

The Founders Award

Each year the Founders Award is given to an individual who has made a significant contribution to SAIS and to the international community.

This year, the Founders Award is being given to a truly remarkable man, Frank Savage, a distinguished SAIS alumnus and a tireless support of our school. Mr. Savage is a former chairman of the SAIS Advisory Council and at present, is a member the Bologna Advisory Council and a Johns Hopkins University Trustee. In addition, he has established a full fellowship at SAIS for minority students.

Inscription

Founders Award 1997.

Frank Savage

Your dedication to SAIS, your service to Johns Hopkins University, your achievements in business and finance, and your leadership in the international community serve as an inspiration to us all.

The Heritage Award

The Heritage Award is given by the Johns Hopkins Trustees for service to the University.

This year's recipient is Jack Woods, a distinguished SAIS alumnus and former member of the SAIS Advisory Council. Jack Woods grew up in Washington, DC and after graduating from West Virginia State College, he came to SAIS.

Mr. Woods has had a long and successful career with the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York and in Europe, retiring as ?. He served for ten years on the Chase Manhattan Corporate Responsibility Committee dealing with General Societal Issues. As chairman of the Advocacy Committee and privately, he has been involved with the National Urban League, the NAACP, the Citizen's Committee for Children of New York, the Asian American, and the Puerto Rican American, Legal Defense and Education Funds, the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law, and the Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution.

Mr. Woods, It is my honor to present the Heritage award to you as a social activist and advocate as well as SAIS alumnus.

CFW

Beijing
Prague

Women's Day

World Bank

Albujar -

1st lady had a profound impact

Sense of challenge

Here's what we know - what does need is
practical terms

Can't expect these countries to thrive

AS PREPARED

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
THE SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC
MAY 22, 1997**

Dean Wolfowitz, Ambassador Nitze, administrators, faculty, students, award winners, alumnae, relatives, friends, and distinguished guests:

Thank you for inviting me to help you celebrate this wonderful occasion. This school is truly a microcosm of the world. Its graduates have made -- and will continue to make -- their marks not just in diplomacy but in every arena connected to foreign policy, from business to law to communications to academia to grass roots advocacy. I know the President is grateful to have a number of SAIS graduates working in his Administration.

Given your diverse backgrounds, interests and ambitions, it is fitting, I believe, that your graduation comes so close to the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Marshall Plan. Secretary of State George Marshall's vision shaped a new world in the second half of the 20th century. You, with the benefit of the knowledge and wisdom you have acquired here, have the chance to shape an even better world in the century that lies ahead.

But if we forget that vision

And because you are, at least for a few more minutes, a captive audience, I want to take this opportunity to share a few of my own observations about the responsibilities and challenges that await you. I speak not as a foreign policy expert or as a spokesperson for the White House, but merely as someone who cares deeply about our nation's engagement in the world and the preservation of our democratic interests at home and abroad.

You in this room know better than most that, on the eve of a new century, our foreign policy does not lack for challenges. Earlier this month, the President met with our democratic partners in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean to advance our Hemisphere's efforts to build an inclusive and expanding global economy. Next week he will travel to Europe to celebrate the Marshall Plan and to reaffirm our nation's commitment to Marshall's dream of a united, democratic and peaceful Europe.

Every day, the Administration is working to create new opportunities for trade and cooperation in Asia, to seize new opportunities for peace from Northern Ireland to the Middle East, to promote new opportunities for economic progress and democracy in Africa, and to build on the opportunity we now have to integrate fully the countries of the former Soviet Bloc into the family of free nations.

And the President continues to work to safeguard our people from the threats of nuclear war, terrorism, extremism, international crime, the proliferation of drugs and environmental degradation — all of which can produce instant global crises, as well as the “crisis simulations” that some of you study with Professor Holborn each spring.

While each of these challenges requires vigilance and commitment, I want to suggest another foreign policy flashpoint that demands equal attention. I am talking about social development — particularly investments in women and children — which I believe represents a realistic, practical and moral approach to foreign policy. A way to fuse both American ideals and interests.

→ Marshall insert

I have long subscribed to the belief that investments in people are just as essential to the prosperity and stability of our national family and global community as investments in open markets and trade. That belief has only been deepened by what I have seen first-hand as I have traveled around the world on behalf of the United States during these last four years.

From Brazil to Bangladesh, Estonia to Eritrea, Mexico to Mongolia, Thailand to Tanzania, I have seen how social investments -- often supported by America's public, private and non-profit sectors -- are giving more people, especially women, the chance to participate fully in the political, economic, social and civic life of their countries.

I can't count the times that women have come up to me — in rural villages, in poor barrios, in urban slums — to recount how their lives have been transformed because they received a small loan and started their own business. Or because their daughters now had the chance to go to school. Or because a family planning clinic opened in their area and, for the first time, they could plan how many children to have and when to have them. Or because a new law had been passed protecting their rights to own property, hold office, or vote.

Increasingly, governments, businesses, and leaders around the world are recognizing that as long as discrimination and inequities persist -- as long as women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, unschooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes -- our potential to create a stable, peaceful and ultimately prosperous world will be far from realized.

They are also recognizing that a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. For too long, in too many places, women have lived on the outskirts of opportunity. Today, women comprise 70 percent of the world's poor and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write. Women die daily from diseases that could have been prevented or treated. They too often are forced to watch their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty. They too often are denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers. And they too often are barred from the bank lending office and banned from the ballot box.

In some countries, women continue to be denied the right to participate fully on cultural or historical grounds. But, as Secretary of State Albright has said, excluding women -- denying them their God-given rights -- is not cultural, it is criminal.

It is also impractical and shortsighted in the age in which we live. I will always remember the wise words of Uganda's vice president -- a woman -- who told me: "For too long our leaders forgot that women are the ones who knit society together. They forget that women are the ones who care for their families, anchor their communities, look to the future and worry not just about themselves, but about society. Finally, today, we are remembering. And our country is better for it."

We know that we cannot build the kind of future we want without the contributions of women. In fact, I often wonder what would happen to the economies of the world if women just stopped working -- inside and outside the home.

This is much more than speculation. Deputy Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers, who has studied and written about the economics of development for many years, argues that, "Investment in the education of girls may well be the highest return investment available in the developing world."

In Uganda, one of six countries I visited on my recent trip to Africa, I saw the fruits of President Museveni's efforts to promote the education of girls when I went to the Seguku Primary School in Kampala. A very patient and determined teacher, who was in charge of 74 students, proudly told me that for the first time she has more girls than boys in her class. Everywhere I turned, it seemed that Ugandans understood that investing in girls is tantamount to investing in the country and its future.

But even if you subscribe to the notion that social investments are critical to progress in developing countries, some of you may be asking yourselves why investing in women should be a concern of our foreign policy here in the United States?

Real life politics

We live in a time of great transformation. One need only read the daily headlines to understand that, even as country after country embraces democracy and free markets, the rapid pace of change, global competition and the Information Revolution are creating new pressures on every institution in society, from governments on down to families.

The superficial cultural homogenization of the world means that people on every continent wear the same jeans, eat the same fast food, and listen to the same music. But these surface similarities do not override a longing for identity and meaning in their lives. Despite improving material conditions in advanced economies, families seem under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries such as ours, the social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, decent wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying for those less able to navigate this new world.

*we ignored life
politics in foreign
policy at our
own risk*

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for us as we approach the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how families will raise children in the face of pressures from the mass media and the consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload, and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will be able to preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others; about how or whether multinational corporations will be regulated within or across borders; and about how governments will combat threats from international cartels and terrorists.

As the President has said, our challenge is to balance these competing and sometimes contradictory pressures of global integration and disintegration.

As we consider how free nations like ours will meet this ~~this~~ challenge, we may need to be reminded that democracy is not just about our legally protected rights, elections, or even free market economies. It is about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It's about developing among democratic nations what I call an "alliance of values" based on the shared values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

And that alliance means that every nation bears the responsibility to ensure that all of its citizens — no matter their race, gender, religion or ethnic background — have the chance to take their seat at society's table.

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women -- even for women in countries such as ours who still are striving to attain and define their rightful place in government, the economy and civil society and claim their share of personal, political, economic and civic power. And it has serious implications for whether our democracies, individually and collectively, will meet the challenges of the future.

Will democracies on every continent come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the prosperity and progress of every nation?

Will public and private institutions help empower women with the tools they need to take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will education be affordable and accessible so that women can acquire the skills and knowledge they need to help themselves and contribute to society? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

Will financial institutions provide credit for women — especially poor women who, around the world, have shown that with access to small loans they can lift themselves and their families out of poverty? ·

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women are issues that affect us all?

These are not abstract questions. They reflect, in practical terms, the kinds of issues you will face as diplomats, bankers, lawyers, business people, and advocates once you leave SAIS. Because inevitably, if we care about opening foreign markets ... if we care about making our country and our allies secure in the face of new post-Cold War threats ... if we care about enlarging the world's community of democracies ... if we care about widening the circle of peace and prosperity ... then we have to address the conditions and circumstances of the world's women.

What we have learned around the world is that if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations flourish.

This is not just true for the developing world. In our own country, and across Europe, there is a serious debate underway about how to sustain economic growth without tearing at the social fabric and ripping apart the social safety net. There is a growing awareness that solutions cannot be solely government-driven or market-driven. They must reflect a balance of public, private and individual power. And women must be part of the equation.

That is why, for the first time, our own government is recognizing the importance of microcredit as a way of expanding the tools of opportunity for people on the margins of society, most of whom are women. It is why our Justice Department now has, for the first time, an office devoted to ending violence against women.

It is why we are supporting efforts in other countries to establish special police stations where women can be assured of fair and just treatment when they are victims of crime or abuse. It is why we support the International War Crimes Tribunal in Arusha, which is investigating and prosecuting those who use rape as a weapon of war. It is why we will take part in global efforts to crack down on the illegal trafficking of women and girls, just as we seek justice and punishment for those who traffic in drugs.

I, for one, am proud that the United States is a leader in this area and that, as Secretary of State Albright has said, we are committed to making women an integral part of our foreign policy -- not just in theory, but in practice. I am proud of our efforts, through the U.S. Agency for International Development and other entities, to support investments in women in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

The plain fact is: a modest investment in foreign aid -- less than one percent of our budget -- yields dramatic returns. Not that I believe that American aid, whether for microcredit projects, family planning, girls education or any other social investments, is a panacea for women or for democracy around the world. Nor that I am starry-eyed enough to believe that every just cause in the world, whether or not it is related to women, is ours to embrace.

But I do believe that social investments are vital to spreading our democratic ideals, strengthening free market interests, and enhancing our security. And I do believe that we have learned over time that our ideals and interests cannot be divorced from the political, economic and social cross-currents swirling around us.

Social development, the investment in people and their potential, is foreign policy, not social work. It is, as I said earlier, a realistic and moral way for the United States to help expand the global economy, nurture democracy, and improve our own chances for peace and prosperity.

And as we move ahead to a new century, I hope we will measure American engagement not just in terms of our strategic alliances, trade agreements, and humanitarian aid in the wake of tragedy and crisis. I hope we will measure it in the democratic values we reinforce, the human rights we defend, and the opportunities we create for ourselves at home and for our friends abroad.

And I hope that in the days and months ahead, after you have taken leave of this wonderful school, you will remember George Marshall and the vision he created at a time when the world seemed just as challenging and unpredictable as it does today. I hope you will carry with you a belief in democracy and in its promise to give all citizens the chance to live up to their God-given potential. And ~~most~~ of all, I hope you will always have faith in your own capacity to move us closer to a peaceful, just and prosperous world.

Thank you. And Godspeed.

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1997 COMMENCEMENT

Thursday, May 22, 1997

3:00 p.m.

Lincoln Theatre
1215 U Street, NW
Washington, DC

WELCOME

Dean Paul Wolfowitz

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton

PRESENTATION OF THE CLASS OF 1997

and

PRESENTATION OF AWARDS

Dean Wolfowitz and Associate Deans Stephen F. Szabo and Bonnie S. Wilson

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER AWARD

Carmen A. Aquerreta-Ferra

WILLIAM C. FOSTER AWARD

Russell Crandall

Jamieson Davies

Matthew Siegel

Kristin Wise

STUDENT RESPONSE

President of the Student Government Association Timothy Nourse

Presentation of Class Gift by Andrea Erdmann

Presentation of Excellence in Teaching Award by Catherine Rand

Introduction of Student Speaker by Todd Johnston

STUDENT SPEAKER

Clarence Alexander Severens

RECEPTION

1740 Massachusetts Avenue, NW

**THE PAUL H. NITZE SCHOOL
OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

JOHNS HOPKINS

U N I V E R S I T Y

AS PREPARED

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
THE SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
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They are also recognizing that a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. For too long, in too many places, women have lived on the outskirts of opportunity. Today, women comprise 70 percent of the world's poor and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write. Women die daily from diseases that could have been prevented or treated. They too often are forced to watch their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty. They too often are denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers. And they too often are barred from the bank lending office and banned from the ballot box.

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We know that we cannot build the kind of future we want without the contributions of women. In fact, I often wonder what would happen to the economies of the world if women just stopped working — inside and outside the home.

This is much more than speculation. Deputy Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers, who has studied and written about the economics of development for many years, argues that, “Investment in the education of girls may well be the highest return investment available in the developing world.”

In Uganda, one of six countries I visited on my recent trip to Africa, I saw the fruits of President Museveni’s efforts to promote the education of girls when I went to the Seguku Primary School in Kampala. A very patient and determined teacher, who was in charge of 74 students, proudly told me that for the first time she has more girls than boys in her class. Everywhere I turned, it seemed that Ugandans understood that investing in girls is tantamount to investing in the country and its future.

But even if you subscribe to the notion that social investments are critical to progress in developing countries, some of you may be asking yourselves why investing in women should be a concern of our foreign policy here in the United States?

We live in a time of great transformation. One need only read the daily headlines to understand that, even as country after country embraces democracy and free markets, the rapid pace of change, global competition and the Information Revolution are creating new pressures on every institution in society, from governments on down to families.

The superficial cultural homogenization of the world means that people on every continent wear the same jeans, eat the same fast food, and listen to the same music. But these surface similarities do not override a longing for identity and meaning in their lives. Despite improving material conditions in advanced economies, families seem under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries such as ours, the social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, decent wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying for those less able to navigate this new world.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for us as we approach the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how families will raise children in the face of pressures from the mass media and the consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload, and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will be able to preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others; about how or whether multinational corporations will be regulated within or across borders; and about how governments will combat threats from international cartels and terrorists.

As the President has said, our challenge is to balance the competing and sometimes contradictory pressures of global integration and disintegration.

As we consider how free nations like ours will meet this this challenge, we may need to be reminded that democracy is not just about our legally protected rights, elections, or even free market economies. It is about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It's about developing among democratic nations what I call an "alliance of values" based on the shared values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

And that alliance means that every nation bears the responsibility to ensure that all of its citizens — no matter their race, gender, religion or ethnic background — have the chance to take their seat at society's table.

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women -- even for women in countries such as ours who still are striving to attain and define their rightful place in government, the economy and civil society and claim their share of personal, political, economic and civic power. And it has serious implications for whether our democracies, individually and collectively, will meet the challenges of the future.

Will democracies on every continent come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the prosperity and progress of every nation?

Will public and private institutions help empower women with the tools they need to take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will education be affordable and accessible so that women can acquire the skills and knowledge they need to help themselves and contribute to society? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

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These are not abstract questions. They reflect, in practical terms, the kinds of issues you will face as diplomats, bankers, lawyers, business people, and advocates once you leave SAIS. Because inevitably, if we care about opening foreign markets ... if we care about making our country and our allies secure in the face of new post-Cold War threats . . . if we care about enlarging the world's community of democracies . . . if we care about widening the circle of peace and prosperity . . . then we have to address the conditions and circumstances of the world's women.

What we have learned around the world is that if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations flourish.

This is not just true for the developing world. In our own country, and across Europe, there is a serious debate underway about how to sustain economic growth without tearing at the social fabric and ripping apart the social safety net. There is a growing awareness that solutions cannot be solely government-driven or market-driven. They must reflect a balance of public, private and individual power. And women must be part of the equation.

