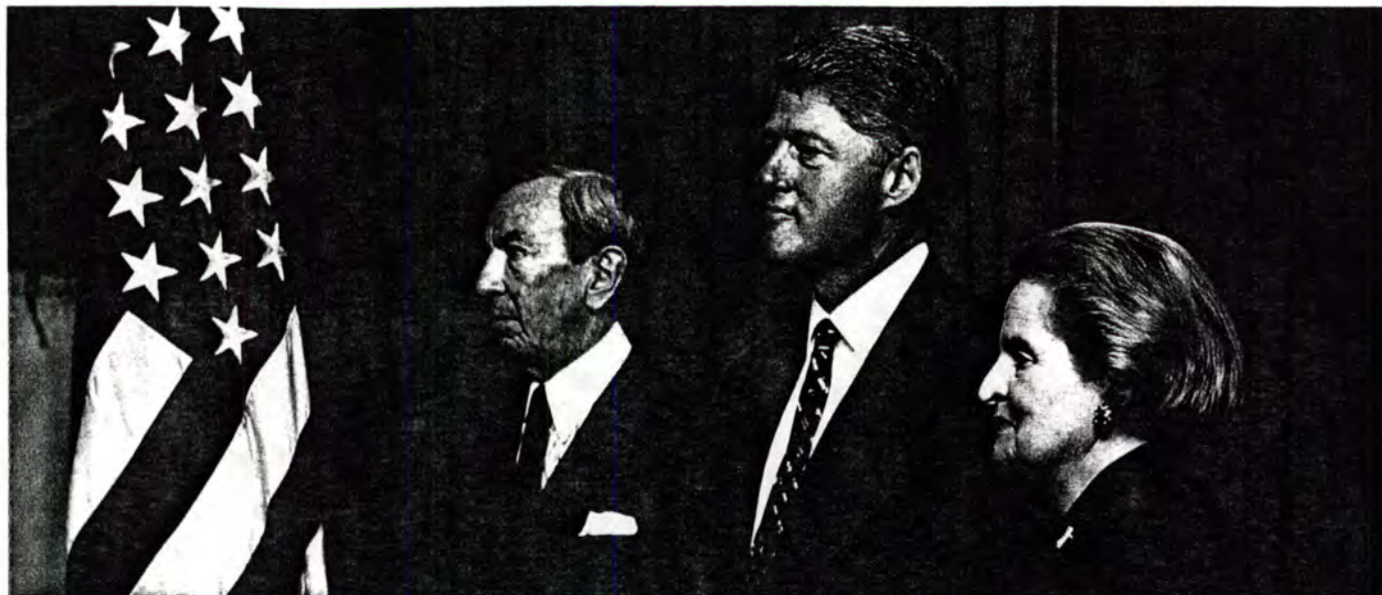


File
Albright



THE FOREIGN POLICY RACE

Madeleine Albright's Audition

In an all-male circle, restless determination has made her more than Madame Ambassador. But does she have what it takes to become Secretary of State? By Elaine Sciolino

Under a warm late-afternoon sun, two middle-aged American women in smart pants suits slip out of their Prague hotel and stroll across Old Town Square. Trailed at a discreet distance by Secret Service agents, they study the clock on the 15th-century Town Hall, do some window shopping and walk into Wenceslas Square, where a protest rally in 1989 sparked the country's Velvet Revolution and the fall of Communism. They talk about their children, the professors they had at Wellesley College, walking, eating and vitamins. Madeleine Korbel Albright and Hillary Rodham Clinton are clearly having a good time.

It is four days of fun and diplomacy, captured in a few snapshots: Albright, the Czech-born American delegate to the United Nations, showing off the yellow house in which she once lived ... the two women laughing uncontrollably when their umbrellas turn inside out in a driving rainstorm ... sitting in a Prague cafe, editing their talking points over dumplings and cabbage for meetings in Slovakia the next day ... singing "Good King Wenceslas" with a dear

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, President Clinton and the United Nations delegate Madeleine Albright.



friend, President Vaclav Havel, as their Chevrolet Suburban pulls into Wenceslas Square.

Why is Albright playing tour guide in Prague for the First Lady? "Mostly because it's friendship," says Albright. "And it just seemed like a natural thing to do."

It may also have been an expedient thing to do. Should Clinton win another term and the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, decide to leave, Albright would be a contender for his position. And one of the people likely to decide whether the time is right for a female Secretary of State is Hillary Clinton. In some quarters in the Administration, Albright's trip with the First Lady is viewed as so blatantly political that it is dismissed in just two words: the audition.

The 59-year-old Albright is certainly well positioned for a bigger role should there be a Clinton II. She is the first American delegate to the United Nations who is both a member of the Cabinet and a full-fledged participant in the National Security Council. She has moved into the vacuum left by an uneven foreign policy team and defined her role broadly, doing the speeches-and-talk-show circuit, visiting American troops to boost her standing with the military and subbing for the Secretary of State whenever necessary. She has embraced her job with the same energy that in an earlier life drove her to knit sweaters at the movies and take a crash course in Russian while her premature twins were isolated in incubators.

Her extracurricular activities leave only about half her time for the United Nations, prompting criticism there that she does not take her job seriously enough. Around Washington, her diverse schedule is seen as evidence of an ambition that has taken her from early marriage and motherhood, through a devastating divorce, to a professorship at Georgetown University and finally to being a key member of the President's foreign policy team, one who has a shot at becoming the most senior female official in United States history.

Perhaps the single biggest surprise about Albright — and what has catapulted her into prominence — is that she's so good in public, particularly on television. "CNN is the 16th member of the Security Council," she likes to

Elaine Sciolino, a senior writer in the Washington bureau of The New York Times, has also served as The Times's chief diplomatic correspondent and United Nations bureau chief.

say. The President wants her in front of the cameras, and largely by default she has earned a reputation as the most passionate and articulate defender of Clinton's foreign policy.

"I hate to sound this way because it makes me sound so conceited," she says, "but I do think I'm playing a larger role than any U.N. ambassador ever."

Like Pamela Harriman, Clinton's Ambassador to France, Albright has made it in a world dominated by men, because of men. Both women used their wealth and their Georgetown homes as meeting places for rich, important and potentially important Democrats. Harriman made her way because of her personal relationships with men; Albright moved up because she worked hard for men, made them look good and believed in them. "I was the world's perfect staffer," she says. Or the ultimate good daughter.

What she may lack in innate brilliance, she makes up for in dedication. Her critics whisper that she hasn't written a serious work in 25 years of studying foreign policy and that she lacks strategic vision. None of this fazes Albright, whose importance is beginning to transcend that of the men she works for. Sitting in an armchair in the peach-and-yellow living room of her Georgetown town house, Albright talks straight. "I'm not that smart," she says. "I work very hard."

It would be hard for most men in public life to be so self-deprecating, or so honest.

ON A COOL SATURDAY AFTERNOON at the Orange Bowl, 60,000 Cuban-Americans are on their feet cheering wildly, not for the Miami Dolphins but for Madeleine Albright. "Madeleine, libertad! Madeleine, libertad!" they cry over and over. She waves, campaign-style. The applause is so overwhelming she can barely get through her speech.

"We thought she was running for mayor of Miami down there," Clinton joked afterward. Albright, he added, "has a great political feel."

