

America's Engagement in the World: An Investment in Colorado's Future

Gary: Welcome ladies and gentleman, I'm Gary Hart, and I am here to introduce Hank Brown. On behalf of the US Global Leadership Coalition, we want to thank all of you for being here and welcome you.

We particularly want to welcome a very distinguished American, General Anthony Zinni, to Colorado. I think all of you are aware of General Zinni's contribution to this nation's national security in every sense of the word, not just the military sense, but he stands for what the Global Leadership Coalition really represents and that is America's role in the world, diplomatically, economically, politically, and militarily.

Senator Brown and I are honored to be co-hosts. I think Hank is picking up the check. Is that correct? So, we thank all of you for taking the time to be with us. I think for those of you who don't know about the coalition, this is an educational opportunity.

There are and also have been in our country in various times forces of isolationism, and that may or may not have worked pre-globalization, but we don't live in an era where we can afford in any sense to withdraw from the world, and as Hank and I pointed out in the Denver Post yesterday, this state is an international state, despite being land-locked. Increasing number of Colorado companies are doing business all over the globe, and so, if your primary interest is economic and financial, you are at the right place at the right time, but our interests as Americans go much beyond that.

It's my great pleasure to introduce a friend and colleague and to emphasize once again that the Global Leadership Coalition is as bipartisan and nonpartisan as you can get, so let me introduce a friend and former United States Senator and great American and Coloradan, Senator Hank Brown.

Hank: Gary, thank you. You'll have to excuse Senator Hart. Democrats are so used to having the Republicans pay the bills that he just assumed that I was picking it up. Actually, this is a little like our country where it's you get to pay the bill as we go forward.

We have a great privilege today, because among you are a number of individuals who served our country in our armed forces, and I'd like to ask everyone who has served in the military to stand for a moment if you would, so we can recognize you.

Sergeant, thank you so much, that we did mean to include Marines. Now, they don't always do that.

You know, it is the nature of human beings that we kind of tend to understand the things we've done and the things we do and perhaps not have as much focus on things that other people do. That's human nature. I think sometimes Coloradans, when people think about us, they don't realize what an export-oriented state we are. Whether it's the military or whether it's meat, Colorado is one of the major exporting states of our nation. We export an enormous amount, and we have a tremendous educational focus that is worldwide as well.

The reality is that our foreign policy today doesn't stand alone. It's a segment that some people think about, but we don't always think about it as being integrated. Integrated with those who export for a living. Integrated with our military. Integrated with our diplomatic efforts. Integrated with our humanitarian efforts, in our charitable efforts. All of them work together or they don't work very well at all separately, and that's part of what the mission that I think we'll talk about today is, and that is helping to make all these various parts work together, so that you have the kind of impact worldwide.

It's not secret that 95% of the consumers in the world are not in the United States, and the reality is we are in a great place to export, not just ideas and thoughts but products. America has one of the highest productivity rates in the world. Americans work hard. Americans are productive, and we're beginning to be one of the low-cost energy producers in the world as it goes forward, so we have a bright future, but that future can only be bright if we learn to work all the parts together, and so, we're happy that you're part of this today.

I think you all understand that this does not involve just bipartisanship of both political parties, but it goes to the very core of what makes America special and makes America great. Thanks for being part of it. I think you're in for a great day, and I know you're going to enjoy the speech that's coming up from the general. Thank you.

Liz: Thank you both, Senator Hart and Senator Brown. You really are tremendous leaders, and we thank you for your support. Good afternoon. I'm Liz Schroyer. I'm the founding Executive Director of the US Global Leadership Coalition. I'd like to add my welcome to all of you and thank you for joining us to what I know will be a fascinating conversation with General Zinni as well as with our other panelists.

I'd like to welcome Mayor Hancock. We are honored to have you here with us today, as well as our partners that are part of our program today, the National Homeland Defense Foundation, Colorado State University and the CELL, as well as the many, many organizations that participated in the expo earlier before the lunch. It's wonderful to be with all of you.

Our Colorado host committee, if you haven't taken a look at it, at the back of the program are all the wonderful names of individuals in the room that have helped put today's event together, and a particular welcome to the members of the congressional staff of our federal delegation that are here with us today. We're thrilled to have many of you.

We're going to begin in just moments, but a number of you are new to the US Global Leadership Coalition, so I want to take just a minute to introduce ourselves to you.

Now, in Washington, DC, the Washington Post once called us the strange bedfellow coalition, and we got that name because we do bring together a unique group of individuals. Unfortunately, in our nation's capital, a lot of people do not come together that have different views, but we really try to bring them together.

Today, we are a coalition of over 400 businesses and nonprofits. We range everything from CARE to Caterpillar, from Walmart to World Vision, from Boeing to Bread for the World, and we bring them together, these businesses and NGOs as well as an advisory council. We have an advisory council that more or less is the who's who of national security experts. It's led by General Colin Powell and includes every living former Secretary of State, from Henry Kissinger to Hillary Clinton and all those in between, and we have one of the most interesting groups you're going to hear from our founding member today is a growing voice from the military community.

We have a group of almost 150, 3-and 4-star generals and admirals that are led by General Zinni and Admiral Jim Stavridis that give voice to what we believe in, and that belief is that America has to remain engaged and a leader in the world. We believe that part of that leadership, as Senators Brown and Hart spoke earlier about, is that you need a small but a very strategic and important investment in development and diplomacy. We think that it's not only the right thing to do, which I passionately believe it is, but also that it's the smart thing to do, and we're going to talk about it today, and it's the smart thing to do for our economic interests and our security interests.

Last month, like you, I watched many of the documentaries around the 50th anniversary of the killing of JFK, and I was reminded of the Cold War framework of how we viewed foreign policy, where we used to argue of whether or not you use hard power or soft power, and what we at the USGLC believe is that's a very outdated framework, and so, we believe in what we call smart power, and that is this idea that you need development and diplomacy alongside defense. It's about 1% of the federal budget that really is what's all about a way to keep us safe, advance our economic interest, and demonstrate our values.

Now, I don't need to tell all of you in this state of Colorado, as Senator Hart just said, you may be land-locked but you're one of the most international states in thinking and in doing that I have come across. You understand better than most states that infectious diseases to terrorism have no borders. I just walked through the expo a few minutes ago, and again, I was reminded. One of the things that we have done is in the last year we launched a campaign called innovations and smart power. We really want to bring to life and tell the story about the work that you all and other businesses and nonprofits are doing around the country, where we are really finding innovative solutions to enormous global challenges around the world.

