

**Daniel K. Inouye
Distinguished Lecture Series**

**YEAR ONE
"FINDING SHARED VALUES FOR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY"**

FEATURING

Former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright

and

Former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell

With Ann Compton as the Moderator

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**Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.**

INTRO SPEAKER JANE MCAULIFFE: Good evening. Good evening, Secretary Albright, Secretary Powell, members of Congress, Dr. Billington, Ms. Compton, distinguished guests...and aloha, to the students and faculty of the University of Hawaii watching by a live stream at locations around the University campus. I am Jane McAuliffe, the director of the John W. Kluge Center...and on behalf of the Library of Congress, it is my pleasure to welcome you this evening as we embark on a wonderful five-year collaboration with the Daniel K. Inouye Institute, a collaboration in which we will commemorate the life, legacy, and values of the late Senator Daniel Inouye. This is the moment when I will ask you to silence any electronic devices and will remind you that this event is being filmed for placement on the Library's website. I'd like to begin this evening by taking this opportunity to recognize the Librarian of Congress, Dr. James Billington. As you are no doubt aware, last month, Dr. Billington announced that he will retire from the position of librarian, effective January 1st, 2016. He was sworn in as the 13th Librarian of Congress on September 14th, 1987. By that time he was already an esteemed professor, historian, and author, a Rhodes Scholar, a US army veteran, and the director of the Woodrow Wilson Center. Under his extraordinary leadership, the Library of Congress has preserved America's founding documents and rich national patrimony, while simultaneously building its global collections to represent diverse nations and cultures in 470 languages. He has initiated intellectual and educational programming that has touched millions worldwide and expanded the library's global reach through innovative delivery of collections, research, and information via the world-wide web. Dr. Billington has been a visionary, a leader, and a champion for the values embodied in this venerable institution...namely the values of deeply reasoned, evidenced based research, the necessity for dispassionate perspectives to address global challenges, and an enduring appreciation for the diversity of cultures, languages, and heritages around

the world. Thank you, Dr. Billington, for leadership and making this event and countless similar events possible for nearly 30 years.

[APPLAUSE]

One of Dr. Billington's signature accomplishments was the creation of the Kluge Center, funded through the generosity of the renowned philanthropist, John W. Kluge. The Kluge Center is this year celebrating its 15th anniversary. It is a residential research center in the Library of Congress, where we support, showcase, and celebrate scholarship. We host over 100 senior and junior scholars every year. We mount dozens of public lectures, conferences, symposia, and other programs, and every few years we award the Kluge prize, which recognizes lifetime achievement in the study of humanity, and which this year will be awarded in the amount of a million and a half dollars. This evening we are inaugurating the Daniel K. Inouye lecture series. Daniel Inouye was a pre-eminent figure in Washington and in his home state of Hawaii. He was born on September 7th, 1924, in Honolulu, finished high school within six months after the U.S. entered the war against Japan, Inouye postponed University completion to become the youngest member of the famous 442nd regiment of the U.S. Army—a unit of Japanese-American soldiers who fought gallantly in the European theatre of operations. On April 21st, 1945, he was severely wounded in battle and lost his right arm. In 1947, he returned home with a Distinguished Service Cross, a Bronze Star, a Purple Heart, and twelve other medals and citations. Inouye then completed his undergraduate education at the University of Hawaii and went on to law school at George Washington. In 1953, he was elected to the Territorial House of Representatives and when Hawaii became the nation's 50th State, Inouye became Hawaii's first representative to the U.S. House. In 1962, he was elected to the U.S. Senate as America's first Japanese-American Senator. In nearly a half century in Washington, Senator Inouye served as a member of the Senate Watergate committee, chairman of the Senate Iran-

Contra committee, and as a longtime member of the Senate Appropriations committee—which he chaired from 2009 to 2012. Senator Inouye died on December 17th, 2012. He was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his military service and was posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the first Senator to receive both awards. Tonight, the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress and the Daniel K. Inouye Institute launch a five-year distinguished lecture series to commemorate Daniel Inouye’s commitment to bipartisanship, moral courage, public service, and civic engagement. For each of the next five years, an annual program in this series will focus on a theme that reflects these principals. Tonight, we address bipartisanship and the U.S. engagement with the world around us, exploring how leaders have cast aside political differences at home in order to act in the nation’s best interest abroad and how they might do so in the future. This event has been made possible by a generous donation from the Daniel K. Inouye Institute. We’re privileged this evening to have the Senator’s widow and the driving force behind his legacy, Mrs. Irene Inouye, in attendance.

[APPLAUSE]

I would also like to acknowledge the Senator’s son, Ken Inouye.

[APPLAUSE]

Now it’s my pleasure to introduce the distinguished panelists who, tonight, will address shared values in U.S. foreign policy. Former U.S. Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, served in the position from 1997 to 2001, the first woman to hold the position in the United States’ history. She was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and immigrated to the United States with her family in 1948. Secretary Albright became a U.S. citizen in 1957 and rose to prominence with a distinguished academic and political career before being appointed Ambassador to the United Nations, by President Clinton and then Secretary of State. She wrote her dissertation at the Library of Congress on

the role of the Czechoslovak Press in the Prague Spring. Former U.S. Secretary Colin Powell served in that position from 2001 to 2005, the first African-American to head the Department of State. He was born in Harlem, New York, the son of Jamaican immigrants, he was a war veteran with a distinguished career as a high-profile military officer, national security advisor, Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff. Powell was appointed Secretary of State by President George W. Bush. Andrea Mitchell was unable to be here tonight, as she is on assignment in Vienna covering developments in nuclear talks between world leaders and Iran, so we are delighted to have Ann Compton with us this evening, a distinguished journalist and former White House correspondent for ABC News. Thank you, Ann, so much, for your willingness to participate in this event with us. At the end of the panelists' conversation, we will allot a few moments for questions. Index cards and pencils will be distributed, so please write your question and hand it to one of the ushers who will bring it forward and we will certainly do our best to address as many questions as possible in the time available. Will you now join me in welcoming our distinguished panelists to the stage.

[APPLAUSE]

COMPTON: Welcome, welcome to a look back but also a look forward in the search for those shared values in American foreign policy...when I first arrived, if you'll forgive me—just a personal comment—first arrived to cover the White House more than 40 years ago, this nation had been torn apart by both the Watergate scandal, which brought down a president, and by Vietnam, which was a war in its last painful days...but, even then, as a young novice covering the national government, I learned...one of the first lessons...was that...the very American principle of when it comes to American engagement overseas, partisan politics should stop at the water's edge. Those were the words of a Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg, who was

not only Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, but he was president pro tem, which meant he was third in line to the succession of the presidency, and yet, as a Republican he worked very hard with Democratic President Harry Truman, in those crucible days right after World War II. Politics, as we all know, no longer stops at the water's edge...and please welcome two very strong intellects who have experienced all this for themselves, and I'd like to invite quick opening statements, if you will, from Secretary Madeleine Albright—whom I covered as a Secretary of State in the second Clinton term and then she handed the reigns of power to Secretary Colin Powell in the George W. Bush Administration...Secretary Albright?