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And I hope that in the days and months ahead, after you have taken leave of this wonderful school, you will remember George Marshall and the vision he created at a time when the world seemed just as challenging and unpredictable as it does today. I hope you will carry with you a belief in democracy and in its promise to give all citizens the chance to live up to their God-given potential. And mos of all, I hope you will always have faith in your own capacity to move us closer to a peaceful, just and prosperous world.

Thank you. And Godspeed.

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TO: HRC
FROM: Lissa
RE: SAIS speech
DATE: May 22

I've tried to weave something together that makes the case for social development and its connection to democracy. It's not elegant and clearly some of the transitions need to be better. Also, this draft is sorely lacking in anecdotes. But I wanted to get something down that you can work with and that we can improve in the morning.

At least we're on more solid ground now.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
THE SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC
MAY 22, 1997**

[Acknowledgments]

It is fitting that we celebrate your graduation so close to the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Marshall Plan. Secretary of State George Marshall's vision reshaped the world in the second half of the 20th century. You, with the benefit of this great education, have the power -- and the responsibility -- to help reshape our world for the better in the 21st century.

Fifty years ago, Europe lay in ruins. But from that seemingly irreparable destruction came the most vibrant, prosperous civilization the world has ever known. And that progress and prosperity was nourished by nations that, just years before, had fought the Second World War.

Given the horror that had just taken place, it was daring to envision that a new internationalism could be built around the reconstruction of nations that had been aggressors and collaborators in war. Yet, that is exactly what George Marshall envisioned. And that is exactly what happened.

The Marshall Plan gave nations the resources to rebuild themselves. But the effects of America's unprecedented commitment quickly spread beyond any individual nation's borders. The new community of nations created and stabilized the free world -- through organizations like the United Nations, NATO, and the European Union; through free and open trade that created new markets and ever-greater economic opportunities; and through an alliance of values that instilled in people's hearts and minds the bedrock principles of democracy: freedom, responsibility, opportunity, community, respect for human dignity.

Today, as we move toward the fulfillment of Marshall's vision -- an undivided, peaceful Europe, democracy flowering around the globe, free and open markets emerging on every continent -- we gather not just to celebrate his wisdom, but to reaffirm it. Though the world of 50 years ago would be unrecognizable to us today, never has there been a greater need for internationalism. Never has internationalism depended more on nations being strong at home. And never has being strong at home depended more on a nation's commitment to democracy.

For much of this century, the world was divided into two camps, Communist and free. In one camp, people came together to contain the threat of Communism. In the other, tyranny and domination forced people to exchange their freedom for the false promise of a Utopian idea and a distorted sense of social stability.

Student Awards**Herter award:**

"Established by the friends and associates of the School's founder, Christian A. Herter, this award for distinguished academic performance is presented in honor of Christian A. Herter." The winner of this year's Christian A. Herter Award - Carmen A. Aquerreta-Ferraz who achieved the highest average in her first year and who has been an outstanding student in International Law

The Foster Award

"For sound scholarship and a record of leadership and distinguished service to SAIS, exemplary of the high qualities of integrity, loyalty and ability admired by Mr. Foster. This prize honors the former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, distinguished businessman, tireless public servant, and devoted SAIS Advisory Council member."

A. Doak Barnett Award

Given to a second-year student for academic excellence and leadership in the China Studies Program.

African Studies Award

Given to a second-year student who has produced the best, publishable quality paper in the African Studies Program.

and focus and demand great effort from our greatest minds. But with the strides of recent years it is not longer a question of whether we can develop an AIDS vaccine, it is simply a question of when. And it cannot come a day too soon.

If America commits to find an AIDS vaccine and we enlist others in our cause, we will do it. I am prepared to do all I can to make it happen. Our scientists at the National Institutes of Health and our research universities have been at the forefront of this battle.

Today, I'm pleased to announce the National Institutes of Health will establish a new AIDS vaccine research center dedicated to this crusade. And next month at the Summit of the Industrialized Nations in Denver, I will enlist other nations to join us in a worldwide effort to find a vaccine to stop one of the world's greatest killers. We will challenge America's pharmaceutical industry, which leads the world in innovative research and development to work with us and to make the successful development of an AIDS vaccine part of its basic mission.

My fellow Americans, if the 21st century is to be the century of biology, let us make an AIDS vaccine its first great triumph. (Applause.)

Let us resolve further to work with other nations to deal with great problems like global climate change, to break our reliance on energy use destructive of our environment, to make giant strides to free ourselves and future generations from the tyranny of disease and hunger and ignorance that today still enslaves too many millions around the world. And let us also pledge to redouble our vigilance to make sure that the knowledge of the 21st century serves our most enduring human values.

Science often moves faster than our ability to understand its implications, leaving a maze of moral and ethical questions in its wake. The Internet can be a new town square or a new Tower of Babel. The same computer that can put the Library of Congress at our fingertips can also be used by purveyors of hate to spread blueprints for bombs. The same knowledge that is developing new life-saving drugs can be used to create poisons of mass destruction. Science can enable us to feed billions more people in comfort, in safety, and in harmony with our earth; or it can spark a war with weapons of mass destruction rooted in primitive hatreds.

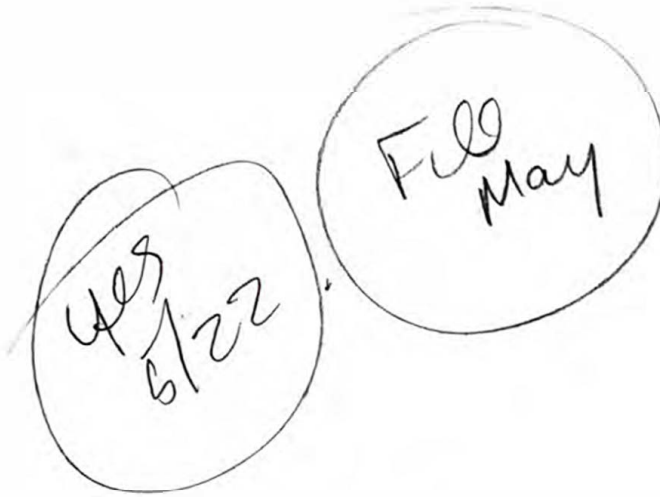
Science has no soul of its own. It is up to us to determine whether it will be used as a force for good or evil. We must do nothing to stifle our basic quest for knowledge. After all, it has propelled from field to factory to cyberspace. But how we use the fruits of science and how we apply it to human endeavors is not properly the domain of science alone or of scientists alone. The answers to these questions require the application of ethical and moral principles that have guided our great democracy toward a more perfect union for more than 200 years now. As such, they are the

SAIS

**The Paul H. Nitze School
of Advanced International Studies**

1740 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington DC 20036-1984
(202) 663-5624 / FAX (202) 663-5621

Paul Wolfowitz
Dean



January 22, 1997

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

On behalf of the faculty and students of The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, I want to express my deepest appreciation to you for accepting our invitation to be the speaker at the SAIS Commencement Ceremony on Thursday afternoon, May 22, 1997. It was with great pride that we were able to announce your decision at the ninetieth birthday celebration of Paul Nitze last Thursday. When it was explained that your acceptance was conditioned on nothing except a major world crisis, we all decided that with the help of our worldwide alumni network, we would prevent that from happening. You have honored our school and we look forward to welcoming you to our ceremony.

As I mentioned in my letter of invitation, although SAIS is a school of international studies, our student body and faculty would appreciate hearing you speak on any subject you choose. I know you will be impressed by the quality of our graduates and the extent to which they are devoted to improving not only the international community but the societies in which they live.

I think you will also find particularly interesting the location of the graduation ceremony. It will take place at the Lincoln Theatre, which is located at 1215 U Street, NW. This turn of the century building, which in America's Movie Palace era housed both a cinema, a vaudeville stage, and a dance hall, was at the center of Washington's Black commercial and entertainment community from the early decades of the century until the 1960's. Duke Ellington, Pearl Bailey, Billie Holiday, Count Basie, and Louis Armstrong were among the celebrities who graced its stages. The restoration and reopening of the theater in 1994 resulted from the resurgence of interest in the "U Street Corridor" in the 1980's after twenty years of decline and decay following the civil disorders of the 1960's. Today, as a municipally-owned facility boasting 1,250 seats, the Lincoln Theatre stands as one of the most impressive historical monuments to Washington's past.

The Commencement Ceremony begins at 3:00 p.m. Your address will come fairly early in the program and should last about twenty minutes. The diploma awarding will follow and our speaker normally joins me in shaking hands with the recipients as they walk across the stage. There will be about 250 students graduating, a third of whom are foreign students. The ceremony should end by 5:00 p.m. A reception will follow at the SAIS Nitze Building (1740 Massachusetts Avenue, NW). I realize that your schedule is extremely full, but we would be very pleased if you could spend a few moments at the reception.

The office of our Associate Dean for Student Affairs will be organizing the commencement events. We will be in touch with your office as plans progress. If you have any immediate questions, please have your staff contact Dean Bonnie Wilson (202-663-5703/Fax 202-663-5615).

Again, I thank you for agreeing to be a part of one of the most important moments in our students' lives. We all look forward to sharing this event with you.

Respectfully,


Paul Wolfowitz

cc: Ms. Patti Solis Doyle
Ms. Leezee Porter

JOHNS HOPKINS
UNIVERSITY

SAIS

**The Paul H. Nitze School
of Advanced International Studies**

1740 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington DC 20036-1984
(202) 663-5624 / FAX (202) 663-5621

Paul Wolfowitz
Dean

Personal

Free May

YES

January 22, 1997

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The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

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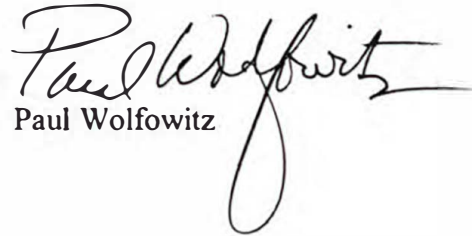
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Respectfully,


Paul Wolfowitz

cc: Ms. Patti Solis Doyle
Ms. Leezee Porter

**SAIS****The Paul H. Nitze School
of Advanced International Studies**1740 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington DC 20036-1984
(202) 663-5600**Fax Cover Sheet**

DATE: April 16, 1997 **TIME:** 11:12 AM

TO: Patti Solis Doyle **PHONE:** 202/456-2468
Special Asst. to the President **FAX:** 202/456-5340

FROM: Joanne Elegant Brainard **PHONE:** 202/663-5705
Coordinator, Student Services **FAX:** 202/663-5615

RE: Schedule of SAIS Commencement on May 22, 1997

Number of pages including cover sheet: 2

Dear Ms. Doyle:

We are so pleased that Mrs. Clinton will deliver the address at the SAIS commencement on May 22nd. Commencement will be held at the Lincoln Theatre, the beautifully restored historic theater at 1215 U Street, NW. Mrs. Clinton will, of course, be part of the academic procession. I assume she owns a cap and gown. However, should that not be the case, we will be happy to rent one for her. Just let me know.

SAIS Commencement Schedule:

2:45 p.m. - Mrs. Clinton, Dean Wolfowitz, Deans, Faculty meet in the lobby of the Lincoln Theater for Processional. Mrs. Clinton will be met by Dean Wolfowitz.

3:00 p.m. - Ceremony begins with the procession of the faculty.

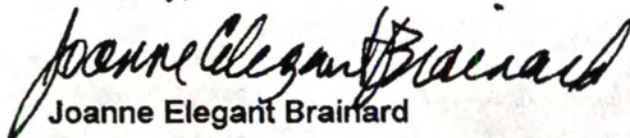
3:15 p.m. - (approximately) Mrs. Clinton will be introduced by Dean Paul Wolfowitz. Commencement speakers usually speak for 15 to 20 minutes. Normally, after delivering the commencement address, the speaker stands with the Dean and shakes the graduates' hands as they receive their diplomas.

5:15 p.m. - Ceremony should end about 5:15.

Mrs. Clinton is cordially invited to attend the reception after commencement at 1740 Massachusetts Avenue, NW.

In his letter of invitation, Dean Wolfowitz included some information about SAIS. Should more information of any sort be needed by your office or by the Secret Service, I am your contact person. I can be reached at 202/663-5705. Please let me know if I can be helpful in any way.

Sincerely,



Joanne Elegant Brainard



Johns Hopkins University

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The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) provides graduate training to men and women planning careers in government, international public service, business, banking, journalism, teaching, and research.

Founded in 1943, SAIS has three primary goals: to provide a professional education that adheres to the highest standards of scholarship while taking a practical approach to preparing students for international leadership, to conduct scholarly research related to contemporary issues of concern to the United States and other nations, disseminating that research to a broad audience concerned with foreign relations, and to offer mid-career educational opportunities for individuals already working in international affairs.

The school's main campus is located near Dupont Circle in Washington, DC. SAIS also maintains centers in Bologna, Italy and Nanjing, China.

Please refer to department and administrative pages for e-mail inquiries.
A complete listing of SAIS e-mail addresses is available.

Johns Hopkins University
 The School of Advanced International Studies
 1740 Massachusetts Avenue NW
 Washington DC 20036
 tel. 202.663.5600 / fax 202.663.5656

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SAIS website designed and maintained by Rory Phimister
 You are visitor number **11897** since March 27, 1997

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SAIS Background Information

SAIS Today

SAIS enrolls about 420 full-time students approximately one-fourth of whom are from overseas with 170 graduating each year from the two-year Master of Arts program in international relations. The school yearly accepts a small number of candidates in the Doctor of Philosophy program. A one-year course of study leading to the Master of International Public Policy (M.I.P.P.) degree serves mid-career professionals in government and business from the United States and foreign countries.

SAIS conducts joint programs leading to an M.A. in international relations from SAIS combined with:

- ☐ Master's of Business Administration from the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania or from INSEAD, in Fontainebleau, France.
- ☐ a master's degree in the health sciences from The Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health.
- ☐ a law degree through the SAIS Stanford University Law School Program.

The school also offers courses and, from time to time, special programs to non-degree students with special needs and qualifications.

The academic program at SAIS is interdisciplinary and offers a broad array of courses in international relations, international economics, social change and development, American foreign policy, and regional studies. It provides students with a thorough understanding of theory and history as well as superior analytical and practical skills. Students enjoy great leeway in designing their own courses of study, but each must demonstrate a knowledge of the basic, or "core," elements of international affairs and must pass a comprehensive examination in international economics.

Because SAIS is deeply committed to the premise that effective professionals in international service must be able to communicate with their foreign counterparts, all M.A. and Ph.D. candidates must demonstrate proficiency in a foreign language. Languages taught include Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish.

SAIS has been a pioneer in developing regional studies, first offering a Middle East studies program in 1946. Students today can also specialize in the study of Africa, American Foreign Policy, Asia, Canada, Europe, Latin America, Russia and East Europe and Southeast Asia.

SAIS Faculty

The resident faculty includes 36 professors noted for their scholarly accomplishments and their contributions to international understanding. Senior faculty members draw upon years of professional experience in government and the private sector, while younger members bring fresh perspectives to the classroom and to research.

About 90 part-time teachers who hold positions in federal agencies, research firms, international organizations and other universities regularly conduct classes at SAIS. Visiting scholars from foreign countries and the United States also come to the school for varying periods of time to teach, lecture and conduct research.

A SAIS Education

SAIS is an institution where the wisdom of academia, business, and labor merge with the knowledge and expertise of those currently engaged in government, foreign affairs and international economic practice. SAIS has provided graduate training to men and women planning careers in government, international public service, business, banking, journalism, teaching and research, since its founding in 1943, when three primary goals were established:

- ☐ To provide a professional education which simultaneously adheres to the highest standards of scholarship and takes a practical approach to training students for international leadership.
- ☐ To conduct scholarly research related to the concerns of public and private institutions of the United States and governments of other countries and disseminate that research to a broad audience concerned with foreign relations.
- ☐ To offer mid-career educational opportunities for those already working in international affairs.

SAIS is neither a vocational school nor a purely scientific or liberal arts school dedicated to the pursuit of learning for learning's sake. It seeks to relate academic learning to the mounting international responsibilities of the United States and train qualified students in the history and theory of international relations, the practical skills of economics and the language and cultures of foreign nations.

