

**U.S. Global Leadership Coalition
Impact 2012 Symposium
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Foreign Policy and the Presidential Election

**Norm Coleman (R-MN)
Former U.S. Senator
Romney for President Surrogate**

CHRIS POLICINSKI: Well, good afternoon. I'm Chris Policinski, president and CEO of Land O'Lakes and a proud board member of the USGLC.

It's my honor today to introduce Norm Coleman, former senator from the great state of Minnesota and a key foreign policy adviser to Governor Mitt Romney. Senator Coleman is no stranger to the subject of American global engagement. Elected to the Senate in 2002, he was an influential Republican voice for smart investments in the international affairs budget, leading the charge in support of vital programs year after year. And as an active member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Coleman was known as an insightful, articulate advocate for American interests abroad.

He may have left the U.S. Senate, but Norm Coleman has certainly continued his leadership role in the public policy arena. Among his many activities, he serves as chairman of the board of the American Action Network and as a board member of the National Endowment for Democracy. He understands as well as anyone the importance of political advocacy in advancing issues of diplomacy and development. And so he serves on both the board of ONE Vote 2012 and the USGLC's National Advisory Council. And perhaps most importantly, did I mention he's from the great state of Minnesota?

He's here with us today as a top foreign policy adviser to Governor Romney in his presidential campaign. Please join me in welcoming Governor Romney's foreign policy surrogate, Senator Norm Coleman. (Applause.)

NORM COLEMAN: Thank you. Thank you, Chris.

When Chris was – he really wanted to talk about when I was mayor of St. Paul. When I was mayor of St. Paul, one of the things I did as mayor is I brought professional hockey back to St. Paul. And now – and in Minnesota – in Minnesota, you bring hockey back to the state, people think you can walk on water. The reality is you can walk on water six months of the year in Minnesota – (laughter) – so it's not like it's a miracle, but it was a very big deal and probably got me to the Senate.

I want to applaud Chris and the work that Land O'Lakes and so many other great corporate citizens in our state and our country do. He and Greg Page, the CEO of Cargill,

penned, oh, about a year ago, an op-ed that talked about the importance of foreign assistance. Land O'Lakes has efforts, projects in Africa in which they're teaching Africans American technology. I, by the way, have a son, Jake, who is 6 foot 5, and I tell folks the reason for him to be 6 foot 5 is Minnesota bovine products, and Land O'Lakes is probably responsible for that. So Chris, thank you for all that you do.

It is a pleasure to be here among friends. And by the way, I have to applaud the USGLC for honoring Lindsey Graham and Pat Leahy tonight. They're – Lindsey is one of my dearest, dearest friends. In the Senate, you have to be careful because when somebody – when you – when you say somebody is your friend on the floor of the Senate – (inaudible) – my friend, the senator from so and so, what comes next isn't always very nice. But Lindsey truly is a great friend, and I have been on a number of codels, trips around the world, with Pat Leahy. These folks really care. And I have to tell you, caring about what goes on in the world doesn't always score you points back home. For me, being a United States senator, being involved in conversation about America's place in the world was really important. But it's not – it's not always – it doesn't bring you, you know, votes back home, but it – with Lindsey Graham, Pat Leahy, you have two great Americans who understand the importance of America's role in the world and do an outstanding job, and I'm really pleased that you're honoring them tonight.

I'm honored to be associated with the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition, serving on its advisory council. I'm humbled, as Chris said, to be co-chair of ONE Vote 2012 with, again, my good friend Governor Mike Huckabee, and on the other side of the aisle, Blanche Lincoln and Tom Daschle. In this time of bitter partisan divide in Washington, it's a true joy to be able to reach across the aisle and to work with folks in the – for the purpose of fighting AIDS, promoting clean water, malaria prevention. So it's a humbling and an honor.

