of today's challenges are not limited by country boundaries, but are transnational and regional in nature, and require new thinking and more targeted responses. There are nearly 200 cities worldwide with over one million people in which America has no formal diplomatic presence. Building on regional collaborations and regional forward-deployment of diplomats will facilitate a more effective approach to building democracy and prosperity, fighting terrorism, disease and human trafficking.

- **Regional Public Diplomacy Centers.** Regional public diplomacy platforms are being established in Europe and the Middle East. These centers will take America's story directly to the people and the regional television media in real time and in the appropriate language.
- **Effective Forward Deployment.** Diplomats are traveling to their area of responsibility more regularly than ever, using their expertise and experience more effectively abroad.
- **Regional Centers.** Information technology will allow work to be done anywhere in the world. Regional Centers of Excellence such as in Frankfurt, Ft. Lauderdale, and Charleston, South Carolina, will perform management support activities such as human resources or financial management.

Localization To reach beyond the borders of the traditional diplomatic structures and beyond foreign capitals, diplomats will move out from behind their desks into the field, from reporting on outcomes to shaping them. In addition, 21st century technology will be used to engage foreign publics more directly via the media and Internet, and to better connect diplomats in real time.

- **American Presence Posts (APPs)** are currently located in Egypt, Indonesia and elsewhere. APPs are operated by one diplomat who lives and works outside of the embassy, representing America in other key regional population centers.
- **Virtual Presence Posts (VPPs)** are the newest and most cost effective way to expand the American posture locally in a country. Created and managed by one or more diplomats, VPPs provide an internet site enabling millions of local citizens, particularly young people across Europe, and Asia and Latin America, to interact with personnel in embassies.
- **IT Centralization.** Communications capabilities and IT functions will be centralized to ensure that information is dispersed smoothly, accurately and securely. The goal is to provide the State Department workforce with quick access to the knowledge and real-time information they need whether at their desktops or on travel. Cutting-edge information technology will enable sharing information across regions and between agencies.
- **Creative Use of the Internet.** Programs are being developed to enhance America's presence through a medium that young people worldwide increasingly rely upon for their information. Café USA/Seoul and other programs being developed will reach young people through interactive, online discussions.

Meeting New Challenges with New Skills. To meet the challenges of transformational diplomacy, diplomats must be diverse, well-rounded, agile, and able to carry out multiple tasks. Transformational diplomacy requires that the right people have the right skills in the right place at the right time. Continued training and career development programs will better prepare diplomats and advance their expertise.

- **Enhanced Training.** Building on the training curriculum at the Foreign Service Institute, the training center of gravity will be repositioned from a centralized domestic focus to overseas posts and to each desktop, utilizing technology to promote long distance learning. Localized training and immersion language training will further balance the classroom experience. Training will continued to be offered in Washington, but increasingly more of the coursework will be taken directly to diplomats overseas.
- **Multi-region Expertise.** Diplomats will be required to be expert in at least two regions and fluent in two languages in order to be promoted to senior ranks. Currently, record numbers of diplomats are being trained in critical languages like Chinese, Urdu, Arabic and Farsi.
- **Post Assignments.** Essential to diplomats' career advancement will be service in one of the more challenging posts. These are dangerous but essential jobs often in states that are poorly governed and that are struggling to become secure, developed, and increasingly democratic.
- **Hands-On Practice.** Diplomats will not only be analyzing policy and shaping outcomes, but also running programs. They will be helping foreign citizens to promote democracy building, fight corruption, start businesses, improve healthcare, and reform education.
- **Public Diplomacy.** As always, public diplomacy is an important part of every diplomat's job description. It is crucial to provide a common vision of hope and prosperity while engaging foreign publics and media to promote U.S. interests abroad.

Empower Diplomats to work jointly with other federal agencies. Success in transformational diplomacy requires collaborations that result in the more effective dispersion of people and programs to share information on common platforms. Vital to this vision is continued collaboration between civilians and the military. Diplomats must be able to work effectively at the critical intersections of diplomatic affairs, economic reconstruction, and military operations. Ways to enhance this effort include:

- **Expanding Stabilization Capabilities** Created by the President in 2004, the Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization responds to the nation's need for a standing capability that could integrate planning with the military and civilian agencies, and deploy civilians quickly to a post-conflict environment to undertake a mission successfully. Secretary Rice is committed to expanding the capabilities of State's Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization (CRS). CRS has now received broadened authority and mandate under a new National Security Presidential Directive. Recently enacted legislation allows a transfer of up to \$100 million of Defense Department funds for post-conflict operations, funds available to empower CRS in a critical situation. CRS will work to develop a civilian reserve corps in which police officers, judges, electricians and engineers, bankers and economists will be available as needed in post conflict situations.
- **Political Advisors to the Military Forces** serve as the diplomatic and policy advisors to military commanders, deploying with them and giving

them the benefit of their diplomatic and regional experience. The presence of the political advisors will be expanded throughout all levels of the military to fully utilize diplomats' regional expertise and political advice.