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LASP Activities

Internships - Since 1979, the LASP corporate internship program has provided students with opportunities to learn firsthand about business operations in Latin America. The interns spend 10-12 weeks during the summer working for companies and banks in the region. In 1990, the program was expanded to include summer internship at nonprofit organizations. (Detailed application guidelines are distributed during the fall semester.) In 1996, internships were offered at Citibank in Santiago; in São Paulo at the Fundação Getúlio Vargas; in Caracas at the Sistema Económico Latinoamericano (SELA); and, in Mexico City, at Nestlé and at the Academia Mexicana de Derechos Humanos.

Research Fellowships - Each year since 1982, LASP has supported student research. Students are eligible for grants to carry out individual research projects in Latin America. In the past, students have studied such varied topics as Chile's debt conversion policy, the role of political parties in Nicaragua, Japanese investment in Mexico, the privatization of the electricity system in Argentina and the 1994 Mexican currency crisis to cite a few. Upon their return, students present their research to the SAIS community.

Intensive Spanish Language Program - During the winter break, a limited number of qualified LASP students has the opportunity to improve their Spanish language skills through a three-week intensive program at the Center for Bilingual Multicultural Studies in Cuernavaca, Mexico.

Conferences/Evening Seminars - LASP sponsors/ cosponsors conferences and evening seminars which bring together leading Latin American policy makers and the U.S. counterparts in a nonpartisan forum for the discussion of timely economic, political and social issues of the region. Students and faculty, as well as the Washington policy community, are invited to attend.

Brown Bag Luncheon Lecture Series - These are a series of informal lectures given by academics, diplomats, business professionals and Latin American specialists on varied topics of interest. Speakers have included H.E. Paulo Tarso Flecha de Lima, Brazilian Ambassador to the U.S. ("The Current Economic and Political Situation in Brazil"); Nancy Birdsall, Exec. V.P., Inter-American Development Bank and SAIS graduate ("The East Asian Miracle: Implications for Latin American Public Policy"); Isaac Cohen, Director, Washington Office, United Nations' ECLAC ("Prospects for Hemispheric Free Trade"); Fernando Ramirez, Chief, Cuban Interests Section, ("U.S.-Cuban Relations"), to name a few.

Tertulia - Every Thursday students interested in practicing conversational Spanish join Guadalupe Paz for an evening of informal discussion with a varied group of Latin American diplomats and professionals living in Washington.

Film Series - To complement the academic program, a series of Latin American films is shown during the year to provide additional insight on cultural and historical issues in the region.

LASP Student Association - This group of interested students has hosted several LASP activities including fundraising events, a paper-writing competition and happy hours. It is open to ideas and input from LASP students.

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A Brief History of The Johns Hopkins University

The Johns Hopkins University opened Feb. 22, 1876, with the inauguration of its first president, Daniel Coit Gilman. "What are we aiming at?" Gilman asked in his installation address. "The encouragement of research ... and the advancement of individual scholars, who by their excellence will advance the sciences they pursue, and the society where they dwell."

Building from scratch, rather than taking over an existing institution, freed Gilman to create something entirely new, at least in the United States. He established a research university, dedicated to both advanced study and path-breaking research. "The best teachers are usually those who are free, competent and willing to make original researches in the library and the laboratory," Gilman said. "The best investigators are usually those who have also the responsibilities of instruction, gaining thus the incitement of colleagues, the encouragement of pupils, the observation of the public."

The realization of Gilman's philosophy at Hopkins, and at other institutions that later attracted Hopkins-trained scholars, revolutionized higher education in America, leading to the research university system as it exists today.

Hopkins remains a leader, in both teaching and research. The School of Medicine is one of the best anywhere, and the School of Hygiene and Public Health is renowned for contributions to preventive medicine worldwide. The other divisions, though smaller--by design--than similar schools in other institutions, include eminent scholars and numerous highly ranked departments.

In recent years, Johns Hopkins has won more federal research and development funding than any other university. This is due in large measure to the work of the Applied Physics Laboratory, a division of the university devoted entirely to research and development. The School of Medicine, however, is the largest recipient of National Institutes of Health research grants to medical schools. The School of Hygiene and Public Health, the first of its kind in this country, ranks first among public health schools in federal research support.

In all, the university has eight academic divisions. The Zanvyl Krieger School of Arts and Sciences, the G.W.C. Whiting School of Engineering and the School of Continuing Studies are based at the Homewood campus in northern Baltimore. The schools of Medicine, Hygiene and Public Health, and Nursing are in east Baltimore, sharing a campus with The Johns Hopkins Hospital.

The Peabody Institute, founded in 1857 and a leading professional school of music, has been affiliated with Johns Hopkins since 1977. It is located on Mount Vernon Place in downtown Baltimore. The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, founded in 1943, has been a Hopkins division since 1950. It is located in Washington, D.C.

The Applied Physics Laboratory is a division of the university co-equal to the eight schools, but with a non-academic mission. APL, located between Baltimore and Washington, is noted for contributions to national security, space exploration and other civilian research and development. It has developed more than 100 biomedical devices, many in collaboration with the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions.

Johns Hopkins has academic facilities in Nanjing, China, and in Bologna and Florence, Italy. It maintains a network of continuing education facilities throughout the Baltimore-Washington area, including centers in downtown Baltimore, in downtown Washington, and in Columbia and Montgomery County, Md.

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Post

February 5, 1994, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE G1

LENGTH: 732 words

HEADLINE: The New Jewel of U Street;
Lincoln Theatre's Gala Return

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Roxanne Roberts, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Ah, stars! Jennifer Holliday kept the audience waiting for an hour last night, which under ordinary circumstances would get a singer booed offstage faster than you can say "prima donna."

Fortunately for Holliday, the 1,200 guests at the Lincoln Theatre were a patient lot. They had waited many years for the curtain to rise once again in the "Jewel of U Street," so one more hour didn't spoil the party.

Yes, the lights are back on at the historic theater, and Washington celebrated with a grand reopening night complete with ribbon cutting by Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, a surprise appearance by Cab Calloway -- who performed at the Lincoln in the 1930s -- champagne and a performance of "Ain't Got Long to Stay Here," a musical drama honoring the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Kelly proclaimed the evening the beginning of a great renaissance for the Shaw neighborhood. "At last we see our history restored and beautified again," she said. "We want [tourists] to see more than the Washington Monument. We want them in our community."

The reopening of the Lincoln is considered the heart of the revitalization of U Street NW, which was once called "Black Broadway," the center of African American entertainment and culture in the city. For many last night, it brought back fond memories of a bustling, vital neighborhood.

"My heart is fluttering because U Street is where I walked as a child," said D.C. Council member Charlene Drew Jarvis. "For those of us who remember, U Street was really a wonderful mecca for African Americans in this city. To see it revived under my watch is really very, very, exciting."

Walking into the Lincoln is like stepping back in time. The theater at 13th and U NW was built in 1921 as a movie palace for black audiences. Behind the simple exterior is a classy, ornate hall with burgundy velvet seats, a 38-foot-wide stage and neoclassical plaster ornamentation. (When no minority subcontractor could be found to do the elaborate plaster restoration, said Jeff Koenreich, president of the Cardozo/Shaw Neighborhood Association, they found

The Washington Post, February 5, 1994

six kids from Shaw Junior High School and taught them how to do it.) In the late 1920s, the owners built a dance hall at the rear, called the Colonnade ballroom, and brought in the biggest names: Lena Horne, Louis Armstrong, Fats Waller, Bessie Smith, the Mills Brothers and Count Basie.

"Washington was beautiful," Calloway said. "Beautiful audiences, beautiful people. That's all you needed."

"The crowd would just go crazy when he did his 'Hi-de-hi, hi-de-ho,' " remembered Adelaide Henley, an 81-year-old Lincoln regular who saw him perform live way back when. But mostly, she remembers the movies. "All the high school children would meet here on Saturday afternoon and sit down front. We called it the supper show." For the record: 15 cents for the movie, 10 cents for a hot dog and soda.

The Lincoln thrived in the '30s and '40s; ironically, it was desegregation that led to its demise. In 1953, Washington movie chains began opening their houses to blacks, and the U Street corridor lost its audience. The Colonnade was demolished in the late '50s; the theater itself closed 20 years ago.

The \$ 9 million renovation, paid by the city, is "the big spark, the big economic ignition for U Street," said Koenreich. "It marks the real beginning of bringing thousands of people back to U Street." Koenreich estimates 10,000 people a week will come to the restaurants and theaters.

"It's the new Georgetown," said producer Ed Yoe. "And we have something Georgetown doesn't have -- a subway stop!"

Last night's audience was invitation-only, but other opening weekend activities include a public performance of "Ain't Got Long to Stay Here" tonight and free gospel performances by local choirs from 3:30 to 6:30 p.m. tomorrow. The long-term goal, said officials, is a theater district for a multicultural audience.

Wonderful, said D.C. Council Chairman David A. Clarke -- as long as the people who believed in U Street during the lean years don't get shut out.

"There is a little bar down the street," he said. "I walked by it the other day. I haven't seen a black person in it. I think the community's ready for integration, but I don't just want it to be a transplantation. Because there's a rich history along this block."

Special correspondent Jennifer Bush contributed to this report.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, MAYOR KELLY WITH BAND LEADER CAB CALLOWAY, WHO PERFORMED AT THE LINCOLN IN THE 1930S. TOM HORAN FOR TWP

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 4, 1994

SAIS News Release

April 10, 1997
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
CONTACT: Rodney A. Coggin
(202) 663-5626

The Paul H. Nitze School
of Advanced International Studies
1740 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 663-5626

SAIS MINORITY OUTREACH COMMITTEE CRISIS SIMULATION Annual Event at SAIS on April 12, 1997

4/1/97 (Lahore): The Indian Air Force shoots down a Pakistani plane ferrying arms to Kashmiri rebels.

4/8/97 (Islamabad): Pakistan declares war on India, and advances into Jammu and Kashmir

4/12/97: ?????????????????????????????????????

Approximately forty to fifty public high school students from the D.C. area will attempt to resolve a hypothetical conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir at the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) on April 12, 1997 as they assume for a day the roles of U.N. representatives and participate in the Seventh Annual SAIS Minority Outreach Committee (SMOC) Crisis Simulation.

Mr. Tony Pinder, the Assistant Director of the United Negro College Fund in Fairfax, VA, will be present to congratulate students at the completion of the simulation event on Saturday. Mr. Pinder is a 1995 graduate of SAIS and a former president of SMOC.

The crisis simulation gives high school students an opportunity to learn about negotiation skills, international current events, and the intricate web of relations among countries that can either perpetuate cooperation or instigate conflict.

The SAIS Minority Outreach Committee hopes that this crisis simulation will inspire these high school students to seek out and consider academic and career opportunities in the international field. We also hope to strengthen the ties between SAIS and the people of the

Washington, D.C. community. The activities of the SAIS graduate students involved in SMOC have been used as a model for the high school outreach programs of other members of the Association of Professional Schools in International Affairs (APSIA).

The SMOC Crisis Simulation has its roots in a similar annual event at the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Since 1984, Professor Fred Holborn of the SAIS American Foreign Policy Department and his students have designed a three-day simulation filled with potential international incidents to explore a primary question of policy under high-pressure circumstances. Other graduate students at SAIS apply for the key policy making roles in this simulation.

For more information on the SMOC Crisis Simulation, please call Matt Siegel at (202) 882-3748.

The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies

Crisis Simulation 1996: Tensions Rise in Central Europe, the Persian Gulf and Asia

The president of the United States was frustrated. Besieged by a pesky press corps, hounded by senior officials searching for policy positions, and concerned about ominous security threats to U.S. interests, the commander-in-chief was beginning to feel the heat.

A day in the life of President Clinton? Actually it is a description of the situation facing SAIS student James Berner as he played the role of president of the United States in the annual SAIS Crisis Simulation exercise.

Started in 1984 at the suggestion of a handful of strategic studies students, the crisis simulation has evolved from a one-day patch work operation into a three-week sophisticated exercise guided by American Foreign Policy Professor Frederick Holborn and the group of students in Professor Holborn's crisis simulation seminar.

Seminar participants make up the control group which guides the more than 25 players through a series of crises with ever-more dire consequences. This year the players were divided into four groups: the administration, the press corps, the international community, and Congress. As always alumni from past simulations returned to take part in this fascinating re-creation of the foreign policy decisionmaking process.

Powder kegs in the Persian Gulf, Central Europe, China, the Asian continent and Latin America all forced participants to make trade-offs. It was a world where Kazakh separatists threatened Rus-

sian pipelines, Chinese and Indian troops massed in the Kashmir, Iran acquired nuclear weapon technology, and Taiwan declared full independence from mainland China.

This is the thirteenth year in which the simulation has been run and innovations are the rule. This year 'control' introduced a multinational group representing world reactions to administration policy. The result was a greater role for the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. Also new this year was an advanced video conferencing system which was used by 'control' to monitor the administration in real time, and even broadcast live video transmissions of news events. This introduced something of a "CNN effect" on the players while 'control' watched and learned.

Over the years the exercise has allowed SAIS to develop quite an expertise in running and learning from crisis simulations. Dean Paul Wolfowitz, making a guest appearance in this year's simulation, sug-

gested that this institutional expertise might be beneficially used by other SAIS programs in the future.



Top, President James Berner settles a dispute with his colleagues. Center, Regina Espenshade, MIPP, presides over a meeting of the U.N. Security Council. Bottom, members of the control group monitor deliberations of the administration's crisis.

APRIL 1996

Events open to the public unless otherwise noted.

2 TUESDAY

Latin American Studies Program. Historian Peter Smith discusses his book, *Talons of the Eagle*, on U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America. 6:30-8:30 p.m., Rome Auditorium. 663-5736.

3 WEDNESDAY

Social Change and Development. Brown-bag lunch. "The Role of Organic Agriculture and Trade," Thomas Harding, Jr., Organic Crop Improvement Association. 12:30-2 p.m., Rome 806. 663-5691.

SAIS Women's Network Luncheon. "Career Development." Ambassador Rozann Ridgway, the Atlantic Council of the United States. 12:30-2 p.m., Herter Room. Ladan Archin. 473-4661.

Student Affairs Workshop for SAIS Students. "Managing Stress: A Challenge for All of Us," Dr. Mark Ginsberg, Johns Hopkins University. 1-2 p.m., Rome Auditorium. 663-5705.

International Relations. "The New Cold War History: Implications for International Relations," Professor John Lewis Gaddis, distinguished professor of history and director of the Contemporary History Institute; fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center. 5:30-7:30 p.m. Kenney Auditorium and Herter Room. 663-5745.

8 MONDAY

Strategic Studies Lecture Series. "Reflections on the Cold War," Professor John Lewis Gaddis. 7:30-9:00 p.m., Herter Room. 663-5745.

5/20/97

SAIS COMMENCEMENT 1997

Lincoln Theatre, 1215 U Street NW
Ceremony begins at 3:00 p.m.

SCHEDULE

- 2:00 Class of 1997 lines up - Parking Lot, Lincoln Theatre**
- 2:45 Deans Wolfowitz, Szabo, Wilson, Amb. Nitze, Prince Bandar, Mr. Savage, Amb. Lewis; Prof. Herter, SAIS faculty meet in the lobby of the Lincoln Theatre (1215 U Street, NW) to robe and prepare.**
- @2:55 Mrs. Clinton arrives. She is greeted by Dean Wolfowitz.**
- 3:00 Faculty procession, led by Dean Wolfowitz and Mrs. Clinton, enters the theater, proceeds down the left aisle, up steps to the stage.**
- Seated directly behind the podium from left to right: Dean Wolfowitz, Mrs. Clinton, Prince Bandar, Frank Savage, Amb. Lewis, Amb. Nitze, Prof. Herter, Jack Woods, Dean Szabo, Dean Wilson. In the second row on the end behind Dean Wolfowitz, Mr. Sonnenfeldt.**
- 3:05 Students come in from the parking lot, through the tunnel into the lobby of the theater, and then down the left aisle and fill in the center section of seats.**

Dean Wolfowitz**Welcome Address.****Introduces Prince Bandar, Saudi Arabian Ambassador to the United States who will present the Founders Award.****Prince Bandar****Gives reasons for Founders Award. Presents Founders Award Bowl to Frank Savage. Silver bowl will be on the gift table to the left of the podium. Reads inscription.****Dean Wolfowitz****Congratulates Frank Savage. Thanks Prince Bandar.****Introduces Mrs. Clinton.****Mrs. Clinton****Gives Commencement address (15-20 minutes).****Dean Wolfowitz****Thanks Mrs. Clinton.****Introduces Helmut Sonnenfeldt to present the Heritage Award.**

Mr. Sonnenfeldt Presents Heritage Award to Jack Woods.