ALBRIGHT: Well thank you, Ann and I'm delighted to be here...and Dr. McAuliffe, thank you very much...this is kind of a perfect event, first of all aloha...and also, because it combines so many different aspects in terms of Jim Billington's incredible service. I was able to be a scholar at the Wilson Center when he was there and he clearly is somebody that had a huge effect on Russia Soviet Union...Soviet Policy, then, as was mentioned, I did my dissertation here, and then, Senator Inouye was really a remarkable Senator that I had the honor to appear before and work with, so it is great...and then with my good friend, Colin Powell. On the issue of bipartisanship, I feel very, very strongly about it. People may find this hard to believe, but I was very good friends with Jesse Helms when he was Chairman of the Committee. First of all, well, we first got together when I was Ambassador at the United Nations and he called me up because he wanted me to go and speak at a women's college in Raleigh and he said it was the bicentennial and I should do that...and to be frank, I thought I could get out of it by saying, I will do this if you go with me. So, he said, well I'll call you back...and in a half and hour, he called back and he said, I'm going with you. So, when somebody has invited you somewhere and they have to introduce you, they're not

going to say, this is the stupidest person I ever met, so...he gave me a very nice introduction, we had a very interesting time, and I was able, because the students there asked questions about the United Nations, to answer them in exactly the way that they needed to be answered and he heard them...so then, he said, I want you to come with me to my alma mater...and we did that...and what happened was that, we were driving around North Carolina looking for barbeque places and then by the time we get there, he was partially bionic already with artificial hips and so, I'm helping him get out of car and I'm hanging on to him for dear life, some cameraman took a picture and the title was "the odd couple". [LAUGHTER] So then when I was named to be Secretary of State, he said to me, Miss Madeleine, we will make history together. And we actually did...and it made a difference...we disagreed on many things, but I thought that it was the Vandenburg style and it really made a difference to be able to...and then I have to say, the last part, is my best friend here is my successor, we disagree on some things but we mostly agree on everything and it's an example of bipartisanship.

COMPTON: Thank you.

ALBRIGHT: You're welcome... Alma...

POWELL: It's a great pleasure to be here this evening and aloha to the students at the University of Hawaii...and I thank the Kluge Center and the Inouye Institute Center for putting this together and supporting us for the next five years. I knew Senator Dan very, very well. When he was Chairman of the Defense Sub-Committee and was my man for money. While I was Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, I used to illustrate to my staff what it was like to deal with giants in the Congress. My staff would march in and complain about some issue that you know, we're not getting the money we

need and Congress won't release it, you got to do something, we don't know what to do, we're lost. And I would say, fine, leave the room please...and I would pick up the phone and I would say, get the good Senator for me, and when Dan get on the phone, I'd say, hey Dan, Colin...Colin, what do you need? I said, I really got a problem and this is a no-kidding problem, I really need this money. Done. That was it, it was over, no further discussion. I didn't do that too often, but I did it often enough to get what I needed...and that was the kind...but that's the kind of leader he was. We don't see enough of these leaders in Congress now...people who, I call them the cardinals of the Congress, they had power and they exercised that power and they always exercised it for the good of the country, and so I will always remember his soft, quiet, steel-like mood and the way he went about his business...and I will never forget the fact, as a soldier, the sacrifices he made in the 442nd Go for Broke regiment, and the reality for all of you to note is that he was not allowed to enlist in the Army until 1943, and that was after they allowed Japanese...Nisei...Japanese-Americans to join the United States Army to fight for America while many other Japanese were still being interred in camps...and he took that opportunity and entered as an enlisted man and left in 1947 as a captain in the United States Army. And so, Danny was a great leader, a great Senator, a great member of Congress, and I think he would be very honored to know that this was being held in his honor and in recognition of his service to the country. Speaking of service to country, I also have to say a word about Jim Billington, not only has he been a distinguished Librarian of Congress but I really used to work with him during the Reagan days, when I was National Security Advisor to the President Reagan in the last two years of the Reagan Administration and we're going through that period of understanding the new Soviet Union, when Gorbachev was telling us all about Glasnost and Perestroika...and we were listening very carefully, could we trust this guy? And Billington was

called in constantly by President Reagan for his advice and we all relied on Jim for his advice. It was hard, as a soldier, to listen to Gorbachev say all these things about Glasnost and Perestroika, and I actually went to Moscow once and had him lecture me about, now you don't understand, I'm changing things and you're just a soldier, you've never considered the kinds of things I might be able to do, and so you gotta remove that soldier's mindset and listen carefully...and he's getting more and more annoyed with me and I'm getting more and more annoyed with him and I kept thinking...I didn't come here to get lectured by this guy, I don't care what he says...he's still a Commie...I mean...you're...

[LAUGHTER]

And so finally, President Gorbachev, he stops talking, he knows he's not making the sale, he stops talking, and he looks up and gets an idea and he looks back down, he looks directly across from me and he smiles, and he just looks to me and he leans forward and he says, ah, generale, generale, I'm so very, very sorry, you will have to find a new enemy.

[LAUGHTER]

And I thought to myself, I don't want to...I've invested thirty years in this enemy. Just because you're having a bad year, why do we have to change? You know?

[LAUGHTER]

But that was the end of a world that had structure in it...Madeleine and I have been talking about this repeatedly, there was structure in that world...the red side of the map and the blue side of the map, and we competed for what used to be called the Third World and the Second World, but there was structure. And then, the Soviet Union went away, Gorbachev went away, and we had what we thought would be a new world order, but it turned out not to be quite the new world order that we had hoped for or expected, and we will discuss in the course of the evening how all that has

transpired and where we are now. I take some exception to...politics cannot be nonpartisan, politics are always partisan, that's what a democracy is all about...so, politicians have to debate and argue with each other and hopefully they will come into alignment, but in my experience of many years here in Washington, there was always a split vote in just about everything. Because there were different points of views and those different points of views had to be reconciled by appealing to the shared values that connect us all together. But the only time you see anything that is bipartisan is after they've taken a vote and we've got the results, but until then, it's very partisan, even when you're talking about the water's edge, because that's the nature of our system, that's how our founding fathers created it, that's how we've practiced it successfully for these over 230 odd years and that's what I hope we get into talking about.

COMPTON: Let me ask about something very here and now, very in the present...your successor, John Kerry, is today in Vienna, in double overtime, at negotiations with Iran on a nuclear deal and the bitter and often sharp criticism coming here, from members of Congress, from political candidates who say this deal will bring on war...that has to be...that is a creation of the current times, how do you deal with that if you're the Secretary of State sitting in that chair?