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Transformational Diplomacy: Remarks at Georgetown School of Foreign Service

Secretary Condoleezza Rice

Georgetown University

Washington, DC

January 18, 2006

Thank you very much. Thank you President DeGioia for that wonderful introduction. Thank you. Happy for that great start to this session. I'd like to thank the Board of Trustees and say how pleased I am to be here at Georgetown University's distinguished School of Foreign Service. I just have to recognize my friend, Andrew Natsios, who's sitting in the front row, even if he did leave us to come to Georgetown. He said he was doing it because this is an institution that he loves dearly. You've got a fine man and you're going to have a fine professor in Andrew Natsios. Thank you for your service to the country. (Applause.)

I want to thank members of the diplomatic corps who are here and several members of the Administration. I also want you to know that I do know a good deal about Georgetown and it is because this is a fine school of foreign service for which we all owe a debt of gratitude for the people that you have trained, for the people who have come to us in government, for the people from whom I have learned as an academic. This is also a fine university in general, a university that is well known for its dedication to learning, but also its dedication to values and to social justice. And it's also a university that is recovering its heritage in basketball and I look very much forward to this year. (Applause.)

Almost a year ago today in his second Inaugural Address, President Bush laid out a vision that now leads America into the world. "It is the policy of the United States," the President said, "to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world." To achieve this bold mission, America needs equally bold diplomacy, a diplomacy that not only reports about the world as it is, but seeks to change the world itself. I and others have called this mission "transformational diplomacy." And today I want to explain what it is in principle and how we are advancing it in practice.

We are living in an extraordinary time, one in which centuries of international precedent are being overturned. The prospect of violent conflict among great powers is more remote than ever. States are increasingly competing and cooperating in peace, not preparing for war. Peoples in China and India, in South Africa and Indonesia and Brazil are lifting their countries into new prominence. Reform -- democratic reform -- has begun and is spreading in the Middle East. And the United States is working with our many partners, particularly our partners who share our values in Europe and in Asia and in other parts of the world to build a true form of global stability, a balance of power that favors freedom.

At the same time, other challenges have assumed a new urgency. Since its creation more than 350 years ago, the modern state system has rested on the concept of sovereignty. It was always assumed that every state could control and direct the threats emerging from its territory. It was also assumed that weak and poorly governed states were merely a burden to their people, or at most, an international humanitarian concern but never a true security threat.

Today, however, these old assumptions no longer hold. Technology is collapsing the distance that once clearly separated right here from over there. And the greatest threats now emerge more within states than between them. The fundamental character of regimes now matters more than the international distribution of power. In this world it is impossible to draw neat, clear lines between our security interests, our development efforts and our democratic ideals. American diplomacy must integrate and advance all of these goals together.

So, I would define the objective of transformational diplomacy this way: to work with our many partners around the world, to build and sustain democratic, well-governed states that will respond to the needs of their people and conduct themselves responsibly in the international system. Let me be clear, transformational diplomacy is rooted in partnership; not in paternalism. In doing things with people, not for them; we seek to use America's diplomatic power to help foreign citizens better their own lives and to build their own nations and to transform their own futures.

In extraordinary times like those of today, when the very terrain of history is shifting beneath our feet, we must transform old diplomatic institutions to serve new diplomatic purposes. This kind

of challenge is sweeping and difficult but it is not unprecedented; America has done this kind of work before. In the aftermath of World War II, as the Cold War hardened into place, we turned our diplomatic focus to Europe and parts of Asia. We hired new people. We taught them new languages, we gave them new training. We partnered with old adversaries in Germany and Japan and helped them to rebuild their countries. Our diplomacy was instrumental in transforming devastated countries into thriving democratic allies, allies who joined with us for decades in the struggle to defend freedom from communism.

With the end of the Cold War, America again rose to new challenges. We opened 14 new embassies in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and we repositioned over 100 of our diplomats to staff them. Our efforts helped newly liberated peoples to transform the character of their countries and now many of them, too, have become partners in liberty and freedom, members of NATO, members of the European Union, something unthought of just a few years ago. And during the last decade, we finally realized a historic dream of the 20th century therefore, a vision of a Europe whole and free and at peace.

In the past five years, it was my friend and predecessor Colin Powell who led the men and women of American diplomacy into the 21st century. He modernized the State Department's technology and transformed dozens of our facilities abroad. Most importantly, Secretary Powell invested in our people. He created over 2,000 new positions and hired thousands of new employees and trained them all to be diplomatic leaders of tomorrow.