One example of someone I just spoke with is Dr. Richard Bowen. I know he's here. I just said hello to him. Where's Richard? There he is, Dr. Bowen, who through the Colorado State University is partnering with USAID's Feed The Future program to tackle one hard issue, food security, and you have one of the most fascinating and effective global research programs on adapting livestock systems to climate change in developing countries, and this is just one, and I could go around the room and point to many others, of where you're making a difference both around the world and both here in Colorado.

Our conversation today is going to take a look at this. We're going to take a look at what is America's role in the world and how does it make a difference here in Colorado. You're going to hear me whenever I talk about it, I think the stakes frankly are just too high for America to diminish our role in the world.

Earlier this year, I went to Africa. I visited Tanzania. Any of you been to Tanzania? A few of you? I went to, and probably you have done this, going to very, very rural part of Tanzania, little planes to get there, and I met this woman, Veronica. Veronica told me before Feed The Future that before USAID came, she could not feed her family. USAID came, and they showed her how to take seeds and get a greater yield, how to bring her wares to market. She said they showed up in her little plot of land, and her husband thought that they were crazy, and so she said, "Fine. We'll divide our plot. You take this little part," and for the first year, his part of their land did not grow. Hers, surprisingly, flourished to his surprise.

She told me today, because of that program, she now has a truck, a used truck that she was able to buy. She can now educate all 11 of her grandchildren, and she is teaching 15 other women in her village how to do the same. Why does it matter? Because in Africa, 7 of the 10 fastest growing economies are in Africa, and that matters to our economic interest as well.

Now, if you don't believe me, I'm going to share with you one very short video of some experts that we got together to help really understand the connection

between engaging around the world and making a difference for our economy here at home.

child: With our economy the way it is today, ...

child: ... Some people are asking why we're spending so much money overseas ...

child: ... And not on creating jobs right here at home.

child: Well, actually, we're not spending much money.

child: Just 1% of our national budget goes to the international affairs budget.

child: That's not a lot.

child: And helping create American jobs is just what that money's doing.

child: If you want to create jobs, you have to create more demand for products and services.

child: You need more customers.

child: And where are American companies finding more customers?

child: Not here but here.

child: And here.

child: And here.

child: 95% of the world's customers live outside the US.

child: 95%!

child: When we sell goods to them, they're called exports.

child: US exports counted for a big part of our economic growth last year.

child: Half went to developing countries.

child: And their economies are growing 3 times faster than developed countries.

child: And every 10% increase in exports equals a 7% increase in jobs here.

child: So, how do we increase exports?

child: Build new markets for American goods and services.

child: Remember that 1%?

child: America's international affairs budget ...

child: ... Helps fund programs ...

child: ... And improve health and education, ...

child: ... Supports agriculture development, ...

child: ... Builds a stable economy, ...

child: ... And creates new markets, so if we don't go to the biggest, fastest growing group of consumers, ...

child: ... Other countries will.

child: Other countries already are.

child: Investing a small amount in global development and diplomacy ...

child: ... Is not only the right thing to do, ...

child: ... It's also the smart thing to do ...

child: ... To make our economy stronger, ...

child: ... To create more jobs ...

child: ... For my mom ...

child: ... For my dad ...

child: ... For my neighbor ...

child: ... For me.

Liz: I thank you. I thank you for being here, for being part of our conversation, and most of all, for being part of our journey of the motto of our organization to build a better, safer, and more prosperous world. Enjoy your lunch. We'll continue the program in just a few moments.

[Background chatter and instrumental music].

Ed Anderson:

Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen. If I could have your attention please and please go ahead and keep eating, obviously. My name is Ed Anderson. I'm the President of the National Homeland Defense Foundation. It is my privilege today to introduce Mayor Hancock who we are very privileged to have with us today. The good news is that I don't need to introduce them to this crowd. They all know Mayor Hancock which means my remarks will be very short.

One thing I do want to point out though with Mayor Hancock is that he comes from a very, very good background. He was born to army family in Fort Hood, Texas and my origin is army. So I'm very, very pleased that he has that background. He left Fort Hood when he was 10 months old and came up here to Denver and I guess that was about 25 years ago or so. Almost from the time he graduated from college and up until now he's been working to help people here in this community and in the state of Colorado and of course, in 2011 he was elected the mayor of Denver and believe me, that was Denver's good benefit because he has been doing some wonderful things in the very short time he's been here. If you would please join me in a warm welcome to Mayor Hancock.

Mayor Hancock:

Thank you, General, for that introduction and let me just bid you all a happy holidays. I am glad you're here today. What a wonderful event this is and I wish I could spend the entire day here. Let me just say to you and to the US Global Leadership Coalition thank you for being in Denver, Colorado and thank you for what you do to help educate us about the importance about being global around the world.

I also want to acknowledge all the elected officials who are in the room. To our Senators, Hank Brown and Gary Hart, thank you very much for not only being here but for your service to our country and of course to the State of Colorado over the years. I know that they acknowledged all of men and women in military. I want to thank you all as well for your service to the United States and thank you for being here today.

I just want to make one brief point. Everyday I get the chance to step on a platform and talk about Denver being a global city, about the importance of Denver becoming more active around the world when it comes to the things that Senator Brown just talked about, trade, humanitarian efforts, really educating our young people who will lead the city, the state and this country to the more global perspective because indeed, we are now living in a global world. The more I talk about that, the more I spend time in places like Tokyo, Japan and Rakovic, Iceland, Shanghai in Beijing, Seoul, Korean, most recently all over Israel, the more I understand the importance of not only Denver playing the role but also the critical

important of these young people being ready to play their particular role in the global marketplace.

Today more than ever, we realize that this is a global marketplace. We can't play it small anymore. It's no longer about Denver. These very young people are no longer competing Manuel High School versus George Washington or Overland High School versus Random Park High School or Columbine versus Arvada West. It's now Colorado Students competing against Beijing, children in Beijing and Bombay and Tel Aviv. This is a global marketplace. So I'm honored to be the mayor in this great city as we really take our proper place on the global platform. Thank you all for being here.