ALBRIGHT: I do, I agree with Colin about our system and it's something that brings us vibrancy and interest and we can talk about the role of Congress in foreign policy, all you have to do is read the Constitution to know that it's a shared responsibility and books have been written about...that it's an invitation to struggle. I think the question is...and something about the water's edge part is when members of Congress go abroad and criticize the President and the United States and make it [POWELL: right] complicated

and then people don't know what the voice is. I do think, I would not, frankly, like to be...we were both in negotiations, it is hard when the domestic echo is out there and it's different and you have to try to explain what is going on...I think, the Iranians, actually, are also trying to explain what their domestic politics are...and I think the thing that has changed is there is more discussion everywhere, but it's difficult, I can just imagine that John Kerry thinks, ok, please, I've had enough of this...I've gotta deal with the Iranians, not you Senator McCain.

[LAUGHTER]

POWELL: That was not nice.

[LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE]

ALBRIGHT: You were the one who said you liked this.

POWELL: I rest my case with respect to partisan.

[LAUGHTER]

I don't know what will emerge from the negotiations in Vienna. They've been going on for ten years. They started when I was Secretary of State and it's a very difficult issue...and I think something will come out of it. It may not be satisfactory to all...some more compromises will have to be made, but anything that seems to slow down or restrain whatever the Iranians have in mind is worth considering, but I would not make a judgment on what they're coming up with until I see it, we don't know. But I would like to make this point, we are so consumed with this nuclear deal with the Iranians that we're kind of not paying attention all the other things that are doing that are far more serious right now in the present time. They are making inroads in Iraq, they're making inroads in Yemen, they're making inroads in Syria, they're making inroads in Beirut, they're doing a lot of meddlesome

thumb...and even if we had a nuclear agreement with them, they're still the number one sponsor of terrorism in the world. So, while we are focusing on nuclear weapons, as we should, and I think something will emerge there, we should not forget all of these other problems that we have with the Iranians and the difficulty they're causing us elsewhere in the world, and it's a spreading difficulty. They're on a roll right now. Now, with respect to nuclear weapons, I've been around them since I was a young captain, twenty-five years old, and the one, pretty much convinced of after being in this business for so many years, is that they really aren't usable. The Soviets couldn't use their twenty-eight thousand, I couldn't use the twenty-eight thousand that were under my supervision. The Iranians say they've not developing a nuclear weapon, I don't believe them, I don't trust them, there's no reason to trust them...so I would include as part of our policy, a clear statement to the Iranians, we don't trust you, we want to verify everything that you're saying, but you need to understand, that deterrents and containments still work, and you need to understand that if you're ever going to use one of these things or that we thought you were going to use one of these things against any of our interests, our friends, or against our allies, or against us...we would take action that would destroy your regime, which is the one thing that they don't want.

COMPTON: [INTERRUPTS] and isn't that a shared value? Something which Washington...

POWELL: [INTERRUPTS] we had a shared value with expecting nuclear weapons throughout the entire period of the Cold War and as a result, they were never used. I don't think...people say well, the Iranians are crazy...they may be crazy, but they're very clever in their negotiations. And secondly, they also know that they don't want to commit suicide and we ought to

make it clear to them that if you ever use one of these things, you're committing suicide.

COMPTON: Secretary Albright, you mentioned shared responsibility with Congress, but is it responsible for Congress to have 47 members of the United States Senate write to an Ayatollah while this process was underway, that's not the kind of shared that you're talking about, is it?

ALBRIGHT: Definitely not, and especially by a senator that just got there, didn't even know where the bathroom was...

[LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE]

...so, I really found...

COMPTON: What is the proper role?

POWELL: What did you have for dinner?

[LAUGHTER]

ALBRIGHT: I haven't eaten yet.

[LAUGHTER]

POWELL: Eat!

COMPTON: Not to dwell on this too long, but what is the kind of proper role for Congress. I have seen, over the years that I have covered Washington, more members of Congress or leader members of Congress are sometimes invited to a negotiation site. There is certainly congressional consultation,

both of you spent long hours at Capitol Hill at various times during your tenure...trying to brief members of Congress so that they understand what you do, we also have a fight every time the President does or does not want authorization of use for military force.

ALBRIGHT: Well let me just say, first of all, I was a Chief Legislative assistant to Senator Ed Muskie, who was chairman of the budget committee and somebody who took his responsibilities very seriously in terms of bipartisanship. The first thing he wanted to do was to talk to Senator Henry Bellmon from Oklahoma, who was his ranking member, and worked out how they were going to deal with a whole new budget process...and then also the amount of time he spent consulting and wanting to be consulted. I do believe very much in consultation. We both spent a lot of time on the Hill and I think that is absolutely essential, whether in hearings or in private sessions, I think that's important. I also do think, Colin was talking about the nuclear talks, basically there were congressional advisors that would go, that were part of the process where they would go to the negotiations, they would not be at the table negotiating, but they were very much a part of it and I think that part is absolutely essential.

COMPTON: They are not blindsided...

ALBRIGHT: They are not blindsided and I think that that is an issue. I think one of the questions, and it does come out of the Vietnam War, is the War Powers Act...and the question in terms of what Congress's role is, that clearly history shows that the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, there were all kinds of questions about it...and there is a process now. I think the hard part here is that, I do think that Congress obviously has a role and that it is important for the administration to always inform what's going on. There's always the

question of the constitutionality of the War Powers Act and so, you would never say in accordance with the War Powers Act, but...

COMPTON: Consistent...

ALBRIGHT: Consistent with, in order not to cross that line. But this is the problem...if Congress wants to do this, they have to...those are not easy votes...and so, if you're going to be a part of it, you have to be willing to take the hard votes and that's the issue. But I do...it's the basis of our system...and then, by the way, I agree on compromise, the fact of compromise, but at this stage compromise is a four-letter word to a lot of people, it is the basis of our system.

COMTON: And that's relatively new within the last few years...

POWELL: Yeah...

ALBRIGHT: For instance, I'm Chairman of the Board of the National Democratic Institute and we do democracy work across the world and people ask us, so what's the basis of democracy? And you say, compromise...and they say, yeah, like you guys?

[LAUGHTER]

So, at this moment, we're not exactly providing a good model, but the Constitution really is written in a very careful way on this. Article I is the role of Congress and the Legislative Branch, and so it's set up in that way.

