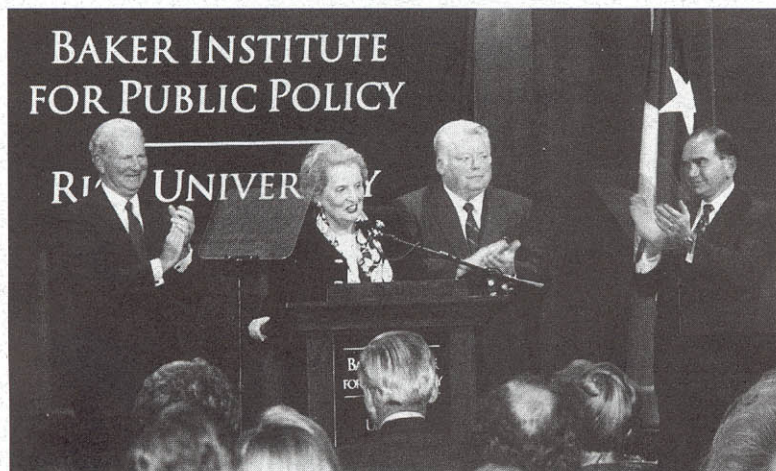


BAKER INSTITUTE REPORT

NOTES FROM THE JAMES A. BAKER III INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY OF RICE UNIVERSITY

ALBRIGHT SPEAKS AT BAKER INSTITUTE

New Secretary of State Deplores "Disarming" of Diplomacy, Urges Passage of Chemical Weapons Convention



James A. Baker, III, Malcolm Gillis, and Edward Djerejian applaud Secretary Albright at the conclusion of her presentation.

On February 7, the Baker Institute hosted Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's first major foreign policy address outside Washington, D.C. Her speech, delivered on the Rice campus to an overflow audience, stressed the importance of strengthening American diplomacy by fully funding our foreign affairs budget and paying our long-overdue arrears to international organizations. Albright also made an impassioned pitch for bipartisan support of the Chemical Weapons Convention. The speech received extensive media coverage, including live broadcast by CNN and C-SPAN.

"Diplomatically, we are steadily and unilaterally disarming ourselves," Albright warned a large audience of Rice students, university faculty, the consular corps, and local Houstonians. She described recent closures of foreign missions and cuts in foreign assistance as "unacceptable" and stressed the modest cost of foreign affairs—roughly \$20 billion—in an overall federal budget of nearly \$1.7 trillion. Albright praised President Clinton's decision to seek funding to meet nearly \$2 billion in arrears to international organizations. "As in poker," she declared, "if we want a seat at the table, we have to put chips in the pot."

Albright also made a powerful plea for ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). She dismissed criticism that the CWC should be rejected because renegade states will refuse to join it. "Who should set the rules for the international community?" Albright asked. "Law-abiding nations? Or the rogues?" She also emphasized the bipartisan nature of the CWC, noting that it had been negotiated under Republican presidents Reagan and Bush. "The CWC," Albright said, "has 'made in America' written all over it."

James A. Baker, III, sixty-first secretary of state, struck a similarly bipartisan note in introducing Albright. "Foreign policy," Baker declared, "best advances our national interest when it possesses strong support across the political spectrum." He also strongly endorsed

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

Albright Answers Students' Questions Following Address

AMBASSADOR EDWARD DJEREJIAN: Secretary Albright has graciously agreed to take questions from the students. To kick it off, I'm going to read the first one, and then we will go directly to the floor.

Madam Secretary, this is a question from Sebastian Good, a Rice student: It is clear that NATO's role must change in the post-Cold War era, but why does the administration think that expanding NATO's unilateral defense agreements into the former Soviet bloc is a good idea?

Russia's recent pressure on Belarus and some warmongering by its generals indicate that even an unsteady Russia is not keen on the idea. In this century, Western Europe has offered defense of nations of Eastern Europe before and then reneged on those promises. Why emphasize military inclusion now rather than concentrate on economic inclusion and/or aid?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Had I known the first question was written out, I could have practiced. This is a very important question and it is clearly among the highest priorities that President Clinton has. He has stated that an un-

divided and stable Europe is very important to the United States.