If I can just acknowledge, I want to acknowledge Lieutenant Chavez here. Lieutenant Colonel? Colonel, did I say it right? Who is about to be redeployed, I understand. He's a celebrated, well-decorated member of our Denver Police Department but he's on his way back to Afghan, I understand. Would you stand up and be acknowledged? Thank you so much for your service to this country. One of our great leaders. I got to tell you, I know that our next speaker understands the stake of global engagement as well. It's a real honor for me to introduce him.

General Anthony Zinni, a man who requires very little introduction to those of us who watched the global stage. His accomplishments, by the way, are way too far long for me to read everyone of them tonight. It's been impressive and they certainly don't go on recognized. General Anthony Zinni is an experienced leader who dedicated nearly four decades of serving this country in uniform. That's something special too because the generation today won't be doing anything for four decades. We have changed.

The general has held many important leadership positions throughout his career, having served in over 70 countries culminating in his post as commander in chief of US Central Command. Since his retirement from the Marines, General Zinni has continued to serve his country as a US Peace envoy in the Middle East and a special envoy to the Henry Dunant Center of Humanitarian Dialogue which is working to resolve conflict in Indonesia, the Philippines and Sudan. He is also the founding co-chair of the US Global Leadership Coalition National Security Advisory Council which now numbers nearly 150 retired three and four-starred generals and flag officers. There are truly a few people that's qualified to discuss the shared role that defense, diplomacy and development, what we call the three Ds play in building a better, safer world.

After we hear from General Zinni we will welcome Colorado Senators Gary Hart and Hank Brown back to the stage. They will be joined by Ellen Sandberg, Director and Vice President of Community Investment at the CH2M HILL Foundation as well as our distinguished moderator, the Emmy Award winning CBN political correspondent, David Brody, for discussion of American Engagement and its impact.

Ladies and gentleman, as General Zinni comes forward it is my honor to present to him as I did to Lieutenant General ... Did I say it right? Lieutenant General or General Anderson. The City Challenge Coin that we unveiled this year. He'll be only the one of four to receive this coin after of course General Anderson received it. President Carter got it just last month when he was in town. It's my honor to present to you this Challenge Coin on behalf of the people of Denver. Ladies and gentlemen, please join me in welcoming a true leader and advocate of US, more power General Anthony Zinni.

General Zinni:

Please, sit down. Thank you. The Mayor's done well for growing up in an army family, I got to say. I unfortunately grew up in an army family too. All the male members of my family fought in World War I and World War II in Korea, so when I joined the marines it was a shock to my family. They accepted it finely but it took a while to establish my credentials.

Back in the 1989 I had just been informed that I'd been selected as a brand new brigadier general so I thought it must be some sort of mistake but I was assured by our commandant it wasn't. I was told that my next duty assignment would be the European command. I would be the deputy director of operations for the European command. This is great news, first of all a few marines get to go to Europe. This was really the turf of the army and the air force and this idea that I would be eating schnitzel and drinking first class beer for a couple of years sounded wonderful.

Unfortunately, if you remember back in 1989 that was the year when the wall started to come down. I went to get my briefings in European command along with five other one stars Navy and Army, Air Force and of course the only Marine. We arrived just as Gorbachev threw in the towel. The first place we went was Berlin and we were to be briefed by the commander of the Berlin Brigade. Now the Berlin Brigade if you remember East Berlin and West Berlin were within the Soviet Area as given to them at the close of World War II.

When we arrived we sat down on the briefing room and the general walked in and he said, "Gentlemen, I have nothing to tell you." He said,

"We've been giving the same brief probably for the last 40 years and it's over and no one knows what it means so I can't tell you what to expect." He said, "Enjoy Berlin but you're pretty much going to find this is a brave new world and we're discovering what our role is in it after this."

As we took on some of the other senior officers in the command and talk to them I could see the same thing. Everything they had done, everything they worked for, decades of understanding the strategy and the threat were all out the window in almost a nano second. We were stuck there for a couple of days and we didn't know what to do. The army put a second lieutenant in charge of us six generals and the army second lieutenant said, "How would you guys like to go to East Berlin?" We said, "Can we do that?" He said, "Nobody knows. Nobody knows what the rules are." He said, "I have this Volkswagen van. We could pile in there and drive into East Berlin." This thing looked like a relic for a '60s hippies used car sales.

We jumped in the van and we drove through checkpoint Charlie. To shock was that nobody was standing there. There were no guards. Not Americans, not West Germans, not East Germans. Checkpoint Charlie was completely open. Here the forward point where faced off against a communist threat, the absolute pinpoint of where we met the threat simply was erased. We drove through, drove around East Berlin and it became clear as we went off to the side streets that the main drag was a facade. It was fake. As soon as you get off the side streets you saw the bullet the holes from World War II in the buildings. Old cars, these trabbies that these Germans made that belt smoke. We just came from West Berlin with Audis and BMWs and Mercedes, '50s vintage bicycles.

We drove around for a while and we came across a Russian military base, a caserne. Lieutenant says, "Let's drive in here." We said, "Can we do it?" He said, "Nobody knows." We drove through the main gate and the poor Russian sentry didn't know whether to shot us or salute us as we drove through. We're all in uniform. We looked around and walked around the base for a while and the best way I could describe the Russian soldiers I saw is it was like they were zombies, that they were in a state of total confusion going through the motions.

We came back out, came through checkpoint Charlie and the lieutenant jumped out of the van, had a sledgehammer in the back and he said, "Let's get pieces of the wall." I swear we're the first one to do this and there were six one-starred generals chipping the way at the wall collecting our pieces. As we drove away from there, I thought my whole adult life has been involved in understanding a world order that was in

place that had the bad guys over there and the good guys over here. We understood that bifurcated world and we understood the rules. And we understood that we could make our planet a cinder if anything happened that was a miscalculation. Now everybody's telling me this has changed.

When I reported to work in Stuttgart, Germany in my position, we were hearing from President Bush and from Gorbachev that there would be a new world order and there would be a peace dividend. Basically, what I saw as the Germans were going through reunification and the things that were happening in Eastern Europe and Western Europe, our boss General Galvin wanted us to connect to the Russian military. We spent a lot of time with the Russian generals trying to ensure they weren't going to snap anything back and that they understood how to function in a democracy.

I've really began to feel we need to influence this in some way. Letting it all happen on its own accord won't get it. The idea that we sigh a sigh of relief that the doomsday clock has been pushed back and now there's only one side of the world that really remains in power and that's the side of democracy and free market economy and the values that we hold dear that maybe much like George Marshall thought after World War II we need to be engaged because left to its own devices, will this world reorder itself in a positive way? Will there be a true piece dividend?