Now, today, to advance transformational diplomacy all around the world, we in the State Department must again answer a new calling of our time. We must begin to lay the diplomatic foundations to secure a future of freedom for all people. Like the great changes of the past, the new efforts we undertake today will not be completed quickly. Transforming our diplomacy and transforming the State Department is the work of a generation, but it is urgent work that must begin.

To advance transformational diplomacy, we are and we must change our diplomatic posture. In the 21st century, emerging nations like India and China and Brazil and Egypt and Indonesia and South Africa are increasingly shaping the course of history. At the same time, the

new front lines of our diplomacy are appearing more clearly, in transitional countries of Africa and of Latin America and of the Middle East. Our current global posture does not really reflect that fact. For instance, we have nearly the same number of State Department personnel in Germany, a country of 82 million people that we have in India, a country of one billion people. It is clear today that America must begin to reposition our diplomatic forces around the world, so over the next few years the United States will begin to shift several hundred of our diplomatic positions to new critical posts for the 21st century. We will begin this year with a down payment of moving 100 positions from Europe and, yes, from here in Washington, D.C., to countries like China and India and Nigeria and Lebanon, where additional staffing will make an essential difference.

We are making these changes by shifting existing resources to meet our new priorities, but we are also eager to work more closely with Congress to enhance our global strategy with new resources and new positions.

We will also put new emphasis on our regional and transnational strategies. In the 21st century, geographic regions are growing ever more integrated economically, politically and culturally. This creates new opportunities but it also presents new challenges, especially from transnational threats like terrorism and weapons proliferation and drug smuggling and trafficking in persons and disease.

Building regional partnerships is one foundation today of our counterterrorism strategy. We are empowering countries that have the will to fight terror but need help with the means. And we are joining with key regional countries like Indonesia and Nigeria and Morocco and Pakistan, working together not only to take the fight to the enemy but also to combat the ideology of hatred that uses terror as a weapon.

We will use a regional approach to tackle disease as well. Rather than station many experts in every embassy, we will now deploy small, agile transnational networks of our diplomats. These rapid response teams will monitor and combat the spread of pandemics across entire continents. We are adopting a more regional strategy in our public diplomacy as well.

In the Middle East, for example, as you well know, a vast majority of people get their news from a regional media network like Al Jazeera, not from a local newspaper. So our diplomats must tell America's

story not just in translated op-eds, but live on TV in Arabic for a regional audience. To make this happen, we are creating a regional public diplomacy center. We are forward deploying our best Arabic-speaking diplomats and we are broadly coordinating our public diplomacy strategy both for the region and from the region.

Our third goal is to localize our diplomatic posture. Transformational diplomacy requires us to move our diplomatic presence out of foreign capitals and to spread it more widely across countries. We must work on the front lines of domestic reform as well as in the back rooms of foreign ministries. There are nearly 200 cities worldwide with over one million people in which the United States has no formal diplomatic presence. This is where the action is today and this is where we must be. To reach citizens in bustling new population centers, we cannot always build new consulates beyond a nation's capital.

A newer, more economical idea is what we call an American Presence Post. This idea is simple. One of our best diplomats moves outside the embassy to live and work and represent America in an emerging community of change. We currently operate American Presence Posts in places like Egypt and Indonesia and we are eager to expand both the size and the scope of this new approach.

Perhaps the newest and most cost effective way to adopt a more local posture is through a Virtual Presence Post. Here one or more of our young officers creates and manages an internet site that is focused on key population centers. This digital meeting room enables foreign citizens, young people most of all, to engage online with American diplomats who could be hundreds of miles away. This is a great way to connect with millions of new people across Europe and Asia and Latin America.

In today's world, our diplomats will not only work in different places, they will work in different communities and they will serve in different kinds of conditions, like reconstruction and stabilization missions, where they must partner more directly with the military.

So to advance transformational diplomacy we are empowering our diplomats to work more jointly with our men and women in uniform.

Over the past 15 years, as violent state failure has become a greater global threat, our military has borne a disproportionate share of

post-conflict responsibilities because we have not had the standing civilian capability to play our part fully. This was true in Somalia and Haiti, in Bosnia, in Kosovo, and it is still partially true in Iraq and Afghanistan.

These experiences have shown us the need to enhance our ability to work more effectively at the critical intersections of diplomacy, democracy promotion, economic reconstruction and military security. That is why President Bush created within the State Department the Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization. Recently, President Bush broadened the authority and mandate for this office and Congress authorized the Pentagon to transfer up to \$100 million to State in the event of a post-conflict operation, funds that would empower our reconstruction and stabilization efforts. We have an expansive vision for this new office, and let there be no doubt, we are committed to realizing it. Should a state fail in the future, we want the men and the women of this office to be able to spring into action quickly. We will look to them to partner immediately with our military, with other federal agencies and with our international allies, and eventually we envision this office assembling and deploying the kinds of civilians who are essential in post-conflict operations: police officers and judges and electricians and engineers, bankers and economists and legal experts and election monitors.