I think we all know as students of history that Central and Eastern Europe have, in fact, been the breeding ground of two world wars. Any instability in that region is something that concerns us all. We have made the decision that it is important to expand NATO to cover that region. We, however, also know that it is very important that the Russians do not feel that an expanded NATO is a threat to them or an adversarial move.

The purpose of an expanded NATO is, in fact, to create, or help create, stability and deal



BUILDING A BIPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY

Address by Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Rice Memorial Center, Rice University, February 7, 1997

Mr. Secretary, President Gillis, Ambassador Djerejian, thank you for the introduction and for the Texas hospitality. This is my first official trip as secretary of state, and I can't imagine a better destination or more distinguished company.

My original thought was to come here next Thursday, on February 13, but one of my advance people who went to Rice told me that you close the university on the thirteenth of every month—due to your celebration of the ancient rite of streaking. And, as the first female secretary of state, I wasn't sure I was quite ready for that!

In a world where many claim to have all the answers, this institute and this university understand the importance of asking the right questions. And, in your search for wisdom, you have certainly found the right guide. James Baker's memoirs were entitled *The Politics of Diplomacy*, and, as his record gives evidence, he was a master of both. He has earned our nation's gratitude, and I am delighted to be a witness to the exciting new work he has initiated here. And I am also glad to learn that former secretaries of state can get day jobs.

This afternoon, I want to talk with you about some exciting new work of my own. I have just completed my second full week as secretary of state. Already, I have a reputation for speaking in sound bites. This is not a reputation I have sought. When I speak, I always think I'm sounding like Henry Kissinger; unfortunately, what the audience seems to hear sounds more like David Letterman.

My goal, and it is causing some culture shock back in D.C., is to clear away the fog from Foggy Bottom, a place where the elevator inspection certificates—and I am not making this up—do not refer to elevators but to “vertical transportation units.” As secretary, I will do my best to talk about foreign policy not in abstract terms but in human terms—and in bipartisan terms. I consider this vital because in our democracy we cannot pursue policies abroad that are not understood and supported here at home.

When I was nominated by the president, I said that I would have an obligation to explain to you the “who, what, when, where,” and especially the “whys” of the policies we conduct around the world in your name.

Today, I intend to begin that job.

Last Tuesday, in his state of the union address, President Clinton said that, “To prepare America for the twenty-first century, we must master the forces of change in the world and keep American leadership

strong and sure for an uncharted time.”

Fortunately, thanks to the president's own leadership and that of his predecessor President George Bush—Houston's most distinguished adopted son—I begin work with the wind at my back. Our nation is respected and at peace. Our alliances are vigorous. Our economy is strong. And from the distant corners of Asia to the emerging democracies of Central Europe and Africa to the community of liberty that exists within our own hemisphere, American institutions and ideals are a model for those who have, or who aspire to, freedom.

All this is no accident, and its continuation is by no means inevitable. Democratic progress must be sustained as it was built—by American leadership. And our leadership must be sustained if our interests are to be protected around the world.

That is why our armed forces must remain the best-led, best-trained, best-equipped, and most respected in the world. And as President Clinton has pledged, they will. It is also why we need first-class diplomacy. Force, and the credible possibility of its use, are essential to defend our vital interests and to keep America safe. But force alone can be a blunt instrument, and there are many problems it cannot solve. To be effective, force and diplomacy must complement and reinforce each other. For there will be many occasions, in many places, where we will rely on diplomacy to protect our interests, and we will expect our diplomats to defend those interests with skill, knowledge, and spine.

Unfortunately, in the words of Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana, our international operations today are “underfunded and understaffed.” We are the world's richest and most powerful nation, but we are also the number one debtor to the UN and the international financial institutions. We are dead last among the industrialized nations in the percentage of our wealth that we use to promote democracy and growth in the developing world.