POWELL: I couldn't agree more with Madeleine...and I've negotiated about a half a dozen arms control agreements and Madeleine has done likewise. There's always differences of opinions and there's always people who are

objecting to one part or another...and the role of the Administration is to take those objections and find compromises and then find consensus. The example I like to use of how it's suppose to work is how our founding fathers did in Philadelphia in 1787. Look at the differences of opinions that existed in that room, yet they came up with what the House of Representatives should look like, the Senate, the power of the Presidency, our legal system, our economic system, the military system, they did it all in a few weeks time. They even had to deal with the worst issue they were facing, that was slavery. It was a terrible result but they had to compromise. Because only through compromise in a political system can you gain consensus...and only when you gain consensus, can you move ahead...and right now, we do not have a Congress that seems to believe in that any longer. It's the worst that I have ever seen it in my many years in Washington, D.C. They are not working to achieve compromises, they're not talking to each other, they're not sharing. Our founding fathers would go off and drink and have cigars every night. We wouldn't want cigars any longer but nevertheless, they should find a way to spend more time with each other and reflect. Part of the problem is the media.

COMPTON: That was my next question.

[LAUGHTER]

POWELL: You knew this was coming Ann, we've done this before.

COMPTON: My next question.

POWELL: No, well, we've reached a point in the country where between the cable news and Twitter feeds and everything else like that, you find it

difficult to stake yourself out because you're going to be beat to death that night either on the Tweets coming in or on cable...and the cable channels seem to reinforce the views of the people who watch that channel and they never hear anything else. And it's on both the left and the right, not picking anybody in particular. But it reinforces views and does not encourage people to listen to the other side. So it makes it very, very hard to run governments this way and to place our shared values.

COMPTON: It's no question as a journalist who worked my entire career for one network, but to have seen talk radio, then cable talk television, and now the echo chamber of the internet...I keep trying to figure out if I can understand why it has developed like that and why Americans, very often, gravitate to a news source where they have a comfort zone, rather than being willing to listen to both sides and has our attention span as Americans gotten so short...we used to tease USA Today reporters who were excellent at...someday one of them will get a Pulitzer for the best investigative paragraph.

[LAUGHTER]

ALBRIGHT: But let me first of all back up on something...I've just finished a terrific book by John Ellis called "The Quartet" which describes the way that the Constitution was written and the compromises that were made. I really recommend that in terms of exactly what you were talking about. I do think that what has happened and is a real problem is people only listen to what they agree with already...and it does create an issue...in terms of what they know. I have already established my creds here...basically, what I do as I drive, I listen to right-wing radio, it's amazing that I haven't run over somebody or...

[LAUGHTER]

...been arrested, but I do think it's important to hear what people are saying and not just listen. But I think that generally, what we're looking at is the role of technology in terms of diplomacy and in terms of decision making...and I have been fascinated by what's happened in terms of technology. Obviously, terrific in terms of connecting and a variety of things that we now know each other, but politically, what it has done is disaggregate voices...and this is true here, and also abroad...so for instance, what I've talked about a lot is, how do people get from Tahrir Square to governance. Tahrir Square was social media...and I stole this statement from somebody, but it works so well, which is people are talking to their governments on 21st century technology, the government hears them on 20th century technology, and is providing 19th century responses...and so, there are no confidence in institutions and so our problem is generally, how do we...do we trust our institutions, who does what, where does the information come from, and is true of national institution and international institutions, and it's basically, mayors that have—people have the most confidence in—because they're the closest to the people...but I know we usually all get around to blaming the media right away but the media really does have a lot to do with always trying to beat the system and have the highest ratings and, you know, one gets a little A.D.D watching with breaking news and all the things you're trying to keep track of.

COMPTON: Well it's too much...Secretary, about too much is reduced to a kind of blame-game, isn't it?

POWELL: Yeah, I've invented a word...to describe the media...allow me...

[APPLAUSE AND LAUGHTER]

The word I invented is "celebrifacation"...everything has become celebrity driven. You can turn on a morning news show, you get two minutes of news,

and then we're off chasing some celebrity...and it has the attention span of a gnat that just died.

[LAUGHTER]

I mean, it's really bad, so I find myself increasingly watching foreign channels, because I get more news on foreign channels and less celebrity chatter.

COMPTON: Which ones? You can get Al Jazeera here?

[LAUGHTER]

POWELL: I don't know, I used to get Al Jazeera, I don't get it anymore. When they went from English to America, my system dropped it...but I watched...seriously, BBC, uh...I watch French 24, I watch the Russian channel, know your opponent...uh, I've got four Chinese channels and I got a Korean channel and Euro News...so it's a pretty broad spectrum...and I like RT a lot, simply because I like to see how they gin up the propaganda that is now pouring out of Russian television, they're very good at it. They are very good at it.

COMPTON: Lot of practice, yeah...let me move you on an issue that was mentioned by the students and faculty in Hawaii that they were...two of them actually, one is the difficulty and the decision-making of committing U.S. military forces, did you really once say to him, as I recall from your book, "what's the point of you saving this superb military, Colin, if we can't use it?"

ALBRIGHT: Ok, I have to describe the scene, if I might...

[LAUGHTER]

What happened was, the Clinton Administration was new and Colin had been Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and stayed that...we were all coming in and I was there as the Ambassador of the United Nations and every single day, up in New York, I saw more different diplomats than any other American diplomats, and they would keep saying, why aren't you people doing something about Bosnia, you've got to...you know, people are dying...so we go into the situation room and this very big, handsome general with medals from here to here...the hero of the Western world for having won the Gulf War, and then I, a mere mortal female civilian...

[LAUGHTER]

...who was...uh...trying to figure out whether we could do something, some force, so and Colin, in case you don't know, is the greatest briefer ever...and the Pentagon can provide three-dimensional things, and he had a little red indicator and he would, in fact, say we can do this, literally...and then he'd say, but it will take five-hundred thousand troops and zillions of dollars, and what are you going to say to Sergeant Slepchik when...to his mother, when he dies as a result of stepping on a land mine. So, I did kind of say, what are you saving this for? So then, what happens is he leaves and we actually do use force...but when you write books, we've all have this experience, it takes a while to get them out...so I get a call from a journalist who says, so do you agree with what General Powell said about you? And I said, well what did he say? And he said that he had to patiently explain, to Ambassador Albright, that our troops were not toy soldiers and that I had practically given him an aneurysm.

[LAUGHTER]

So, I call up Colin and I say, patiently? And he said, yes, you understood nothing.

[LAUGHTER]

And, so then he sent me his book and he wrote: with love, admiration, etcetera, patiently, Colin...and then I sent him back a note saying: with love, admiration, etcetera, forcefully, Madeleine.

[LAUGHTER]

POWELL: The real story...

[LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE]

...we're in the Situation Room, I'm leftover from the Bush Reagan years, I've got nine months left on my term as Chairman, and it was all Clintonistas in the room with Madeline...