Our Reconstruction and Stabilization Office must be able to help a failed state to exercise responsible sovereignty and to prevent its territory from becoming a source of global instability, as Afghanistan was in 2001.

The diplomacy of the 21st century requires better "jointness" too between our soldiers and our civilians, and we are taking additional steps to achieve it. We for decades have positions in our Foreign Service called Political Advisors to Military Forces, affectionately called POLADS, in our business. We station these diplomats where the world of diplomacy intersects the world of military force, but increasingly this intersection is seen in the dusty streets of Fallujah or the tsunami-wrecked coasts of Indonesia. I want American diplomats to eagerly seek our assignments working side-by-side with our men and women in uniform, whether it is in disaster relief in Pakistan or in stabilization missions in Liberia or fighting the illegal drug trade in Latin America.

Finally, to advance transformational diplomacy, we are preparing our people with new expertise and challenging them with new expectations. I've been Secretary of State for almost exactly one year now, and in that time I have become more convinced than ever that we have the finest diplomatic service in the world. I've seen the noble spirit of that service, a service that defines the men and women of our Foreign Service and Civil Service and our Foreign Service Nationals, many of whom are serving in dangerous places far away from their families.

I see in them the desire and the ability to adapt to a changing world and to our changing diplomatic mission. More and more often, over the course of this new century, we will ask the men and women of the State Department to be active in the field. We will need them to engage with private citizens in emerging regional centers, not just with government officials in their nations' capitals. We must train record numbers of people to master difficult languages like Arabic and Chinese and Farsi and Urdu.

In addition, to advance in their careers, our Foreign Service Officers must now serve in what we call hardship posts. These are challenging jobs in critical countries like Iraq and Afghanistan and Sudan and Angola, countries where we are working with foreign citizens in difficult conditions to maintain security and fight poverty and make democratic reforms. To succeed in these kinds of posts, we will train our diplomats not only as expert analysts of policy but as first-rate administrators of programs, capable of helping foreign citizens to strengthen the rule of law, to start businesses, to improve health and to reform education.

Ladies and gentlemen, President Bush has outlined the historic calling of our time. We on the right side of freedom's divide have a responsibility to help all people who find themselves on the wrong side of that divide. The men and women of American diplomacy are being summoned to advance an exciting new mission. But there is one other great asset that America will bring to this challenge. No, in a day and a time when difference is still a license to kill, America stands as a tremendous example of what can happen with people of diverse backgrounds, ethnic groups, religions all call themselves American. Because it does not matter whether you are Italian American or African American or Korean American. It does not matter whether you are Muslim or Presbyterian or Jewish or

Catholic. What matters is that you are American and you are devoted to an ideal and to a set of beliefs that unites us.

Ladies and gentlemen, in order for America to fully play its role in the world, it must send out into the world a diplomatic force, a diplomatic corps that reflects that great diversity. It cannot be that the last three Secretaries of State -- the daughter of European immigrants, the son of Jamaican immigrants and a daughter of the American segregated South -- would be more diverse than the Foreign Service with which they work. And so I want to make a special appeal to each and every one of you. It's exciting to be a diplomat these days because it is not just about reporting on countries. It's not just influencing governments. It's being a part of changing people's lives, whether in our AIDS programs abroad or in our efforts to educate girls in Afghanistan or to help with extremism in the Middle East with good partners like Pakistan and Jordan. Imagine the excitement of the people who are going to work in Liberia now with the first woman president on the African continent to try and build a Liberia where people can reach their dreams and their future.

But we cannot do it without America's best and brightest, and America's best and brightest come in all colors, they come in all religions, they come in all heritages. Our Foreign Service has got to be that way, too.

I sit in an office when I meet with foreign secretaries and foreign ministers from around the world that is a grand office that looks like it's actually out of the 19th century although it was actually built in 1947, but that's very American, too. And there's a portrait of Thomas Jefferson that looks direct at me when I am speaking to those foreign ministers, and I wonder sometimes, "What would Mr. Jefferson have thought?" What would he have thought about America's reach and influence in the world? What would he have thought about America's pursuit of the democratic enterprise on behalf of the peoples of the world? What would he have thought that an ancestor -- that my ancestors, who were three-fifths of a man in his constitution, would produce a Secretary of State who would carry out that mission?

Ladies and gentlemen, America has come a long way and America stands as a symbol but also a reality for all of those who have a long

way to go, that democracy is hard and democracy takes time, but democracy is always worth it.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

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