And diplomatically, we are steadily and unilaterally disarming ourselves. Over the past four years, the Department of State has cut more than 2,000 employees, closed more than thirty overseas posts, and slashed foreign assistance by almost one-third. This trend is not acceptable. Many of you are students. Someday, one of you may occupy the office I hold and that Secretary Baker held. I hope you do. And I assure you that I will do everything I can in my time to see that you have the necessary diplomatic tools

in your time to protect our nation and do your job.

Yesterday, the president submitted his budget request to Congress for the upcoming fiscal year. That budget, which totals some \$1.8 trillion, includes \$20 billion for the entire range of international affairs programs. This would pay for everything from our share of reconstruction in Bosnia to enforcing sanctions against Saddam Hussein to waging war around the world against drug kingpins and organized crime.

Approval of this budget matters, not only to me or to those who consider themselves foreign policy experts but to each and every one of us. For example, if you live in Houston, more than likely your job, or that of a member of your family, is linked to the health of the global economy, whether through investments, or trade, or competition from foreign workers abroad, or from newly arrived workers here. This region's robust agricultural and energy sectors are particularly affected by overseas prices, policies, and politics.

Your family, like most in America, probably has good reason to look ahead with hope. But you are also anxious. For you see crime fueled by drugs that pour across nearby borders. You see advanced technology creating not only new wonders but new and more deadly arms. On your television screen, you see the consequences of letter bombs and poisonous serums and sudden explosions and ask yourself when and where terrorists may strike next.

Whether you are a student or parent or teacher or worker, you are concerned about the future our young people will face. Will the global marketplace continue to expand and generate new opportunities and new jobs? Will our global environment survive the assault of increasing population and pollution? Will the plague of AIDS and other epidemic diseases be brought under control? And will the world continue to move away from the threat of nuclear Armageddon, or will that specter once again loom large, perhaps in some altered and even more dangerous form?

If you are like most Americans, you do not think of the United States as just another country. You want America to be strong and respected. And you want that strength and respect to continue through the final years of this century and into the next. Considering all this, one thing should be clear. The success or failure of American foreign policy is not only relevant to our lives; it will be a determining factor in the

quality of our lives. It will make the difference between a future characterized by peace, rising prosperity, and law, and a more uncertain future, in which our economy and security are always at risk, our peace of mind is under assault, and American leadership is increasingly in doubt.

We are talking here about 1 percent of the federal budget, but that 1 percent may determine 50 percent of the history that is written about our era, and it will affect the lives of 100 percent of the American people.

Let me be more specific.

First, foreign policy creates jobs. The Clinton administration has negotiated more than 200 trade agreements since 1993. Those agreements have helped exports to soar and boosted employment by more than 1.6 million. For example, earlier today I met with Mexican foreign minister Gurria. Our growing trade with Mexico is a genuine success story. Last year alone, \$125 billion in exports were traded. And with NAFTA now in place, we estimate that this coming year some 2.2 million American workers will produce goods for export to our NAFTA partners.

By passing NAFTA, concluding the Uruguay Round, and forging commitments to free trade in Latin America and Asia, we have helped create a growing global economy with America as its dynamic hub. This matters a lot down here. Houston is one of America's great ports. Texas is our second leading exporting state. Commerce makes you grow. And there are more direct benefits. For years, Texas grains have been among the leading commodities sold through the Food for Peace Program.

America's economic expansion is no accident. It derives primarily from the genius of our scientists, the enterprise of our businesspeople, and the productivity of our factories and farms. But it has been helped by American diplomats who work to ensure that American business and labor receive fair treatment overseas. For example, if an American businessman or woman bribes a foreign official in return for a contract, that American is fined or goes to jail. If a European bribes that same foreign official, chances are he will get a tax deduction. We are working hard to create higher standards that apply to all. And we have opened the doors of embassies around the world to U.S. entrepreneurs seeking our help in creating a level playing field for American firms and more opportunities for Americans back home.

Have no doubt, these efforts will continue. For as long as I am secretary of state, America's diplomatic influence will be harnessed to the task of helping America's economy to grow.