[LAUGHTER]

...it was an odd situation...and so, we get into the discussion of Bosnia and what she actually said was, what's the point of having this great army that you're always talking about if we can't use it. That's when I said I thought I would have an aneurysm...because, we had just used it in Panama, we had just used it in Desert Storm, we were using it in Somalia, we were using it in many places in the world...and what I've always said, and it's gotten me in trouble before, is before you send these young men and women off to war, you have to have a clear understanding of what you want them to achieve politically and then once you've made that decision and it can't be done politically or through diplomatic means and you want to use the military, put it in...and put it in a decisive manner...and, I don't think Madeleine...

[APPLAUSE]

...Madeleine didn't mention that that point of view was also the point of view of the National Security Advisor, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, the Vice President, and the President at that time...and we went to Bosnia, it was several years later, long after I left.

ALBRIGHT: And we won.

[LAUGHTER]

But I tell you the following thing, first of all, I obviously do not have military experience and I do think that Colin is the hero of the western world and I really do think that the way our military has been used, I am somebody that spent the War in England, I know what it was like when the Americans came and I have been in love with Americans and Alma, forever...

[LAUGHTER]

So...so I have the highest respect. But the issue for me is the following, and it still is, whether there are ways that the United States can...there are not a lot of tools in our toolbox and I do think that one can't take the use of force off the table...because basically, force and diplomacy go together, and then the economic tools...and the question is how to calibrate that. I think, one of the issues that I think I would like to know more about, even at this stage, is whether there is such a thing as a limited war, and whether there are ways to use air power so that you don't have to use ground forces, and that there is a way to stop people from killing each other...and so, the question is, how much do you have to commit and when you do...I mean, there is the Powell Doctrine, which talks about decisive force, not overwhelming as you say, decisive, and I think the question is what is that? I fully agree with Colin, we've had so many discussions about this. One does have to have an exit strategy...one does not, however, and should not have a deadline. I think a deadline I have found in our own case, when President Clinton said we'd be out of Bosnia in a year, we couldn't get out and so our credibility is gone...and I think a deadline becomes a gun to your own head...so, I have learned a lot, but I do think there are times that we need to use force and try to figure out what the right way to use it is, and I have learned an awful lot from General Powell.

POWELL: I completely agree...that...

[LAUGHTER]

ALBRIGHT: I told you, this is coming...

POWELL: This is coming...we won't even go to Rwanda...

ALBRIGHT: No.

POWELL: Well, you're taking credit for Bosnia...

ALBRIGHT: Well, we should talk about that because this is a big issue...

POWELL: Yeah, but the fact is, you should have a clear understanding of what you're going to do...I've never asked for an exit strategy. What I look for is what event or what happening on the ground will cause us to say, we've achieved the mission that we came here to achieve...and Desert Storm was a perfect example, when the casualty rate was so low after Desert Storm, everybody was complaining, we should've gone to Baghdad...and I said, no...the President said we weren't, U.N. got a resolution, the Congress voted for what we did, and we had a great coalition to include a Syrian division and an Egyptian division that were with us. So when we accomplished the mission, we came home, which is what President Bush intended, and we found out ten years later what it's like when we go to Baghdad, we're still there...and so, I think you have to be very, very careful in picking. But I totally agree with Madeleine that diplomacy without the possibility of force being used at the end of the diplomatic trail, if it doesn't work, is useless...and at the same time, military force shouldn't be used if diplomacy is still an option and diplomacy is still working...so I don't think we have that much of a disagreement any longer. Right, Madeleine?

ALBRIGHT: Absolutely.

COMPTON: We'll be taking questions from the audience here in Washington and from the students at the University of Hawaii, shortly...but one of the things that they were interested in talking about was the effect of unintended consequences. Now, I assume in the Secretary of State's office, over in the corner there's this crystal ball and you just put your hand over it and you go, oh that's what the Taliban will do, 15 years from now, right?

ALBRIGHT: The problem...I do think that we do not do enough pushing in terms of, first of all, assumptions...I think that, I've just come from a series of meetings with former foreign ministers where we were really pushing them on assumptions, what are the assumptions...and then the unintended consequences, so...let's just take one, Iran, what this is the unintended consequence...it is the 70th anniversary of the dropping of bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I don't know whether the physicist felt guilty or President Eisenhower felt we needed to do something different but in 1953, he gives a speech, Atoms for Peace speech, in order to show that nuclear energy could be peacefully used. So, under that, that's how the Non-Proliferation Treaty started, the I.A.E.A...and Iran signed the N.P.T., we are the ones that sold the equipment to Iran. That an amazing unintended consequence. Afghanistan is an unintended consequence. And I think that part of the problem is that decision-makers, first of all, I do not think people sit in their offices trying to make stupid decisions, the bottom line is, how much information do you have at the time and do you push enough in order to try to figure out the unintended consequences, but there is pressure to do something...and one of the issues that I always argue is that we need to understand the context of what else is going on. You talked about

Rwanda...part of the issue was we were in Bosnia, there were refugees coming out of Haiti, Somalia was falling apart and we didn't actually have the information that people have ex-post facto, so that kind of combination of things. But we...I would think, and I think you would agree, Colin...we don't push enough for the unintended consequences.

POWELL: There's a theorem in the military that says no plan continues after first contact with the enemy. You always have to consider there's a thinking, breathing situation or enemy on the other side of this equation. And so, I've been taught in my military training, always have somebody in the back room making contingency plans and thinking through what the unintended consequences might be. I've seen a lot of unsatisfactory thinking with respect to unintended consequences that should have been thought through. I think in the...2003 war in Iraq, we went in thinking that this was all just going to snap back together, and things happened that were not planned. We were not supposed to disband the Iraqi Army, the President had been told we wouldn't do that because they were going to be the basis of security, and yet, we woke up one morning and it had happened...and the unintended consequence was all those soldiers suddenly had an opportunity to get severance pay and then go off and become insurgents. And so, I totally agree with Madeleine, you can't predict all the unintended consequences, but you should think about them and discuss the possibility of these unintended consequences, rather than just sit around saying well it will happen, stuff happens...and that's why I think we're stuck in a number of places now...because we didn't think through fully the possible consequences.

ALBRIGHT: I think though, if I might, is one can't make the decision making process so gridlock that you never do anything, that's the other part is that

balance of trying to figure out what you can do and what the instrument is to do it. But I don't think we push enough and I don't think that we have enough of a system where one can dissent at a crucial time, I think that that is something that is complicated.