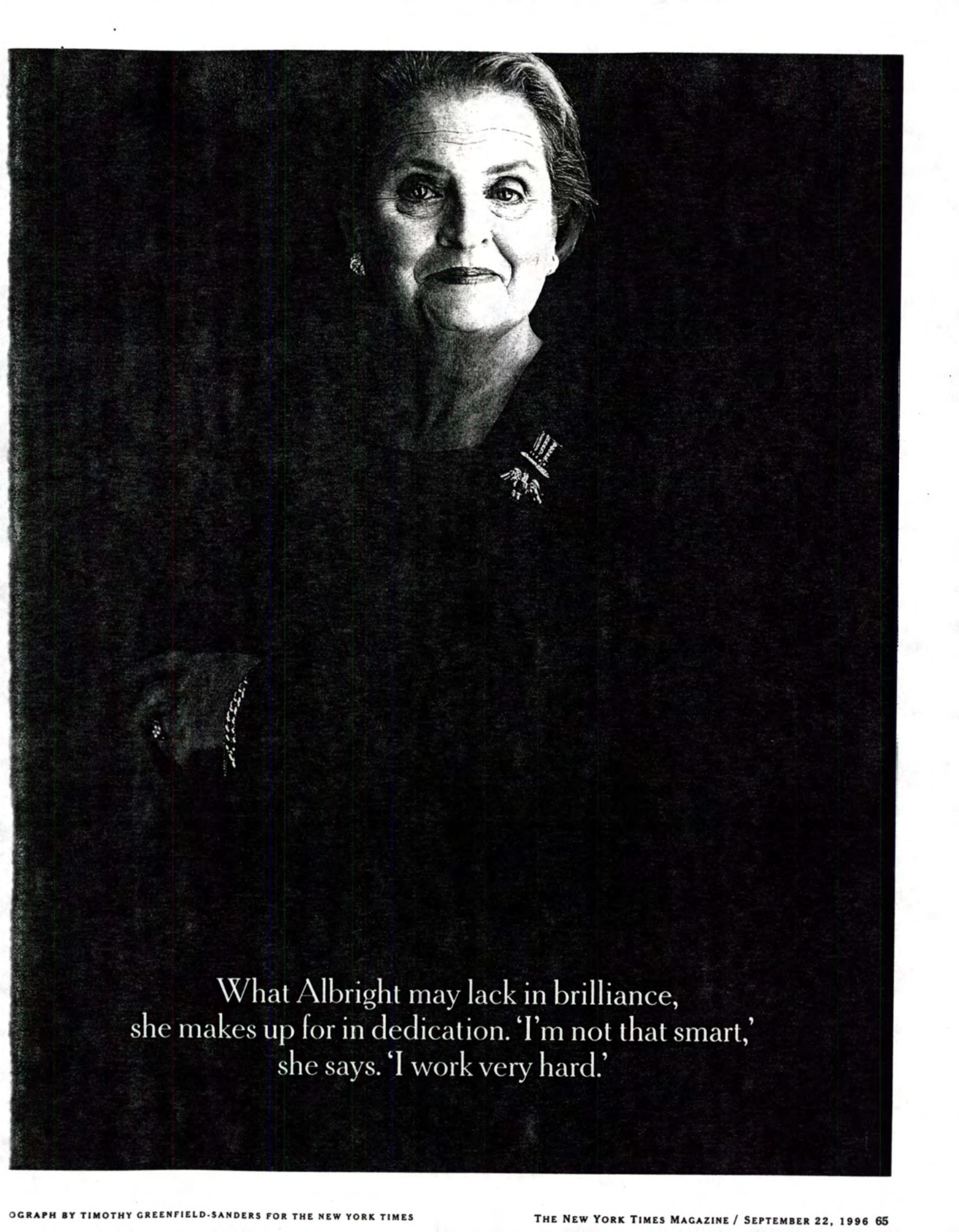
In a Presidential election year in which Florida's 25 electoral votes are up for grabs, a little Cuba-bashing can go a long way. Only weeks before that March rally, Cuban-American leaders had been complaining loudly that Clinton was too easy on Fidel Castro, and the leading Republican Presidential candidate, Bob Dole, was scoring easy political points.

But that all changed when Cuban jet fighters downed two unarmed civilian planes from Miami and Albright went on the offensive in the Security Council. Sneering at the worst impulses of men, she said something no male



From top:
At the Security Council; in Angola to review peace efforts with Ambassador Donald Steinberg; with General Shalikashvili, right, in Croatia.





What Albright may lack in brilliance,
she makes up for in dedication. 'I'm not that smart,'
she says. 'I work very hard.'



Thomas Pickering, from the building. But Christopher doesn't feel threatened by Albright, who keeps disputes inside the Administration. He has rewarded that loyalty with a large suite of offices on the floor just below his.

IN AN ADMINISTRATION THAT WAFFLED on China, retreated from Somalia and procrastinated before making peace in Bosnia, she stands out as always wanting to do more. More than many of her foreign policy colleagues, Albright is comfortable with the projection of American power, a view that flows from her experiences growing up in Europe during World War II and fleeing as a refugee to America. Whether or not an intervention meets the test of a "vital national interest" is less important for her than whether the United States can do good in the world, using military power if necessary.

"My mind-set is Munich; most of my generation's is Vietnam," she says. "I saw what happened when a dictator was allowed to take over a piece of a country and the country went down the tubes. And I saw the opposite during the war when America joined the fight. For me, America is really, truly the indispensable nation. I've never seen America as an imperialist or colonialist or meddling country."

The lesson of Munich is to get in; that of Vietnam is to stay out. And it is that difference that set her apart from her colleagues early on in the Administration, particularly from Colin Powell, then the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Fresh off his victory in the Persian Gulf war, Powell had little trouble convincing Clinton and his team to abstain from using force in Bosnia.

Except for Albright. Haunted by parallels to the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1938, she argued in a memo to the President in April 1993 for punitive NATO air strikes to destroy the tanks and heavy weapons of the Bosnian Serbs and to demolish the bridges and transit points used to ship weapons from Serbia.

In his memoir, "My American Journey," Powell recalls a discussion with Albright on Bosnia. "What's the point of having this superb military you're always talking about if we can't use it?" she asked him.

"I thought I would have an aneurysm," wrote the originator of the Powell doctrine, the idea that the United States should intervene militarily — and with overwhelming force — only when its vital interests are threatened. "American G.I.'s were not toy soldiers to be moved around on some sort of global game board." Powell had a close ally in Anthony Lake, the national security adviser, who lectured Albright that the kinds of issues the general was raising "are exactly the ones the military never asked during Vietnam."

Albright now delights in telling people that NATO conducted its first serious air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs the week Powell's book came out. Even better, they worked, driving the Bosnian Serbs to the bargaining table. "I felt some vindication," she says. "It wasn't easy being a civilian woman having a disagreement with the hero of the Western world. But maybe he'd want to rewrite that page now."

A week touring the country with Albright is studded with examples of her plain-spoken, sound-bite approach to foreign policy. On why the United States engages with China but isolates Cuba: "We do not have a cookie cutter approach to policy. China is a world power. . . . Cuba is an embarrassment to the Western Hemisphere."

On whether a Communist-dominated Soviet Union could come back: "I do not see it coming back. What is always possible . . . is for things to be chaotic in a way where there will be a turning to more authoritarian ways."

On NATO expansion: "We're not out there trolling for new alliances."

On the Middle East: "The peace process there is not reversible."

On land mines: "I've never seen so many one-legged people as I have in Angola."

On arms sales: "The trading of arms is disgusting and contributes to horrors around the world. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, it's a bazaar out there."

Within the Administration, she has a close ally in Gen. John Shalikashvili, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The general was raised in Poland and, like Albright, sees the world through the lens of Munich. He too believes that the Powell doctrine is a cold war relic, ill suited to today's more fluid world system. But others remain closer to Powell's view: Lake, who has advocated greater involvement, but episodically; Christopher, who is always cautious and deliberate, and the Secretary of Defense, William Perry, who is the most reluctant to commit American forces.

Christopher often disagrees with Albright's brand of activism, but always politely and usually in private. By contrast, Lake demonstrates his exasperation with her long, impassioned digressions by drumming his fingers, gazing around the room or cutting her off in meetings. "Madeleine sometimes likes to free-form think," says a senior White House official who is a fan of Lake's. "Tony doesn't."

A senior State Department official in Albright's camp sees it differently. "There's not

any yelling and screaming, but there are unmistakable signs of impatience when Madeleine challenges Tony's views." For that reason, the official adds, Albright sometimes has more impact if she participates from New York through a secure television system, so she can interrupt when she wants to.

But even Lake found a willing teammate in Albright in August 1995, when he undertook a new peace initiative for Bosnia. Albright's memo attacking the status quo and laying out a plan for action, including the use of American military force, helped establish the groundwork for the Dayton accords. Although Clinton said afterward that Albright's arguments were the most compelling ones he heard, she has received little credit. "Someday it shall be known," she says wistfully, sitting in a Prague cafe. "The meek shall inherit the earth."

Albright's thinking on the use of force has evolved in recent years. Like many mainstream Democrats, she initially opposed going to war against Iraq. Just weeks before President Bush sent American troops to battle, she was still saying that sanctions should be given more of a chance to



Albright at a White House meeting with Anthony Lake, left, Warren Christopher, William Perry and General Shalikashvili.