We will also use diplomacy to keep

America safe. The Cold War may be over, but the threat to our security posed by weapons of mass destruction has only been reduced, not ended. In recent years, with U.S. leadership, much has been accomplished. Russian warheads no longer target our homes. The last missile silos in Ukraine are being planted over with sunflowers, and nuclear weapons have also been removed from Belarus and Kazakhstan. North Korea's nuclear weapons program has been frozen. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty has been extended. A comprehensive ban on nuclear tests has been approved. And we are continuing the job begun under President Bush of ensuring that Iraq's capacity to produce weapons of mass destruction is thoroughly and verifiably dismantled.

The president's budget empowers us to build on these steps. It provides the resources we need to seek further reductions in nuclear stockpiles, to help assure the safe handling of nuclear materials, to back international inspections of other countries' nuclear programs, and to implement the agreements we have reached.

The president's budget also reflects America's role as the indispensable nation in promoting international security and peace. Our largest single program is in support of the peace process in the Middle East. Even here, the price tag does not compare to the cost to us and to our friends if that strategic region should once again erupt in war. The oil crisis caused by fighting there in 1973 threw our economy into a tailspin, caused inflation to soar, and resulted in gas lines that stretched for miles.

Today, as a result of courageous leaders in the region and persistent American diplomacy, the peace process launched by Secretary Baker has been sustained. Israel has signed landmark agreements with Jordan and the Palestinian authorities. And as the recent pact on Hebron illustrates, the movement toward peace continues despite episodes of violence, outbreaks of terrorism, and a tragic assassination. As secretary of state, I will ensure that America continues to stand with the peacemakers and against the bombthrowers in this strategic region. That is in America's interests; it is consistent with the commitments we have made; it reflects the kind of people we are; it is right.

Because the United States has unique capabilities and unmatched power, it is natural that others turn to us in time of emergency. We have an unlimited number of opportunities to act. But we do not have unlimited resources, nor unlimited responsibilities. We are not a charity or a fire department. If we are to protect our own interests and maintain our credibility, we have to weigh our commitments carefully, and be selective and disciplined in what we agree to do.

Recognizing this, we have good reason to

strengthen other instruments for responding to emergencies and conflicts, and for addressing the conditions that give rise to those conflicts. These other instruments include the United Nations, regional organizations, and international financial institutions. Together, these entities remove from our shoulders the lion's share of the costs of keeping the peace, maintaining sanctions against rogue states, creating new markets, protecting the environment, caring for refugees, and addressing other problems around the globe.

Unfortunately, in recent years, we have fallen behind in our payments to these institutions. We owe about \$1 billion to the UN and other organizations and almost another \$1 billion to the multilateral banks. In his budget, the president requests enough money to repay many of these obligations. The reason is that these debts hurt America. They erode the capacity of these organizations to carry out programs that serve our interests. They undermine the proposals we have made for reform. And, to those around the world who are hostile to our leadership, they are an open invitation to run America down. The United States can—and should—lead the way in strengthening and reforming international organizations so that they better serve the world community and American interests. But if we are to succeed, we must also pay our bills. As in poker, if we want a seat at the table, we have to put chips in the pot.

Before closing, I would like to highlight one of the president's top early priorities, which has little to do with money but much to do with America's standing in the world.

The president has asked the Senate to give its approval to a convention intended to ban chemical weapons from the face of the Earth. That agreement, known as the Chemical Weapons Convention, or CWC, will enter into force on April 29. Our goal is to ratify the agreement before then so that America will be an original party.

Chemical weapons are inhumane. They kill horribly, massively, indiscriminately and are no more controllable than the wind. That is why the United States decided years ago to eliminate our stockpile of these weapons and to purge from our military doctrine any possibility of their use. Countries that join the CWC will undertake a legal obligation to pursue a similar policy. The convention makes it less likely that our armed forces will ever again encounter chemical weapons on the battlefield, less likely that rogue regimes will have access to the materials needed to build chemical arms, and less likely that such arms will fall into the hands of terrorists or others hostile to our interests. The result will be a safer America and a safer world.