POWELL: It's not always necessary to use maximum force, either...sometimes it can be very surgical. My favorite example is in December 1989 there was a coup in the Philippines, and we got a call from the Philippine government: please come bomb our airfields so that our pilots cannot join the coup and bomb the Palace...and I got the mission to go bomb the airfield and I thought it through and I said to my folks, nah there's another way to do this. And we called our pilots out in the Philippines, at Clark Air Force Base, and we said, take off in your Phantom jets, go over that airfield and demonstrate extreme hostile intent. Just buzz the airfield. If anybody then takes to the runway, shoot in front of them on the runway, only if they take off, heading to the Palace, then you shoot them down. So you put things in place so you can see if you can minimize the problem you're going to have...and when I finally was able to talk to the Philippine Ministry of Defense he said, oh thank god, we'd be rioting against you tomorrow morning if you had done that. And so you really have to try to find ways short of full mobilization and massive force...but when massive force will give you the decisive result that you're looking for, as in the first Gulf War, then use it, because we have it, use it.

COMPTON: One other issue that I want to hit before we open this up to questions, and that is...the dimension, the importance, the shared values of human rights, democratization, economic development, and Madam Secretary, women's rights, I was with you and First Lady Hillary Clinton on trips and then into Beijing for the Fourth Conference on Women, held by the

United Nations. Those were shared values, aren't they? Are they missing from today's equation?

ALBRIGHT: One of the hardest things to determine is what is in national interest? Under what circumstances...I mean, you use force, if in fact, you are looking at what a national interest is...and we all have different definitions. I mean, the clearest one is always when the United States is attacked or our allies are attacked. But one of the issues that...and this was the, I mean, peace keeping operations generally is, do we think that when there are crimes against humanity or human rights violations where people are being raped or killed, not for anything they've done, but because of whatever their ethnic background is, then I happen to think, with American values, that in fact, we do...this is in national interest. But that is a big debate and that is part of the issue as to whether people want to use force or not. But I have...we all have our own background. I am definitely, am somebody that is, was, created by my background having been raised in war-time in Europe when people didn't stand up and when Neville Chamberlain made clear about why should we care about people in far-away places with unpronounceable names. We have a lot of that going on now. And so, I think the question is, do people see it as national interest. I do think that economic interest, I never have thought that we are an economically imperial...I have a hard time with that, but I do think that we have to look at the whole picture about what is going on and then back to the questions you asked is under what circumstances, what force do you use and what role does Congress play in that? And human rights, and media, in terms of there is, there used to be what we called the CNN effect. People would go someplace where it was on CNN, some were not on it, so and the same number of people were killed and it still didn't make a difference. So there are any number of aspects to this.

COMPTON: Secretary Powell?

POWELL: We also have to remember that when you say Congress has to act, the President has to act, it's the American people, ultimately, who are the ones who will make a judgment as to whether we're doing a right thing or a wrong thing with respect to the use of military force. I think one of the disappointments I've seen in my career is that Congress is pretty much abdicated its role in this. We haven't really declared war on anybody but we've had lots of wars over the last 40 years...and if you look right now, when the President wanted to get a statement from the Congress, they don't want to touch it. They don't want their fingerprints on it. They want to avoid it. Let the President handle this. Now, maybe sometimes that's the right answer, but I think it's also a dangerous trend for Congress to just sit back, criticize, or support, depending how it's going, and not play a role in making this judgment that the Constitution has said they are suppose to make.

COMPTON: We are going to stop at this point and begin to take questions. Thank you all, not only in this audience here at the Library of Congress here in Washington, but students and faculty at the University of Hawaii who are watching on live stream...and we have Jason from the Library of Congress who is going to be the voice of those questions, he has a fat, thick stack of them. Jason, please, the first question for our guests.

JASON: So we actually have a similar question, both from Hawaii and from the audience here...the question is would the two Secretaries comment on a time when they felt political pressure to support or oppose a certain policy that they, perhaps, may not have personally agreed with.

ALBRIGHT: I was not in a position where I opposed a policy of President Clinton. I think that one of the issues, always, in terms of...believe it or not, he loved to hear us argue in front of him and we did an awful lot of that...and the one that was the most complicated for me was actually, I was only UN Ambassador at the time of Bosnia, but I was Secretary of State during Kosovo, and I felt that we needed to do something and so, but I was not in that position.

POWELL: I was always of the view that it was my responsibility to tell the President, whether I was Chairman, National Security Advisor, or Secretary of State, what my view was...whether it was, you know, a desired view or not, and so...in all of those positions, I would occasionally get into trouble because Presidents don't always like to hear opposing views...but I also was blessed to be working for Presidents who, ultimately, would listen to those views and take them into account. But once he has heard everybody's views and has made a decision, then he has to be able to expect loyalty from every member of his team. Every Cabinet officer, everybody else, or else you have chaos. And yes, there have been areas where I was supportive, President agreed with my brilliant analysis...

[LAUGHTER]

...and there were other areas where Colin, never mind, go back to the building and we'll talk to you later...but if you think that's...that's the same as any business, it's no different than any other group of human beings coming together. It's not different. But you do owe your boss, you do owe the king, or the queen...your best advice, otherwise they shouldn't be paying you.

COMPTON: Jason, another question?

JASON: We have several students in the house tonight and several of them have asked a very similar question...which is...what should students pay careful attention today—to—in order to solve the challenges of tomorrow and what are those future challenges?

COMPTON: Future challenges...where should young people focus right now?

ALBRIGHT: I think that is one of the hardest questions to answer...because, as Colin said, the system is completely different and it's very interesting because I do teach, and trying to kind of teach some historical background to what is going on, the unintended consequences, but then also look at a whole series of other issues. I think something that people need to pay more attention to are the role of non-state actors...or you know, we are still kind of in a system where we are looking at the nation state but there are an awful lot more players in it...and then trying to figure out who the players are, who are the stakeholders...there is that. The other is that I think people need to know, have to focus more on layers within each society...people talk about civil society...but what does that mean? And you were talking about the American people, but other countries have people in it that, in fact, need to be...we need to know what they are thinking in more ways...and use technology more in a positive way. But I think it's very hard...I mean, we...it was a dangerous time, but it was simple, there was the red, and the red-white-and blue, so the question was who was seducing who more...and at this moment, it is all kind of out in a way hard to aggregate. The other part that I think is important in international relations, it isn't just political science and history, it's health and science, the world is not flat. There have to be ways that many more disciplines come into it and it's much more interdisciplinary so that you can figure out where the pressures are. Much, much more complicated than what we had.

POWELL: Yeah, I certainly agree with that...reminded me of something that a wonderful gentleman, former Israeli president, Shimon Peres, said to me one day after the Cold War was over...and we were at a conference together and he put his arm around me and he says, oh Colin, Colin, we've lost all our enemies, now all we have are problems.

[LAUGHTER]

And to some extent, that's true. America...the generation of young people here are not facing anything like I faced. There is no nation out there with the capacity or intention of bringing down the United States of America, they can't do it. So, we're probably safer in many ways than we've ever been before. Well, so what about terrorism? We've lost roughly 49 people to terrorism since 9-11, that's all...and most of those were home-grown nuts who committed these acts of terrorism. We've killed thirty-two thousand people with guns in that same period of time...and so, we have to keep that all in some context. So for the young people here, I would say, while you're thinking about these great issues...get your education, become very well-informed, stay off all the social networks, or at least part of the time...

