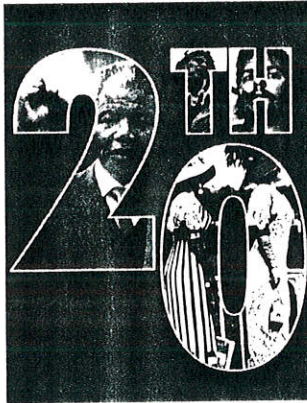


(A) LINK TO "SOWBELL'S THE VISION OF THE ANOINTED" SHARING EXPERIENCES

Liberty, equality, humility

THE end of a century is a trick of the calendar, an artificial call to celebration or condemnation of what has passed, and to expectation or foreboding about what is to come. In truth, the affairs of humanity do not occur in neat temporal packages, whether they are decades, centuries or indeed millenniums. But another truth should also be borne in mind. This is that, despite lifespans now of 70 years or more, the things that preoccupy us are typically rather short-term. That is not so with deeply held national enmities, but it is true of most political, social and economic issues, for which the experiences and facts that are deployed generally cover a decade or two at most. The final months of the century offer a rare stimulus for longer-term reflections.



This is also true of the more realistic meaning of equality, namely equality of opportunity. But the sacrifice of liberty required to invest in mass public education, or to forbid discrimination in jobs or elsewhere on irrelevant grounds such as race or sex, is one that people, in general, have been willing to make voluntarily. During this century they have done so, with spectacular results.

The dispute has been over whether liberty is—or, rather, ought to be—simply freedom from coercion, or whether true freedom requires guidance or other intervention from a wider authority. In that dispute, the broader definition of equality has also been complicit.

The theories that lay behind communism and socialism hold that man needs to be changed before he can be set free, needs to be forced to live in the way others think best. Presented with the extremes that those ideas brought in Soviet Russia and Communist China, it is easy now to reject them. But it is more useful to reflect upon the fact that this same approach has been widely deployed in democracies too.

In praise of humility (A)

It has been deployed in association with a mix of high-minded principle and arrogance. For when any government or pressure group argues that people need to be stopped from doing one thing, or made to do another, for their own good, they are using the same idea of liberty as were Lenin and Stalin. Such notions have come in two waves in the West: one, in the 1930s, when eugenics and social engineering were in vogue, even in the supposedly liberal democracies; and the second, after 1945, when economic planning coincided with the attempted enforcement of equality through income redistribution and social legislation. Since then, the waves have receded. But the forces behind them are still there.

Does that matter, as long as those trying to bring social and economic equality mean well? There is a moral answer, and a practical one. The moral answer is that, wherever possible, people should be left to make their own choices. The practical one is that such coercion implies an unjustified claim of knowledge, even certainty. The century has been littered with the debris left behind by false certainties, sometimes deliberately false, often accidentally so. They have been proclaimed by politicians and potentates, but also economists, scientists, psychologists, biologists and others.

That, at its heart, is the too-easily-forgettable case for liberalism, for the belief in negative liberty, the freedom to choose, which this newspaper has always advocated. Too often of late, that liberalism has been expressed as a mere plea for economic efficiency, a technical claim that, justified or not, appears to ignore all that is human. By allowing the argument to

The easiest things to recall and reflect upon are events and extremes: on the positive side, jet flights and space flights, material and scientific progress, social and political changes, the fall of empires and the rise of democracy; on the negative ledger, the genocides and holocausts, the terrible power of the nuclear bomb, two world wars, mass poverty. The ease of recollection is anyway aided by the frequency of anniversaries around which to form the memories: the 50th (in October) of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the 30th of the moon landing, the 60th of the start, for Europe at least, of the second world war, to cite just the most current examples.

Yet recollection and reflection are not the same. Past events can seem irrelevant as well as distant. More important still, the principles and ideas that lay behind the events are easily overlooked. This century's battles have, above all, involved ideas, particularly about liberty and equality. And those ideas continue to be at the heart of our debates and anxieties: about globalisation, about the balance between governments and markets, the environment, the status of women, the rights of minorities, the fate of the poor, the virtues and vices of capitalism.

Liberty and equality are two such simple and apparently virtuous words that it is hard to believe that they have caused so much trouble. But they have. In part, that is because of sheer linguistic abuse: think of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (aka North Korea) or indeed the People's Republic of China, both founded half a century ago supposedly in the name of freedom and equality. But there are two other reasons. One is that the century has featured a long dispute over what liberty actually means. The other is that liberty and equality do not, in fact, sit happily side by side. Indeed, in many respects they are in conflict.

The conflict arises whenever equality is taken to mean equality of outcome or circumstance. For to achieve that, it is necessary to take, by force, from some people to give to others.

rest there, liberals are making a big and unnecessary mistake.

Capitalism is far from perfect, and economic growth is not an end in itself. But it is a good means, and liberty is an essential one. The market's advantage is that it allows things to evolve in a very human way, through a process of constant

experiment, involving the free choices of millions of people. If nothing else, reflect on this: as the century shows, it is a humbler way of going about things than by following the conceited blueprints of politicians, the hubris of monopolistic businessmen, or the arrogance of scientists.