Unfortunately, not everyone sees it that

way. Senate approval of the convention is by no means assured. Opponents of the CWC argue that it does not provide full protection because we do not expect early ratification by the rogue states. We regret that, but the CWC remains very much in our interests. The CWC establishes the standard that it is wrong to build or possess chemical weapons. That standard will put added pressure on rogue regimes. It will send a message that if a country wants to be part of the international system and to participate fully in its benefits, it must ratify and comply with the CWC.

What it comes down to is this question: Who should set the rules for the international community? Law-abiding nations? Or the rogues? Are we barred from establishing any rule that the outlaw nations do not first accept? Or does it serve our interests to draw the clearest possible distinction in law between those who observe international standards and those who do not?

Unfortunately, as General Norman Schwarzkopf recently observed, if the foes of the CWC have their way, the United States would draw a line in the sand, put our friends and allies on one side, and then cross over to the other, joining hands with Libya and Iraq. If the opponents have their way, we would forgo the right to help draft the rules by which the convention is enforced and the destruction of chemical weapons assured. We would lose the right to have Americans help administer and conduct inspections within the CWC. We would risk the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars in export sales because the American chemical industry would become subject to trade restrictions imposed upon nonmembers of the CWC.

Finally, we would lose credibility in negotiating arms reduction agreements generally, because our ability to deliver in the Senate what we have proposed at the bargaining table would be undermined, for reasons that friends and allies around the world would find very difficult to understand.

Make no mistake, the Chemical Weapons Convention is in the best interests of the United States. In fact, the CWC has "made in America" written all over it. It was endorsed by President Reagan and negotiated under President Bush—very ably negotiated I might add, thanks to his secretary of state. Now, and until success is achieved, the president, our new secretary

of defense, Bill Cohen, and I will be working with every member of the Senate to ensure the timely and favorable consideration of this important convention.

In closing, let me say that I well understand, as I undertake my new job, that there is no certain formula for ensuring public support for American engagement overseas. Certainly, frankness helps. Consultations with Congress are essential, and we are working with congressional leaders of both parties to an unprecedented degree. But we Americans are brutally fair. As President Kennedy observed after the Bay of Pigs, success has a thousand fathers, while defeat

later, that same man—Harry Truman—would lead America in the final stages of another great war.

In the aftermath of that conflict, it was not enough to say that what we were against had failed. Leaders such as Truman, Marshall, and Vandenberg were determined to build a lasting peace. And together with our allies, they forged a set of institutions that would defend freedom, rebuild economies, uphold law, and preserve peace.

Today, the greatest danger to America is not some foreign enemy; it is the possibility that we will ignore the example of that generation; that we will succumb to the temptation of isolation; neglect the military and diplomatic resources that keep us strong; and forget the fundamental lesson of this century, which is that problems abroad, if left unattended, will all too often come home to America.

A decade or two from now, we will be known as the neoisolationists who allowed totalitarianism and fascism to rise again or as the generation that solidified the global triumph of democratic principles. We will be known as the neoprotectionists whose lack of vision produced financial chaos or as the generation that laid the groundwork for rising prosperity around the world. We will be known as the world-class ditherers who stood by while the seeds of renewed global conflict were sown or as the generation that took strong measures to deter aggression, control nuclear arms, and keep the peace.

There is no certain roadmap to success, either for individuals or for generations. Ultimately, it is a matter of judgment, a question of choice. In making that choice, let us remember that there is not a page of American history of which we are proud that was authored by a chronic complainer or prophet of despair. We are doers.

We have a responsibility in our time, as others have had in theirs, not to be prisoners of history but to shape history. A responsibility to use and defend our own freedom and to help others who share our aspirations for liberty, peace, and the quiet miracle of normal life. To that end, I pledge my own best efforts, and solicit yours.

Thank you very much. And now I would be pleased to respond to any questions you might have.

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—Madeleine Albright

is an orphan. Ultimately, we will be judged not by our rhetoric or our rationales, but by our results.