Opposite: A tour of Prague with Hillary Clinton.

work. She has since called her view "a mistake."

She would be the first to admit that she has become harder-edged since the beginning of the Administration. The most prominent example is the abandonment of her crusade for what in 1993 she called "assertive multilateralism." She argued that the United States could not afford, financially or politically, to play global Lone Ranger, and that international coalitions should be put together when force is needed. But she was savaged by Republicans on Capitol Hill and by the foreign policy establishment for what was perceived as relinquishing American sovereignty to the United Nations. "It didn't catch on," she says now. "People thought it

Continued on page 86

Tanagra



PIAGET

HAUTRE JOAILLIER A GENEVE

Piaget Boutique:

Fifth Avenue at 57th Street, NY

Monday-Saturday 10 a.m.-6 p.m.

1-800-359-4538

ALBRIGHT

Continued from page 67

didn't work. I got tired of having to explain it. So I just let it go."

Now she is plugging a more modest slogan, what she calls "the doability doctrine": that America should use its military power in flexible ways to achieve practical, if sometimes limited, goals. "You deal with the pragmatic situation you have," she says. "You may have to scale back your objectives and decide that just because you cannot do everything does not mean you should do nothing."

For Albright, Bosnia is one example of the Administration's committing American troops in a mission with limited — if imperfect — goals. "In the best of all possible worlds it would have been great to eradicate the power of those determined to undermine the multi-ethnic state of Bosnia," she says. Nevertheless, she considers a deeply flawed peace better than war.

The recent military attacks on Iraq are another example. In her view, the operation was a practical solution that served American interests but avoided the choice between sending American ground forces into a full-fledged war or doing nothing. "Those who say America has to dominate the world, and that you have to either control everything or go home," she says, "don't understand the way power is projected at the end of this century."

In some cases, however, "doability" means doing nothing. Back in 1993, Albright called Somalia a "failed state" that the international community must help by disarming all its warlords. But after 18 American soldiers were killed and the United States withdrew, she pulled back as well. So today, while she calls Burundi "a country on the verge of national suicide," she does not propose sending in troops to rescue it. The average American,

she tells audiences, "wouldn't know where Burundi is."

ALL THE POPPING off to obscure capitals and war zones, all the road shows and campaign appearances and all the television talk shows don't leave a lot of time for the day job: chief American representative at the United Nations. Even if the post lacks automatic Cabinet rank, the public nature of the job, the proximity to Washington and the need to deal with every member country of the United Nations makes it much more important than a mere ambassadorial post. It also comes with a staff of more than 100 and a \$27,000-a-month suite at the top of the Waldorf Towers.

During the cold war, when the United Nations was paralyzed by superpower rivalry, American envoys more often than not were verbal crusaders struggling to extend America's sphere of influence. Their styles and strategies and mandates varied. Adlai Stevenson got the appointment because President Kennedy wanted him in a dignified setting away from Washington. George Bush had little input into policy but charmed his colleagues with his impeccable manners. Andrew Young lent sex appeal to the normally staid post by roaming around Africa, where he was treated like a rock star. Daniel Patrick Moynihan said the job all depended on when you were there; his bashing of the United Nations as anti-American and anti-Israeli helped him in his subsequent race for the Senate.

Jeane Kirkpatrick spent as little time as she could inside the United Nations and never hid her contempt for the place. "I'd rather be in Philadelphia," she once said. Her successor, Vernon Walters, loved it there; he ate his way through the reception lines and told funny stories in several languages. By most accounts, the best-liked American envoy was Thomas

Pickering. President Bush's choice and now Ambassador to Russia. Frozen out of Bush's policy-making circle, he was nevertheless a diplomat's diplomat, resolving numerous disputes with creative formulas that countries could not refuse.

Unlike Pickering, Albright doesn't spend much time working the hallways; the way her foreign colleagues see it, she doesn't spend much time there at all. When she does show up, they complain, she seeks out the television cameras more than them.

And her combative style rankles. While Pickering was known as "the magician," Albright is called "the queen of mean." When the Chinese representative couldn't vote on an anti-Cuba statement because he didn't have instructions, she kept the Security Council in session until 4 A.M. until he got them. When the British representative tried to finesse a resolution partly lifting sanctions on Serbia, Albright concluded that compromise was impossible and walked out of the room.

"Abrasive? In the U.N. they'd call her worse than that," says Arria, who considers her a friend. "She projects a tough, cold image. I know her as the opposite of that, but even I don't recognize her sometimes when she speaks."

Never has the job of American representative been so easy — or so difficult. In the post-cold-war world, it usually doesn't take much arm-twisting for the United States to get its way. The Russians won't challenge the United States as long as they are left alone in the countries that were once part of the Soviet empire; the Chinese won't veto any resolution that doesn't directly affect their own security.

Thus, Albright has managed to pull off some surprising successes. Take the American-led invasion of Haiti. In July 1994, a State Department memo said it would be "folly" to ask the

Security Council to authorize the invasion; Christopher and Perry were also skeptical. But Albright told Clinton, "If I have the authority, I think I can do it." She did.

But the refusal of Congress to pay its back dues — more than \$1.1 billion worth — has enraged other member states, including America's closest allies, and undercut American authority. That bad feeling has hurt the United States in its campaign to deny Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali a second five-year term.

From the start, there was never any love lost between Albright and the Egyptian-born career diplomat. She felt he went beyond his authority and was ineffective in reforming the institution — although he has presided over the largest staff reductions and budget cuts in the organization's history. "People are concerned when Boutros-Ghali seems to overstep and believes he's in charge of everything," she once said.

So early this year, Albright urged the Administration to dump Boutros-Ghali when his term expires in December. After he resisted, Christopher stepped in and — ignoring Albright's reservations — offered a compromise that would extend the Secretary General's term a year. When the negotiations later blew up, Albright was on the road. Working the phones from Bubba's Hundred Sandwiches on the highway between San Diego and Los Angeles, she tried to head off trouble. But lacking the authority to inform United Nations officials and diplomats ahead of time, her hands were tied. Most of them learned of the decision in the newspaper the next morning and blamed her for the mess.

Since then, the Security Council has refused Albright's pleas to begin the process of choosing a new candidate before the American Presidential election. The United States does not have its own candidate, which may

be just as well. There is still enough anti-Americanism in the U.N. and so much ill feeling about the clumsy way the matter has been handled that any "American" candidate would automatically lose.

"The decision to dump Boutros-Ghali is dumb foreign policy and it doesn't move us anywhere at the U.N.," says Lawrence S. Eagleburger, a former Secretary of State in the Bush Administration. "But I'm probably one of the few people who thinks he's done a good job."

IT IS 10:30 P.M. IN LOS Angeles and Albright, dressed in a taupe dress and shawl, is off to dinner with Barbra Streisand. Since the representative awoke in her quarters on the Constellation in the Pacific this morning, she has had breakfast with the officers, flown back to San Diego in a tiny C-2 prop plane, given a speech at a luncheon in her honor, worked her cell phone on the Boutros-Ghali embroglio, driven to Los Angeles, attended a reception with Korean-Americans and given two interviews and a news conference. Most people would call it a day.

But not Albright. Streisand wants to show off her new house, so Albright shoehorns in another event. The women, who met at a Hollywood Women's Political Caucus function in early 1993, go antiquing together, talk often on the phone and try to get together whenever they're in the same city.

"You know, you meet certain people and you have a rapport or you don't," Streisand says. "You share the same kind of feelings about life and politics and whatever. And we just became instant friends. We talk about everything. We talk about love, relationships, a lot of politics."

They also talk a lot about the difficulties of being powerful women in men's worlds. "We're vulnerable

women in powerful positions," says Streisand. "We're not toughies. And yet we are tough in some ways. I mean we're multifaceted. We're little girls at moments, we're teen-agers and we're grown-ups. And we'd like to be accepted for all those qualities. And the rare person sees through the powerful position and sees you as a woman."

Tough or sweet, hard or soft. The tension is always there for Albright and it is sometimes difficult to find the right balance.

In a way, she is the ultimate independent woman, a mother of three grown daughters with careers and a grandmother of two, who expresses no need or even desire for a man in her life. "There's no way, unless I were married to some truly unusual man who had a whole life of his own, that I could possibly be married," she says. "And there are not a lot of them around."