The tragedy of East Timor

Not just a little local matter, but a mess that could have far-reaching effects if it is not soon put right



IN ITSELF, East Timor does not amount to much: it is a tiny territory of some 800,000 people coveted by Indonesia, a country of 200m. That is why the rest of the world has never been much bothered by what happened there. But even tiny places can become significant. If the world fails the East Timorese again, the consequences will be felt far beyond the fringes of South-East Asia.

The body most immediately concerned is the United Nations. It could hardly have prevented Indonesia from invading East Timor in 1975, after Portugal, the colonial power, had bolted—though America, which knew the invasion was coming and did nothing to stop it, is far less blameless. Nor could the UN have stopped Indonesia from then annexing the territory and embarking on a campaign of repression that was to claim, directly or indirectly, some 200,000 lives.

To its credit, moreover, the UN never recognised Indonesian rule and when, last January, President B.J. Habibie surprisingly offered the East Timorese a referendum, the UN organised it with admirable efficiency: 98.6% of the eligible voters cast their ballots on August 30th, and 78.5% of them opted for independence. But now the territory is engulfed by violence, most of it carried out by militias determined to frustrate the voters' clear desire (see page 67). Foremost responsibility for this, as for East Timor's earlier suffering, is Indonesia's. But the UN, having agreed to hold the vote, and on Mr Habibie's timetable, is now so involved that it too will be guilty of a most terrible breach of trust if the East Timorese are denied their independence, or gain it only after another bloodbath.

Unfortunately, however, the UN is not an autonomous organisation whose boss has at his beck and call the troops needed to impose law and order in unruly parts of the world. It is the servant of its members, especially the five countries with permanent seats on the Security Council. Two of these, China and Russia, generally stand up for oppressed peoples only when it suits their ideological or other interests. But the three others, America, Britain and France, nowadays proclaim nobler principles and, over Kosovo at least, have been prepared to rain down bombs and rockets for them. In terms of persecution, the East Timorese have surely suffered more than the Kosovars, and arguably the UN's obligation to them is more explicit. So where are the West's principles now?

On hold, is the answer. Some countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, are ready to provide peacekeepers. Australia well might since it has a particularly guilty conscience about the East Timorese: though they fought in the second world war to help prevent a Japanese invasion of Australia, the Australians—ever nervous of their big neighbour—shamefully broke western ranks to recognise Indonesia's rule

of the annexed territory. But even Australia will not send in its forces without permission from the Indonesian government.

That is what must now be extracted. No one wants to take on the Indonesian army, which is widely accused of orchestrating the militias. And no one wants to destabilise the world's fourth-biggest country, especially as it is struggling to restore its economy and establish democracy. On the contrary, outsiders are anxious to help. But they should do so only if the Indonesian government is sincere in what it says it is doing—and, to judge by its actions this week, it is not.

Mr Habibie may well have miscalculated in allowing the referendum: he may have reckoned that the vote would go Indonesia's way. Neither he nor anyone in the army should miscalculate again. They should be left in no doubt now that the world will not allow Indonesia to hang on to East Timor, as it did in 1975. The current mess is, after all, a direct consequence of that piece of misguided realpolitik.

Where are you, ASEAN?

Conceivably, diplomatic pressure alone could still work. It will have a better chance of doing so if it does not all come from the West. Indonesia's Asian neighbours have a powerful interest in regional peace. Some of them also say they resent the West's predominance on the world stage. Why then don't they help to bring a little order to their own neck of the woods by leaning on the powers-that-be in Indonesia? The West, however, must also weigh in, making it plain that, regardless of Indonesia's parlous economy, it will not lend money to a country in which militias, with the connivance of the army, make a bloodstained mockery of elections.

But diplomacy may not be enough. In that case, the UN—meaning the Security Council—will have to threaten, and be ready to use, force, even without Indonesia's permission. If it does not, it is hard to see it being taken seriously in such circumstances again. Rather it will be treated as an outfit that merely organises votes and then scuttles, leaving the local thugs to seize control (as in Cambodia). That would hearten despots the world over, and dash the hopes of millions in countries where the big powers have no direct interest.

Yet the big powers too would suffer. China, Russia and the West all stand to gain from an orderly world. If the UN collapses in disrepute like the League of Nations, the prospects of finding international solutions for international problems—such as the spread of weapons of mass destruction—will simply vanish. Perhaps then those western countries that could not tolerate mass murder in Kosovo will wonder why they could so readily tolerate it in “insignificant” East Timor.

trance music began, everybody stood up clapping, Vada said: "Take me home." I made excuses at the table about not feeling well and we went to our car. Neither of us said anything. My head was awirl. About half way home she said: "How am I going to explain you to my neighbors? You can't come in my apartment." It dizzied me, nothing real, only a bad dream surely. I told her I understood completely and would take her to her door and find somewhere else to sleep. At the door, she shook hands with me and went inside, then she closed the door, leaving me in black tie dress to pace the hall and figure out the next steps to take.