I'm here today on behalf of Governor Mitt Romney. Now, in Minnesota, we all know the Scandinavian who loved his wife so much he almost told her. (Laughter.) And, well, in D.C. we have folks who care so much, they almost do something. But Mitt Romney is different. He both cares and he knows how to get things done. That's why I support him for president. He spent 25 years in the private sector, helped start such household names as Staples, Domino's and the Sports Authority. He helped create over 100,000 jobs. Though a president must do many things, keeping us safe foremost among them, he must also understand that we will remain safe only so long as our economy remains strong. Restoring America's fiscal health is a – is a top priority for Governor Romney. The American economy is suffering today, and our capacity to lead is being undermined by economic weakness. Today domestic prosperity is intertwined with our security and international stability, and U.S. leadership is critical to international stability.

When I was mayor of St. Paul folks would often come to me and say, Mayor, what are you doing for kids today? And response was that the best thing I could do for a kid today is make sure mom and dad has an opportunity for a job. Conversation around the breakfast table is a lot different when mom and dad are going to work, a lot different. Governor Romney understands what it takes to grow jobs. He has the capacity, the skill set, the experience and the ability to make that happen. You know, in fact, I'd argue that the governor and the coalition share a common purpose: maintaining U.S. leadership in the world. Governor Romney likes to say a strong America is the greatest ally peace has ever known, and I agree. Not for nothing

were the last 100 years known as the American century. We rescued Europe, defeated communism, stood as moral witness to oppression abroad. We didn't get everything right, but we tried, and the world is better for it.

Today we face an array of challenges: Islamic jihadism, a rising China, an assertive Russia. Each of these challenges calls for a unique solution, but the overarching answer remains the same: We need a strong America; we need another American century. And Governor Romney is committed to keeping us strong. Governor Romney understands that foreign assistance is an instrument of American soft power and, if spent wisely, can be used to help our friends, undermine our enemies, enlarge human freedom and support market-led prosperity. At the same time, given this moment of fiscal hardship, we are going to take a very hard look at how this money is being spent. And as in other areas, we are going to have to make some hard choices on what works and what's in America's interest.

A Romney administration would use foreign aid in the following ways: first, to strengthen our national security; second, to promote economic growth and job creation and do so in ways that benefit not only the developing country, but the people in this country. We will seek to increase economic and political freedom in the world. The current administration has sounded an uncertain trumpet at best when it comes to freedom in the world. Of course, the governor knows that strength comes in many forms. In 1940 Franklin Roosevelt called America the arsenal of democracy. Each generation must replenish that arsenal, and not just with guns and bullets. Development and diplomacy are also important. As Governor Romney says, soft power is real power, and to ensure another American century, we must wield it with skill and with honor.

Unfortunately, we haven't taken advantage of all our resources, and our standing in the world has suffered for it. The tools of hard and soft power must work together to be effective. They are complements to one another, not substitutes. As president, Governor Romney will apply the full spectrum of hard and soft power to influence events before they erupt into conflict.

Today I'd like to explain how he will make use of three resources: our military, our economy and our moral authority. First, our military. Today our Navy is the smallest it has been since 1917, our Air Force the smallest since 1947. In the next decade we'll cut \$487 billion from the defense budget, and we'll cut another 500 billion (dollars) if Congress doesn't prevent sequestration. It's tempting to think you can ease up when you're several lengths ahead, but that's how the frontrunner falls behind. And a show of strength is not an act of aggression. In 1907 America and Japan were at loggerheads over immigration policy. To deter war Teddy Roosevelt sent the Great White Fleet on an international tour, with a stop in Japan. When the American sailors met the Japanese they didn't come to blows; instead, they played a game of baseball. A strong military is crucial to our efforts. In a word, our armed forces are deteriorating before our eyes.