Dean Wolfowitz 3:30 Announces that it is time to hand out diplomas. Introduces Dean Wilson.

Dean Wilson Dean Wilson will read the names of the graduates. (Ushers will lead the first rows of students to the steps leading to the stage). Dean Wolfowitz hands diplomas to students, Mrs. Clinton shakes their hands.

Dean Wolfowitz 4:10 Announces establishment of memorial for Tsyoshi Kamochi by the Industrial Bank of Japan and his fellow employees. Mentions that Mr. Eisuke Kano, advisor of the Industrial Bank of Japan is present in the audience. Gives short (1 minute) eulogy.

Introduces Prof. Herter and Amb. Lewis who will be presenting awards.

Introduces Dean Szabo to present student awards.

Dean Szabo Introduces portion of program presenting awards. Reads citation for Herter award.

Asks Prof. Herter to come to the podium to present the Herter Award.

Prof. Herter Announces the winner of this year's Christian A. Herter Award.

Dean Szabo Introduces the Foster Award and reads the citation.

Asks Amb. Lewis to come to the podium to present the Foster Award.

Amb. Lewis Announces the winners of this year's Foster Award.

Recipients will come to the stage to receive certificates and checks (on gifts table to left of podium).

Dean Szabo Presents the A. Doak Barnett Award to Mark Burles. The certificate is on the table.

Dean Szabo Announces the African Studies Award. Asks him/her to come to the stage. Envelope is on the gifts table.

Dean Wolfowitz Asks Dean Wilson to make remaining announcements.

Dean Wilson Recognizes members of this year's SAIS REVIEW staff who are graduating. They are asked to stand.

SAIS-THE NITZE SCHOOL TEL:202-663-5615

May 20'97 18:19 No.006 P.04

3

Recognizes the members of this year's FOREIGN OBSERVER staff who are graduating and asks them to stand.

Dean Wilson recognizes the departing Student Government. They are seated on the stage behind the faculty.

Hands envelopes to each. Envelopes are on the gifts table.

Dean Wilson turns the program over to the class of 1997. She introduces Timothy Nourse, President of the Student Government Association.

Timothy Nourse 4:30 4 minute speech.

Andrea Erdmann Presentation of class gift.

Trina Rand Excellence in Teaching Award.

Alex Severens Student Address (10 minutes).

Dean Wolfowitz Closes the program. Invites guests to reception in the Nitze Building, 1740 Massachusetts Ave. NW. Asks guests to remain at their seats until the class of 1997 has left the auditorium.

Leads podium guests and faculty up the left of stage aisle and out of the theater.

Ends about 5:10 pm.

FINAL REPORT

1997 CRISIS SIMULATION

This year, as in years past, the Crisis Simulation Seminar at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies was made possible through the generous support of the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. The Control Group sends out a hearty thanks for this continuous source of support.

SAIS students, as well as news-watchers around the world, are frightfully aware that the end of the Cold War does not mean the end of crises nor the end of conflict. One need not look far before one realizes that this is true. SAIS seminars and daily headlines inform us that conflict, crisis and chaos lurk behind every devalued peso, every negotiated cease-fire, every "free and fair election," and every U.N. peace-keeper. Thus, for the seven students and Professor Holborn who worked together to craft the 1997 Crisis Simulation, there were more than enough ideas to create a challenging crisis.

Control began its work of preparing for the Crisis Simulation in the fall of 1996 when seven students, representing four countries and four different SAIS disciplines, came together to dive into the broad literature on crisis situations and crisis decision-making. The class read from such policy makers and academics as Alexander George, Elliot Cohen, Richard Ned Lebow, and Irving Janis, seeking to understand and appreciate the dynamics and pressures that policy makers must face during the crux of a crisis. Examining such real life crises as the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Persian Gulf Crisis, provided helpful insights to the class.

It was also during first semester that Control began to conceptualize the type of crisis that it wished to unveil in February. This process began as each member of Control presented a memo outlining the types of scenarios he or she hoped to test. Students flushed out their ideas on what variables they wanted to examine, what parts of the world they wished to explore, what goals and objectives they hoped to achieve, what type of world scenario they envisioned, and what type of "gaming structure" they hoped to institute. Proposed scenarios varied considerably, and much class time was devoted to finding common ground on the proposals and restructuring the proposals in such a way that all class members had a vested interest in the group project.

Through this process of discussing proposed crises, Control narrowed its list of potential crises to roughly four. The issues that particularly interested Control involved oil, terrorism, Islamic Fundamentalism, the U.S. domestic political scene, and potential refugee crises. Parts of the globe that were of strong interest to Control included Indonesia (and the South China Sea, generally), China, Mexico, Cuba, and the Middle East. Such a list made for a wide variety of scenarios, and Control chose to unleash the crisis in April 2001, with the run-up period beginning in August 2000. The dangers that were to be implemented into that time-frame included:

- 1.) A general oil shortage, highlighted by embargoes on Iran, Iraq, and Nigeria, was designed to force the administration to make some difficult choices on energy. This shortage was to be worsened by a terrorist attack in Saudi Arabia which would destroy the major pipe which runs from the rich oil fields in the east of Saudi Arabia, to the port cities on the Red Sea in the west. Instability in several other oil producing countries was designed to steer the administration oil experts towards the newly-discovered oil fields off the coast of Indonesia. A rift in OPEC had alienated Iran, which had then turned towards Indonesia as both an oil-producing ally and an Islamic ally.

- 2.) The fear of terrorism has been an International theme in the real world for many years, and some list it as America's number one threat in the 1990s. Thus, terrorism was a realistic variable to test. The bombing at the Saudi oil fields was to demonstrate a rising Islamic fundamentalist feeling throughout the Middle East, and throughout the crisis weekend, Control sought to tie Indonesia to the fundamentalists and the oil extremists, in an attempt to paint Indonesia as a questionable ally, and potential trouble spot.
- 3.) In Cuba, the death of Fidel Castro and the election of Rabiana would lead to a free Cuba. This situation, however, was destabilized by the fact that Fidel's brother, Raul, had taken over the Presidential Palace and had refused to vacate in the wake of Rabiana's victory. The death of Fidel Castro is an inevitable upcoming reality, and Control wanted the administration to deal with one of the worst-case scenarios.
- 4.) In Mexico, unrest would begin brewing as an opposition party would capture the presidency. This event would be followed by drug-cartel violence and political unrest which would cause the peso to fall below the 10 to a dollar level, and Southern governors in the U.S. would report a flood of 50,000 illegal aliens a day. Mexico's unstable political situation is not a new event, and testing America's resolve in solving problems with this crucial trade partner is also a very realistic exercise.
- 5.) The crux of the crisis was in Indonesia, where a resurgent Islamic government had led Indonesia to a leading position in the world oil scene. In the years following President Suato's death, the Islamic nature of the new government had caused a distancing from the American government, and tensions between the two countries had grown progressively worse during the years leading up to the crisis. As the crisis approached, rich new oil supplies were to be discovered, at the same time that Indonesia was to be linked with the same terrorist group responsible for the attack in Saudi Arabia. This new oil supply, near the Natuna Islands, are in waters which the Chinese claim as their own. On the final days of the crisis, China would blockade and threaten to take the islands and the oil fields. This set up a scenario in which the U.S. had to decide between protecting its own and allied interests in Indonesian oil, as against a U.S. interest in punishing Indonesia for its increased association with international terrorism and the Iranian regime.

The simulation featured an all-time high number of participants with 38, representing 13 countries and nine different disciplines. Control made its decisions on the final player roster in late January, and the three week run-up period began on February 10 when Control presented all the participants with a lengthy document, known as the "National Intelligence Estimate" (NIE). The NIE detailed the world situation in the year 2000, and Control furthered the players knowledge of the world scene with two additional, shorter NIEs and a barrage of information channeled to them via a bulletin board and via e-mail. Distributing information to such a large number of participants can be an arduous task, and during the initial days of the e-mail system several kinks were worked out, and by the mid-way point of the run-up period, all participants knew that when they checked their e-mail, their "in-box" would runneth over. Observing the participants during the crisis weekend was made easier by videoconferencing equipment which allowed Control to watch and listen everything the Administration's conference room. Also, a preliminary effort was made to draw upon the resources of the multi-media laboratory which the school opened in 1996.

One reason that the 1997 crisis accommodated so many participants stemmed from the decision to create an eleven-member Security Council. After the untimely death of Kofi Annan, the new Secretary General stepped in to preside over the council. The Secretary General played a large role, particularly in the run-up period, as he brought several conflicting parties to the negotiating table, and was helpful in ensuring that as many ambassadors as possible were involved in the gaming. Additional participants in the crisis included a five-

member, Democratically-controlled Congress, as well as four journalists. The journalists played the central role of preparing taped news broadcasts to explain unfolding events. The broadcasts were used once during the run-up period, and several times during the crisis weekend.

Besides providing the players with plentiful information, the run-up period was a time in which President Hellmann (leading a Republican administration) gave his Inaugural Address and State-of-the-Union Address, the Congress held hearings, the press held an evening talk show, and the Security Council held its first session in order to prepare itself for the crisis weekend. All these events helped set the stage for the actual crisis weekend February 28-March 2.

The first two crisis days were occupied largely with events in Cuba, Mexico and the Middle East. As Saudi Arabia attempted to recover from the bus explosion on the first night of the crisis, Cuba was simultaneously recoiling from the deadly political violence and the flood of refugees into Florida. This unstable situation reached a crisis high-point when a UN election-monitoring plane, carrying a US Congressman, was shot down near Cuba, and no one knew who was responsible for the disaster. While the Cuban and Mexican crises unfolded, the terrorist group, the Islamic Power for Oil, spread its terror and influence throughout the Middle East, and Control was able to flare up situations when they felt that the administration was too distracted by other events.

Control introduced the ultimate crisis in the South China Sea with a raw intelligence broadcast which featured a Chinese news report in Chinese which announced China's intention to deploy a fleet in the area of the Natuna Islands. The administration included several Asian Studies students, and the broadcast tested their ability to absorb a foreign language when time was of the essence.

Control was pulled in many directions during the weekend, largely because of the active Security Council and the frequent meetings and negotiations being requested. During the process, Control was aided by a SAIS graduate, Lieutenant-Colonel Harry Spies (SAIS '94) and a colleague from the Department of Defense, as well as by SAIS alumnus, Steven Myrow. Two current SAIS students also assisted Control during the run-up and during the crisis weekend. The barrage of information and paper that flowed throughout the weekend was frequently difficult to manage, but by the second day, the administration had divided the tasks at hand, and had adopted a "come to the President with recommendations in hand" policy that sped up the decision making process. In fact, its complexity was one of the primary reasons that the 1997 Crisis was such a success. The linked crisis events, and the introduction of an eager and lively Security Council made for a weekend which was both exhausting and exhilarating. As the crisis ended with President Hellmann issuing an ultimatum to the Chinese naval fleet, the simulation was concluded in what Professor Holborn refers to as an appropriate "sense of pregnant ambiguity."

**ROSTER OF PLAYERS FOR
CRISIS SIMULATION 1997**
Updated Tuesday, Feb.18, 1997

President	Jack Hellmann
Vice President	Lisa Gentry
Secretary of State	Dean Engle
Secretary of Defense	Michael Perkinson
National Security Advisor	Mark Burles
White House Chief of Staff	Jeffrey Dawson
US Ambassador to the UN	Tim Huson
Undersecretary of Defense for Policy	A. Heather Coyne
Undersecretary of State for Pol. Affairs	Aminta Arrington
Undersecretary of State for Regional & Global Affairs	Daniel Bilello
CIA Director	Nolan Browne
Secretary of the Treasury	Daniel Ginsberg
Chair of the Joint Chiefs	Colin Jackson
Uniformed Chief of Staff/Theater Commander	Ivan Wray
White House Press Secretary	Alix Filson
Secretary of Commerce and Trade	Christopher Chivvis
Secretary of Environment and Energy	Mark Holloway
Speaker of the House	Marcus Freitas
Senate Majority Leader	Phil Rudder

Senate Minority Leader

Britta Hillstrom

House Minority Leader

Darius Suziedelis

**Congressional Chair of The Armed Services
- Committee**

Alexis Martin-Ruehle

Reporter/T.V. Anchor

**Carl Cederstrom
Cory Gnazzo
W. Todd Johnston
Lawrence Petroni
Afshin Molavi**

U.N. Secretary General

Robin O'Brien

Foreign Minister -- Japan

Gary Wilson

Foreign Minister -- China

Mark Fung

Foreign Minister -- South East Asia

Toshi Yoshihara

Foreign Minister -- EU

**Albert Zbily
Raimund Magis**

Foreign Minister -- Russia

Deborah Leonard

Foreign Minister -- Mexico and Cent. America

León Galindo

Foreign Minister -- Caribbean and S. America

Luli Báez-Schrader

Foreign Minister -- The Middle East

Stuart Minor

Foreign Minister -- Nigeria

Carise Graf

DRAFT #3
Thursday a.m.

Nato
Investing in ♀

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
THE SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC
MAY 22, 1997**

Dean Wolfowitz, ^{Amherst Witz} administrators, faculty, students, parents, relatives, friends, members of the SAIS and Johns Hopkins communities and distinguished guests:

Thank you for inviting me to help you celebrate this wonderful occasion. This school is truly a microcosm of the world. Its graduates have made -- and will continue to make -- their marks not just in diplomacy but in every arena connected to foreign policy, from business to communications to academia to grass roots advocacy. I know the President is grateful to have a number of SAIS graduates working in his Administration.

Given your diverse backgrounds, interests and ambitions, it is fitting, I believe, that your graduation comes so close to the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Marshall Plan. Secretary of State George Marshall's vision shaped a new world in the second half of the 20th century. You, with the benefit of the knowledge and wisdom you have acquired here, have the chance to shape an even better world in the century that lies ahead.

^{Someone} And because you are, at least for a few more minutes, a captive audience, I want to take this opportunity to share a few of my own observations about the responsibilities and challenges that await you. I speak not as a foreign policy expert or as a spokesman for the White House, but as ^{person} a person who cares deeply about our nation's engagement in the world and the preservation of our democratic interests at home and abroad. ^{need to insert line about foreign #}

You in this room know better than most that, on the eve of a new century, our foreign policy does not lack for challenges. Earlier this month, the President met with our partners in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean to advance our Hemisphere's efforts to build an inclusive and expanding global economy. Next week he will travel to Europe to celebrate the Marshall Plan and to reaffirm our nation's commitment to Marshall's dream of a united, democratic and peaceful Europe. ^{Nato expansion, interally, Eastern Europe}

Every day, the Administration is working to capture new opportunities for trade in Asia, ^{and} to seize new opportunities for peace in the Middle East, ^{and} to promote new opportunities for

New business -
Central + Eastern Europe

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women -- even for women in countries such as ours who still are striving to attain and define their rightful place in government, the economy and civil society and claim their share of personal, political, economic and civic power. And it has serious implications for whether our democracies will meet the challenges of the future.

[transition here?]

Will democracies on every continent come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the prosperity and progress of every nation?

Will public and private institutions help empower women with the tools they need to take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will education be affordable and accessible so that women can acquire the skills and knowledge they need to help themselves and contribute to society? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

Will financial institutions provide credit for women -- especially poor women who, around the world, have shown that with access to small loans they can lift themselves and their families out of poverty?

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women are issues that affect us all?

These are not abstract questions. They reflect, in practical terms, the kinds of issues you will face in whatever line of work you choose after leaving SAIS. Because inevitably, if we care about opening foreign markets ... if we care about making our country and our allies secure in the face of new post-Cold War threats ... if we care about enlarging the world's community of democracies ... if we care about widening the circle of peace and prosperity ... then we have to address the conditions and circumstances of the world's women.