A long hour passed; I gingerly put my key in the door and stepped inside. Every light was on, Vada in bed asleep and though normally neat, her shoes had been kicked off, stockings in the middle of the floor, dress on the foot of the bed, disarray big time. I turned off the lights, stretched out on the living room couch exhausted and went to sleep. About 2:00 in the morning she poked me awake, asked me why I was there rather than in our bed where I belonged? It was over, forgotten; in her mind it never happened.

Once an art student here at the University of Nebraska where we met, she had pursued this talent and inclination all her life. One of Alzheimer's first manifestations was her feeling that her disciplined hands were betraying her. The deftness with lines, shadings, and colors were no longer reliable. The easels, sketchpads, brushes, and paint tubes were placed on back shelves where they would no longer be seen to remind her of what she had lost. When the Museum of Nebraska Art in Kearney asked for permanent possession of three of her student works from the 1930-31 term of fine arts at the University of Nebraska, it seemed the right place for them to be forever. There is reference to her Alzheimer's being what wrested her talent from her and how it strikes with such random and robs so many. The Vada Kinman Oldfield Alzheimer's Research Fund we've established at the University of Nebraska Foundation is based on our long time belief that grief and mourning are not enough. When there is a well-lived and well-loved life involved, why not extend its inspiration forever in a helping and constructive role

for mankind? Our agreement with the Foundation provides that our trust send \$20,000 every Christmas for all of time to come (\$10,000 for a grant to researchers at the Nebraska Medical Center and \$10,000 which will assume endowment configuration, only the income spendable). Every century the endowment will grow \$1,000,000 and my Vada will be a relentless enemy of aging ailments. Our dream is that perhaps there will be a Vada-sponsored researcher who will discover a way to slow or limit or even cure this dreaded affliction. Long shot, some say, but my Vada was a fighter, not a giver-upper. And now she has all the time in the world. The biggest most dismaying characteristic of Alzheimer's is that no matter how many "what if" measures we mount, it finds its way around them. First thing on the caregiver's awakening each new day is to put on apprehensions before anything else. The most common caregiver frustration is that terrible, almost accusing situation that the victim no longer knows who he or she is. As if that was the victim's fault when it's the fault of the affliction. It is the obligation of the caregiver by frequency of presence to help the victim remember who you are.

In the caring facility where Vada was, was a lady who had been a well paid behind the camera figure with the TV series Charlie's Angels. Her daughter is a social biggie, who drives a Mercedes station wagon, lives three miles away, and visits her mother on Thanksgiving and Christmas. Last Christmas she rushed in, told her wheel-chaired mother how wonderful it was to see her. And her mother said: "Who are you?" Charity may begin at home, but sometimes cruelty does too.

The principal recognition I would ask that you consider on this special night is that there is always something you can do. Recognition's can be for courage, for trying, for slowing bewilderment, for creating comfort and serenity or for reducing worries and uneasiness. What Vada and I are trying to do is only a drop in the bucket in research requirements, but it's our drop in the bucket. If it causes others to take similar steps, it will help fill the bucket with greater capabilities. Hand wringing doesn't help; it requires that each of us do something about Alzheimer's to get where we must go.

Never Give In

DON'T COMPROMISE ON YOUR PROFESSIONALISM

Address by HECTOR MCCLEAN, MP, *Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago*
Delivered to Penn State Harrisburg, Spring 1999 Commencement Address, Hershey Park Arena,
Hershey, Pennsylvania, May 15, 1999

Distinguished members of the board of trustees; Provost John Bruhn; members of faculty and staff; members of the board of advisers; members of the alumni society; understandably elated and proud parents, spouses, relatives and friends of the graduating candidates; "the Class of 99," distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am grateful to Provost Bruhn for inviting me to be with you on this your very special and important day.

Although I could easily feel humbled and inadequate in this distinguished company, I welcome the opportunity to share some thoughts with you — you, who represent those three important groups — parents, faculty and students.

There is always temptation on occasions such as this, for a Commencement speaker to try to emulate some great man or woman who has made an indelible mark. In preparing for this address, I was sorely tempted so to do and follow in the footsteps of that late and famous statesman, Sir Winston Churchill. He was once asked, and accepted the invitation, to give the Commencement address at Harrow, the renowned feeder College for Oxford University in the United Kingdom. It is documented that on the big day, 29th October, 1941, the great Sir Winston Churchill, who in early life had difficulty in passing some examinations, approached the podium at the prestigious school, rested his trademark walking stick and top hat on the

lectern, removed his cigar from between his lips and shouted to a hushed and attentive graduating class and assembled audience:

"Never Give In! Never! Never! Never!"

With those six words, the famous Sir Winston then retrieved his hat and cane from the lectern, replaced the cigar to his lips, left the rostrum, and sat down; his Commencement address having ended. I need not tell you that his was the shortest Commencement address ever given at that famous institution of learning, or anywhere else for that matter, but many believe that the message conveyed by Sir Winston was never forgotten by those for whom it was intended.