I got to tell you, the following years I'd spent as the deputy director of operations there was not. We were conducting non-combatant evacuation operations in Africa. We were involved in the Balkans as Yugoslavia came apart. We ran operations out of Turkey as part of Operation Desert Storm. On and on and on. Humanitarian missions, peace keeping missions, missions where we committed our military and rather than a piece dividend and rather than an ordering in some positive way, everything seem to be coming apart.

It's almost a quarter of a century since that time and what has happened to our world since then? As what's mentioned before, we become globalized. We're more interdependent than ever. I like to think of the world and what counts in the world as the global network that connects us. You know the Chinese just put a moon mission in place in the moon. Think about space. Space makes our planet look very small. Space doesn't recognize a border or a boundary.

Everything that we put up there we become reliant on. To communicate, to find out where we are, to understand what weather may be coming our way. We don't really understand in that realm and that domain how

to regulate it, how to monitor it, how to ensure it stays demilitarized, how to benefit from it across the globe. It is a global domain. One that we need to ensure access. One we need to ensure that we protect it and we figure out how to work together in benefiting from it.

Cyberspace is another domain that's fairly new that's come about and dominated our lives and our world. Cyberspace doesn't know any boundaries. We worry now about cyber attacks. How much control or lack of control should we put into this system? How do we know what's coming across? Is the information accurate? What do we do with the data? Cyberspace has changed the way we interact. Again, a domain that doesn't know any borders. I spent almost 40 years in the United States Marine Corps, part of our Naval service. I can tell you there are sea lanes that are critically important to trade around this world, to access the regions, to deny bad guys' access to regions. Those sea lanes know no borders or boundaries. No lines in the ocean mean much when you're out there.

We can see what happens when pirates and others get involved in trying to interdict that trade. When countries around the world that maybe aren't necessarily friendly or in decay or actually are failed in some way, where the critical choke points of the world may go through and the stability of those nations becomes critically important to our tray. There are air routes that are critical for us to maintain that have to be open. Again, they know no borders. More and more increasingly as we get into this globalized world we even realize there were land boarder that don't meet much anymore. There are diasporous migrations that are occurring and this creates issues and concerns about security, about identity loss.

We know even in our country we have issues with our boarders, we have issues in terms of security, issues in terms of immigration. Same is true for Europe. Same is true for many nations around the world. The point being that globalization has shrunk this planet, made us more interdependent. There's been a power redistribution too. We are no longer the big dogs on the planet. There are many power sources and bases whether it's the Brit countries, whether it's an emerging Brazil, it's a China, it's an India, it's a resurgent Russia. I would offer to you we're going to see many more power bases increased in their influence in the world.

As list mentioned, Africa's the fastest growing economies in the world. A lot of issues about how that can benefit the world but obviously, anything where there is prosperity and there is security and stability has got to benefit the world overall. We're watching the transformation of 1.3

billion people the Islamic world. I've spent a long time in this part of the world, not only in the Middle East but in the Islamic world that stretches from North Africa to the Philippines, from the Southern provinces of Russia to Central Africa. They're going through a difficult adjustment in terms of how to govern themselves, the effect of modernity, their traditions and belief systems and how they make that compatible.

Right now that is one of the most fragile points in global security and what is going on in those parts of the world. Some are doing well, some are doing not so well, some are actually involved in violent conflict that it's difficult to see an end to. We have fragile economies around the world that when they sink, for some reason, it reverberates throughout the globe. The economy of the Southern tier of Europe. The Greek economy for example. Watch what happens when they go into economic crisis and watch our own stock market. To believe the economies can operate independently is a thought that died away with the Second World War. And the idea of isolationism and the belief that these impacts would not affect us are just not there. There are greater demands on energy resources around the world and the inability to supply those demands creates greater stress on the places where these resources are located and the distribution system that gets there. Energy has to be looked at as a global resource and how we manage it, how we ensure its distribution and how we control it.

I was on a study group looking at the effect of climate change. Eleven retired four stars admirals and generals. Our job was not to look at the science. We accepted what 95% of the scientists believe. Our job was to look at the effects and how those effects would impact our security and global security. When you lose land because of rising oceans, when you lose water resources because of melting great glaciers and evaporation, when you begin to lose arable land and you can't farm and produce food, you end up with all the elements that create a security's instability situation that somebody has to deal with can lead to more of those migrations, more of those diasporas. That can lead to health issues that have no respect for borders in the way they move. It can lead to depletion of parts of the environment that are critical to the globe that rain forest get cut down.

What does that mean? To the north of us we have a sea, the Arctic sea which is melting. What does it mean when that becomes a transportable and navigable sea loaded with resources that many places in the earth want to tap into? How will we regulate that? How will we ensure security? How will we manage the exploitation of those resources? We're seeing the increase and proliferation of the WMD. We had a time after

the Cold War ended where it was on the decrease. Places like Libya got rid of their weapons of mass destruction capability.

Nations like Kazakhstan sold them off to us. We've suddenly reversed that back in the wrong direction. We hope that maybe the agreements that can be reached with Iran might be a sign that that could change, but right now those threats are great. I had Pakistan in my area of responsibility faced off against a long time enemy, India. Two nuclear powers and the ability for that powder keg to be lit is very real. What are the effects of nuclear weapons being exploded? Another element that doesn't respect borders and what the implications might be.

About three years ago we crossed the line as a species, as human beings. More of us live in cities now than anywhere else. Sixty percent of the humans live in cities. They went there because opportunities didn't exist anywhere else. They went there because they depleted the resources out in the rural areas. They're in cities that the infrastructure cannot maintain and keep. They're in cities that are ancient. Even in our country, one of the youngest countries on earth, our infrastructure and our cities need a lot of work and improvement, especially the ones that are much older and now can count through existence in centuries.

That urbanization creates tensions. That urbanization creates an atmosphere that can result in health issues, instability, government overthrows, failed states and urbanization will continue to be a major consideration for us as we look around the world and what our involvement is. We've seen the rise of non-state actors on the scene. We call them warlords, we call them drug cartel leaders, organized criminals. They don't know borders. They communicate cross borders. They create followings that don't have an identity that may be based on a nation state or a sovereign principal.