The reality is that Americans have always been ambivalent about activism abroad. At the end of World War I, an American Army officer, stuck in Europe while the diplomats haggled at Versailles, wrote to his future wife about his yearning to go home: "None of us care if the Russian government is red or not red, (or) whether the king of Lollipops slaughters his subjects." Thirty years

ratification of the CWC, saying that the treaty "will make America and Americans more secure in a world of terrorists and rogue states."

After her remarks, Albright fielded a number of questions from Rice students in the audience. Subjects included NATO expansion, U.S.-Chinese relations, President Yeltsin's health, and Cuba. Rice president Malcolm Gillis then presented Albright with a crystal figurine of an owl, the university's mascot. "It's only fitting for you," Gillis told Albright, "because throughout your distinguished career you have consistently exemplified the wisdom and keenness that are the owl's most salient characteristics."

Institute director Edward Djerejian summed up reaction to Albright's address: "Madeleine's decision to accept our invitation and to give her first major policy address outside Washington here at the institute is a real honor. It says a lot about the institute, about Rice, and about Houston, where the new secretary of state chose to come first to deliver her foreign policy message to the American people."

Albright's address at Rice was only the centerpiece of a whirlwind trip to Houston. Earlier in the day, she spoke to students at Lamar High School. Just prior to her speech, Albright met privately on the Rice campus with Mexican foreign minister José Angel Gurría. She also met with a group of leading corporate executives at an event sponsored by the New York-based Business Council for International Understanding. In a private meeting, Albright conferred with former president George Bush, a longtime Houston resident.



Secretary Albright and Mexican foreign minister Gurría hold a joint press conference at the conclusion of their private meeting on the Rice campus.



Secretary Albright's audience included students, faculty, community leaders, members of the consular corps, and concerned citizens.

Q & A SESSION *Continued from page 1*

with problems within that gray zone, that gray area in Central and Eastern Europe. We think that that is not only to our advantage but, frankly, also to the advantage of Russia. Because we are concerned about Russia and not letting that great country have a sense that it is being left out, we are also in the process of negotiating a charter between NATO and Russia that would, in fact, have the Russians understand that NATO itself is not an adversary.

We believe that it's important not only to have the economic integration, which we also are going to be seeking, but to have the Central and Eastern Europeans understand that they are not to be second-class citizens within Europe, and we will be working very hard with our allies and with the American people so that people understand that an expanded NATO to Central and Eastern Europe is good for us.

Finally, I think everybody needs to understand that an expanded NATO and those countries that will be invited to come in, that they are not coming in as kind of scholarship students who are not earning their way. I think the important part here is that there is, as with students who come into a school, that you have a responsibility and a duty when you come into a great institution to carry your weight. So we believe that being a part of NATO is a privilege and a responsibility. Those countries that will be invited in will be those that can carry their share of the burden.

AMBASSADOR DJEREJIAN: I would like to go to the floor for direct questions. Would you identify yourself?

QUESTION: My name is Jay Reynolds. I'm a freshman at Lovett College. I would like to ask the secretary what plans the administration has for Sino-American relations.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Again, I think that as we look at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, I think I'm probably going to be the last secretary of the twentieth century, which is a daunting thought.

But as we look out at the next century, we understand that it is very important for us to develop a multifaceted relationship with China. China is a huge and developing country that needs to understand that it is welcomed into the international system and that it has responsibilities within that system.

It means that we have to understand our relationship with China as it deals with a number of issues. We have a tendency in looking at China to focus at it through the prism of only one issue and decide whether behavior on one particular issue is the mark of the importance of the whole relationship. I think that we cannot hold our relationship hostage to any one issue. The one issue that people talk about a lot is human rights. I am a great believer in human rights and I believe it to be the signature element of American foreign policy. We need to press our case in human rights.

But we also need to be a part of developing China, of that huge market, and not just for the sake of selling goods there, but because we believe that our entrance into the market and investments in China will help to create a different kind of China, one in which there develops a middle class that, in fact, presses for changes also.

There is a lot of focus being given to areas where we disagree with China. Frankly, we have found that there are many areas in which we agree with China, where they have been very helpful and very cooperative. They have signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. They are of assistance to

us in negotiating some changes on the Korean peninsula, and they have been helpful to us in dealing with Cambodia.