I, for one, am proud that the United States, as Secretary of State Albright has said, is committed to making women an integral part of our foreign policy -- not just in theory, but in practice. I am proud of our efforts, through the U.S. Agency for International Development and other entities, to support investments in women in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

^{because?}
Not ~~that~~ I believe that American aid, whether for microcredit projects, family planning, girls education or any other social investments, is a panacea for women or for democracy around the world. Nor ~~that~~ I am starry-eyed enough to believe that every just cause in the world, whether

^{because}

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 8, 1995

REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR "BEYOND BEIJING: ACTING ON COMMITMENTS TO THE WORLD'S WOMEN"
WORLD BANK
WASHINGTON, DC

MR. WOLFENSOHN: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It is a great privilege and an honor for me to introduce this morning to you the First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

I know that I speak to you, Mrs. Clinton, on behalf of everybody when I say that we are absolutely thrilled that you are here with us. All of us know that you play a major role in the life of this country and the life of the world. Those of that heard you or read your speech in Beijing had a reaffirmation of your deep concerns for women's rights, for women's education and empowerment, and social justice for all.

As I re-read your speech last night, I was reminded that really no one can forget your statement where you said, "If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights."

And you went on to comment about the role of women and their families, where you said, "If women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish."

I know that you understand the role of the World Bank, and I know that you know that we share your concerns. We cherish your leadership. We cherish your interest. And may I say personally I cherish very much the many references you now make to the World Bank as you speak in terms of giving us support in places where we need it.

economic progress
democracy in Africa,

ad to see to it that the entries of the former East Bloc are fully integrated into the community of free + democratic nations. Explicitly state the development line about ♀

We continue to work to safeguard our people from the threats of nuclear war, terrorism, extremism, international crime, the proliferation of drugs and environmental degradation — all of which can produce instant global crises, as well as the "crisis situations" that some of you study with Professor Holborn [ck] each spring.

mean → While each of these challenges requires vigilance and commitment, I want to suggest another foreign policy flashpoint that demands equal attention. I am talking about social development — particularly investments in women and children — which I believe represents a realistic, practical and moral approach to foreign policy. A way to fuse both American ideals and interests.

No better investment any country can make than in girls + women.

I have long subscribed to the belief that investments in people are just as essential to the prosperity and stability of our national family and global community as investments in open markets and trade. That belief has only been deepened by what I have seen first hand as I have traveled around the world on behalf of the United States during these last four years.

to From Brazil to Bangladesh, Estonia to Eritrea, Mexico to Mongolia, Tanzania to Thailand, I have seen how social investments -- often supported by the United States -- are giving more people, especially women, the chance to participate fully in the political, economic, social and civic life of their countries.

inner-city neighborhoods they were going to have

I can't count the times that women have come up to me — in rural villages, in teeming barrios, in urban slums — to recount how their lives have been transformed because they received a small loan and started their own business. Or because their daughters now had the chance to go to school. Or because a family planning clinic opened in their area and, for the first time, they could plan how many children to have and when to have them. Or because a new law had been passed protecting their rights to own property, hold elected office or vote.

had the power to decide they were going to

Increasingly, governments, businesses, and leaders around the world are recognizing that as long as discrimination and inequities persist -- as long as women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, unschooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes -- our potential to create a stable, peaceful and ultimately prosperous world will be far from realized.

INSIT A the A1

They are also realizing that a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. For too long, in too many places, women have lived on the outskirts of opportunity. Today, women comprise 70 percent of the world's poor and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

Yet we know that we cannot build the kind of future we want without the contributions of women. In fact, I often wonder what would happen to the economies of the world if women just stopped working — inside and outside the home.

In Uganda, one of six countries I visited on my recent trip to Africa, I saw the fruits of President Museveni's efforts to promote the education of girls. [details] As President Museveni explains it: "Women form half of our society, so you'd be hurting yourself if you left behind six of every 10 people."

And I would add to Uganda's wise President: "You would not just be hurting yourself, you wouldn't be living in a democracy."

But even if you subscribe to the idea that social investments may be critical to progress in developing countries, some of you may be asking yourselves why investments in women should be a concern of our foreign policy here in the United States?

We live in a time of great transformation. One need only read the daily headlines to understand that, even as country after country embraces democracy and free markets, the rapid pace of change, global competition and the Information Revolution are creating new pressures on every society, from governments on down to families.

The superficial cultural homogenization of the world means that people on every continent wear the same jeans, eat the same fast food, and listen to the same music. But these surface similarities do not override a longing for identity and meaning in their lives. Despite improving material conditions in advanced economies, families seem under grater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries such as ours, the social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, good wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying for those less able to navigate this new world.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for us as we approach the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how families will raise children in the face of pressures from the mass media and the consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload, and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will be able to preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; and about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these challenges, and how free nations like ours will respond to them, we may need to be reminded that democracy is not just about our legally protected rights, elections, or even free market economies. It is about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It's about developing among democratic nations what I call an "alliance of values" based on the shared values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

And that means that every nation has the responsibility to ensure that all citizens -- no matter their race, gender, religion or ethnic background -- have the chance to take their place at society's table.

or not it is related to women, is ours to embrace.

But I do believe that social investments are vital to spreading our democratic ideals, strengthening free market interests, and enhancing our security. And I do believe that we have learned over time that our ideals and interests cannot be divorced from the political, economic and social cross-currents swirling around us.

Social development, the investment in people and their potential, is foreign policy, not social work. It is, as I said earlier, a realistic and moral way for the United States to help expand the global economy, nurture democracy, and improve our own chances for peace and prosperity.

I hope that, as we move ahead to a new century, we will measure American engagement not just in terms of our strategic alliances, trade agreements, and aid dollars doled out in the wake of tragedy and crisis. I hope we will measure it in the democratic values we reinforce, the human rights we defend, and the opportunities we create for ourselves at home and our friends abroad.

As you leave this wonderful school, remember George Marshall and the vision he created at a time when the world seemed just as challenging and unpredictable as it does today. Carry with you a belief in democracy and in its promise to give all citizens the chance to live up to their God-given potential. And always have faith in your own capacity to move us closer to a peaceful, just and prosperous world.

Thank you. And Godspeed.

###

→ Add here
a missile
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gives a
key way.

DRAFT

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
THE SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC
MAY 22, 1997**

SB

[Acknowledgments]

It is fitting that we celebrate your graduation so close to the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Marshall Plan. Secretary of State George Marshall's vision reshaped the world in the second half of the 20th century. You, with the benefit of this great education, have the power -- and the responsibility -- to help reshape our world for the better in the 21st century.

Fifty years ago, Europe lay in ruins. But from that seemingly irreparable destruction came the most vibrant, prosperous civilization the world has ever known. And that progress and prosperity was nourished in the rich soil of nations which, in the preceding years, had fought not one, but two world wars.

Given the international horror that had been caused in the name of national pride, it was daring to envision the nation as a force for international peace and stability. And it was similarly daring to assume that internationalism would contribute to the strength of individual nations at home. Yet, that is exactly what happened. The interests of the nation -- including our own -- and of the international community were not mutually exclusive. One complemented the other.

Together, we stabilized the world far beyond our individual borders -- through organizations like the United Nations, NATO, and the European Union; through free and open trade that created new markets and ever-greater economic opportunities; and through an alliance of values that instilled in people's hearts and minds the bedrock principles of democracy: freedom, responsibility, opportunity, community, respect for human dignity.

And yet today, as we move toward the fulfillment of Marshall's vision -- an undivided, peaceful Europe, democracy flowering around the globe, free and open markets emerging on every continent -- we are also confronted by the very paradox that Marshall faced. How do we ensure that internationalism and nations flourish at the same time?

It may be only natural that at the end of one era the nation state that made so much possible is increasingly viewed as irrelevant, invasive, destructive, out-of-date and out-of-touch. According to a number of experts, its best days are surely over.

So I come here today in defense of George Marshall's vision and with the belief that facing new realities we can turn nations toward new purposes of internationalism.

> <

strong nations

why need a strong nation

To do so, however -- to have strong internationalism -- ^{we} you must first ^{sustain} have strong nations.

We know this from our own experience. Just think what would have happened in the Cold War if the United States had not been seen as a progressive nation at home -- the nation of the New Deal, of the Civil Rights movement -- working, however imperfectly, to live up to its democratic ideals. Think how much more difficult it would have been for us to be an ally to other democracies, an e

Insert here about balanced budget. Use Mela

progressive priorities & still bring it into balance
putting our fiscal house in order, by ~~balancing~~ our budget even as we are investing in our people, we are setting an example the world over for how to prepare a nation for the 21st century.]

Can't be strong int'l w/o strong nations & nations

That is why I am so puzzled by those who insist today that we can dismantle our government at home **and** remain strong abroad.

depend on social compacts.

If anything is obsolete, it is not the role of the nation, but a virulent anti-government ideology -- one that says that instead of educating our children or protecting our environment or investing in science and technology or caring for those who cannot care for themselves, government should really just confine itself to protecting our borders and securing our defenses and opening up foreign markets.

New budget incl. new elem - health ins. for children tax cuts

Though the world today bears little resemblance to the world of 50 years ago, one essential truth remains the same: We cannot be the indispensable nation abroad if we undermine our government at home.

before availability [I don't offer this as a political theory or as an abstract idea. My observation is based on practical experience -- what I have been privileged to see as I have traveled the world on behalf of the United States. From Brazil to Bangladesh, Estonia to Eritrea, Mexico to Mongolia, Tanzania to Thailand -- (by the end of the second term I hope to be able to make it through the entire alphabet) -- it has become clear to me that only democratic nations can create the conditions necessary to spread democracy, expand free markets that give full scope to human endeavor, ensure and protect human rights, and build civil society.] *clarity*

~~These are the traditional functions of the nation-state.~~ But new realities require new purposes, as well. In this time of profound transition, the nation-state is our best means to ensure that the powerful forces reshaping our world are harnessed for good -- not for ill.

As the President has said, our challenge is to balance the competing and contradictory pressures of global integration and disintegration. After all, the opening up of borders to trade can also lead to the spread of drugs and terror. The revolution in communications technology can help to tear down communism, but it can also fuel the rise of extremism. The same science that is developing new life-saving drugs can be used to create poisons of mass destruction.

Democratic nations -- through the values and interests they promote and the conditions they create -- can help us navigate ~~through~~ these currents and help us answer the unavoidable questions of the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how families will raise children in the face of pressures from the mass media and the consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will be able to preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; and about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Now nations alone will never be able to do it all. Many ^{exercising signif} institutions and organizations outside the realm of government are ~~reaching new heights of~~ influence and they have a vital role to play. One of these is the multinational corporation. But for all the benefits it offers the world, it must be motivated by a narrow array of interests: stockholders, a board, a bottom-line, a spread-sheet. Another is the nongovernmental organization, which has flourished in recent years [*number showing rise in ngos tk*] and handles the lion's share of foreign assistance -- both in terms of money and in human resources. Yet to be effective, NGOs must by necessity remain focused on limited and specific projects. Their very success depends on their separateness from the power and authority of the state.

Clearly, nations cannot and should not do it all. Yet only democratic nations can create the climate in which these diverse elements can come together to improve lives, expand opportunity, and protect human rights the world over.

They are also the only ones that can negotiate and enforce the international standards that ensure fairness and justice: in trade, in law, in diplomacy.

Finally, ~~only~~ strong nations working together ^{are the best} ~~can stand as~~ a bulwark against the threats that plague our world today. International criminal cartels; rogue governments that countenance and even encourage the promotion of drugs and terror; countries and private entities that profit from the exploitation and destruction of our natural resources; ethnic and religious hatreds, both new and old, that tear at the heart of civil society.

Let me give you some examples I have seen of the catalytic role that democratic nations are playing around the world. [*We know these need to be crisper and clearer -- both the purposes and the proofs.*]

Just as governments negotiate treaties to open markets, so, too, can they help open untapped markets at home and expand economic opportunity for those on the margins of society. In a poor barrio in Managua, Nicaragua, in a rural village of Bangladesh, in the hills outside Kampala, Uganda, in my home state of Arkansas, and, most recently, in Costa Rica and Barbados, I have seen the power of microenterprise to transform lives, families, and communities.

→ Nightmare scenario: chaos theory →
what happens if not a ³ strong int'l com - we've seen
examples of this: incorporate list
What a strong int'l com can do & is doing is →

I have seen the political and social benefits that occur when governments invest in the potential of their people. President Museveni in Uganda has made education for girls and AIDS education top priorities of his government. [Museveni quote from Kampala speech tk]. In Bolivia, Brazil, and Zimbabwe, effective family planning is not only lowering the birth rate and the rate of abortions [ck], it is also giving women the power to decide how many children they want to have and when they want to have them.

I have seen how the advent of democracy in places as diverse as the Czech Republic and South Africa, has given people a new voice in the affairs of their nations. [We need to flesh this out.]

[Other examples tk]

We cannot pretend that this progress around the world has taken place in isolation. I am proud of the role that the United States has played in fostering democracy and in expanding economic opportunity and human rights. It is remarkable that a modest investment in foreign aid -- less than 1% of our national budget -- can yield such enormous returns. This, coupled with our example as beacon for freedom and democracy, is a priceless contribution toward leading our world through this challenging time.
a touchstone

Fifty years ago, when George Marshall advanced his idea, the world seemed just as complicated and unpredictable as it *does* today. It seems so clear now. But it wasn't then.

So we have much to learn from Marshall's example: First, from his belief in the strength of nations and a vibrant internationalism. And second, from his courage and creativity -- his willingness to imagine a better world that others could not yet see.

That is the task that falls to us, and especially to you. I know we are up to it.

Thank you. And God bless you.

American nation

Marshall Plan

By ^{strengthening} ~~creating~~ nation state, marshall plan created conditions for greater equity and stability. By strengthening countries, we strengthen the world, give more people in more places ^{chance to} ~~could~~ live up to their God-given potential.

We know the world is far different today than 50 years ago. All sorts of forces working to show that nation state not as important as before. ~~Examples. So how do we think about the nation state today. And is it still vital to a world so vastly different?~~

Conflicting forces of integration and disintegration are working to undermine the nation-state.

Democracy on the rise
More countries committed to free markets
Information Revolution
Increased awareness of human rights, role of women, etc.

Yet, these forces of progress are also fueling elements that are destabilizing democratic values and institutions.

Experts views on ~~death~~ threats to nation state.

- Global homogenization -- "the technology civilization"
- Dark organizing principles: Drugs, terrorism, international crime
- Rise of tribalism/ethnocentrism/religious hatred ("clash of civilizations")
- Post Cold War re-alignments
- Environmental degradation: population, disease, environment
- Rising influence of multinational corporations and media

Given new realities, nation state more important than ever before.

~~Nation state traditionally: military security, protect democracy, etc.~~

With the blurring of borders and alliances, we can't rely on old terminology. POTUS idea of foreign vs. domestic policy (is the drug problem foreign or domestic; trade; global warming)

Supermarket shelf of options today: There is no single ascendant power or principle. Without Cold War we don't have the luxury of seeing the world purely along geo-political, ideological lines.

In the face of all these options, why do we subscribe to nation-state? I have seen in my travels that nation state is indispensable to responding to the new conditions confronting the world.

Values lodestar:
-- community

South Africa;

examples
around the
world.

human rights
free markets,
development
from
poverty
human
market
balance
of power.

-- balance of power that mitigates against extremes of government, business, etc.

draft #1

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
THE SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC
MAY 22, 1997**

[Acknowledgements]

It is fitting that we celebrate your graduation so close to the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Marshall Plan. George Marshall's vision reshaped the world in the second half of the 20th century. You, with the benefit of this great education, have the power -- and the responsibility -- to help reshape our world for the better in the 21st century.

Fifty years ago, Europe lay in ruins. But from that seemingly irreparable destruction came the most vibrant, prosperous civilization the world has ever known. And that progress and prosperity was nourished in the rich soil of the nation-state, which only a few years earlier had emerged as a world power. Thrived as never before as they built up a new international order.