She resents being asked about it. "There are lots of questions about women that don't come up for men, like 'How do you stand being alone?'" she says, the anger rising in her voice. Albright also feels she is held to a higher standard because she is a woman, a standard that dictates nurturing and softened behavior. "There is this slight sense that women have to be saints or Joan of Arc and it's not always possible," she says.

Albright is particularly thin-skinned when journalists write about how she looks. In the same breath, she says it doesn't matter, but the frustration pours out. "When I work I really work," she says. "I rub my eyes and my makeup comes off and I stick pencils in my hair. So I've given up. If some days my hair doesn't look great or some days I look overdone, so be it. Or if I wear a red suit and one of the female reporters says I look like a fat little red ball, that's her problem."

But in the waiting room at a local television studio in

Continued on page 104

Tanagra



PIAGET

MAITRE JOAILLIER A GENEVE

Piaget Boutique:

*Fifth Avenue at 57th Street, NY
Monday-Saturday 10 a.m.-6 p.m.
1-800-359-4538*

Continued from page 87

Cleveland, where she is svelte compared with the plus-size models for Liz Claiborne, she pulls the skirt of her red suit away from her hips to show how loose it is. "Twenty pounds since February and still counting." She insists she "wears whatever fits." What fits that day is Givenchy.

It's a long way from Prague, and from her diplomat father, Josef Korbel, who taught her how to think and encouraged her to push herself beyond her limits. When Albright tells the story of her childhood as Marie Jana Korbel, it is her father's story as well: how as a junior officer in the diplomatic corps he watched in horror as the Nazis invaded Czechoslovakia in 1938; how the family survived World War II in Britain; how he went to Belgrade as the Czech Ambassador after the war; how he and his wife, Anna, insisted that Marie Jana leave home at age 10 for a boarding school in Switzerland (where she acquired the name Madeleine); how he might have become foreign minister if the Communists had not seized power.

But the Communists did seize power, in a coup in 1948. Korbel was forced to start over. He and his wife and three children arrived in the United States in 1949 and were eventually granted asylum as displaced persons. He later became dean of the School of International Affairs at the University of Denver and wrote books; Anna worked odd clerical jobs to earn extra money.

Even as a teen-ager, Albright by her own admission was the kind of hard worker who used "colored folders and 13 different colored pens." She won the Rocky Mountain Empire United Nations Contest by reciting all the member countries in alphabetical order and went to Wellesley College on a scholarship.

"Madeleine was the re-

sponsible one," says her younger sister, Kathy Silva, a special assistant in the Department of Education. "She was very serious. She's a lot more fun now."

Albright graduated from college with honors in 1959 and three days later married her college sweetheart, Joseph Medill Patterson Albright, the scion of a wealthy newspaper family. He became an important journalist; she became a mother. But that was not enough. Over the next decade, while raising three daughters, she took graduate courses at Columbia University, getting up at 4:30 every morning to work on her doctoral dissertation.

"Daddy reincarnate," Silva calls her.

Some people make their way through bureaucratic thickets by force of intellect. Others bully their way through. Albright builds friendships with the right people. She has played both protégée to powerful men and mentor to younger men and women. She met Senator Edmund S. Muskie, the Maine Democrat, when she worked on his 1972 Presidential campaign, and went on to become his chief legislative assistant. Two years later she went to work in the White House as Congressional liaison for a former professor, the national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. It was a job for someone a decade younger, but Albright had a lot of catching up to do.

In Albright's view, the greatest setback in her life was her divorce. Banished to a "think tank" after the Democrats were ousted from the White House in 1980, her world fell apart after her husband told her that the marriage she thought was perfect was fatally flawed. Even today, she wears the mantle of the spurned woman.

Sitting on an upholstered armchair in the living room of her Georgetown town house, she tells the story as straight and raw as if it just happened: "It was Jan. 13, 1982, the day of the Air

Florida crash and a massive snowstorm. At 8 o'clock in the morning and sitting on this very chair was Joe Albright, who said to me, 'This marriage is dead and I'm in love with somebody else.'"

Joe Albright says only: "Madeleine has worked very hard to get where she is and I wish her well. Period. She and I are on cordial terms."

When Albright walked out, he left behind the town house, the 370-acre farm in Virginia and a generous investment portfolio. Madeleine Albright was rich but restless. Until Bill Clinton's victory in 1992, she waited in the wings, teaching international relations at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

Her students elected her best professor four years in a row; her colleagues regarded her as a capable synthesizer whose passion was politics more than scholarship. "I never thought of myself — or I was never allowed to think of myself — as a serious academic," she says. "I came into academia late. I'm not one of the people who wrote great tomes."

Albright made up for that by throwing herself into Democratic politics, decorating her Georgetown salon with the best Democratic thinkers and building up connections along the way. She served as foreign policy adviser to Geraldine Ferraro, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee in 1984, so it was natural that she became chief foreign policy adviser to Michael Dukakis, the Democratic Presidential nominee four years later. Her later work as president of the Center for National Policy, a nonpartisan research organization, prevented her from working directly for the Clinton campaign. But she had paid her dues. When Clinton promised a Cabinet of diversity that would "look like America," she was ready.

AT THE AIRPORT IN THE Slovak capital of Bratislava, Albright bids a fond farewell to Hillary Clinton. The First

Lady goes on to Budapest; Albright plans to drive to Vienna to catch a flight to New York the next morning.

But not before one final news conference. As soon as the First Lady's plane takes off, Albright strides back into the V.I.P. lounge to tell reporters how tough she had been with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. It is clearly not an anonymous approach to diplomacy. It is also Secretary of State work.

Clinton has not even been re-elected but Albright and numerous other figures are already jockeying for Christopher's job, should he decide to step down. There is no clear favorite in the Secretary of State sweepstakes; Clinton is likely to choose the person he thinks will help him the most, not necessarily the one he likes the best. And he may decide against making any changes, having told aides recently that he is comfortable with his current team. "It's a jinx to talk about it," he has said.

When Christopher was thinking of leaving nearly two years ago, Clinton sounded out both Colin Powell and Senator Sam Nunn, the Georgia Democrat, neither of whom was interested. Despite Powell's sharp criticism of Clinton in his memoirs and his endorsement of Dole for President, Clinton is said to consider him a first-rate strategic thinker. Even his views on the use of force are not enough to turn Clinton off. Still, Powell has made clear in private conversations that he is no more interested in the job in a Democratic Administration than he ever was.

Clinton forgave Nunn long ago for opposing his plan to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military, and Nunn has already decided not to run again for the Senate. A centrist who commands respect among Democrats and Republicans on the Hill, Nunn would bring a command of both foreign policy and defense issues and strong views on how to deal with both Russia and China.

Then again, Nunn would make an equally attractive candidate as Defense Secretary, a position that some Clinton Administration officials say has been promised to the Director of Central Intelligence, John Deutch, should Perry leave the post.

Of course, Clinton could cast a wider net. In a meeting with the President in December 1994, when Christopher discussed the possibility of resigning, the Secretary brought along a list of possible successors. Powell and Nunn were on the list, along with several others, including George Mitchell, the former Senate majority leader; Strobe Talbott, the Deputy Secretary of State, and one woman — Albright.

Mitchell had little foreign policy experience in his years in the Senate but is making up for lost time. He spends much of his time as a special negotiator on Northern Ireland and a year ago became chairman of the International Crisis Group, a privately financed organization that works to help prevent conflict around the world.

Talbott has been close to Clinton since they were roommates as Rhodes scholars, but he suffered through a bruising Senate confirmation in 1993 because of columns he wrote for Time magazine. He is more likely to be considered for national security adviser, which does not require Senate confirmation, should Lake move on.

Richard C. Holbrooke, the former Assistant Secretary of State for Europe, was widely touted in the media as a possible successor to Christopher or even Albright after he successfully negotiated the peace settlement in Bosnia. He would bring a Kissingerian toughness to either job and an ability to get things done. But in the Clinton Administration he is considered a bureaucratic bully whose priority is too often to make himself look good at others' expense. Moreover, he and Lake do not get along.

Walter Mondale, the Ambassador to Japan and for-

mer Vice President, knows trade issues and Asia policy and would bring major stature to the job. Secretary of Commerce Mickey Kantor is a long shot because of his shallow grounding in national security issues; but he is a friend of the President and would put global economics at the top of his foreign policy agenda.