Again, the world shrinks. Their ability to create problems or their ability in some cases to create good like NGOs and others means that we're going to have a different kind of force to deal with and the old concept of interacting through our sovereign status is diminishing. There's a different set of relationships we have to create. We're in the age of information technology. Information technology brings good and it brings things not so good. How do we communicate with each other? How much interpersonal communications goes on now? You have a teenager, just watch and see.

This idea of a better communication means you can now stretch out across borders. Nobody can control what's out there. Maybe they

shouldn't but it also means all sorts of elements can mess and can identify themselves in a different way. Third largest nation in the world is Facebook if you went by population. How many people would identify themselves with that identity rather than maybe their national identity or religious belief or whatever? We are seeing more and more failed or incapable states, more demand for food and water.

Some of the Arab states are buying land in places like South America and developing plantations and other food producing, water producing capabilities because they believe there could be an upcoming food and water shortage. Places around the world where water is a shortage and we're going to see this diminished stability to maintain aqua first that's going to create problems. The capital of Yemen is going to run out in a few years. Amman, Jordan is in desperate need of more water. Gaza, the most populated place on earth, has an aquifer that's becoming saline and it's not recoverable once it becomes saline. What happens to those populations? Where do they go? We have regional hegemony out there that are creating havoc like Iran.

This is the world. A new world disorder. We believe or some of us believe we can withdraw from it and hide from it. Ridiculous. It has intertwined us more than ever. Instability has now become the enemy and all the things I mentioned can be stabilizing. How do you counter instability? You've got to make sure the places in the world that are vulnerable have the institutions, the political institutions, the social institutions, the economic institutions, the security institutions that allow them to survive and thrive. Again, if they thrive, if they are able to be stable, the world is able to be stable.

Now, I've spent a lot of time in God forsaken places on earth. From a second lieutenant in the hills of Vietnam all the way through Somalia, Iraq, the Philippines and many other places where I was either there to exert military force, to help humanitarian need, to keep the peace and many other missions. One thing that has struck me through all these is the military in some cases is not the answer. In other cases it is only a part of the answer and often a small part of the answer.

A lot of what can be done ahead of time before a crisis or a conflict metastasizes in some way are other elements of power, the soft power. Diplomacy, development, involvement in those other areas. The economic, the political areas, the social reforms. Those things can help prevent the need for the use of the military. When the military is committed you can't be a one punch fighter. I can tell you I did an assessment in Iraq and Afghanistan for the generals out there. The thing

that shock me on the ground in both places was how much our military is doing non-military things.

For those of you that have served out there, I sat in the command post in Baghdad and listen to the briefings. Military people were running recreational swimming pools, museums. Military people were working in the agricultural area, monitoring the date palm harvest, providing pesticides. Military people were working on the electricity grid. Military people were running the mediation groups, resolving issues between ethnic and religious sects on the ground that were at odds with each other. In Afghanistan I saw the task force on anti-corruption headed by an army brigadier general. Most of these people in that were military men and women. One person from the department of justice.

I saw on the ground with our provisional reconstruction teams. These teams were designed to go out of the province in district level, help rebuild governments, help them build institutions at that level and capacity. Eight percent military, not counting the security. Now this is not because our State Department, our AID, our Office of Foreign Development, our Agriculture Department, our Department of Commerce or the other agencies do not want to be there or do not want to help. They do. They don't have the capacity. It's not just a matter of people and money and facilities. We need to find a better way to team in these events.

The military is a great planning institution. We plan everything. I sat in my headquarters in Tampa, Florida. I had 11 war plans. I had many other contingency and crises plans. One of the things that hit me the hardest was realizing I had a military plan for everything. I did not have a plan for what came after that. I honestly believe that look, I can go to Baghdad and take down that regime in less than three weeks. As a congressman once told me, Newt Gingrich, your job general is to ask that political master and then what? You know what, we did nasty in then what questions. We didn't have a plan and we didn't have a capacity to deal with those issues.

What you lay down after a conflict will come back to haunt you. The work that is done in terms of development, reconstruction is critically important not to have to repeat that process. George Marshall figured that out. We didn't repeat the chronic problems in wars in Europe because we invested in rebuilding the society that it was in our interest to maintain a stable productive and thriving because it would come back to us.

What we're all about herein this coalition is promoting the idea that you cannot enter a situation, an intervention and do it alone with your military or use the military as the preponderance of the answer. Why do 150, retired three and four-starred generals join this and try to send the same message out? The first part of that message is it's a globally entwined world. We are interdependent. This is not 1840. You aren't going to lock yourself behind two mighty oceans and two innocuous borders and tell the rest of the world where they can go. It will not work.

The second here to tell you that when we have to go out there and protect our interest to ensure our way of life, to do what our values tell us to do, to help others that this cannot be done in a uniform with a bayonet. This has to be done where everybody has a role, where we build societies, where we create stability, where we ensure access that makes this globe, this planet that you can look down from that station out in space and say we can't see those borders.

We all need to be into this together. We need to build the partnerships. We have to accept the fact that America is a leader in this world. It's our destiny, it's our good fortune and in many ways it's our curse, but it is a reality. When you accept that and be smart about it in using all our elements of power and developing them to its fullest. I would leave you with one thought. The way we become more prosperous, more stable, more secure is to ensure this world is more prosperous, more stable and more secure. That message from any bully pulpit has to get out to the American people who don't fully realize what happened in 1989 and what it means about where we are today. Thank you for coming to this and for listening this and for joining us.

Speaker 2:

That was wonderful. All right, is this on? It is. Hello everybody. I just wanted to charge through a door when you were talking. That was just very, very powerful. Hey folks, thanks for being here. I have to tell you, I've lived in Colorado for 10 years down in Colorado Springs. It is great to be back here. Real quick, a quick disclaimer. Anybody from New Jersey here at all? New Jersey? Good because we're not having this in Secaucus, we're having this right here in Denver and boy, am I so glad it's here in Denver. This is a great place and the weather is shiny so thanks everybody for being here.

Let me start with you first Senator Hart and before I get to you I do want to mention that we are on Twitter. I know you're all going to pull out your phones now, but if you go to #smartpower you can actually type in a question which we may indeed read here today. There are no parting gifts, there's no consolation prize or anything like that, but you can do

that. Also there are note cards on your table. if you have a question for anybody here on the panel go ahead and fill that out. There'd be folks around the room that can come get those and we will ask questions as we go.