The important point is that we must engage China. We cannot isolate it. We have to understand that our relations with China are complex and that they cannot be held hostage to one issue.

QUESTION: Will you initiate change in the composition of foreign aid from military to humanitarian purposes?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: We need to understand the whole role of foreign aid as we move forward into the world of the twenty-first century and understand that the few dollars that we do have for foreign aid need to help in the evolution of our foreign policy, generally. I happen to believe that the only way to prevent future conflict is to give development assistance in a very directed way so that the kinds of conflict that arise in many of the developing countries—some of them coming from deep poverty, ethnic disputes as a result of people chasing few resources—that our development aid money needs to be directed in a way for conflict prevention.

It is important to have some [military aid]—I am not opposed to military assistance, I have to tell you. At certain times, it is important to have that kind of function also. But primarily I do believe that American aid should go for development.

QUESTION: You talked earlier about how NAFTA was helping the Mexican and American economies. But I've also heard that it's hurting Central American economies because many of the businesses are leaving there and taking their businesses to Mexico because of the free trade with the United States. Is this problem really bad? Are these Central American countries suffering as much as people make it seem? And, if so, what does the administration plan to do about this?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: I think the issue here is that we have to look at all of Latin America differently. I think that we have a great opportunity. For the first time in our lifetimes, all but one country in this hemisphere is democratic with evolving market systems, and it's important for the United States to support those systems. We're very proud of NAFTA, and I do think—and with Secretary Bentsen in the audience, who took an incredible role in this, and a great deal of credit goes to him—we should be very proud of what we have done in terms of

creating more jobs, increasing our exports while Mexican exports have also increased, and holding out the promise of a freer trade area throughout the hemisphere.

We need to make sure that others can enter into the possibilities of freer markets. I think that there clearly still is not an equivalence in terms of the economies of the countries in Latin America, but the future is in regional and open-market systems, not in protectionism.

QUESTION: My name is Pete and I'm a freshman. I was wondering, in light of the recent recurring health problems that President Yeltsin has been having in Russia, whether or not the administration is particularly confident in the stability of the Russian government and Russian politics in general. And if there is even a hint of instability, are we confident in the fact that Russia will remain democratic and an important ally in

Europe?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: We are very encouraged by the evolution of Russia in a democratic direction and in terms of market reforms. They have a long way to go. But we believe that the process there is entrenched and developing in what we very much hope is an irreversible way.

We have a very close relationship with President Yeltsin. I think, as you know, he and President Clinton see each other frequently, talk on the phone, and have developed a very good personal relationship. We wish him well in his recovery. The signs recently are very good, and plans are being made for a summit. He is very important to the whole process.

But I think it's very important also that we understand that our relationships are with the government, and that we are able to function in what is really a new way across the board with the Russian government.

I was in Washington yesterday and attended some meetings of the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission, which does business every six months. These two men, whose personal chemistry is also quite terrific, get together to go through a whole host of issues on technical, economic, and now some security subjects.

We also know a great many new young leaders in Russia, and part of the whole series now of exchange programs are various ways that we are all working with Russia. We are developing contacts with a whole host of new young Russian leaders. So I feel very positive about the evolution of Russia, and while I, along with President Clinton, wish President Yeltsin good health and long life, we have to remember that our relations are with governments.

QUESTION: Hello. I'm Dan Manchester. I'm a senior here at Rice. My question, Mrs. Albright: What is your opinion on the Helms-Burton agreement and other attempts by the U.S. Congress to strong-arm trade policies of foreign nations to sanctions here in the U.S.?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: I believe that it's very important for us to put as much pressure as we possibly can, along with our friends and allies, to move Cuba into a democratic transition. As I said earlier, there is all but one nation in this hemisphere that has become democratic. I'm not very romantic about Fidel Castro. He is a dinosaur. He basically is the representative of a system that does not work and that is suppressing the creativity and possibilities of the Cuban people.