Then there's Anthony Lake, who is increasingly active in making the Administration's foreign policy and who is also said to covet Christopher's job. Lake's strengths are his intellect and relationship with Clinton. His weaknesses, say friends and critics who work with him, are his penchant for secrecy and his reluctance to delegate authority. As a result, they say, it takes forever to get decisions made.

Curiously, Albright's future may depend almost as much on the Attorney General, Janet Reno, as it does on Warren Christopher. If Reno, who has Parkinson's disease, should leave, and if Clinton decides he needs a woman in a serious, front-line Cabinet post, Albright would have a clear shot at Secretary of State. Besides her reputation as a loyal, energetic and telegenic defender of the faith, she now has the experience of an insider.

On the other hand, many in Washington believe that Clinton could decide to promote Reno's deputy, Jamie Gorelick, to Attorney General and leave Albright at the United Nations.

Albright doesn't deny her interest in becoming Secretary of State; given the public nature of the competition, that would be foolish. "There isn't anybody, I would be willing to say, who has been involved in foreign policy who hasn't thought about the concept," she says over breakfast at the American Ambassador's residence in Vienna. "I always did think it was something that was totally impossible. But I have found it interesting that people at least consider it possi-

ble that a woman might be Secretary of State."

Her most obvious weakness is her lack of knowledge or interest in global economic issues. The passion she shows for banning land mines or labeling Saddam Hussein a war criminal deserts her in debates on stealing intellectual property or eliminating tariffs on flat glass.

In addition, she is regarded as a good firefighter who deals capably with individual crises but has yet to prove herself as a broad strategic thinker. But policy is made in the doing, not the thinking. And even some Republicans admit that she might make a pretty good Secretary of State.

"She represents the best instincts of this Administration on foreign policy," says Paul Wolfowitz, dean of the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, an adviser to the Dole campaign and a contender for Secretary of State in a Dole administration. "Unfortunately she often doesn't get the support she should. I think good solid instincts would go a long way in improving the performance of this Administration. Clinton could do a lot worse than make Madeleine Secretary of State."

Albright has another surprising ally — Jeane Kirkpatrick. As a chairwoman of Bob Dole's Presidential campaign, Kirkpatrick also has a chance to become the first female Secretary of State. "I never thought there would be two women even remotely being mentioned as Secretary of State," Kirkpatrick says. "I hope if Bill Clinton is re-elected, he'll appoint Madeleine. I'd like to see a woman in the job."

But if the President is re-elected and asks Albright to stay just where she is, she promises she will, no complaints. "It is way beyond any of my dreams," she says about her place in life. "God willing, it will all go on." ■

Like our new Turtleneck? Here's how to order yours.



Women's T-Neck Black, Bright Gold, Burgundy, Classic Green, Classic Navy, Dark Blue, Deep Purple, Dark Mallard, Dark Chocolate, Fuchsia, Ivory, Light Blue, Light Pink, Orange Spice, Red, White

100% Cotton XS-S-M-L-XL	386402R3	\$17.00
60/40 XS-S-M-L-XL	386412R8	\$17.00
Tall 100% Cotton M-L-XL	386422R2	\$21.00

Men's T-Neck Black, Bright Gold, Burgundy, Classic Green, Classic Navy, Dark Blue, Deep Purple, Dark Mallard, Dark Chocolate, Fuchsia, Ivory, Light Blue, Orange Spice, Red, White

100% Cotton S-M-L-XL	386372R1	\$17.00
60/40 S-M-L-XL	386382R6	\$17.00
Tall 100% Cotton M-L-XL	386392R0	\$21.00

Men's Big Black, Burgundy, Classic Green, Classic Navy, Ivory, Red, White

100% Cotton 2X-3X	398512R9	\$21.00
-------------------	----------	---------

Men's Big & Tall Black, Burgundy, Classic Green, Classic Navy, Ivory, Red, White

100% Cotton 2X-3X	398532R8	\$22.00
-------------------	----------	---------

Call any time,
24 hours a day.
And please have your
credit card handy.
1-800-963-4815

Please mention ad **KX**

© 1996 Lands' End, Inc.

The McAuley, A Classic Residence by Hyatt, has
the three things you want most in a retirement community...

Location, Lifestyle and Life Care!



Located in desirable West Hartford, Connecticut, The McAuley features Hyatt-style hospitality, with services and amenities that give you more time to enjoy an

active, involved lifestyle. Our non-profit, interfaith community is located close to Saint Joseph College, making it easy for residents to attend programs and classes.

And, The McAuley's full continuum of care provides for your future short- and long-term health care needs. For information about how The McAuley can help meet your financial objectives, call Laura today at (860) 236-6300, Ext. 319.

THE MCAULEY
A CLASSIC RESIDENCE
BY HYATT

275 Steele Road, West Hartford, CT 06117



For information about other Classic Residence by Hyatt communities in Teaneck, NJ; Chevy Chase, MD; Pompano Beach, FL; Naples, FL; Dallas, TX; Reno, NV; Monterey, CA; and now in Hollywood, FL, call toll free 1-800-421-1442.

Yes, I would like more information about The McAuley.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Telephone: (____) _____

Mail to: The McAuley, 275 Steele Rd., West Hartford, CT 06117 NYTS/96

File
Albright

Introduction of the First Lady at the CNP Dinner, September 17

Thank you Mack for that introduction and thank you, Mo Steinbruner, for the wonderful leadership you are providing at CNP.

Mrs. Clinton, Distinguished Members of Congress, Ruth Harkin, Mike Barnes, members of the Muskie family, colleagues and guests: This dinner is always a highlight of my year. For at CNP, we come together not, as they say, in “our official capacity” but in our human capacity. We come together as family and friends.

- 2 -

Tonight, my job is to introduce a very special friend. But before doing that, let me add my words to those of Ruth Harkin.

It is said that those who mourn are blessed, for they shall be comforted. We were blessed by Kirk O'Donnell, although not for as long as we would have wished.

- 3 -

If there is comfort, it is that we here at CNP are so much a part of his legacy. For the same things that made Kirk Kirk are the beliefs that unite and energize us through good times and bad.

At their core is the simple faith that--whether in education or health care, social security or national security--good people working together can accomplish great things.

- 4 -

And with that faith comes the belief that public service is an honorable calling; that principles matter; that every individual counts; and that America must remain a champion of peace and a leader for liberty, human rights and human development.

That is why it is so appropriate that tonight, we honor someone who is just such a champion and leader.

- 5 -

The role of First Lady--or first spouse--does not come with a job description. What you do, where you go, whether you make a difference, depends entirely on who you are and what you believe.

So we have come to know a lot about Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Here at home, we have learned of her commitment to education, health care, child care and civil rights.

At the conference in Beijing, we heard her raise the sights and lift the spirits of women and girls everywhere.

In images from remote villages and city slums, we have seen her carry the message that every person in every part of the world is entitled to dignity, access to knowledge and the right to participate in making the decisions that shape their lives.

In her writings, she has taught us in dramatic and human terms the need for communities to come together to build civil society. And taught us that true democracy requires more than ballot boxes and Parliaments, but must--in the words of de Toqueville—"be nurtured and sustained by the habits of the heart, in the way people live their lives and in the lessons they teach their children."

In her book, the First Lady begins one chapter with the inscription that "A candle loses nothing of its light by lighting another candle," and starts another by quoting the Greek proverb, "A civilization flourishes when people plant trees under whose shade they will never sit."

- 9 -

Hillary Clinton has been lighting candles and planting trees around the world. In so doing, she has inspired hope and instilled courage in millions. And she has been the best unofficial Ambassador for America that any Secretary of State could possibly desire.

- 10 -

Moreover, she has lived for almost six years in a world where the pressures have been constant to drive her from herself, to force her to fit someone else's image of her personality and role. But she has stayed true, understanding, as Eleanor Roosevelt once said that "you can never really live anyone else's life; the influence you exert is through your own life and what you become yourself."

- 11 -

A young person growing up almost anywhere in the world might ask: should I look to the crowd for instruction, or should I insist that the author of my life be me? By her integrity and her courage, Hillary Rodham Clinton has set an example of true leadership for which we will all long be grateful.

I cannot imagine a worthier recipient of the Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award.

- 12 -

I invite you now to watch a short video in her honor, and then it will be my privilege to introduce the First Lady of the United States.