Senator Hart I want to ask you, there's a poll recently. It was from the Pure Research Center. Fifty percent of Americans say let's just mind our own business internationally. Let's not even worry about what's going on from an international perspective. What challenges are there to convince those fifty percent plus of Americans potentially who say we don't want anything to do with what's going on internationally smart power or otherwise?

Senator Hart: I think the single best thing we could do is put General Zinni on the road for the next five or ten years. That speech was the best summary against the isolationist point of view that I think it's possible to hear. The one addition I would make to what General Zinni said is that security is now collaborative, that increasingly, and I think he would verify this, our military and our security forces have to rely on our partners and our allies. We simply can't do it all by ourselves. General, did General Mattis follow you to central command?

General Zinni: To remove.

Senator Hart: To remove. I think the best summary of this issue came from General James Mattis who was asked about financing our international diplomatic efforts and humanitarian efforts. He said if we don't do it then send me more ammunition because that's what it gets down to and that's the world in which we live. I just think General Zinni summarized it as well as it can be said. I would hope and I think Senator Brown would concur that our political leadership, our elected officials would do more in civic organizations and in their town meetings to make the internationalist case the way General Zinni has done. The facts and the information simply have to be brought to the local level.

Speaker 2: Speaking of the local levels Senator Brown, how do you convince folks here in Colorado, a land rocked state if you will, that international development as it relates to smart power is crucial for the good of America? How do tell folks here in Colorado to weave that in to a general message here?

Senator Brown: First of all, let me confess that I think when you think about our international involvement you have to review at least in your own mind what works and what doesn't work. What we're after is I believe is not

just international involvement. What we're after I think is successful international involvement. I'm not trying to play word games with you but let me give you the example.

In Afghanistan the single best thing we ever did occurred in 1950s and early '60s when Colorado State University sent over agricultural experts that helped them develop irrigated agriculture. They still remember it, believe it or not, in Afghanistan. Tremendously successful. It was something that we did together that was a benefit to their community where we shared our expertise and were helpful.

What was the worst thing? I think the period in which we turned our back on Afghanistan and refused to even talk to them. There's no question the reason that Taliban moved, because I talked to Taliban leaders in the '90s, one of the reasons they moved to Al-Qaeda was that they were willing not only to talk to them but to supply weapons and help train them when we wouldn't talk to them.

What we need, I think, is not simply a commitment or involvement overseas but the wisdom to make the right kind of involvement. I think we forget that the number one thing we can do is to show that America works. It must had sound strange. I don't know how many of were Scottish-Irish in this crowd, but we regroup if you order us to do something we're not inclined to do it. In fact, we're inclined to do exactly the opposite. General, I don't know if you got any of those folks in the marines or not.

General Zinni: Of course we do.

Senator Brown: They take a little training to get there.

Gen. Zinni: But if you think about it, if people are convinced that what you're doing works, if people are convinced that how you do things is effective, you can't stop them from trying to mimic it. You can't stop them, and I think the big challenge for us is not only to engage internationally but also to understand the right way to do it, and America has a lot of bad examples as well as good.

David: I want to ask you because you mentioned Afghanistan, and I do want to ask you General Zinni while have you here. In 2014, going forward in Afghanistan, how can the gains be secured if you will to a degree in Afghanistan when you have the military with civilian agencies all working together; what needs to happen in Afghanistan going forward to make sure smart power is best used there?

Gen. Zinni:

Let me say something about the work that was done in the early 50's in Afghanistan.

My son is in the marines. He's an infantry officer. He led his company into Marjah during that campaign. When they entered Marjah, he met the tribal chief there, and the tribal chief asked him, "Are you Russians?" He said, "No, we're Americans." "Ah," he said. "We know Americans. In 1952, you came here and built our irrigation system. Have you come back to repair it?"

To back up the senator's point, what did they remember most? They remembered most something that benefitted them that they received. I think that's critical. 2014 is a critical year in Afghanistan. One, obviously, we're withdrawing major combat forces out of there. If the agreement is signed and we work everything out, we'll retain some capability over there probably special operations forces and others because there's still maybe a high value personnel in there that might ... And the Al Qaeda might re-enter so we need a little edge against that.

But the most important part about what we want to keep there are trainers, and people that will help develop a responsible security force. Now, on the soft power side, they're having an election at the end of 2014. This is a critical election that we're looking to see that we get a leader there than can fight corruption, that can organize a government in a way that makes it more responsive to the needs of the people.

So, as important as that residual security forces, the help we do in the economic side and the government side, and even on the social side, I mean, they have a long way to go in terms of the role of women and other things that are important for their society; those elements need to be there as they move into that transition period. I spent a lot of time in Afghanistan traveling around all the way down to the lowest levels, not only in the military units and patrolling with some of the troops at the lower levels. I went down to the district levels and elsewhere to talk to some of the young Afghans over there.

Now, some didn't get it. You'd ask them, "What do you think you need?" It was kind of a trick question for me to see if they would ask, "I want more money. I want more equipment," and some would say that. But I ran into a few that said, "I don't need more money, and I don't need more equipment until I understand what to do with it. You need to come and help me at my district level on how to plan a budget, how to manage programs, how to establish programs."

What I saw, there was a core of young Afghans that wanted change. I think we need to have, again on the soft power side the ability to communicate with them, empower them, and help them to develop the capacities they need.

David: You mentioned soft power and I want to ... By the way, we have about 10 more minutes here among discussion here and then 15 minutes or so of questions from all of you. Remember to keep those questions coming. We'll answer them here shortly.

Ellen, I want to ask you about soft power and really this idea that your organization does a lot with water, environment, infrastructure, and all of that. Explain exactly how that is crucial to this whole equation that we've been talking about here.

Ellen: Yes, absolutely. I'd be happy to, and I do want to echo what General Zinni mentioned which has to do with the fact that truly, urbanization is happening in major cities around the world and what that is meaning for a company like CH2M HILL is where we want to bring of course, water, safe water infrastructure, roads, bridges to all of these cities. The truth of the matter is that many of those cities that are experiencing all of these urbanizations are also in places that are highly impacted by climate change. They're seeing rising seas or they're seeing disappearing water.

What's going to happen in these particular cities that are urbanized so much is that if they don't build their infrastructure right today, then they're going to have to rebuild it when the next tsunami hits or when the next hurricane hits. And if a country has to continue to rebuild its infrastructure, it's not going to be able to invest in education. It's not going to be able to invest in health care centers. It's not going to be able to invest in the real critical other infrastructure, the soft infrastructure of these cities.