As for myself, ladies and gentlemen, I would not attempt to put my feet into the shoes of Sir Winston, nor will I try to be as dramatic as the great man. Instead, I crave your indulgence to point you, the graduates, in the general direction of professionalism, and appeal to the parents, spouses, relatives, friends and teachers, to continue in a special way, to be supportive of these young starry-eyed men and women whom we salute here today, as they graduate and commence on what, to many of them, would be a new and exciting journey.

It is instructive that we are gathered on the occasion of what is termed in North America a "commencement exercise." As one whose higher education was limited in the main to Britain, I am always struck by the fact that in Britain one usually refers to a similar occasion as a "graduation." Whereas the word "graduation" suggests an ending, the word "commencement" always means a beginning. I consider it important that the hundreds of deserving undergraduate, masters and doctoral degree candidates gathered before us, should appreciate that today we all join in celebrating with them, what really is a beginning. One may well describe it as the first day of the rest of their lives as professionals, as many of them take that first step and move from the realm of learning to that of earning.

The world in which we live has undergone major transformation in the last century. It has been said that the world is a global village. As we prepare to embark upon the new century and millennium, we will be faced with more and more complex challenges which will call for men and women of intellect, dedication, insight and compassion who are truly professional, if we are to solve the many puzzles with which humanity is confronted. This is one of the reasons why so many of us applaud you students and degree candidates knowing full well your potential, you having run the gruelling course and emerged victorious from an institution of the highest repute.

As you today become more professional, I urge that you remember always to draw a distinction between being professionals and professionalism. Unfortunately not every person who attends College and graduates as a professional, exhibits professionalism. As products of this University, you should charge yourselves with seeking after professionalism, which should be regarded as a state of mind which demands that you consistently give of your best. By so doing, you will undoubtedly meet the expectations of the many, who stand proudly in your corner and take delight in thinking that they have contributed, in some way, to your well-deserved success. You should always remain determined to make the best even better.

Ladies and gentlemen, as I identify with and congratulate so many who are so deserving, may I address the three main categories of persons assembled here, by sharing some of the beautiful words which the Persian philosopher Khalil Gibran, addressed to parents, teachers and those about to em-

bark upon work, such as many of today's graduating candidates will be doing:

To the parents, spouses, relatives and friends, I, like Sir Winston Churchill, suggest that you never give up on your loved ones, who now commence upon another stage of their lives, and may you remember, as Khalil Gibran wrote:

"Your children are not your children.

They are the sons and daughters of Life's longing for itself.

They come through you, but not from you.

And though they are with you, yet they belong not to you.

You may give them your love, but not your thoughts,

For they have their own thoughts.

You may house their bodies, but not their souls,

For their souls dwell in the house of tomorrow, which you cannot visit, not even in your dreams.

You may strive to be like them, but seek not to make them like you,

For life goes not backward nor tarries with yesterday.

You are the bows from which your children, as living arrows, are sent forth.

The archer sees the mark upon the path of the infinite, and He bends you with His might, that His arrows may go swift and far.

Let your bending in the archer's hand be for gladness;

For even as He loves the arrow that flies, so, He loves also, the bow that is stable."

To the professors, lecturers and teachers I say: as Gibran philosophised:

"No man can reveal to you aught but that which already lies half asleep in the dawning of your knowledge.

The teacher who walks in the shadow of the temple, among his followers, gives not of his wisdom, but rather of his faith and his lovingness.

If he is indeed wise, he does not bid you enter the house of his wisdom, but rather, leads you to the threshold of your own mind.

The astronomer may speak to you of his understanding of space, but he cannot give you his understanding.

The musician may sing to you of the rhythm which is in all space, but he cannot give you the ear which arrests the rhythm, nor the voice that echoes it.

And he who is versed in the science of numbers can tell of the regions of weight and measure, but he cannot conduct you thither.

For the vision of one man, lends not its wings to another man.

And even as each one of you stands alone in God's knowledge, so must each one of you be alone, in his knowledge of God and in his understanding of the earth."

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, I say to the few hundred students whom we salute today and who have met and/or surpassed the high academic requirements of this University, and have now earned the right to be conferred with degrees, and most of whom, will shortly be embarking upon the world of work: pay some attention to the words of the immortal Gibran, who advised:

"You work that you may keep pace with the earth, and the soul of the earth.

For to be idle is to become a stranger unto the seasons, and to step out of life's procession, that marches in majesty and proud submission towards the infinite.

When you work, you are a flute through whose heart the

whispering of the hours turns to music.

Which of you would be a reed, dumb and silent, when all else sings together in unison?

Always, you have been told that work is a curse, and labour a misfortune.

But I say to you that when you work, you fulfill a part of earth's furthest dream, assigned to you when that dream was born."

And in keeping yourself with labour you are in truth loving life,

And to love life through labour, is to be intimate with life's inmost secret.

But if you, in your pain, call birth an affliction, and the support of the flesh a curse written upon your brow, then I answer, that naught but the sweat of your brow shall wash away that which is written.

You have been told also, that life is darkness, and in your weariness you echo what was said by the weary. And I say, that life is indeed darkness, save when there is urge.