VIDEO IS SHOWN (5 MINUTES)

And now, I am very proud to present the Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award to Hillary Rodham Clinton.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the Spokesman

free albright
foreign policy

For Immediate Release
(As Delivered)
98/13

January 13, 1998

REMARKS BY
SECRETARY OF STATE MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT
AT
CENTER FOR NATIONAL POLICY

Washington, D.C.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Thank you very much. Well, it is a great pleasure to be here, and to introduce Mo. Maureen Steinbruner, I think, is one of the outstanding thinkers in Washington and in the United States at this time. When we were partners, when I was president of the Center, Mo was really the brains of the outfit. She has, I think, had some of the most path-breaking and interesting thoughts about our economy, about the labor force, about the role of agriculture, and has spent a great deal of time also thinking about foreign policy. The work that the Center did in Cambodia, I think, has been key to a great deal of activity there.

So it is a great pleasure always to appear with Mo, and to be at the Center. I have to say that I've been on the road so much recently, that it is a joy to be home; and for me, home, to a great extent, means the Center for National Policy. So Mo, thank you very much for your introduction; and I'm very, very glad to be here with my friends and colleagues and various excellencies.

Since this is my first speech of the year, I thought I would use it to preview our 1998 foreign policy agenda here on Capitol Hill. But before doing that, I want to reflect a little on 1997. For it is hard for me to believe that only twelve months ago, I was awaiting confirmation by the Senate as Secretary of State.

For me, the year since has been extraordinary. Not only have I had the opportunity to engage in diplomacy full time, in Baltimore I was invited to throw out the first baseball on opening day; in Asia, I was allowed to sing in public for the first time since grade school; and just last month, I was included on a national magazine's list of the 25 most intriguing people -- alongside a cloned sheep.

(Laughter.)

I also had the experience of receiving letters such as one referred to in The Washington Post not long ago, about the very pregnant crossword puzzle fan in England who couldn't come

up with an answer to the clue, America's Secretary of State. And who, then, while in the midst of a difficult and protracted labor, suddenly began hollering, it's bloody Madeleine Albright.

(Laughter.)

Fortunately, there were many substantive high points, as well. For despite frustrations and setbacks, it was a very good year for our foreign policy.

Thanks to bipartisan support, the United States joined the Chemical Weapons Convention as an original member. And clearly, given recent events in the Gulf, our leadership in opposing the spread of weapons of mass destruction is vital.

In Europe, NATO invited new members and prepared for new missions, while forging historic partnerships with Russia and Ukraine. In Bosnia, we reinvigorated efforts to fulfill the Dayton Accords so that the hard-earned peace will last and the investment and sacrifices we have made will not have been in vain.

In Asia, we signed new defense guidelines with Japan; began Four-Party talks aimed at lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula; intensified a dialogue with China in which we achieved progress on economic and security matters and maintained our principles on human rights, where we saw Beijing take several positive steps, including the release of Wei Jingsheng.

In preparation for planned visits by the President this year, we opened new chapters in our relations with Latin America and the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa. We took an essential first step towards a global agreement to combat climate change. We put efforts to advance the status of women right where they belong -- in the mainstream of American foreign policy. We laid the groundwork for a much needed reorganization of our foreign policy institutions. And we made progress towards re-establishing a bipartisan consensus for US leadership in world affairs, as evidenced by the first increase in funding for international programs in several years.

So we begin 1998 in a position of strength. Our economy is humming, our alliances are firm, our military is the best, and the democratic values we cherish are embraced by a greater portion of the world than ever before.

But experience warns us that the course of events is neither predictable nor smooth. And given the pace of our era, we know that new threats to our security and prosperity could arise with 21st century speed.

Accordingly, we must -- and we will -- maintain our vigilance in the Gulf, so that Saddam Hussein is never again able to threaten Iraq's neighbors with aggression or the world with weapons of mass destruction. Earlier this morning, I took a telephone call from Foreign Minister Primakov in order to talk about what is going on in Iraq. It is very important -- the President stated it yesterday -- we will restate it and continue to restate it, that unconditional access by UNSCOM must be the Council's bottom line. It is absolutely essential that Saddam Hussein live up to the obligations that are in the Security Council resolutions, and that he must come clean as

far as the weapons of mass destruction are concerned. We need to know what he has had, and what the potentials are; and we need to have access. UNSCOM must have access unconditionally and unfettered to the various sites.

I think we have to keep in mind and remember that the regime put forward by the Security Council and sanctions is the most comprehensive sanctions regime in the history of the world. It is not there in order to punish the Iraqi people. We feel very deeply about them, and have in fact been authors of a resolution in order to make sure that Saddam Hussein does provide for humanitarian help and goods for the people of Iraq.

But it is also absolutely essential that Saddam Hussein live up to his obligations, and that he not be a threat to the region. Therefore, we will continue to be vigilant and determined, and we do not rule out any options.

In the Middle East, we will strive to make this a year in which decisive steps towards a lasting peace are taken. And I know the President will make that clear in his meetings next week with Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat.

We will be looking for opportunities to strengthen our key bilateral relationships in every region on every continent. And we will continue working on an urgent basis with affected governments, the IMF, the international community and the private sector to restore confidence to the troubled economies of East Asia.

Because the world economy is so interconnected, restoring confidence and financial stability in Asia is very much in our long-term economic and security interests. That is why the President has responded to the current financial crisis by strongly backing recent IMF initiatives in Asia, and by underscoring this support by pledging to work with others in the international community to provide contingency funding should this prove necessary.

We have stressed that successful restoration of market confidence and future growth and development in East Asia will depend on vigorous and sustained implementation of economic reform commitments. These reforms include the implementation of market opening measures, restructuring of financial sectors and greater investment transparency.

In this week to come, I will be addressing these and other issues in more detail, but this morning I wanted to highlight in particular four tests of American leadership that we will confront this year on Capitol Hill. For 1998 will be a year of decision, and the decisions we make in collaboration with Congress will do much to determine our course in the next century.

One choice is whether Congress will support continued implementation of the Dayton accords. Shortly before Christmas, I went to Bosnia with the President, Senator Dole and Members of Congress to visit our troops and talk frankly with local leaders. We found a nation that remains deeply divided, but which has also made great strides since the days of ethnic cleansing and nonstop shelling. Slowly, the infrastructure of peace is taking shape and the psychology of reconciliation is taking hold.

The Bosnian people and their partners have a broad agenda for the coming year -- to strengthen multi-ethnic institutions that are now beginning to function; assist refugees who are now returning home; help local economies that are now starting to recover; and back the War Crimes Tribunal, which is now making its presence felt in the cause of justice and the pursuit of truth.

As the elements of a new Bosnia come together, the evidence is growing that if we persevere, peace will be sustained. But if we were to leave now, as some urge, the confidence we are building would erode, the fragile institutions of democracy would become embattled, the purveyors of hate would be emboldened and a return to war and possible renewed genocide would be likely.

This would squander the progress Americans have helped Bosnians to achieve and devalue the sacrifice our armed forces, diplomats and private citizens have made. It would undermine American leadership within NATO, which is vital to our overall national security. And it would abandon those throughout Bosnia who believe in democracy and have put their faith in the United States.

Quitting is not the American way. The mission in Bosnia should determine the timetable, not the other way around. And as the President made clear last month, that mission must be achievable, tied to concrete benchmarks, not a deadline. Our purpose is to do all we can, in partnership with our allies and in cooperation with the people of Bosnia, to create a climate of security that is sustainable, so that when our troops do leave Bosnia, they leave for good.

The NATO-led effort to build peace in Bosnia reflects the importance of a second test for 1998, which is to gain the Senate's agreement to the proposed enlargement of that alliance -- perhaps the best friend peace has ever had.

Through five decades, NATO has proven itself not as an instrument of war -- although its ability to counter aggression is unparalleled -- but as a guarantor of peace. Since the alliance was established, no nation has dared attack a NATO member in Europe. By adding Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to the alliance, we will expand the area within Europe where wars simply do not happen. And we will enlist in the cause of peace three new allies who are dedicated to NATO principles and ready to contribute to the freedom and security of the continent.

We will also maintain a strong incentive for the nations of Central and Eastern Europe to build true democracies, respect human rights and resolve long-festering ethnic and territorial disputes.

During my lifetime, I have been both a product and a student of European history. And when I see Romanians and Hungarians becoming friends after centuries of enmity; when I see Poles, Ukrainians and Lithuanians forming joint military units; when I see Czechs and Germans overcoming decades of mistrust, and Central Europeans improving their political and economic

ties with Russia, I know the currents of history are shifting in directions that will make us all more secure.