The Helms-Burton Act was enacted primarily because of the fact that there was a sense that there was not enough action being taken under the Torricelli Bill, which in fact did have elements of an embargo and also the second track of a democracy track with Cuba. It was enacted also because of the horror that we all felt when the Cubans shot down two planes with four unarmed civilians in them. A lot of people say these

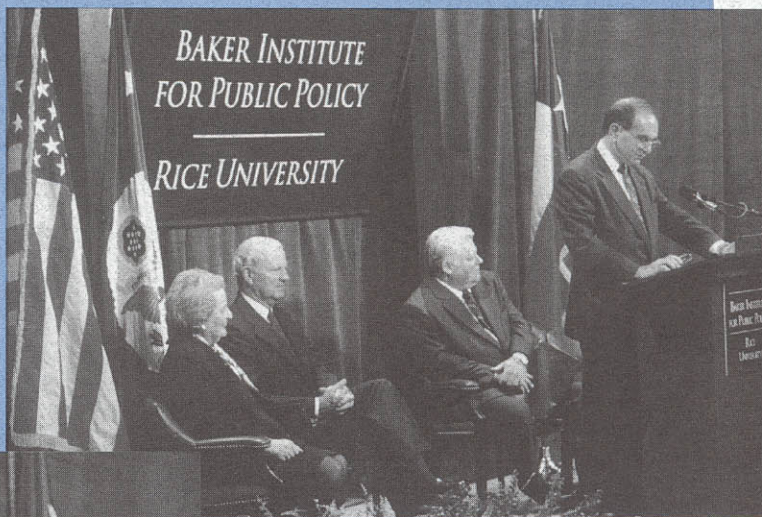
I WAS A PROFESSOR. I
IMAGINE I'LL BECOME A
PROFESSOR AGAIN SOME
DAY, AND WHAT I HAVE
ALWAYS LOVED MOST OF
ALL IS BEING ABLE TO
TEACH AND TALK ABOUT
AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITIES AND AMERICA'S
OPPORTUNITIES.

—Madeleine Albright

Continued on page 8



Secretary Albright and James A. Baker, III, share a light moment before she addresses the audience.



Ambassador Djerejian welcomes Secretary Albright.



Secretary Albright holds a gift (a crystal owl) presented by President Malcolm Gillis at the end of her talk.



Houston mayor Bob Lanier (right) was one of many local leaders who attended Secretary Albright's address. Here he speaks with James A. Baker, III.



President Malcolm Gillis and Provost David Auston escort Secretary Albright through Rice's historic Sallyport arch.

met with President Clinton just earlier this week, and we indicated our clear support for a peaceful resolution of the crisis. We have made it known that it is important for there to be a peaceful resolution, and we think that our role in this particular way is the most useful way to approach this.

If I might, in conclusion, say what a tremendous pleasure it has been for me to be here with all of you and to have the opportunity to begin my tour as secretary of state in a great city with a lot of friends and with students. I was a professor. I imagine I'll become a professor again some day, and what I have always loved most of all is being able to teach and talk about America's responsibilities and America's opportunities. We live in a magnificent era, and America is strong. Our economy is strong, and we are a very special and indispensable nation.

My desire, as I take on this job, is to do everything I can to repay the generosity of the American people for having taken my family as refugees and to do the best I can to represent you and the United States in this era of hope. Thank you very much.

Q & A SESSION *Continued from page 6*

people were Cubans. They were Americans. And I find it horrifying that this kind of thing should happen, so I support the Helms-Burton Act. But I also support the part of it that says that our allies must help us with trying to move Cuba toward democracy, because ultimately what we must do is try to figure out a way to help the Cuban people, so that they can join the rest of us in what I see as the solidarity of the Americas.

AMBASSADOR DJEREJIAN: We'll take one last question now.

QUESTION: Hi, my name is Leslie. I'm a senior at St. Agnes Academy. Considering the United States' leadership role in the international community, why haven't we taken a more active stance in entering Peru's hostage crisis?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: This is an issue in Peru that is between the rebels and the Peruvian government and those in the Japanese embassy. We have been supportive of President Fujimori in his dealings. He

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RICE UNIVERSITY
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