Second, there is our economy. It's twice the size of our two closest competitors, China and Japan, and it's 80 percent as large as the combined economies of the 27 nations of the European Union, yet we haven't used that soft power to our advantage. For instance, the Chinese government rests its legitimacy on economic growth, growth powered in large part by

our markets. But we haven't used this leverage to gain China's support in imposing harsh sanctions on Iran. We can't even get them to respect our intellectual property rights. We should remember Joseph Addison's quip that a man who is furnished with arguments from the mint will convince his antagonists much sooner than one who draws them from reason and philosophy.

Third, we've neglected our moral authority. In 2009, when the Iranian regime brutally suppressed the Green Movement, this administration fell silent. As protesters died in the street, the White House said they didn't want to meddle in Iranian affairs. We outsourced our leadership on a civil war in Syria to Kofi Annan, which The Washington Post labels a diplomatic disaster. And we stood by as China has continued its human rights abuses. This is an abdication of American moral authority.

What's more, we haven't even been very good friends to our allies. We let our free trade deals with Colombia, Panama and South Korea languish for years, our negotiation over the Trans-Pacific Partnership have stalled and since 2009 we've negotiated no new trade agreements, while China and the EU have negotiated dozens. Our trade and investment with developing countries are many times bigger than foreign aid. A Romney administration would put expanding free trade back at the center of Americans' foreign and economic policy because it would create jobs in this country and reduce poverty in developing nations and is a source of power and influence for the United States.

And even when we do help out, too few people know about it. America spends far more in aid in Latin America than Fidel and Raul Castro do, but their aid is better-known and therefore at times seems to be more effective. That's absurd. Americans make up just 4.5 percent of the world's population, and we donate 12 percent of global foreign aid, almost twice as much as any other country. We should never let our generosity be outshone by empty gestures from the likes of Chavez and Castro.

In all three areas, Governor Romney will harness both hard power and soft power to promote open markets, representative government and respect for human rights. Here's how. First, he'll stop sequestration. This administration's own defense secretary has called these cuts devastating to our national security. But they don't threaten only our hard power, but our soft power as well. They will slash into foreign operations accounts. We should be strategic about our foreign aid, and an across-the-board cut in security spending is indiscriminate and reckless. It's a sign that Washington is broken. We need a leader who can fix it, someone who can reach across the aisle and forge solution. As a former Republican mayor in a Democrat city, I think we have just the man for the job in Governor Romney, a former Republican governor of a Democratic state.

Second, Governor Romney will make use of our economic clout. He'll impose new sanction on Iran's economy, unlike the current administration, fully implement the sanctions in place. And he'll get touch with China on issues like currency abuse. Anyone with business experience knows that you can succeed in negotiation only if you're willing to walk away. If we want the Chinese to play by the rules, if we truly want free trade, we've got to enforce them.

Third, the governor will re-establish our moral authority. He'll speak out about human rights abuses in places like Iran, China and Russia. He'll encourage all nations to respect the rule of law, protect human dignity, defend the unalienable rights of man. The path from authoritarianism to representative government isn't always a straight line. History teaches us that nations that share our values will be our most reliable partners.

Governor Romney will look to expand economic liberty and free trade. In his first hundred days he'll launch a campaign to promote economic opportunity in Latin America and to contrast the benefits of democracy and free enterprise with the material and moral bankruptcy of the Chavez and Castro models. He'll also create the Reagan economic zone, a partnership among countries committed to free enterprise and free trade. It will open markets for our goods and services and reverse the trend we've seen in recent years, with China negotiating multiple free trade agreements in Asia and Latin America and hundreds of trade agreements with other Asian nations, none of which – none of which now include the United States.

Given how generous we are as a country, foreign assistance can also reflect the soul of America when we share our God-given blessings with others. In the developing world, religion holds a more central place in daily life. So if we are not partnering with the faith community in an effective way, we're partnering with the wrong people. Yet this administration has taken a number of steps that have undermined the ability of faith-based organizations to accomplish their missions in countries that are crying out for their assistance, for example, by cutting aid to faith-based organizations for ideological reasons and issuing executive orders that seek to force religious organizations to make decisions that go against their most fundamental beliefs. The Romney administration will not tie USAID funding to compliance with a social agenda that is antagonistic to faith-based organizations. Many of – you can applaud on that. That's OK. (Chuckles.) (Scattered applause.) Many of America's most effective development groups are faith-based, and they will have no stronger friend, no stronger partner than a Romney administration.