If these countries are not able to invest in those, because they're having to rebuild their poor rivers, their poor bridges, and their poor water systems then we're just going to see more instability and we're not going to see the kind of world that this coalition wants to see. We're going to see war. We're going to see fighting. We're going to see all kinds of destabilization.

For CH2M HILL as an engineering company, what we want to do is clearly, we want to be a part of the solution. We want to move in to those kinds of areas in the world that really need what we can provide which is safe drinking water, which is electricity that will power the cities so there isn't

crime, and all of that is to say that that's the stability that we all need and that's the stability that those countries and those cities will need so that we won't see all of the war and devastation, and fighting over the scarce resources that we see today.

David: Senator Hart and Senator Brown, have you been struck by the bipartisanship that comes along with this effort? I mean, for Washington D.C. to have a Hillary Clinton and a John McCain, you just go down the list of Republicans and Democrats coming together; what kind of opportunities that present to further the smart power argument in Washington and beyond?

Sen. Hart: I want to give thanks of give credit to Liz Schroyer who is here. She is the executive director of this coalition in Washington. She has probably done more to foster the bipartisan, non-partisan nature of the board and the effort of any one. She can testify to how difficult that is in these days. For some strange human nature or reason, politicians tend to become more bipartisan after they leave office. I don't know why that is, Hank.

I think it's maybe partly growing up and freeing yourself from your partisan constituent groups but also realizing that after all, we are Americans not Republicans and Democrats. If we can recapture that, which we had by the way in times of national peril particularly world wars, we all become Americans. I hope that I live long enough to see that day again and organizations like these are a step on that direction.

David: Senator Brown, what do you think about that?

Sen. Brown: As I review maybe the last 50 years of our extensive involvement overseas, I'm struck by how bipartisan our mistakes had been. That may sound strange but if you think about international involvement, you have to be shocked a little bit at the American propensity to think that good is accomplished by remaking the world in our definitions. To think that we're going to make Afghanistan a country full of Thomas Jeffersons is a noble objective but it doesn't fit what the Afghans want.

The Afghans have something different in mind than what we have in the way of a democracy. Part of our problems I think, it come about not because of partisanship but that can be good or bad depending on the nature of it. But a failure to understand how we really help people overseas. Let me give you an example.

Opening our markets to Europe with very few barriers did more to revitalize Europe than any single thing we did in the Marshall Plan. Part of

what I think is needed is not simply a focus overseas but a focus to rethink how we interact with people overseas in what really helps them and what doesn't. As I look back at the record, we've made lots of mistakes as we move forward but a lot of it has come from not understanding what it is that truly helps people and what doesn't.

David: We have a few questions here and this is a good one. I'll open one to anybody on the panel. I'm wondering Ellen, you might be able to chime in on this for sure but while there will be many challenges, and we've talked about that here today; do you have anything positive or happy to report which I thought was interesting? Don't Worry, Be Happy, Bobby McFerrin, right? What are we seeing on the frontlines here? What are some encouraging stories that are out there that can make people, maybe not necessarily invest their money but more importantly their time to this cause? Anybody?

Ellen: Well, I'll bring the softer side of the serious to this conversation since I'm the foundation representative and I can answer that by saying, they're really right here. Right here in this room, there are representatives from non-governmental organizations, Engineers Without Borders, Water For People, Bridges to Prosperity, Build Change; these are all amazing NGOs and they're from right here in the State of Colorado. They're headquartered right here in Denver, Colorado.

While they're here in Denver, they are spreading the word all around the planet doing things that are right in the sweet spot of what this coalition is all about. Bridges to Prosperity is making sure that there are sustainable bridges across raging rivers so that people can go back and forth between villages and create commerce, go to school, go to hospitals. Engineers Without Borders are bringing electricity to cities throughout Africa. Water For People are building, are digging wells and providing water and security, and providing safe drinking water for millions of people. This is the non-profit sector. We can all feel very good that those organizations are thriving, they exist right here in Colorado but their reaches is global.

Hand in hand with private companies like CH2M HILL and others, they help us. They're essentially out there on the forefront doing that kind of work so that big companies like CH2M HILL can come in later because they're really making the difference and reaching places that we wouldn't necessarily be able to be.

David: Yeah, go ahead.

Sen. Brown:

One is our education system at the university level. I think we have a lot of work to do at the high school level. It's horrible. But our university system is still the most respected in the world. I can't tell you, every place I go in the world, every father wants to get his son and increasingly now, daughters into our university system here. They value that education. What goes back is now a set of values and understanding about who we are that we are now seeding throughout the world, and you can see the effect. It's not anything you're going to see dramatically overnight but you'll see it slowly but surely.

Where we have worked to demonstrate the importance of social change like in the role of women, I was saying earlier in answer to one of the questions in the media, when I first went in the Middle East, I would never believe I would see a woman ambassador to the United States on an Arab nation or the minister of finance or whatever. Now, that's not unusual.

There are values that we transmit. There are ways that we send messages around the world. I want to say one thing before we get too much into believing that everybody is so different, you can't find a common ground. After being asked many times how Arabs think, the king of Saudi Arabia realized that they don't take polls or surveys in that part of the world. We asked Jim Zogby, the pollster from the United States that does a lot of our political and other polling here, asked him to do a survey of Arab attitudes and I have the result of the monograph and I use this in classes when I teach on culture.

One of the questions Jim asked was, "What are your top 10 values or concerns?" When he saw the list that came out, the 10, he thought this remarkably looks like us. So, he asked the same question in the United States survey. Every one of the top 10 were exactly the same. All but one were either at the same priority or one off. The only one that was not right in line was religion. They placed it at third in their order of priorities, Americans placed it at seventh.

Everything else like family values, job security, they were line for line or just one off. Before we think they're not like us, they're different; at the core, they're the same people. My parents were immigrants of this country, we are all the same. We come from the same set of values. We may get there a little bit differently. Look, we preach democracy. We would be the first one to say the United Kingdom has a democracy. Australia has a democracy. I want to tell you, I don't understand that democracy. I don't understand the problems that are in system. I sat in

the balcony and watch you scream at each other, kind of like our Congress. But that system is democracy.

But it has different forms. It suits the culture. The underpinning principles that we implant and send out there and share, and the things we can learn from them, we need to keep on that track. That's critically important in my mind, and that's a good news.