And all urge is blind, save when there is knowledge. And all knowledge is vain, save when there is work. And all work is empty, save when there is love. And when you work with love, you bind yourself to yourself, and to one another, and to God.

And what is it to work with love?

It is to weave the cloth, with threads drawn from your heart, even as if your beloved were to wear that cloth. It is to build a house with affection, even as if your beloved were to dwell in that house.

It is to sow seeds with tenderness and reap the harvest with joy, even as if your beloved were to eat the fruit.

It is to charge all things you fashion, with a breath of your own spirit,

And to know that all the blessed dead are standing about you, and watching.

Often have I heard you say, as if speaking in sleep, "he who works in marble, and finds the shape of his own soul in the stone, is nobler than he who ploughs the soil.

And he who seizes the rainbow to lay it on a cloth in the likeness of man, is more than he who makes the sandals for our feet."

But I say, not in sleep, but in the over wakefulness of noon-tide, that the wind speaks not more sweetly to the giant oaks, than to the least of all the blades of grass;

And he alone is great, who turns the voice of the wind into a song, made sweeter by his own loving.

Work is love made visible.

And if you cannot work with love, but only with distaste, it is better that you should leave your work, and sit at the gate of the temple, and take alms of those who work with joy.

For if you bake bread with indifference, you bake a bitter bread, that feeds but half man's hunger.

And if you grudge the crushing of the grapes, your grudge distills a poison in the wine.

And if you sing, though as angels, and love not the singing, you muffle man's ears to the voices of the day, and the voices of the night.

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, may I remind us, that the measure of a man's character is not what he gets from his ancestors, but what he leaves his descendants. May we also remember that we should always pray to the Almighty that when we are wrong, He should help us to change; and that when we are right, He should make it easy for others to live with us.

Congratulations to all you bright-eyed candidates for degrees! I say to you, as Sir Winston Churchill said, "Never Give In." It is my hope that you will never compromise on the professionalism which you would have developed at this great institution over the arduous years you spent here.

Thanks for allowing me to share some little thoughts with you. May God bless you all, and reward you abundantly!

Navigating The Technology Jungle

APPLICATIONS OF EMERGING BIOMEDICAL TECHNOLOGIES

Address by DOUGLAS E. OLESEN, *President and CEO, Battelle*

Delivered to Conference on Medical Technology and Quality Health Care: A 21st Century Perspective, Chicago, Illinois, June 23, 1999

It's a real pleasure to have the opportunity to join this outstanding roster of speakers and talk with you this morning about the medical industry and this fascinating and complex behemoth we call technology.

Yesterday, Bill Dwyer drew an interesting picture of the awesome changes that would be hitting the medical and health care industry because of new discoveries in biotechnology and other areas. And Dr. Alan Guttmacher shed more light on the future of health care and the ethical issues this new technology will bring about. They've done a great job of leading us to a high perch where we can look out on the horizon and see an exciting future that's bulging with opportunity.

It's fascinating to gaze ahead at this incredible future and try to imagine how we'll be improving patient care and which of the

many technologies on the horizon will have the greatest impact. We do that at Battelle as part of our normal course of business.

Sometimes, our vision has been very keen. For instance, back in the late '40s and early '50s, we invested a lot of time and money into developing a process that about 25 major corporations had turned down. We believed in the process, though, and we kept up our development efforts and investment in it. Eventually, we traded the technology for stock in a little company called Haloid. We called the process xerography, and Haloid ran with the technology and even changed their name to Xerox. The deal turned out pretty well for them and for us.

We haven't always been quite so visionary, though. Back in the early '70s, one of our research teams developed a way to store music on discs digitally. We knew it was an interesting

You might find yourself a redundancy, but you will probably find a new position as an expert on e-commerce! Thanks very

much for your attention, and now I'd like to answer any questions.

Ambition

YOUR IDENTITY AND SUCCESS

Address by NATHAN O. HATCH, *Provost, University of Notre Dame*

Delivered to the Graduating Class of Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts, May 16, 1999

President Litfin, Trustees and Faculty, Honored guests, family, and friends, and most of all, the Wheaton Class of 1999. I am delighted to be with you today, to share this milestone event with you and your families, to join the celebration of your accomplishments.

This is a pivotal day in the life of each one who is graduating, one not to be taken for granted. I trust you will take time to savor the moment, to reflect and reminisce about its importance for you, your family, and the wonderful friends that have become part of your life in this special place.

Today also reflects a profound moment of transition, as you look ahead, some to graduate or professional school, some to teach, some to seminary, some to volunteer service, some to the entry-level career positions — and some, dare I say some, to the possible dismay of parents, to ongoing deliberation about what to do next.

This afternoon, my remarks are directed to all of you who are graduating, those of you for whom the path ahead is clear and even more for those whose future is uncertain. My subject today is this: how do young and talented leaders such as yourselves come to terms with ambition?

At a moment such as this it is only natural that you think intensely about what it is you want to do and want to accomplish with your life. I recall vividly the intense feelings that washed over me when I sat in your place some three decades ago. I had not charted the path ahead, whether to go into academics, into law, or into the ministry, but I remember the intense drive I felt to do something that would count, that would make a difference.