The choice the Senate will be asked to make this spring is whether to reject NATO enlargement and leave the alliance organized to fight an enemy that no longer exists; or to validate America's leadership in a new NATO, bolstered by new democracies, sustained by enduring principles and dedicated to deterring and defeating new threats.

I hope and I believe that with the support of leaders from both parties, and with the encouragement of the American people, the Senate will make the right choice--and allow NATO enlargement to proceed.

The third legislative test for 1998 is whether we will pay what we owe to the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. This matters because the United States cannot solve every problem that affects us on our own; nor would we want to try. We use international organizations to address challenges that extend far beyond our borders and to ensure that others bear a fair share of the costs and risks. And do not doubt, we have serious business to conduct in these organizations.

As we speak, UN inspectors are striving to overcome Iraqi deception and obstruction concerning Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs. The IMF is playing the central role in efforts to end the financial crisis in East Asia. And to succeed, the IMF must have the resources required to leverage reform, restore stability and spur renewed growth.

At the same time around the world, international bodies are striving to remove land mines, punish genocide, promote human rights, prevent disease, feed the hungry, halt the exploitation of children, provide early warning of hurricanes and ensure that the rights and safety of those who travel or do business overseas are protected.

The fact that we are so far behind in our payments to these organizations hurts America. It makes it harder for them to carry out programs that serve our interests. It undermines our proposals for making them more efficient. And it is an open invitation to potential adversaries to run America down.

That is why we were pleased last year to receive bipartisan support for legislation that would have gone a long way toward meeting our obligations. Unfortunately, final passage of that bill was blocked by a small group of House members -- not because they opposed the bill or had credible arguments against it, but because they wanted to take a legislative hostage. And as the price for releasing the hostage and allowing the bill to pass, they insisted that the Administration agree to their unrelated position on international population programs.

The victims of this act of legislative blackmail are the American people. For the failure to pay our UN debts undermines our leverage just as Saddam Hussein was challenging the authority of the Security Council. And it damaged our credibility just as the General Assembly was voting

on a plan that could have reduced by roughly \$100 million a year the amount we are assessed by the UN system.

In 1998, we will insist that the hostage be released so that members be permitted to vote on this issue on its own merits. After all, the best America is a leader, not a debtor. We have an obligation that we must meet, as members of organizations we helped build, to abide by rules we helped write, to further goals of law, peace and prosperity that Americans deeply support.

I have to say, as I re-read this part of the speech, it is so ludicrous that we have done this that I cannot imagine how we can continue to damage America by holding this plan hostage. It is truly ridiculous.

A fourth test of foreign policy leadership this year is whether Congress approves the proposed Africa Growth and Opportunity Act. This is a Capitol Hill initiative, supported by the Administration, designed to frame a new American approach to a new Africa.

During my recent visit to that continent, I was impressed by the opportunities that have arisen to integrate Africa into the global economy; build democracy; move beyond the terrible conflicts that have plagued the region; and cooperate in responding to global threats.

We believe that the African countries that most deserve our help are those that are doing the most to help themselves. And that the most useful help we can provide is the kind that will enable economies to stand on their own feet through open markets, greater investment, increased trade and the development among their peoples of 21st century skills.

Obviously, this is not a complete list of the foreign policy tests that Congress and the Administration will face in the months ahead. We will be seeking the funds we need to give Americans the diplomatic leadership they deserve by supporting programs that range from the inspection of North Korean nuclear facilities to fighting the war against drugs to training Peace Corps volunteers to protecting the global environment.

We will be working with Congress to see that the President has the tools and authorities he needs to promote American prosperity by opening markets and bringing down barriers to trade. We will be asking Congress to approve legislation to implement US participation in the Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Senate to approve treaties such as the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban, the Law of the Sea Treaty and the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

We will be seeking to ensure that the full range of American interests are protected in legislation affecting key relationships, such as those with Russia and China. We will be asking congressional approval, where needed, of our foreign policy reorganization plans. Above all, we will be working to build and maintain bipartisan support for principled and purposeful American leadership.

The spirit of bipartisanship in American foreign policy was perhaps never more visible or vital than in 1948, exactly half a century ago. That was an intensely political year, in which a bitter Presidential campaign was closely contested. Yet, in that year, a Democratic President and a Republican Congress came together to approve the Marshall Plan; lay the groundwork for NATO; help create the Organization of American States; recognize the newborn state of Israel; assist Greece and Turkey in their struggle to remain on freedom's side of the Iron Curtain; and airlift supplies around the clock to a blockaded Berlin.

Secretary of State Marshall called this record a brilliant demonstration of the ability of the American people to meet the great responsibilities of their new world position.

There are those who say that Americans have changed, and that we are now too inward-looking and complacent to shoulder comparable responsibilities. In 1998, we have the opportunity to prove the cynics wrong. And I believe we will.

From the streets of Sarajevo to the Korean de-militarized zone to village squares in Africa to classrooms in Central America to boardrooms in central Europe and courtrooms at The Hague, the influence of American leadership is as deeply felt in the world today as it has ever been. That is not the result of some foreign policy theory. It is a reflection of American character.

We Americans have an enormous advantage over many other countries because we know who we are and what we believe. We have a purpose. And like the pilots of a plane who know from experience that their instruments will guide them home; like the faith of a farmer that seeds and rain will cause crops to grow; we have faith that if we are true to our principles, we will succeed.

Let us, then, do honor to that faith. In this year of decision, let us reject the temptation of complacency and assume, not with complaint, but welcome, the leader's role established by our forebearers. Let us be doers, and not doubters. Let us be confident that the values that have sustained Americans from Valley Forge to Desert Storm are the right ones. And that by living up to the heritage of our past, we will fulfill the promise of our future, and enter the new century free and respected, prosperous and at peace.

To that end, I pledge my own best efforts, and respectfully solicit yours. Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

MS. STEINBRUNER: We have time for a few questions, before the Secretary has to leave. So if there are people out there who have curiosities, if they would raise their hands I will take their questions.

I guess you've solved all the problems.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: The CNP quiet?

(Laughter.)

Q How about a press question? Madame Secretary, are you holding Congress responsible for Saddam Hussein's continued defiance of the UN resolutions? Or do you partly blame (inaudible)?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: No, I didn't say that. I hold Saddam Hussein responsible for defying the UN.

What I do hold Congress -- or a few members of Congress -- responsible for is a lack of understanding for the importance that the United Nations plays in our lives; and specifically the role that the United Nations is playing in terms of assuring that Saddam Hussein live up to his obligations.

The timing that we saw last fall of a lack of understanding by some members for the role that the UN could play, just at the time that we were calling on the UN to be firm, was not something that was helpful. I think that as we go through this year, and as we are looking at a day like today, where Richard Butler is coming to brief the Security Council on Saddam Hussein's most recent defiance, I think we need to understand the very important role that the UN plays in terms of helping the United States and other countries deal with the threat of Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction.

Q Madame Secretary, could you comment on the state of play with respect to the US and Iran; and as well, the responsibility that the State Department has with respect to the Iran Libya Sanctions Act and our European allies -- that very complicated situation?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: First of all, I think that for most of us in this room who have lived through the last two decades of a very difficult relationship with Iran, there is no question that we are all intrigued by the election of President Khatemi; primarily, if one looks at how he got elected.

I know that in this room there are those who analyze election returns -- sometimes -- and who also are experts in analyzing attitudes of voters. From what we know, Khatemi was elected by a younger electorate; by a largely female electorate; and a sign of people, generally, who have felt constrained by life in Iran. So his election and his recent statements we have found interesting, and are studying very closely.

We believe that the best way to proceed is through an authoritative and acknowledged channel for a government-to-government dialogue in order to discuss what we consider three major problems with Iran's policy, which has to do with their desire to acquire weapons of mass destruction, their support for terrorism worldwide and for their undermining of the Middle East peace process. So while we are intrigued by the words, we are looking for actions.

We are basically analyzing the interview and statement. We were interested in the fact that President Khatemi condemned terrorism; that he spoke, I think, quite approvingly of some basic American fundamentals; and he did express some form of regret for the hostage taking. But his speech also had some very negative aspects to it, in terms of the way that he characterized Israel and our relationship with Israel, and various aspects that we considered very counterproductive.