And yet today, as we celebrate the fulfillment of Marshall's vision -- an undivided, peaceful Europe, democracy flowering around the globe, and free and open markets emerging on every continent -- we are also confounded by a paradox: The same nation-state that has given us so much is increasingly viewed as irrelevant, invasive, destructive, out-of-date and out-of-touch. If you believe the "experts," its best days are surely over.

So I come here today in defense of the beleaguered nation-state. I believe in its increasing importance in this new era and new world in which we live. In fact, the very forces that seem to render the nation state obsolete are making it more important than ever before.

[does this belong here? Seem jammed in? Where go?] And I would argue, too, that you cannot be strong in the world if you are not strong at home. To think that we can dismantle our own government and still be the indispensable nation is nothing less than folly.

I say this not based solely on political theory, but on what I have been privileged to see as I have traveled the world on behalf of the United States. From Brazil to Bangladesh, Estonia to Eritrea, Mexico to Mongolia, Tanzania to Thailand -- (by the end of the second term I hope to be able to make it through the entire alphabet) -- it has become clear to me that only the nation-state can create the conditions necessary to spread democracy, expand free markets that give full scope to human endeavor, ensure and protect human rights, and build civil society.

These are the traditional functions of the nation-state. But new realities require new purposes, as well. In this time of profound transition, the nation-state is our best means to ensure

If anything would undermine our position in the world -- lead to more instability + insecurity, it is a unilateral approach.

→ During the C. War, if US had not
been seen as a prog. nation, not
had the N. Deal, not
undergone trans of civil
rights movement, it would
have found a much more diff.
task as an ally, ^{to the dms} an example to
newly indep. nation &
as an alternative to
Communism.

Today, it is not poss. pol.
at home to sustain int'l
if we are at the same time
anti-government. We can

only if we undertake a prog. pol.
at home, we will
also maintain our ability
to act in the world.

that the powerful forces reshaping our world are harnessed for good -- not for ill.

As the President has said, our challenge is to balance the competing and contradictory pressures of global integration and disintegration. After all, the opening up of borders to trade can also lead to the spread of drugs and terror. The revolution in communications technology can help to tear down communism, but it can also fuel the rise of extremism. The same science that is developing new life-saving drugs can be used to create poisons of mass destruction.

Only the nation state -- through the values ^{+ interests key} it promotes -- can help us navigate through these currents and help us answer the unavoidable questions of the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how families will raise children in the face of pressures from the mass media and the consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will be able to preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; and about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

A # of orgs & forms that are implicit in new era.
Who else in this new world will guide us, if not the nation state? What other organizing system will create a climate in which we can answer these questions for ourselves? After all, the democratic nation-state is the broadest, most accurate reflection of the common will of the people. By contrast, the multinational corporation -- for all the benefits it offers the world -- is motivated by a narrower array of interests: stockholders, a board, a bottom-line, a spread-sheet. *One is the capt - but it is a Ltd one. bc it must be motivated*

And we certainly know that the most sinister forces now blurring the borders and alliances of conventional nation states -- international criminal cartels, governments that countenance and even encourage the promotion of drugs and terror -- thrive not by strengthening the family of nations, but by exploiting the misfortune and hopelessness of others.

[Sid, we know this graph does not really work. But we think we need something here that reflects the scope of what a democracy can do -- from large to small. That way, it won't seem so odd for HRC to talk about these grand themes and then to talk very specifically about the joys of microenterprise. Help.] Let me return to what we hope for from the democratic nation-state, specifically what it has done to support the conditions for progress. It gives people the right to vote for a national leader, but it also asks them to be citizens with responsibilities for their communities at the grassroots. It is essential to establishing international trade agreements, but it also expands markets to include those who for too long have been left on the margins of economic opportunity. It invests in the potential of the larger community, but also in the health and education of individual citizens.

Microenterprise = free markets

Family planning = women's rights

Equal protection under the law = human rights

They cannot succeed w/o vital role of nation

applied to one organization to their extend std of living for all, but allow all the relations hips franchise. that has only

Girls education = social investment

Political participation + NGO activity = living democracy

Truth and reconciliation = civil society

Creates climate in which good can take place. Not sole actor, but a catalyst

4 or 5 purposes of nation state; buttressed by stories in each section.

Tension between at home and abroad. Yet we know that we can't do one without the other. BB.

Can't be the indispensable nation if we're weak at home.

Conclusion: Marshall's times were as murky as ours; you've got the vision.

To: Sid 882-4534 (fax)
723-7556 (h)

1. We gather on the anniversary of the Marshall Plan
2. Nowhere in history has there been a greater testament to the important of nation state. Created conditions for greater equity and stability. By strengthening countries, we strengthen the world, give more people in more places a chance to live up to their God-given potential.
3. Yet the nation state that has given the world's its greatest progress is now seen, in many quarters, as becoming increasingly at risk and irrelevant.
 - Global homogenization -- the technological revolution (havel)
 - Dark organizing principles: Drugs, terrorism, international crime
 - Rise of tribalism/ethnocentrism/religious hatred ("clash of civilizations")
 - Post Cold War re-alignments
 - Environmental degradation: population, disease, environment
 - Rising influence of multinational corporations and media
4. Think about it. We have always defined the nation state as defining certain functions: Examples. Some are out-of-date. Those that aren't increasingly are being performed by others: multinationals, drug cartels, rogue organizations.
5. Do we give up on the nation state? Is this its last gasp? Destined to end at this century?
6. No. Not only are some traditional functions more important than ever, there are new functions it has to perform in response to new global realities. Centerboard in a time of profound transition.
7. Only a nation state can:
 - Protect human rights and democratic values
 - Ensure open markets and avoid disintegration (Free + fair m/lts)
 - ~~Mitigate against extremes in business, the market, etc.~~ Civil Society
 - Invest in human potential
 - Ward off rise of tribalism, nationalism, ethnocentrism, religious hatred

Risks of not doing this: Extremes; tribalism

widening m/lts -
micro credit -
free enterprise
must be truly free -
micro is creating
m/lts that didn't
exist before
8. Anecdotal material from trips:
 - Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa - democratic values / civil society
 - Family planning in South America, Zimbabwe
 - Museveni and the education of girls in Uganda
 - Political participation -- Czech elections last year
 - Economic explosion in Hungary and Poland - relations hip to democracy
 - Legal protections for women and children stemming from Beijing > human rights
 - NGO activity on behalf of women/families in South Asia
9. Blurring of lines between nations and the world community is what has confused us. POTUS

SAIS SPEECH

April 30, 1997

U.S. REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH (R-GA), SPEAKER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DELIVERS REMARKS ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AT THE PAUL A. NITZE SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

GINGRICH: I want you to notice the diplomacy that Dean Wolfowitz developed over the years. To be able to say with a straight face as the dean that he regrets not being co-located with the rest of the university...

(LAUGHTER)

... and then explain how difficult it is to be in Washington below Italy and Nanjing, China, instead of being in Baltimore...

(LAUGHTER)

... and to do it with sincerity adequate to get the contract renewed -- that is a level of talent...

(LAUGHTER)

... that those of you who are here studying how to be involved as diplomats -- you just had a great demonstration of those abilities.

It is a pleasure to be at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. A month ago, I spoke to another group to another group of students at the Foreign Affairs College in Beijing. It may be thousands of miles and 13 time zones away, but there, too, one found bright, committed students focused on world affairs, poised to begin their careers, and eager to have an impact on their times.

As you know, I recently returned from a remarkable trip to Asia that began in South Korea, continued on to Hong Kong, Beijing, Shanghai, Tokyo, and Taipei.

As we approach the dawn of the 21st century, we must broaden and deepen our national commitment to engage Asia more energetically, forcefully and effectively.

The United States is, and will remain, a power in the Pacific. After all, San Francisco, San Diego and Seattle are as much a part of the Pacific Basin as Shanghai, Hong Kong and Vladivostok. Alaska stretches far into the North Pacific and Hawaii is one-third of the way across the central Pacific from our West Coast. We will be a Pacific power because we are a Pacific power.

Our national security and economic strength continues to rely upon a strong presence in East Asia. It is a presence that must have several dimensions.

First, as the world's only superpower, we must remain committed to stability in the region. That is why we have nearly 100,000 U.S. military forces in East Asia, and the commitment they represent has earned the gratitude

of our allies and the respect of our foes.

Second, it is a presence that is marked by a strong trading relationship with some of the most dynamic economies in the world.

Third, it is a presence marked by the impact of our values. Our most important role in Asia is also our greatest calling as a nation across the globe, to enhance the cause of freedom.

Lastly -- and I hope with more than passing interest to students of diplomacy -- the core challenge to the United States in Asia and the world is to bring diplomacy into the 21st century information age. It is on this last point that I would like to begin.

The information age is transforming not only the intimacy and speed of communication, but the very nature of diplomacy. Whereas the art of diplomacy once excelled in secrecy, it will be forced in the 21st century to excel in public relations. Whereas diplomats once were an almost clandestine group, they will find themselves increasingly on television and in the newspapers. Whereas government traditionally sought to control events by hiding them from the people, in the information age, people will increasingly control governments through the flow of news and the nature of public communications.

All of us, every one of us, are in the middle of this revolution, from negotiations between governments to communications between peoples. All of us now accept the fact that the worldwide news media is itself a force, shaping the news as much as simply reporting it.

All 21st century diplomats must wake up every morning vividly focused on the news media and aware of what it is doing to shape the very events it covers. You'll do no good to complain about the biases and the inadequacies of the news media.

You can educate reporters as much as possible. You can inform editors and producers as much as possible. You can work hard each day to rethink your strategies and your activities in light of each day's news. What you can't do is hide from or ignore the news media, because it is increasingly a world force.

There's much talk today of information warfare, which ranges from protecting your own technology to dismantling that of your opponent. While most nations are focusing their efforts on developing the technology of warfare, the successful use of public information has actually been the greatest change in the competition among nations. It creates the context in which the entire struggle occurs. And I might note in passing that when information warfare was first developed as a term, it referred more to CNN than to computers, and more to shaping public opinion than trying to affect your opponent's database.

The great British historian Macaulay recognized the emergence of the news media as a fourth estate of government in an 1828 essay. Yet few diplomats and fewer diplomatic colleges have recognized this revolution in the nature of diplomacy. We need a system of information

diplomacy to parallel and hopefully render obsolete the art of information warfare. We need a generation of young diplomats schooled in information diplomacy who can help governments understand the world of the news media within which they operate.

We need diplomats who know the impact of this world, how it changes understanding among peoples, and how it defines relationships between governments. This will require schools of diplomacy to establish courses and even majors in information diplomacy. Effective diplomats in the 21st century will seek to understand and shape information diplomacy as the first step in understanding the requirements and limitations of their government's diplomatic goals and processes.

Twenty-first century diplomats will understand that the cooperative relations between governments are inevitably shaped and bounded by the friendly relations between their people. That is the inevitable reality of the information age.

"If you can't explain it, you can't do it" will be the first principle of diplomatic planning in the 21st century. There will be more finesse and less bullying. There will be consistent, purposeful communication and consultation. And we will bring the sterile old mold of strictly government-to-government communication. Corporations, public interest groups and even individuals will take on many of the attributes now associated strictly with governments. And conversely, governments must take on many of the attributes of the private sector.

It used to be that only a major government could simultaneously communicate to governments worldwide. But now, a major corporation operating in 75 countries can appear on the doorstep of key decision-makers in each of 75 capitals. They can make the same pitch to all of them while simultaneously launching a coordinated advertising campaign reaching millions of people in those same countries.

And I would venture to guess that if you actually studied the State Department's communication system and the communication system of the ten largest multinationals, you would find the State Department ranked 11th in the relative effectiveness. This is not a comment on the State Department. It's a comment on the need to dramatically rethink how we approach these challenges. As corporations have had to restructure radically to meet the challenges of this age, governments cannot be effective if their diplomacy is not 21st-century quality. And their diplomacy will have to be aimed at public opinion, not just ministerial offices. An essential attribute to effective diplomacy is leadership. The challenge facing the Clinton administration is that the United States cannot be effective unless it is prepared and willing to lead. It cannot lead unless it knows where it wants to take us. We as a country need opinion leaders, not spin doctors. We need leaders who have the courage to define a future for America, and the skill and commitment to take us there calmly, confidently and with determination.

The rise of the information age and of information diplomacy requires even higher standards of leadership than the realpolitik model of government-to-government diplomacy. Information diplomacy requires the American government to know where it is going, to state these goals and values consistently in a disciplined manner, and to educate both its own public and the people of other countries.

America leads a coalition. We reject both the splendid isolation of 19th century Britain and the militarily imposed imperialism of Rome. We seek to lead by consensus and with the willing consent of others. That requires a dialogue and an educational approach that is beyond the reach of the current State Department, the National Security Council and the White House system. That is more than a challenge to personalities. Now, I want to make this clear. This is not a commentary about the individual people occupying the offices. This is a systems' requirement that will take profound change to be successful.

The best information age model leadership is based on two simple models. They are four words each. Listen, learn, help and lead, which is the model of leadership; and vision, strategy, projects and tactics, which is the model of planning. The best information age model combines those two.

First, we've discovered that when you use the word learn immediately after listen, because we discovered that when we say listen, a lot of people are confused, particularly in America. Many people believe that if you're at a cocktail party and you are standing there with your eyes glazed over while the person next to you babbles, that that's listening. That's not listening. That's called patience.

(LAUGHTER)

Others believe that if you are making an argument, and you've made your case, if you pretend to listen while you're actually thinking through a second argument, that's called cheating.

(LAUGHTER)

And it's very important. Think of this in terms of nation-to-nation and people-to-people dialogue. You have to truly learn to listen, which means listening in order to learn. The consulting term is appreciative understanding -- not that you necessarily sympathize or agree, but that you know why they are saying what they are saying, and why, in their terms, it makes sense to them to say it.

Now, as a general rule, if you'll truly listen to people and learn from them, you can help them. You help them transactionally, because they at least got to tell you. You may help them because

you ask good questions. You may help them because you have information they don't have. You may help them because you have prestige or resources or authority that you can bring to bear.

In a rational world, if people know that you will listen to them, learn from them and help them, they will ask you to lead. When they ask you to lead, then you should outline your vision of where you're going, your strategies for getting there, the specific projects you need to implement those strategies, and finally, what you're going to do every day tactically.

If you go back and look at the wise men and the founding of the world that contained the Soviet empire, you will find that in many ways we did this. And we did this, frankly, pretty elegantly. We were remarkably successful in reaching out to many people in many places. We were helped because the Soviet Union was driving them towards us. But we were successful, particularly given the level of communications that were available in that time period.

I am suggesting to you that there's a circle, in a sense, of those eight words. You listen to people, you learn from them, you help them, they ask you to lead. When they ask you to lead, you say, here's my vision, here are my strategies, here are my projects, here are my tactics. You immediately go back to listen. And if you continue that cycle, over a period of time, you build a joint understanding, a joint language, a joint direction, a joint team. And that was exactly what Eisenhower brought to Europe and what he brought as president to leading the entire free world.

If you think about that second part -- vision, strategy, projects and tactics -- if our vision is sharing the American core values of faith and freedom with our friends around the world, then what are our strategies for doing so? If you've thought through the strategies of disseminating our message, then what are our projects?

And a project -- this is an entrepreneurial and not a bureaucratic model -- that is, a project is a definable, delegable achievement. The difference is, a bureaucratic model is process driven. So, in a bureaucracy you'd say, why don't you go do cooking. In an entrepreneurial model, you'd say, well, you fix a meal for 12 people by 8 o'clock tonight for \$11 apiece. Very big difference in how you try to do things.

The people who won the Second World War understood the difference, and they were capable of leading at a level where they literally applied this kind of model, which is frankly derived from Drucker, who derived it from Alfred Sloan and George Marshall. In that framework, what should America do every day on a tactical basis to implement projects we and our allies agree to, in order to implement strategies we've agreed to, in order to achieve a vision which we have developed together?

Now, this is a cyclical process of sorts, in that once you've been asked to lead and then carried out your planning model, you loop back to the beginning of the process, and once again, listen and learn from those you lead. But this new system of leadership through information diplomacy will enable the United States to mobilize broad understanding and support for our vision and for

our strategies. And the most powerful American vision is that of the right to a creator-endowed freedom. While recognizing the centrality of our security relationship with Japan and South Korea, and the importance of our economic ties to the region, the most important impact of our presence in the world at large, and in Asia in particular, rest upon the democratic values we share.