These inner wrestlings are intensified at this time for two simple reasons, the first being that you do not know what you can accomplish and how far you can go. Many of you may feel like the young Abraham Lincoln, whose early career, without much distinction, left him with more than his share of self-doubt. From his teenage years onward, Lincoln was keen to advance, pursuing a rigorous program of reading, study, and self-improvement. His law partner William Herndon would say later that Lincoln's ambition was "a little engine that knew no rest." Yet in 1841, the melancholy Lincoln, doubting whether his life would amount to anything, confessed to a friend, "I would be more than willing to die, except that I have done nothing to make any human remember that I have lived." All of us aspire to use our God-given talents to do something for which others will remember that we have lived.

And it is not only self-doubt that can be troubling. For those of us called to be followers of Christ, yearnings for accomplishment or success can be seen as the siren song of the world. We take seriously our Savior's call and example that to find life, we must lose it, that a seed must die before it lives. When the

Zebedee family clamored for James and John to occupy the seats of honor in the kingdom, our Lord redefined, even inverted, the priorities of his kingdom. What constituted greatness and prominence: it was to serve, not to be served.

Are we to nourish ambition as it wells up within our souls, or are we to kill it off? Does ambition constitute a virtue or a vice? Which of these American proverbs are we to heed: "Ride your ambitions to the skies," or "Ambition destroys its possessor." How are we to discriminate among ambitions that are proper and those that are inappropriate?

In the past, ambition was condemned as unnatural, even immoral. The Latin word *ambitio* referred to those who would scurry about soliciting popular favor, drumming up votes, rather than allowing people to recognize true worth and character. In the age of William Shakespeare and John Milton ambition was often equated with the sin of Lucifer, or of Adam and Eve, the unlawful desire to be of higher estate than God had intended. Many of Shakespeare's protagonists like Richard III, Henry IV, and Macbeth seek to reinvent the identities bequeathed to them and find themselves cut off from their true selves, their lives given over to shipwreck. "I charge thee, fling away Ambition," Shakespeare wrote in the play *Henry VIII*. "By that sin fell the angels." Ambition seemed like rebellion in a society that defined one's identity largely by birth and inherited status.

In the modern world, and particularly in America, by contrast, we have come to idealize opportunity, mobility, and progress. Onward and upward has been the prevailing American spirit. We idealize self-made figures like Abraham Lincoln, the rail splitter who went to the White House; Frederick Douglas, the ex-slave who became a learned and articulate advocate for his people; Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, who without education or status, transformed the scale of business corporations. In America the conviction is as natural as the air we breathe that you are what you make yourself.

Let me return to the central issue. Today, as a graduate of Wheaton College, it is easy for you to be caught in the vice grip of conflicting expectations: the drive to accomplish great things for noble purpose, on the one hand, and to lose one's life that one may find it, on the other.

How does one cope with this abiding tension? This afternoon let me offer four simple words of advice.

1. Don't attempt to stifle ambition itself. Your finest hopes and dreams spring from the core of your very being; those given great energy and drive are burying their talents if they do not use them. The process of suppressing ambition reminds me of Dorothy Sayers' description of "trying to force a large and obstreperous cat into a small basket. As fast as you tuck in the head, the tail comes out, when you have at length confined the hind legs, the fore paws come out and scratch; and when, after

Humility?

a painful struggle, you shut down the lid, the dismal wailings of the imprisoned animal suggest that some essential dignity in the creature has been violated and a wrong done to its nature." The drive to accomplish is a good gift of God. The question is what are its ends, what are its means, by what measures do you judge success?

2. The ambitious path is a dangerous one. Ambition is not evenly distributed, as Joseph Epstein has noted: "Some people burn with it, while others, apparently wrapped in metaphysical asbestos, never feel its heat." For those of you, like Lincoln, whose ambition is a little engine that never rests, you will trod a path of great opportunity and of great peril.

Let me mention two reasons why ambition's road is dangerous:

A. Success rarely quenches ambition's thirst. Benjamin Franklin, an ambitious man if ever there was one, once noted that ambition never has the good fortune to satisfy us. Its appetite grows keener by indulgence. Two of the most famous people I know seem to hunger for achievement and recognition after they have made it to the top. To me it seemed odd, and sad, that after all of their well-deserved achievements, they could not simply relax and revel in all that had been accomplished. At retirement age, one of these persons was bitterly disappointed at not receiving another Presidential appointment.

B. Being driven to succeed often stems from a desire for longing and appreciation, as C. S. Lewis once noted, our longing to be in the inner circle of things, to hear a profound "well done." Yet the style of ambitious people often repels those around us who esteem and love we crave. How often have you secretly wished that the person who breaks the curve, who wins the race, who is most popular will be shown to have clay feet, will somehow stumble. I recall vividly the experience of the golfer Gregg Norman who experienced the adulation of fans for the first time not when he was a champion, but when he experienced a devastating collapse of his game in the Masters' Tournament. Over ambition often backfires because its gravi-

tational field repels rather than attracts most people.