[LAUGHTER]

...and really study the issues of the day. I don't think they're spending enough time studying the issues of the day. And I would also say to the young people, that while you're looking at foreign policy and looking at the kinds of things that Madeleine talked about, we need to realize that our major emphasis has to be here at home in the United States of America. If we want to continue to be an example to the rest of the world, we have to fix some of the things that are not going well in this country. One is our Legislative system...and I could list some more that are in my mind, anyway, the money in politics, the gerrymandering that is taking place, the fact that we don't have infrastructure construction going on—we're not fixing our

infrastructure—Guantanamo has been a curse on the image of the United States of America for the last 15 years now...close to 15 years. It ought to be closed immediately. How can we explain to any foreign country, what we believe in, with respect to a just system, and don't have stalags and don't have gulags when we have Guantanamo.

[APPLAUSE]

I think we have to do something about our education system to bring it up to standards...it's getting better and better, and my wife runs the America's Promise Alliance and reports that more than 81% of our youngsters now are graduating from high school, but that next 18-19% is tough. They're in lower-income communities, both black and white and Hispanic and all the others...and so, we have to do something about that, and we have to do something about the disparity in wealth between those at the bottom of society and those up toward the top of society.

[APPLAUSE]

That's not easy...and just to close, just to close this small sermonette...immigrant [POINTING TO ALBRIGHT], child of immigrants [POINTING TO SELF]...how can we continue thinking that it is proper not to have immigration reform?

[APPLAUSE]

God help them.

[APPLAUSE]

I would like to go to every Trump Hotel and ask...

[APPLAUSE AND LAUGHTER]

...all the employees not to show up tomorrow...there'd be nobody there.

They're immigrants.

COMPTON: Yeah, we'll take a couple more questions...Jason, what have you got?

JASON: There are a number of questions that are country or region specific, people have questions about China, development in Africa, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the troubles in the European Union...I will take prerogative to collapse those into all one question and perhaps throw it to you to address to the panelists.

COMPTON: Well, let's start with China, because that is a big dynamic and then maybe back into the Trans-Pacific partnership with China.

ALBRIGHT: Well, I do think that it is the most important relationship of the 21st century and complicated because, obviously, there are those that can argue that China is a threat and then those that can argue that China, we need to cooperate with...and it's both...and the question is how to manage that in a way that is, where we can actually help each other...I'm not a good enough historian, maybe Jim can help on this...is...that whether there has ever been a time that two major powers have been so dependent on each other...where their economy and ours are intertwined in a way and so that cooperation part is very important. There are things about China that concern me, they're not interested in just a bunch of rocks, they're interested in what's under them...and the oil issues and they are resource hungry and any number of things...and I think that is of concern. I am concerned by rising nationalism in China and all you have to do is go like that [RAISES HAND] and they are anti-Japanese and so that bothers me a great deal...but I think it is the most important relationship. Xi Jinping is making clear that the Communist Party is in charge...he's using the corruption legislation to get rid of people he doesn't like...so there are very many trends going on there, but I do think it is an essential...the essential relationship.

POWELL: I think it is our most important relationship, frankly...and I've been going to China for about 45 years now...I went in right after Nixon, I was a young Lieutenant Colonel, when they were just coming out of the Cultural Revolution and what they've done in the last 40-odd years, with respect to their economy and bringing people up into the middle class has been astonishing...but let's not...let's not overplay that because they still got 800 million people that they have to take care of, who have not entered the middle-class...so they've got their set of problems, they've got their set of issues. I do not think that China will be a military threat, it's not in their interest to be a military threat to the United States of America. They're holding a trillion and a half dollars of U.S. paper...and they've got the greatest business model imaginable. Sell to Wal-Mart, get the money from Wal-Mart, and then loan it back to the United States so that they can pay their deficit off. They're not going to throw that away, I mean, that is great. And so we have to have a proper relationship with this very complex country. They've always made it clear: you've picked your system of government, we've got ours, and ours is going to remain dictatorial, Communist, and we've been around for five-thousand years, you've been around for 230, and so, be careful how you lecture us. And by the way, they consider themselves the Middle Kingdom and the rest of us are sort of outside the Middle Kingdom...and they're busy securing their lines of supply, oil, energy, they're buying things around the world, they're buying agriculture...

ALBRIGHT: All over...

POWELL: ...and they are investing in their future...whereas, we are sort of looking around to see what it is that we need to be doing...and so, we can

work with them and I don't think it's going to result in a military conflict, although as Madeline pointed out, there are some challenges with respect to what they're doing in the China Sea.

COMPTON: Real quickly, Africa...the question came on Africa, has the U.S. done enough?

ALBRIGHT: No, but actually there are 54 countries in Africa and people need to...

[APPLAUSE]

...see the differences among them...and I do think that there have been some very important changes that have gone on...we can't underestimate the democratic election in Nigeria, and I think that was very important: a president was defeated and left. And I think that that is an important part and I think that we need to distinguish...now, you were talking about China, China is in there, and one of the things...I definitely do think we need to do things to fix America, but we cannot allow ourselves to become isolationists while the rest of the world is moving on and the Chinese are doing all kinds of things and we need to be out there.

COMPTON: Do you see signs that the United States is too isolationist?

ALBRIGHT: Yes, I do...and I really do think...Americans don't want to be the world's policeman. President Clinton said it first that we were the indispensable nation, I said it so often that it became identified with me...but the bottom line is there is nothing in the word "indispensable" that says alone. It just means that we need to be engaged. And so, it worries me that there's always this trend of let's...[HUGS HERSELF]...we do need to fix all of the things that you're saying, but I hope it's not taken as a way of saying we

shouldn't engage abroad because if we don't, in partnership with others, then in fact, we will be ceding an awful lot of value systems, or a way that the United States can make a difference.

POWELL: I completely agree with Madeleine in that we can't become isolated, it's impossible for us to become isolationists, although there are tendencies in the country...and so, while we are fixing our country and fixing the problems we talked about earlier, we have to remain engaged with the rest of the world...but I also believe that by fixing our systems, fixing our infrastructure, doing something about our legislative system, we're giving an example to the rest of the world that they should look at us and follow our example...but there's too many instances and situations in our country right now which are not providing the best example for the rest of the world to follow our lead.

ALBRIGHT: Yeah, I agree...

COMPTON: I think we can squeeze in, if we can, two more questions...so, Jason?

JASON: We have a question from the University of Hawaii and the question is an interesting one, there's been much discussion about how the world is different today, but this question asks, what is the same in the world today and what lessons learned during tenure as Secretary of State are still applicable today?