Now, on the legislation, it is the goal of the Administration and the State Department to fulfill American law. The ILSA legislation is American law. We are currently going through an investigation period, trying to determine whether there is sanctionable activity; and that process is going on right now, and is very complex. But we are determined to carry this out, as is appropriate according to the various provisions of the law; and we will implement the law.

Q Madame Secretary, do you see NATO expanding beyond the present three candidates? And if so, what countries should be expanded to, and at what pace?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, let me first of all say that it was a personal privilege for me to be present when we invited the three NATO countries. Mo has spoken about my background, and I kind of put it together in my little statement when we were in Brussels; which is that it was actually the coup in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 which finally mobilized the West to understand that the spread of communism was, in fact, undermining our values, and then helped to create NATO.

So it seemed very appropriate to me that we should now -- and I specifically should have -- and that was the reason we came to the United States -- so the fact that I was able to be there to welcome those three countries into NATO and get ready for the ratification process.

The President has said many times that NATO is open to those who subscribe to democratic principles and market economies. We have not designated any future countries, but clearly it is open for those that fulfill the various criteria requirements. I think that it's not productive to actually name countries at this stage. We are going to be looking to see which countries are eligible. I think that we hope and expect that the process will be a dynamic one, and that other countries will be coming in.

Baltic countries' representatives are coming to the United States shortly. We certainly welcome the aspiration of the Baltic countries, and we care about their security. But we, at this stage, are not speaking specifically about which countries would come in on a second tranche. That decision will be made in 1999.

Q I want to turn to an intellectual argument that's going on these days in the pages of The Atlantic magazine and in Foreign Affairs. There have been two articles which seem to suggest that it's wrong for the United States to call for free elections and for democracy; that first, according to Foreign Affairs, you have to develop liberal constitutional policies, and in The Atlantic article, economic development. I wondered if you could comment on that.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, Rochelle, since this is what we used to talk about at NDI all the time – I think that what has to happen is that we need to have – and this may soon become an overused word – a multifaceted approach to countries; and that there is not any one cookie-cutter approach to how we deal with countries, and then within them some kind of formula that describes the timing of each aspect.

I believe that we must never forget that human rights and democracy are central to our foreign policy, and that is something we want in countries so that people have an ability to select governments of their own choosing, and that they can do so without fear of retribution.

At the same time – and I came across this very vividly in my trip just now to Africa and the Great Lakes region – I think it's important for us to think about a number of other aspects that countries need. They need to be able to have institutional structures which can support democracy. They need to have a rule of law. They need to have judicial judges in a judiciary system that functions, and police that function fairly. They need to have the ability to supply an economic life for their people.

So I think that what we need to do is be more broad-based as we go into the countries in terms of asking about what needs to be done. I remember, Rochelle, you and I had a discussion it's now 12, 14 years ago, when we talked about – what?

Q (Inaudible.)

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Three years ago, we're younger, yes. You're younger, I'm – everybody knows how old I am now.

(Laughter.)

But I think that we talked about whether the essence of democracy was elections. I remember at that stage, we said that elections were clearly important, but what was important was the second election and the existence of an opposition party. The existence of an opposition party, then, means that there have to be structures to support it.

So from my own perspective – first of all, I am not doom and gloom about this, the way The Atlantic Monthly article is – but I do think that there are a set of needs that need to be fulfilled practically simultaneously. This discussion as to what goes first, political development or economic development, in the best of all worlds, they go together.

Q I'd like to pick up on that if I could, and ask you to comment on the Asian financial situation.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, first of all, let me say that it is an issue of major concern to us. The government is working together, across the board, with Treasury, working with the State Department and the National Security Council. We are all working together on what is clearly a very complicated situation.

We believe that the IMF offers the best path towards resolving or dealing with the most complicated aspects of the financial situation. We are very concerned about the region as a whole. Each country, obviously, has a slightly different problem, and slightly different approach to it; though they are all, we believe, very much need to be hooked in with the IMF. These are agreements that governments make with the IMF.

So it's important for there to be sustained cooperation with the IMF. Many countries actually have – are basically strong in terms of their resource base; Indonesia, for instance. So what we are urging is cooperation over a sustained period with the IMF and the various ways that they have set up what needs to be done.

Now, clearly I think that what we are seeing is that all the words that we've used all along about interdependence and globalization and the importance of these countries to our own economic situation are visible every single day. We are all very much involved in dealing with the issue.

Q Madame Secretary, one of the concerns expressed about expanding NATO is that this, indeed, could antagonize Russia into several things – greater dependence on its nuclear weaponry; less willingness to move forward with START III; and also, a greater aptness to form alliances with countries that have not been our allies. Would you please comment on NATO expansion as it relates to our relationship with Russia?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Clearly, our relationship with Russia is a very important one to us, as is evident by a whole host of issues that we have together; as I mentioned, my call this morning with Foreign Minister Primakov. They are partners in a whole host of issues. They are important to us at the United Nations; they are important to us in terms of, you mentioned, START, on devising ways to lessen further any nuclear problems. And clearly, they are not crazy about NATO expansion. They have made that clear; that it is not something that they would have thought up themselves.

(Laughter.)

On the other hand, what is interesting is that over the last eight or nine months, they have realized the fact that NATO expansion is going to happen. So what we have done is, I think, been quite creative in establishing the NATO-Russia Founding Act. We have had two meetings of the Permanent Joint Council – one in New York, during the General Assembly, and one just now in December in Brussels – in which we are discussing a number of security and other issues with the Russians in that forum. I think they are finding it useful. They have a voice in this discussion, but they do not have a veto of any kind over internal NATO decisions.

I believe that the arguments that this pushes Russia into some kind of a more antagonistic stance simply don't hold water. We have a strong relationship with Russia. We think that having a clearer definition of bringing countries into Western European institutions actually helps eliminate an area of potential instability; and that NATO expansion is a positive and not a

negative; and that the Russians have come to understand the fact that it is going to happen; and that they are working on their relationship with us and other NATO members in order to solidify their relations with what is a fact.

Q Madame Secretary, I'm Jill Merrick, from the International Center for Research on Women. I'm glad to hear that CEDAW is on your list of foreign policy issues to move forward this year. Given Senator Helms' resistance to this convention on the elimination of all discrimination against women, how do you see moving on this, given his resistance in the past?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, I think that we consider it an issue of major importance. I found very interesting, when I went – Senator Helms invited me to come and speak at his college, and I went there a year and a half ago now. I gave a speech in which I talked about the importance of the Chemical Weapons Convention, paying back UN arrears and CDAW. Those were the biggest applause lines that I got.

I think that what is important is for us to press on this subject; that clearly putting women's issues into the mainstream of American foreign policy has been President Clinton's and my agenda. We will continue to do so, and I will work with Chairman Helms as best I can.

Q Madame Secretary, you're facing a very tough week next week in the Middle East. Your time-out proposal has been rejected by the Prime Minister, and this credible and substantial withdrawal is not going to be immediate. What role can Congress play in bringing about a better situation with regard to the Israeli policy that is obviously trending more and more toward the extremes, instead of back toward the center of the Oslo peace process?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: First of all, let me say we're very much looking forward to the visit of Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat. I had a number of meetings with them separately in Europe during the last couple of months of '97.

'97 was not a great year for the peace process. I, in November said that, and said we had another month. I can't say that we were able to make marked difference. But we have been able to narrow some of the gaps between the two sides, and we will continue to do so.

I think that what is most important for both the Prime Minister and the Chairman to understand is that the Oslo process is the basis of the peace process, and one that we think continues and will continue to be the best way to move the peace process forward. But ultimately, no matter what we in the Administration or Congress do, it is up to the two leaders to make the tough decisions and to move the process forward. And that is the message that they will both be hearing.

I think that, again, there has been a great deal of frustration, I think, by everybody involved in this. It is very much our hope that 1998 will be better than 1997, and that the leaders will be prepared to make the tough decisions necessary to support the Oslo process and to marry the interim issues with permanent status. We have to move the process forward, and we will be doing everything we can in the next week and months to do so.

MS. STEINBRUNER: Speaking of moving the process forward, I'm told that the Secretary is out of time. So I'd like to thank everyone, and ask you to join me in thanking Madeleine.

(Applause.)

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Thank you. As always, it is a pleasure to address a CNP audience, and Mo, thank you very much for your leadership.

(Applause.)