Sen. Hart:

Let me tell two stories that underscore what General Zinni said. Some years back, I helped back an American engineering company, not CH2M HILL bid on a prime, major project, a water project in Turkey and we went to see the president of Turkey. We're escorted in to his office and I said ... I identified myself. I identified the company. I said I'm from Colorado. I began to try to tell him where Colorado was. He says, "No, no, no. I'm a graduate of the Colorado School of Mines."

Three or four years ago, I was part of an observer group at the first national election in Afghanistan for president. The day before the election, one of the candidates against President Karzai, a PhD economist from Columbia University came to a lunch with our group and I again described where Colorado is and he said, "Oh, let me tell you a story." He said, "When I was studying for my PhD at Columbia," in the early '60s, I think. He said that he did what often a lot of foreign students do, he bought a cross-country Greyhound bus ticket. He stopped into this all across the country, and he had stories to tell of every place.

He said, "The one place I never forget is Denver, Colorado." He said, "I got off the bus. I didn't know anyone in the city of Denver. I just walked out on the street. I didn't have a place to stay. I didn't know where to get a dinner." He said, "I stopped the first couple that I saw and told them who I was and asked their advice." He said that, "They took me home. They gave me dinner. They put me up overnight in their house, and I have never forgotten them."

David:

Interesting. Listen, we just have a few last minutes here so in 30 seconds or less, good luck on that one, here's a question for you. This is the question that a lot of Americans have, and it's a great one. Why just the United States, why should they just play this role? How about other nations? I'm from New York, so I'll say with a little New York accent, you know, what about those other nations, why can't they help? That's kind of the philosophy of a lot of folks in this country. They say, why does America have to take this leading role?

Now, the good news, you have 30 seconds or less to answer that question. Anyone.

Sen. Hart: First of all, there are, as General Zinni will verify this, the nations in the Middle East particularly Turkey and others are taking in a million Syrian refugees. To my knowledge, we aren't taking any as yet anyway. It's a huge problem in the region. The French have intervened militarily in Mali. Other nations are beginning to assume responsibility for some of the collaborative security issues, sea lanes of communication. We're beginning to develop international cyber security measures with a whole lot of other nations. It is tragic that at this time of globalization, the news media outlets in America are cutting back on their international coverage. An awful lot of things are going on that we don't hear about.

David: General Zinni?

Gen. Zinni: I believe that we should lead in respect of creating international regional organizations and partnership. My experience for example in Africa. Africans want to take care of their own problems. There are a number of African peacekeepers that are in Somalia and other hot spots, and the efforts that they want to do. They often ask, "Why can't you just train us, educate us, help us with the resources," but we want to put the boots on the ground.

The trouble is, and I'll say this for all the developed world, we wait until something happens that so bad and then we push them aside and come in. That's a mistake. I mentioned I think that we need to revamp the United Nations. It needs to be redesigned in many ways. It needs to be revitalized in many ways, and we need to solve some of its issues in the past. We need to revitalize NATO and look at its role. Its original role is now gone and can it play a bigger role?

If the Pacific is important to us, how do we build alliances and coalitions? We've had examples in the past where we've taken a backseat like in Libya and East Timor. The Australians said, "This isn't our backyard. We'll leave." We help and support them. We provided some asset but they took on the major part of the role and the leadership. We need to design and encourage more of that. It allows burden sharing. The more flags you have that give you international legitimacy to what you're doing, and we haven't done enough of that. Part of that belongs to us, because of our leadership position in organizing that.

David: You mentioned the United Nations. First of all, the United Nations was also another question here about, what about the U.N.'s role in all of this?

Sen. Brown: I think what Senator Hart put his finger on, this is something that is changing dramatically. If you look at the history of this, at the end of World War II, we produced more than 50% of the world's GNP. Now, having some of competitors destroy it, and probably helped those numbers, as you look at it, but the U.S. with 6% of the world's population then, produced over half of the world's good and services.

Today, we're 5% of the world's population roughly, and we produce somewhere in the neighborhood of 20 to 22%. Our share has dropped dramatically. What happened is the ground rules for much of this came at a time we produced the world's goods and services. So, do we do more than our share? Sure. We did partly because we had the ability to do it when others didn't. The transition that's taking place is one that Senator Hart, I think, identified with it is you're beginning to see other nations come forward as they begin to get the ability to do so, and our ability is somewhat diminished.

I think, you'll see that change. The U.N. change, too. For a long time, we subsidized everybody else in the international organizations. We're now getting to the point where Americans are actually talking about other people paying their first year. So, a transition I think you'll see will take place.

David: Very nice. Great questions, great discussion, great panel. Everybody please give a hand to this panel. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Megan: Thank you very much. This is our last little wrap up so you're almost free to go out into this 60-degree, middle of December Colorado weather. My name is Megan Nathan, and I am the Western Regional Director for the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition. If you don't know me, I'm sure you received an e-mail from me. Thank you all so much for joining us.

To our distinguished panel, our co-chairs, senators ... I thank our co-chairs, Senator Gary Hart and Senator Hank Brown. Thank you for your insight and your leadership. To General Zinni, I have had the pleasure of hearing you several times and it never fails to inspire me and reinvigorate me on these issues, so thank you.

To our moderator David Brody, wonderful, thank you. To Ellen Sandberg and CH2M HILL for your partnership and your leadership on these issues.

Thank you all again for coming. Something that Liz Schroyer, our executive director likes to say, one of our little key phrases is, "The difference between a good meeting and great meeting is what comes next." That's where we need all of you. I have done events like this from Richmond, to Nashville, to Seattle but the thing that's special here is that I am a Coloradan and I'm from Denver. I'm really, really proud to see this turnout and people engaged in this way because I've been telling my colleagues in D.C. that this is how it was. Thank you for proving me right and coming out today.

The expo was fantastic and I want to know, what interests you? Is it the expo and the work that we're doing in a non-governmental work and development overseas? Is it business in the way that we can strengthen our economy through this issue? Is it national security? What's your background? What interests you on this subject? Either you have my e-mail or you will be receiving an e-mail from me shortly, so reply and tell me what you're interested in. I want to meet with you. I want to grow this community. I really want to help Mayor Hancock and all of you making Denver and Colorado an international city, an international state and a leader on this issue. Thank you so much again for coming. Have a wonderful day.