It is sometimes said that the United States views Asia with a foreign perspective, seeking to impose Western values on Asian societies. But I would suggest to you that Japan is the first and greatest refutation of that charge. It would be hard to imagine two nations with more divergent histories and different cultural roots than Japan and the United States. Yet, we share the same aspirations and principles -- democracy, the rule of law, human rights, civil and religious liberties. These are not solely American or Western principles. They are also Japanese and now Korean and Taiwanese principles. Indeed, they are human principles. And cultural, racial or historical differences cannot mask their centrality to the needs of human beings. We believe our support of these universal values -- in Asia and around the world -- is not cultural imperialism. It is indisputably a reflection of our history, but it also honors and respects the aspirations of people everywhere.

Look around the world today. We're in the third decade of a global democratic revolution. From Portugal and Spain in the mid-'70s to Asia, Latin America, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the old oppressive regimes have been replaced by new democracies. In some cases, like the former Soviet Union, political change preceded the creation of free markets, while in others, like the Republic of Korea, there was a substantial transformation of the economic system before political freedom took root.

Yet, each country found that freedom ultimately was irresistible. And so the historic truth is that economic vitality ultimately depends upon political freedom. And it is not possible to grant one form of freedom -- whether political or economic -- without finally granting it all. As Americans, we believe freedom is not the gift of any government, but is a right bestowed by our Creator. If you have not done so recently, you should visit the Jefferson Memorial, where you will find these words inscribed in marble, and I quote.

"The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time. The hand of force may destroy but cannot disjoin them."

If you walk from that place past the cherry trees and across Independence Avenue to the Lincoln Memorial, you will find also etched in stone the second inaugural address, which Lincoln delivered near the end of the Civil War in 1865. It's short enough to be on one wall, yet it refers to God 12 times. If you read the Declaration of Independence, you will find the fundamental belief that our Creator has given us the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As Americans, we still recognize that our system respecting Creator-endowed rights based on self-evident truths is as current as the Worldwide Web, biotechnology and the space shuttle. But we must never forget that its roots go back to our

founding fathers, to the signing of the Magna Carta in 1215, the creation of Roman law 300 years before Christ, the risk of Greek democracy 500 years before Christ, and ultimately, the statement of God's law given to Moses in the earliest period of recorded history.

This commitment to freedom carries great advantages. Our country reacts faster to crises, rectifies its mistakes more rapidly, and maintaining a more dynamic national consensus precisely because it has a freely elected government based upon we the people. Those words are the first three words of our Constitution, and they frame our view of government. People who are free to work anywhere come to America because they know that America offers great opportunity.

People who are free to study anywhere come to America because they know there is more creative research going on in our universities and corporations than any other country in the world. This freedom and creativity lies at the root of the political and economic system that has made us a great nation. The legislature invented by America's founding fathers is a wonderful protection from any government that would attempt to ignore or thwart the will of the people. That's why the Constitution begins, in Article I, by establishing the branch of government closest to the people, the Congress.

Let me make that clear. Article I of the Constitution is the Congress, not the presidency, not the courts. That branch is closest to the people because it is the most sensitive to any change that might infringe upon our liberty. Because the founding fathers feared dictatorship, they deliberately created a system that divided the power of the federal government. They recognized that while God gives us freedom, governments all too often are ready to take that freedom away.

America's history has been one of permanent tension between order and freedom, between idealism and cynicism. Our American commitment to a worldwide movement of freedom and faith is contagious. We believe the weak and combine the wisdom of the founding fathers with the opportunities of the information age in the world market, creating an opportunity for the entire human race to pursue happiness.

A recent Washington post article captured the rise of this world wide movement of freedom and faith -- and I'm quoting from The Washington Post -- "On a stool in his portable felt and canvas yurt, Yadamsuren, a 70-year-old nomadic sheep herder, offered a visitor chunks of sheep fat and shots of fermented mare's milk to ward off the unspeakable cold. Seventy miles of bleak desert northeast of Ulan Bator and many miles from the nearest neighbor, he spoke glowingly of the work of House Speaker Newt Gingrich and the Republican Party."

(LAUGHTER)

This is -- this is not -- I was as shocked as you are to read this in The Washington Post. But this is what Yadamsuren says -- and I'm quoting from The Washington Post, quote. Now, don't you think with this -- because I'm trying to drive home how real this change is, how real this movement is. This is not an abstract theory. This is the most practical of realities. This is what

he said, quote, "I read the contract with the voter closely; everybody did," explaining why he decided to vote for a new government in Mongolian elections last June. In the contract, they clearly say what society and the people can do for each other."

The anti-Communist parties in Mongolia formed a coalition. They wrote a contract with the people of Mongolia. It was different from our contract. For example, one of the planks involved running water.

(LAUGHTER)

But here is what The Post reported. The Mongolians printed 350,000 copies of their contract with the voters. They distributed it by car, truck, horse and camel. The contract became the most widely distributed Mongolian publication in history. The Mongolian people responded with a 91 percent turn out, and elected a 43-year-old speaker, a 41-year-old prime minister and a 38-year-old majority leader. Over half the new legislators are under 35.

Now, this is not just a Mongolian story. Many legislators visit the United States capital from across the planet, and again and again, they ask about the first principles of freedom. During my visit to China, I tried to emphasize these points.

America -- like China -- grew out of an ancient tradition. The foundation of American values and American priorities, therefore, are not a passing phenomenon based on a fleeting trend. Our belief in religious liberty and political freedom is far more than a reflection of current public sentiment. We believe in religious liberty because the people who settled our country over 300 years ago left lands of their birth accepting great danger and uncertainty to gain the right to practice their religion freely. We believe in religious liberty because 2,000 years ago, Christians hid in catacombs to escape persecution from the ruling Romans. We believe in religious liberty because over 2,500 years ago, the Jewish psalmist wept in exile because he was separated from his holy city of Jerusalem.

For that reason, America cannot remain silent about the basic lack of freedom -- speech, religion, assembly, the press -- in China. Were we to do so, we would not only betray our own tradition, we would also fail to fulfill our obligation as a friend of China. For no one can be considered a true friend if that person avoids the truth. In the most basic sense, we are simply asking for the government of China to abide by its own constitution. Article 36 of the Chinese constitution guarantees the free exercise of religion. Surely, asking a government to enforce its own basic laws is legitimate.

In this same spirit, I believe the future of Hong Kong is crucial. The reversion of that remarkable city-state to China on July 1 is both an enormous opportunity and a great danger. A smooth transition in Hong Kong, consistent with the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the Basic Law, will be a major achievement and will have ramifications well beyond Victoria Island and Kowloon. Reversion, and the promise of one country, two systems, will be closely watched by the world and will be seen as a test of Chinese standards of governance and international conduct.

If Beijing manages the transition well, it will substantially brighten the future of United States relations with China, as well as China's international standing in every national capital city in the world. All are watching intently. But perhaps no one is watching more closely than Taipei, which will be using the political equivalent of a micrometer to measure any gap between Beijing's word and deed as the reversion of Hong Kong proceeds.

It is clear that Beijing has much to gain by fulfilling its commitments during the transition. If the one country, two systems formulation can succeed, Beijing's relations with its neighbors will flourish. China's relations with the United States and other important countries will be on an ever-more solid footing, and relations will continue to improve. China's economic growth, so essential in a country of nearly a billion, 300 million people, will continue at an even faster pace than today's impressive statistics. But there's also a danger.

While in China, I used the metaphor of Beijing as a giant holding a delicate orchid in his hand. Even as the giant tries to avoid damaging the orchid, his sheer size and resultant clumsiness may not allow him to avoid injuring the flower that is Hong Kong. What it comes down to is that Beijing must respect its own commitments and declarations regarding the integrity of Hong Kong and permit the unfettered operation of this second system within one country.

Intrusion and micromanagement by Beijing will threaten the entire dynamic that has made Hong Kong great. One country, 1.5 systems will not work. One country, two systems must be given a chance to succeed. If China fails this test, the simple truth is that its relations with virtually every country on the planet will suffer. China's occasional fears of containment are unfounded, but should the transition of Hong Kong fail due to Beijing's actions, every country in the region will have a sobering reason to be suspicious, if not fearful, of China.

It would be ironic, indeed, for China itself to take the very steps that would cause the outcome it says it most wants to avoid. If China fails this test, the Taiwan Strait will widen considerably in perception...

(AUDIO GAP)

GINGRICH: ... our relationship would not suffer serious erosion. There will be serious long-term damage to the relationship. We want to avoid this outcome. We should make every effort to be very clear in our public statements to ensure that China understands we want to have a good relationship with a Beijing that stands by its commitments, both to the Chinese people and to others.

To the students studying at this great institution, I would like to share a few final thoughts. When you leave SAIS, some will no doubt join the Foreign Service. Others will work for multinational corporations and international banks. I think it is important for each of you that whatever your future pursuit, you consider the importance of the enduring values I have spoken of here today. When you go to work for the State Department or for Citibank, Boeing, Patagonia or Nike, for example, you should not shirk your responsibility to adhere to the principles upon which our nation is based. It remains a commitment, a social contract, throughout our lives to

respect, and wherever appropriate, to promote the tenets of democracy, the rule of law and the freedoms of which I have spoken today. I recently addressed an audience in Beijing that included a number of representatives of U.S. business. And I encouraged them to support democracy initiatives in China.

The International Republican Institute is doing some very important work in China from the village level all the way up to the National People's Congress in Beijing. The International Republican Institute is teaching whoever will listen in China about the mechanics of making democracy work. It is not revolutionary, but it's very strongly evolutionary. It is not high profile, but it matters a great deal.

It is in China's interest and it is in America's interest to make democracy work at every level. It will only benefit the business sector, and U.S. corporations ought to support it. We in Congress are building bridges to the National People's Congress. And during our visit to Beijing, I invited Chairman Qiao Shi (ph) and Deputy Chairman Chon Za Young (ph) to come to the United States later this year. It is my hope that we can establish a regular pattern of visits with members of our legislatures. I was told yesterday by the vice premier, the Chinese foreign minister, that 85 American members had visited China recently. And I suggested to him that it would be helpful now if we could have a balance of legislative trade by having 85 members of the Chinese People's Congress come visit the United States. I think that regular pattern of visits with members of our two legislatures and interaction will lead to better understanding and better communications between our societies. There are other actions that we as a country can and should take.

Through consistent pressure from Congress, the Clinton administration finally, last September, began broadcasting on the China service of Radio Free Asia. But our broadcasts are limited to four hours a day in Mandarin and two hours a day by the Tibetan service.

If we are serious about reaching out to nearly a billion, three hundred million people, we should be broadcasting around the clock in Mandarin, Cantonese and any other language or dialect that can have an impact.

Our establishment of full radio coverage in multiple languages would do far more for freedom in China than any series of debates over MFN. It would be real action with real results.

Our trade negotiators should insist that China receive no special status or concessions in gaining membership in the World Trade Organization. China should be subjected to the same rigorous requirements for membership as other countries.

Our diplomats should make it clear to Beijing that there will be adverse consequences in our relationship unless proliferation of components used in the construction and delivery of weapons of mass destruction ceases without delay.

The same should be said for selling major weapons systems to terrorist regimes, as in the case of China's sale of C-802 cruise missiles to Iran. These missiles threaten American sailors in the Persian Gulf every day, but our diplomacy appeared helpless in preventing the sale. No doubt, the suggestion of the sale of similar weapons to Taiwan would have gotten Beijing's attention. The Clinton administration has instead judged that these missiles in Iran's hands are not of a destabilizing number and type. As former U.S. Ambassador to Beijing, James R. Lilley, said recently, tell that to our sailors and airmen in the Persian Gulf.

Another legitimate forum for scrutinizing China's conduct is the coming debate over extending most-favored-nation trade status. Martin Lee, Hong Kong's leading reformer and a truly courageous and impressive man, came to see me recently. He urged that the United States continue to extend normal trading relations -- or most-favored-nation status, as we call it -- to China, arguing -- and this is Martin Lee's argument -- that those in Hong Kong who support freedom will be weakened by steps that will undermine Hong Kong's vitality.

I believe that particularly appropriate in this year of Hong Kong's reversion to China that a signal that would be appropriate would be to extend most-favored-nation status to China for a time period of less than the customary 12 months. Senator Connie Mack has proposed a three-month extension after which the president and Congress could review the progress and Hong Kong's reversion. Congressman John Boehner, who was part of our delegation to China last month, will also soon propose that after a period of three to six months, allowing the dust to settle in Hong Kong, the United States should again decide whether to extend most favored nation to China until June 1998.

I support these efforts, which will focus increased attention on the extent to which the Chinese government fulfills its promises and is true to its commitments. The point is, there are many things that can be done to achieve both the initial objective of discouraging Chinese behavior that threatens our values and interests as well as the longer-term objective of establishing truly friendly relations between our two societies.

I believe that in our public and private interactions with China's leaders, we must adhere to our ideals and our interests. While we wish to build bridges to China, they must be built on foundations of candor and truth. Some observers of Hong Kong have noted that the concept of one country, two systems may not be a manageable arrangement over the long haul. I agree with that assessment, and so, I believe, do the authorities in Hong Kong and Beijing.

We know that given the chance, democracy and free markets will eventually prevail to the benefit of everyone. If Beijing adheres to its commitments and carefully restrains itself from crushing or even inadvertently damaging the orchid that is Hong Kong, it too will accept this truth over time. I believe that if each of us plays the role we can -- as speaker of the House, as senior diplomats charged with pursuing the interest of our respective countries, as students about to embark on a career in government or business -- we can influence the course of events in China.

I believe our attention and our efforts can contribute significantly to the preservation of one country, two systems in China -- an arrangement that I firmly believe can and hopefully will eventually lead one day to a democratic free-market country that will contribute to peace, stability and prosperity in Asia. That country will be China -- one China, a China committed to human right. And I pledge to you that I will be consistent in my efforts to help the Chinese people reach that day. Thank you very, very much.

(APPLAUSE)

MODERATOR: The speaker has very kindly agreed to take questions, and he obviously doesn't need me to recognize questioners. But as dean, I would like to say preference to students, please. There are three microphones across the middle here. If you have a question, step up to the microphone; the speaker will recognize you.

GINGRICH: Yes.

QUESTION: I will never work for either the U.S. government or international business.

(APPLAUSE)

GINGRICH: If you don't mind my comment, does that mean you will shelter behind the protection of those who do and live off those who create the wealth?

(APPLAUSE)

QUESTION: (OFF-MIKE) I have no intention of doing that, and I would very happily vote all of you out of office. But my...

(APPLAUSE)

... question actually is...

GINGRICH: I didn't ask you about us. I asked you about the young men and women who keep you free and keep you safe.

QUESTION: My question actually refers to your formulation of listening, learning and leading, which comes straight from Chairman Mao. It is called the mass line (ph). The problem with the mass line (ph) is that the party in power, whether it is the Communists or the Republican-Democrat virtual coalition, has no responsibility after listening to be accountable to the people. We see this, for example, that you have asked for higher budgets for military spending in the Pentagon over the last two years.

QUESTION: This is clearly not what the American people want. What's the difference between this and the oppressive policies of the Chinese government? Thanks.

GINGRICH: I think somebody who can actually confuse a free society with the Chinese dictatorship can't really be answered, but I appreciate the thought that you're that out of touch with reality. The fact is that these are enormously different systems. The fact is that we have free elections. The fact is you have the right to speak here as you could not in Beijing. The fact is you have the right to get up and demonstrate or dissent in a way you could not in Beijing.

The fact is you can reach out and try to educate others as you could not in Beijing. And if you don't understand that, I suggest you talk to those Chinese who had to flee their country for their lives, and they will give you a better sense, or talk to those who had to flee the old Soviet Union, or talk to those who had to flee Nazi Germany. And you'll begin to understand the difference between tyranny and freedom, and it is quite remarkable how different it is.

(APPLAUSE)

QUESTION: I promise a somewhat less acerbic question.

(LAUGHTER)

GINGRICH: I'll try to have a less acerbic answer.