3. Be ruthless and sober in scrutinizing your own ambition. At Notre Dame we had a wonderful Assistant Dean who for forty years advised pre-law students. Bob Waddick was an old Navy salt who called a spade a spade; he deflated more pretentious and naive students than anyone I know. He would look at a student's ability, their record, and their work habits and tell them exactly what level of law school they should attend. Bob was so true in his judgments that law schools unfailingly accepted those students he would recommend.

All of us need this kind of ruthless advice from time to time. The American myth that we can make ourselves anything we want to be sometimes leads to naiveté about our abilities, or even self-deception. In the Christian community, where we are called upon not to think of ourselves more highly than we ought, it is even more imperative to form our identity in a process of careful listening and searching for advice.

4. My final word of advice about ambition is this: Who you are — your identity — has nothing to do with how successful you become. Our culture forges a tight link between success and identity — your accomplishments give you worth — but our Lord and his church teaches just the opposite: "What is my only comfort in life and in death?" the Heidelberg Catechism begins, "That I am not my own but belong, body and soul, to a faithful savior." All of us, those who are driven and those who are relaxed, those at the top of the class and those who have struggled, those who today relish the future and those who are gripped with fear — all of us derive our tremendous worth because God in Christ calls us sons and daughters and welcomes us into the wonderful banquet of his kingdom. Our identity rests not in our our fickle strivings but in the embrace of his mighty and unailing arms. Leave Wheaton today with a passion to ground your identity in that love and acceptance — that priceless treasure before which all of your achievements will pale.

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Stand For What You Believe In

BUILDING YOUR LIFE THE RIGHT WAY

Address by JANET RENO, *Attorney General for the United States*

Commencement Address to Wilkes University, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, May 15, 1999

Thank you, Chris, for this very special day. This morning I looked out the window, looked across the river and felt I was looking at America. This is a wonderful city and a wonderful university. And to the graduates, I wish you well. I wish you well. You've done it. And I am so impressed with the students that I have met this morning. And to the families who have made this possible, you should be so very proud. I have been impressed by the realism of these students and I have been deeply touched by their idealism and I hope you never ever lose it. I have listened to their examples of service and their commitment to service in the community. I am often asked, what do you think of young people today? And my answer is a very, very vehement, I think they are perfectly wonderful. They want so to contribute, to make a difference, to help others, to contribute to their community; they're funny, they're witty, they're creative. Yes, they're mischievous at times. But you are perfectly wonderful and I salute you for the generation that you will be in this next century.

But you have hopes and fears and you have question marks. You have a place to draw some answers to those question marks from this wonderful university; from the people you have met here you will draw strength and wisdom, understanding and faith that will be with you all the days of your life. And you will have friends that will be with you for all of your life. Lessons learned here will guide you in success and failure, joy and sorrow. Wisdom gained here will chart your course through a world which will change before your very eyes.

How do you navigate it? Don't let the vastness of the world overwhelm you. Take it one problem at a time, one day at a time and don't let it intimidate you.

How? First of all, be yourself and believe in yourself. I began to learn that lesson when I was eight years old. We lived in a little wooden house; we were outgrowing it. My father did not have enough money to hire a contractor to build a bigger house. My mother announced that she was going to build a house. And we said what do you know about building a house? And she said, I'm going to learn. And she went to the brick mason, the electrician and the plumber and asked how do you build a house? She then came home and over the next two years she dug the foundation with her own hands with a pick and shovel, put in the electrical system and the plumbing.

I've always liked plumbers better than electricians because the electricians wouldn't give her a permit because she was a woman and she had to send daddy down to answer the questions while she stood behind him.

She and I lived in that house until she died, just before I came to Washington and it is still my home. Every time I have come down that driveway over these years with a knotty problem to solve or a crisis that seemed insurmountable, that house standing there has been a symbol to me that you can do anything you want to if it's the right thing to do and if you try hard enough.

But that house taught me another very important lesson when Hurricane Andrew hit it. The winds began to howl, it was about

three o'clock in the morning, with an unearthly sound, trees crashed around the house. My mother got up, sat in her chair, folded her hands and was totally unafraid although she was old and frail and dying. For she knew how she had built that house. She put in the right materials, she had not cut corners, she had built it the right way. When we came out the next morning, the world looked like a World War I battlefield, but the house had lost one shingle and some screens.

Build your life the right way, brick by brick, piece by piece, lesson by lesson and you will have the strength to withstand adversity. Secondly, stand for what you believe to be right, don't let people push you around, don't let people use polls to influence you. I ran for office once and on the campaign trail I've talked about what I've stood for; some of it was then politically popular. But a person I met on the campaign trail said, Janet, just keep on doing what you believe to be right, don't pussyfoot, don't equivocate, don't talk out of both sides of your mouth and you wake up the next morning feeling good about yourself. But if you pussyfoot, if you try to be Miss Popularity and tell everybody what you think they want to hear, you'll wake up the next morning feeling miserable.

Well, I lost my election and I didn't feel very good the next morning, but I remembered what my friend taught me and it has held me in good stead ever since. It also helps to know that losing is not the end of the world; somebody put a biography of Abraham Lincoln on my bedside table that morning and it helped to know that he had lost an election, too.