Finally, Governor Romney will rework our entire approach to soft power. After World War II, Harry Truman reorganized the military by dividing the world into regions and assigning a single command at each region. That person became responsible for his region – the priorities, the programs, the objectives, everything – and it works. Governor Romney will do the same for soft power. He will empower leadership in each region to be able to act effectively, innovatively, and to execute plans uniquely designed to succeed in that region. Unfortunately, American foreign aid is constrained by too many layers of rules and regulations and contradictory oversight, too opaque, too captive to interest groups, done by too many bureaucracies and too often falls short of reflecting our national interest. No more delays, no more red tapes.

This coalition will find a partner in Governor Romney. He knows that, as George H.W. Bush once said, strength and clarity lead to peace; weakness and ambivalence lead to war. But he also knows that America's mission in the world is not to rattle her saber but to preserve peace and goodwill among all nations. Governor Romney will recommit us to that mission.

The other day I was in Liberia and I had a chance to meet President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, a remarkable, remarkable leader. Her country has had a history of – a troubled history, two civil wars in the past 20 years, 250,000 lives lost. Eighty-five percent of its people live below the poverty line. I believe there are about 5 million people in Liberia and about less than 5800 are on the grid. But as President Johnson Sirleaf told me, they're making progress. 2005, Liberia held its first democratic election in years, and last year she just won re-election. Liberia is also making economic progress with our help. With U.S. assistance, they are expanding access to electricity, rebuilding roads, training teachers, improving access to health care. President Johnson Sirleaf says her vision for Liberia is not one of continued dependency on aid. She told me Liberia's goal is to be a self-sufficient company – country, where capital is invested in job growth and innovation flourishes. And I'm proud that we're helping them reach that goal. I think that's exactly the kind of work that we need to be doing. We believe in promoting liberty, opportunity and human rights across the board.

My trip to Liberia reconfirmed my belief that America remains the world's last best hope. As an exceptional country we have an important role to play in shaping the world in ways that increase freedom and prosperity. America is hurting economically. We have to be able to justify using these limited dollars to the American taxpayer. At the same time, if spent right, foreign assistance can be one of the ways we ensure that the 21st century is an American century. I'm proud to see the United States taking the lead in that effort, and I can assure you that Governor Romney will keep our country in the forefront of diplomacy and development.

There is a – I'll end with just two stories. There's a little town in kind of western Minnesota. It's called New York Mills. And every year they have what they call the Great American Think-Off. They have great philosophers and teachers and lawyers, and they – all sorts of folks. They invite them to pose – they pose an interesting question and invite all comers to give a two-minute answer, which, by the way, probably rules out senators and governors from participating. (Scattered laughter.) A few years back I heard the question of the year was: What is the meaning of life? Hundreds of thinkers, philosophers, preachers, regular people came to venture, and after – venture an answer. After several hours a young girl walked up to the microphone and said this: The meaning of life is to do permanent good. The chair of the event immediately adjourned the meeting because they had their answer.

The people in this room understand that. That's what you're all about. One of my favorite quotes is the Jewish philosopher Maimonides, 12th century, doctor, rabbi, teacher. He once said each of us should view ourselves if the world were held in balance, and any single act of goodness in our part could tip the scales. The world is held in balance, and the single act of goodness that the folks in this room, that the folks in the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition support – they're changing the world. They're tipping the balance. They know the meaning is to do permanent good. And I'm just here to tell you that you will have no stronger friend in doing that good than Governor Mitt Romney.

Thank you, and God bless. (Applause.)