(LAUGHTER)

QUESTION: I'm just wondering, with your words on U.S. relations towards China, obviously, in your very recent trip to Beijing -- Vice President Albert Gore was also there -- and I'm wondering when your message comes across and also the Clinton message, the White House message, comes across, are we losing something in really giving a directed, highly concentrated policy to Beijing about these values?

And in some ways, are we without kind of getting together with the White House and Congress and discussing these issues, are we somehow undercutting the State Department? And you talked about, right now, it has such a vital role in dealing with these issues in a sense. I ask you if you could comment on these points.

Well, I think it's very difficult in a free society to coordinate your messages. As I think people who've worked in the executive branch can tell you, some days, it's even hard to coordinate your messages in the administration -- any administration. I talked one time to somebody who was passionately defending a particular policy in testimony on the Hill the morning the president changed that policy. This was in the Bush administration, not Clinton. And they went back to find they had just passionately defended the opposite of what the president had just announced.

(LAUGHTER)

And I think that the dean could tell you that getting people on the same sheet of music -- American society is a little more like jazz than it is like a formal orchestra.

(LAUGHTER)

We worked very hard when we went overseas in talking with the secretary of state. The vice president and I coordinated. And I talked -- we talked with the national security adviser. We worked very hard to try to operate outside the country within a framework that is mutual, and I think we did a pretty good job of, in fact, sending messages.

I sent more blunt messages than the vice president did. That's partly a matter of style, partly a matter of decision about what you were going to emphasize. I insisted on going both to Hong Kong and Taiwan on the trip. And the government in Beijing accepted that decision, and we had very direct conversations.

But I think the broad framework of what I said today is something that Madeleine Albright would agree with totally or that President Clinton would agree with totally. We're committed to freedom. We're committed to religious freedom. We're committed to human rights. We're committed to Hong Kong's reversion being successful. We are opposed to the Chinese selling weapons to Iran that are dangerous. And we're opposed to the Chinese selling components that might lead to weapons of mass destruction.

I think all those are explicit policies of the U.S. I think it could be better coordinated. And as I tried out outline here today, I think we have some significant systems challenges in learning how to operate in the information age. And that's true of both parties, and it's true of both the legislative and executive branches.

Yes, ma'am.

QUESTION: Hi, how are you?

Thank you for being here.

I have a question again about China. I'm no China apologist, but I attempt here in my studies to try and understand the Chinese perspective more myself. You said that in your talk China's fears of being contained are unfounded. But the things that you also mention, the increasing the voice of the Voice of Asia -- Free Asia Radio, propaganda -- that could be perceived as propaganda by Beijing -- things like the M'N discussions, and your whole thrust of trying to understand and listen to the Chinese, to Beijing. How do you reconcile your attempt at listening and understanding with your complete reputation -- saying that it's really unfounded for them to feel contained?

GINGRICH: Well, first of all, I think containment normally means military, and I don't think that China is...

QUESTION: (OFF-MIKE) contained often. That's just what they argue.

GINGRICH: Sure. And I think it's a reasonable argument on their side. They will also tell you they have no intention of attacking. And my point in our conversations was, if they don't attack, we won't defend.

(LAUGHTER)

You know, so that -- if they don't try to expand militarily, we won't contain. So that they're not, you know -- they have enormous potential openness in the information age. There are, I think, over 50,000 Chinese students studying in the United States. This is not the same as the Soviet empire, and people should not analytically compare Moscow in 1970 with Beijing in 1997. They are very different systems.

But what the Chinese have to decide is -- and frankly, we're not the people who are most likely to worry about them -- I mean, the Vietnamese, the Japanese, the Koreans, the Indians -- there are a lot of folks who are their immediate neighbors who have a lot greater concern -- the Philippines -- have a lot greater concern about China than we do.

My point to them was simply, to the degree they are a good neighbor, to the degree that they are open and have open dialogue and don't use threats of military force or threats of coercion, they will find all their neighbors relaxed. To the degree that they keep their word in Hong Kong and they genuinely have two systems, they're going to have a much more relaxed region.

But either to the degree they build military power to try to project it or to the degree -- and again, they're not going to project very much of it against us; they're going to project it against countries in their neighborhood -- or to the degree they clearly break their word on Hong Kong, I think then they send shivers among their neighbors. If they'll break their word here, what might they do to us later on?

And so I think the Chinese have a great advantage, frankly, in keeping their word in terms of the signal that it sends to their neighbors. All the way over there again.

QUESTION: Mr. Speaker, you mentioned (OFF-MIKE) technology in the new (OFF-MIKE) the information age, and the State Department's foreign policy apparatus should be equipped to handle the situation. What kind of cost do you think that would entail (OFF-MIKE) foreign policy apparatus? Or do you think Congress will be able to provide the funding?

GINGRICH: Well, I think -- first of all, I suspect in the long run it would be less expensive, not more expensive, and that's the lesson of all the major corporations. When you talk to people who run worldwide corporations, they save so much in time and so much in resources, for example, by teleconferencing routinely rather than flying that they end up with a net savings.

Second, my guess is if you were to go through the Pentagon or -- and I've always been in favor of reforming the Pentagon as much as the State Department. I've said very openly I thought we ought to turn the Pentagon into a triangle by having 40 percent reduction in the mid-level management.

(LAUGHTER)

And I got that number, in part, by talking with the people at Cap City's ABC who reduced the paperwork at ABC by 35 percent the first year they took it over. And when you talk to people at General Electric and other places where they've had very aggressive programs of modernization,

they consistently reduce paperwork, eliminate mid-level management, and create much more flexible and dynamic environments with much better communications.

So I think we ought to apply that to the State Department and to the Pentagon, and that would very well do it. I think you have to be the last question, based on the dean having risen.

(LAUGHTER)

As a former assistant professor, I am alert to these subtleties.

(LAUGHTER)

We would have cut you off if the president had arisen. But since it was the dean, I figured we could have one more.

(UNKNOWN): Thank you, sir.

QUESTION: You touched on the terms for (OFF-MIKE) Iran a couple of times. (OFF-MIKE) in complicity with the bombing of Al Khobar towers in which 19 U.S. servicemen lost their lives is proven, how should the United States respond? There is a sense that this administration does not want to take on Iran with or without such evidence.

GINGRICH: Well, there's no better example of what I was trying to say earlier about visions, strategies, projects and tactics than to look at the total failure of this administration to have either a clear vision or any coherent strategies or any projects that they'll be able to follow through on. A good example is the recent conviction in Germany of the Iranian government's leadership. If we had a vision, for example, of making sure all of our European allies understood, we would have had a very large public relations offensive the day after that decision. We would have driven home for the European population, look, here is a German court finding the senior Iranian leadership deliberately and directly involved in the assassination of people inside a European country -- clearly behavior we can't tolerate. And we would have gained a substantial step towards isolating Iran if we'd had some kind of coherent policy.

In the case of bombings which kill Americans, I think Ronald Reagan was essentially correct in what he did in Libya. And I'm not -- I'm not today -- I don't want the press to rush out of here and have some kind of grotesquely distorted headline.

(LAUGHTER)

I am not suggesting any single action, but I am suggesting that Reagan's response to the bombing in Berlin in terms of what happened in Libya was an appropriate historical study at a school like this, and that people at the National Security Council might want to then look at the school's study and ask themselves...

(LAUGHTER)

... you know, could this possibly be applied later in that framework? But again, not as a tactic -- the United -- we're the most powerful nation in the world. We should not engage in spasms of indignation. We should engage in the calm, systematic implementation of those policies we believe in. We should engage in talking with all of our friends around the planet, so we understand what their concerns are, so we move as a team, so we have shared values and shared goals and shared strategies.

And I think, on rare occasions, we should reserve the right to set an example by doing something decisive because we are the only superpower on the planet, and there are moments when we can do things no one else can do. That -- but I would certainly want the Iranian government to wake up each morning wondering exactly what was going to happen. And when it happened, it should be decisive, thorough and beyond their capacity to deal with. And that would then indicate to them that they have a limited role on the planet, and killing Americans is not part of their legitimate role.

Thank you all very, very much.

(APPLAUSE)

END

SATIS

Broader statement re: for policy

2 conflicting trends

Integration - trade, technology

Disintegration - tribal, ethnic, etc.

Dangerous trend →

- multinational in concert w/ Western
libertarians to undermine
nation-state

- conservative approach to governance undermines
capacity to govern - even military

The travels I've made clearly ptd out
what the importance / priority point is
for prosperity, governance etc.

World Policy Journal

Sandy Berger - speeches (V to see if says as I did)

→ national identity

Many of those under nat'l i.d. - are also
most belligerent abt U.S. vs. other
countries ("Make Saddam")

Can't have a just net function strongly domestic
+ int'lly + vice-versa

Much nationals

Media

Defray Event

Domestic // Overseas

fort Intervention

Success stories

MTB / STAS COMMENCEMENT

- Cons. demean state be only see in terms of defense / see no other role for n-s
- SB/ - New realities demand not obsolescence of n-s but new roles & functions
 - Experts talk abt what n-s is capable of doing — we need to talk abt what it needs to do
- (Can't be utilitarian w/o n-s)
- Who makes agreements?

sets stds (environment, trade)

social contract

(min. wage)
(med. w.)

} do our version

Blair /
"Social
chapter"

Africa, Latin examples (from hips)

Community / Nat. Identity

- Relate community to interest —
- unless you are a certain kind of country you're not going to thrive (what EU is abt; exp'n of NATO)

my/ Explosion of nation in certain areas
Slowly, anarchy & chaos will appear
those of us who live elsewhere

One scenario of what can happen —

we've seen signs of what can happen
in Africa, Latin

But both being agreed upon at same time as Russia
agreed to NATO exp'n

End fears

lifting burdens of the past

Budget - end of ^{era of} insolvency —
gridlock

which means we can begin a new era

(2) STARS

- But budget in US represents stature of U.S. overseas

- Helps us be leader in creating a Post Cold War World

As part
of
Maastricht

- In Europe countries have to get deficits $\leq 3\%$ of GDP (and are struggling)

- why Britain getting its house in order is so important

Fulfillment of Marshall's vision

Poland, Czech, Mexico originally included in M. Plan -

Their rejection was begin of C. War

~~Marshall~~ Binders of past & (save up budget)

What is nation-state

(Also have to talk abt it in terms of democracy + values)

Marketplace can't sustain itself w/o other forces

Balance of power - Hamiltonian

The economy is a means to an end, not an end

"the national authority" - limited

" " community "

Marketplace devoid of values

→ You have to deal w/ yr internal weaknesses (insolvency, etc) to be able to engage

The state is a reflection of the nation

The govt. is us.

Nation state understates

New realities

New Demands N-S

Travels (or ^{less} above)

Categories of new realities

Peroration of trips -

Only if govt respond to these new realities & demands can we avoid disintegration of mkt & internationalism
→ inevitable rise of tribalism, nationalism

FRU

This is an issue that studies for policy

First have to talk about dom policy last 15 yrs

Finally we can claim that U.S. can have a greater role in the world than just military deterrence

(Neo cons: w/o Reagan build-up, no end of C. War)

Fixing insolvency

fighting anti-govt

Creating conditions to work w/ dom. & int'l partners.

SB/ Begining premise -

- Precisely why I want to begin w/ dom policy -

bc w/o sound dom. policy → urgent

Remember headlines of 1990:

NFT, ~~WST~~, Economist - all doomsday

anti
neo-
con
arguments

{ No longer possible to be anti govt or have
have as vibrant for. policy bc of the new realities

1993 budget

WAFDA

Crime

} preconditions to us being
an indispensable
nation

Unless we are an example to the world, (John Adams,)
our for. policy is ineffective (TJ both said)

SPAS

Galvanizing foreign policy

SID/ Testament to the "indispensability" of the U.S.
essential role

in securing int'l stability, democracy -
The int'l system that → from WW2 & lasted for
42 yrs from birth of UN to fall of B.Wall
depended upon the strength of the U.S.

One could not exist w/o the other.

(Anti-Comm II The American community
were complementary)

Our security depended on our int'l policy.
At the same time the deep elaborate int'l
work is that did not exist before depended
on the Amer. role

Today our challenge is to meet new
realities in a way that the Amer.
nation & int'l community can ~~continue to~~ complement
each other

Requires new purposes not just new realities

↳ #5

Some writers are fatalistic; some who are critics;
some who are reacting nationalists; (Buckley
Le Pen et al)

Conditions that describe seeing obsolescence of
nation state in fact are ~~that~~ the new
realities that require new purposes of U.S.

→ 6

→ 7

Social contracts, rights, rights
int'l trading system can only be maintained by
nations /

Historical role

Always been a diff proposition to sustain
the relationship & tension b/w nations
& world community —

turn our down & for policy

When MP & Truman Doctrine were proposed,
highly unpopular in polls
yet entire post war prosperity
resulted from it

> #11 / Political act b-b

Say something positive abt b-b -

→ Good basis for future progressive policies

#13 State up front & at end

#7 In EU - free & fair trade explicit &
social contract

- Fair & Med. Lv

- Min. wage

→ Budget advances social contract

Microcredit = widening of mkt.

we're used to it - As extension since
SBA

Microcredit → extending mkt where didn't exist

Civil society includes everything from rule of law
to volunteerism & NGO activity -

Risks: when opprt & mkt is closed off -
can go bad

when business becomes monopolistic →
tribalism; nationalism - ethnocentrism -

Worst instances of this have come when
direct transition from totalitarianism
w/o any intermediary period

Marshall Plan

Basic Themes:

- ① We have an opprt. to complete union that couldn't be realized peaceful undivided Europe.
- ② Previous generations of Americas won the war; kept ~~another~~ another war; our job to keep the peace
- ③ Marshall showed that those who tried what others say is impossible are those who make history

SID/

The nations that had caused the war -

& collaborated were ^{being} reconstructed

- a lot by nations themselves -

- that contributed to their gaining a sense
of democratic capability &
internationalism

It was during [to reconstruct nations on
a diff. basis] that a new system

could be built on the reconstructed

of nations that had been the aggressors
& collaborators in the war

Not just a new Europe - old nations
being turned into new nations

Marshall Plan allowed the indiv countries
to disperse the \$ as they

p.2 No cons. argument:

anti Continental European view

Europe too bound to milit - needs to
be freer markets

In order for nations to thrive,
need free markets & State
must be weaker

Need social compact - as well as fiscal discipline
in order

Only strong nations can build a strong union
Strong nations depend on vitality of democracy -

HRC/ I can't look like I'm an instant expert
Too abstract

The Njs we have to do >

New Deal

Civ. Rights

Strong at home

Subscribe to theory of strong nations -
strong internationalism

strong nations / strong internationalism
strong internationalism - necessary

Could ease more from Prague speech -
<alliance of values>

Hodge podge - no central thesis

Anecdotes: talk abt trips I've made
demonstrating

By example - here is what is why -

Can't have a strong democracy if
only committed in theory - have to do it
by concrete

Can't have a strong int'l system if
you don't have strong nations

Try to create an alliance of int'l values

We are indispensable

at moment of our greatest triumphs

We cannot withdraw -

not just from int'l commitment
but from ourselves at home

Practise

If you are an int'l teacher -
have →

⇒ Not just an issue of delegation
we're doing our own country - Debate goes in Europe -
It has been a long time - how make our own
Justice Dept - violence production
w/o rights
apart
so safety
see

We are trying to do in our country what
we are not doing elsewhere
Now courts have special police forces

"Upstairs guide -
what happened to us -

Those who led our country for

how we are for each other.

Can I

Not just a little debate

govt does solve

there is a balance of

power - polit, pri, & indiv -

& we have to be

part of that equation

Unit society together
can assist families to the future
in bad days

SATS

Dave Heymann - environmental policy
Microcosm of the world

Graduates go on to:

- Reflect the world - also reflect
full scope of int'l relations: his degree
will be beyond traditional diplomacy —
journalism
env. studies
dev't
business

Nick Burns

Wolf Blitzer

SATS over 2 yrs have organized community
events + dev't - strong sense of community
activism

Career Office - may know what %
go into domestic work

Long stdy trad'n to have SATS do a
"Crisis Simulation"

Prof Fred Holborn - abt 10% of class
will participate every spring

1989 Shaky E. Europe - Pakistan debated a
nuclear device -