ALBRIGHT: I do think that what is the same is...the sense that the United States has to...I mean, you can just watch where people are waiting to see what we are going to do. We have both sat at tables with other countries

and they wait to see what the United States is going to say. And the question is, when you're in a discussion, do you speak first? In order to set the table? Or do you speak last in order to summarize? Or do you speak in the middle? The question is where do we...but there is...we are...I believe we are an exceptional nation and some of it is the immigration and some of it is our history. What we can't do is ask that exceptions be made for us in terms of law and a variety of aspects...but I do think, what is the same, is the need for the United States to be engaged.

POWELL: Something that is common throughout the world and it was highlighted for me at a conference I chaired in Morocco, just as I was getting ready to leave office, and we had all the nations of Europe there and all the nations of the Arab world and we're talking about democracy...and after everybody had said their piece...one of the intellectuals who was there, an Arab gentleman, raised his hand and said: I'll tell you what's wrong out here...and I said, oh god, he's going to say Israel...

[LAUGHTER]

...and he said, we need jobs, we need jobs...and that just hit me because what it says is what everybody in the world wants: is about a life for themselves and their family...and so, if you can provide a job that brings dignity into a home on payday, a roof over their heads, food on their table, school for the kids, healthcare, they'll take just about any political system that will give them that. And so, keep in mind that I think these basic human needs and desires and hopes fuel a lot of what's going on in the world. China has understood that and the nations of Africa that are now properly handling their economies and getting rid of corruption and moving forward understand that. I think most of the western nations understand that...but we got to do a better job of helping nations in the Arab world and elsewhere and other parts of Africa and parts of Asia to understand that it is non-

corruption in the government, rule of law, human rights, and the creation of an economy that is a 21st century economy that will allow you to provide jobs for your people...that will be the major overriding thing...and for the youngsters asking about what we can do...not only get your education, make sure that you're politically active, make sure that you registered, and make sure that you vote every chance you get and never pass up an opportunity to vote because you were watching something on television.

[LAUGHTER]

COMPTON: Last question from the audience here...very good.

JASON: I'll read it verbatim because it's a nicely put question: do you think that liberty is an exotic plant that can only grow in soils with a certain history and culture, or more like an oak tree that can be planted anywhere?

ALBRIGHT: Well...

[LAUGHTER]

POWELL: You're the gardener...

ALBRIGHT: Let me say this...is one of the questions out there always, was, is, is democracy something that is transplantable...and I believe that we're all the same...Colin was talking about jobs, I think that people want to be able to make decisions about their own lives wherever they are...and it begins with where they live, or what language they teach their children, or religion...and so, I never liked it when people said well that's...those are Asian values, for instance, why would you try to talk about your values, they're Asian values...they have their values...and I don't believe that...I do think that actually, liberty is something that people want...they want the

economic dignity so that they can be free in order to make decisions about their own lives and I don't think that we should just say that certain people, whoever they are, have different desires in life.

COMPTON: General Powell?

POWELL: I certainly...I'm a believer in democracy...our form of democracy, I'm a believer in the individual rights, god-given rights contained in our Declaration of Independence. But I've also learned over the years, that not everybody necessarily believes in or wants to follow our form of government...so I love lecturing to them, just as Madeleine does...

ALBRIGHT: No, I don't lecture...

POWELL: I do.

[LAUGHTER]

...I lecture them all the time. But I don't lecture them saying come down out of those trees and live like a Jeffersonian democrat. I essentially say to them, look at what we've been able to accomplish by the system that we have, by the democratic procedures that we've used, by the rule of law that we have operated under...look at what we've been able to do over these years and look how we solve problems, look at the resiliency of the American nation, all these crises that we've had over the course of our history, we've come through all of them and we'll come through whatever is in front of us because of the nature of our system...but I'm not telling you that's what you have to do because every nation has to respond with its own...with an understanding of its own history, culture, religion, and other aspects of its society...and so I am delighted in telling people about my

country and my system. But at the same time, I listen carefully to what they have to say about their history and their culture.

COMPTON: We started talking about...discouraged how shared values, how that water's edge hasn't had the same impact that it had when, at least the three of us were beginning our careers here in Washington...but I detect both from the questions and from the answers from both of you, that there an inner optimism you both have about the absolute fundamental shared values of this country and through hard times and harder times, that you both feel that that core strength is there...Secretary Albright?

ALBRIGHT: Definitely, I mean, I do think that there is something very...Colin was talking about the resiliency, I think that is a very important aspect of American life...what we can't do is impose democracy, that's an oxymoron...and the bottom line is trying to figure out how we continue to be the example that people want to follow...but there is something amazing in, you know, people ask me what's the most important thing that ever happened to me? Becoming an American, flat out, there's no question about that...and the opportunities that one gets by being an immigrant that comes to the United States...I think we kinda had, pretty much, dream jobs.

POWELL: Mm hm...

ALBRIGHT: So, I do think that that's what America is about.

[APPLAUSE]

POWELL: I agree...I agree...but I'm as optimistic about this country that I have ever been...and I have seen times much worse than these times...you know, we lived through the Cold War, we lived through segregation, we lived

through the worst, the most difficult period in my adult life was really '68-'74-ish, when we were losing the Vietnam War, a president had been murdered in '63, we lost Martin Luther King in '68, we lost Bobby Kennedy in '68, we had race riots in the early 70's, and then a Vice President resigned in disgrace, a President resigned in disgrace, we were in a recession and there was still a Soviet Union looking at us and saying, we told you they'd collapse. And then suddenly, along came this Midwestern gentleman, by the name of Gerry Ford, and he sort of stabilized things...and then we had a few difficult years and then somebody who, I think we all admire now, Ronald Reagan, he just walked in and said, hey it's morning in America.

[LAUGHTER]

...and we all said, he's right, it's morning in America...but it was that optimism that came back to us...so, now...all these years later, it was the Soviet Union that was on its way out, we just didn't know it yet. And so, I think we have every reason to be optimistic, the young people who are here with us and are watching this in Hawaii, believe in this place, believe in it with all your heart, because it is a wonderful place and going back to immigration for a final point, for me anyway, is that, have problems in Europe with immigration, you can see it every day on television, some of our Asian friends like Japan, Korea, and China, are going to be in deep trouble because they do not have immigrants...particularly China and Korea...and the difference with immigrants here in the United States of America... they want to become Americans, they didn't just come for jobs, they want to become Americans and we should welcome all those who do wish to do so.

COMPTON: Ladies and gentlemen, two remarkable Americans.

[APPLAUSE]

JANE MCAULIFFE: Before you leave, please let me give you a preview of coming attractions...just as we could not imagine a better launch for the Daniel K. Inouye lecture series, we already have Senator Alan Simpson and Secretary Norman Mineta confirmed next April, so put that on your calendars, stay in touch, and thank you again for attending this evening.