When you have to make big decisions, prepare for them, analyze the issues carefully, learn as much of the facts as possible in the time afforded, apply your knowledge, consult others and then answer the question, what is the right thing to do. If you make the wrong decisions, you know you will be able to live with it because you tried your best to do what was right. And then if you made the wrong decision, just pick yourself up, dust yourself off, and move ahead for there's a lot more to be done in this world and you don't need to stand behind.

Thirdly, make sure there's somebody there to keep you on the straight and narrow. Poke fun at yourself, laugh at yourself. If that doesn't work, make sure you have at least two brothers who are very good at poking a hole in your balloon.

Fourth, finally I commend to you a promise I made to myself when I graduated from law school; never do anything you don't enjoy doing. Life is too short and there are too many interesting things to do. And of all the experiences that I have had, none can match public service. Yes, you get cussed at, fussed at and figuratively beaten around the ears, but it's worth it. To use the law the right way, to try to help make America a safer, better place for all its citizens to live. I urge you to consider public service at some point in your life. You may be a banker and you may be the best banker in the whole county. You may have a customer friendly bank and you may be honest as the day is long. And that in itself is service, but you will also have time judging by what I have heard from this class to tutor a young

tures and entrenched constituencies. Fear and resistance to change will no doubt hamper the process. The Clinton health care reform proposal left some with deep suspicions of any kind of overhaul. Similarly, years of heated debate of the federal budget have left others with fear that the federal government will renege on its contract with the nation's elderly. And, not surprisingly, decades of pharmaceutical industry anxiety that Medicare's coverage of medicines would lead to government price controls have created skepticism that our particular industry indeed cares about the elderly and is open to change.

I can only tell you that Merck is fully committed to change along the lines I have discussed today — not just for Medicare but for health care systems around the world.

If a social and economic history of America tells us any-

thing, it is that those who do not anticipate the changes ahead are left behind. Merck has always been in the forefront of innovation — in medical discovery and in health care system change — and we are determined to remain on the forefront.

In America, we have always had great faith in our medical and scientific prowess. We never stop believing in the potential for technological advancements, for better treatments, for cures, even in the face of setbacks and failure. We also have confidence in the future of corporate America, as the Dow-Jones and mutual funds and thousands of new start-ups tell us. Someday soon, I think we'll share this kind of conviction in the future of our health care system — that we will in the next century provide the best of medicine to the greatest number of people.

Information and Communication

A LIFE WELL LIVED

Address by TOM BROKAW, *Network News Broadcaster*

Commencement Address to the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California, June 11, 1999

One hundred years ago another class of '99 was anticipating a new century, rich with the possibility of the new technologies — electricity, the automobile, the first tentative steps toward flight. The men who controlled the railroads and steel and oil were amassing great fortunes and making America the new industrial and financial capital of the world. The labor leaders aroused armies of workers to claim their fair share.

As it turns out, all of that exciting and empowering new technology was in its seminal stages, primitive, really, compared to what was to come — the splitting of the atom, jet travel and the space age, the mapping of the body's molecular structure, the expansive new universe of cyber-technology.

God, the possibilities for advancing the human condition and expanding the cosmos of intellectual understanding.

In fact, giant steps were taken, great leaps well beyond what the most prescient member of the class of 1899 could have anticipated.

The 20th century — what a triumph.

And what an ugly scar on the face of history.

Two world wars with millions of casualties, holocausts in the heart of Western civilization, in Southeast Asia and in Africa, killing millions more. An ideology designed to empower the masses became one of the most ruthless instruments of oppression. Rival nations pointed at each other terrible weapons capable of destroying life on Earth as we know it.

In the closing days of this momentous time, in the American culture, maniacal homicide committed by school boys shocked the nation into a dialogue of ill defined blame — while in Europe the most powerful political and military alliance on the globe made a clumsy but successful attempt to neutralize a murderous rant and set off a refugee crisis of historic proportions.

The short lesson: technology is not enough, not even when comes with all the bells and whistles, stock options, sabbaticals and a Gulfstream.

The long lesson? It is not enough to wire the world if you short-circuit the soul. It is not enough to probe the hostile

environments of distant galaxies if we fail to resolve the climate of mindless violence, ethnic and racial hate here in the bosom of Mother Earth. It is not enough to identify the gene that predetermines the prospect of Alzheimer's disease if we go through the prime of life with a closed mind.

I am incapable of helping you advance your knowledge in many of the subjects that define your generation, and brought you to Cal Tech especially the new technology. Frankly, I still don't understand how the picture gets from where I work to your television set. I call it a miracle and leave it at that.

So I am all the more in awe of your capacity to change the gears on all the machinery of the world, broadly speaking.

But I have learned something of the political and social possibilities — and failings — of mankind in my 37 years as a journalist.

First, for all of its shocking and brutal stretches of oppression and extermination, the most powerful single idea of the 20th century is personal freedom. There is so much more political and individual freedom at the end of the 20th century than at the beginning and that is a tribute to the enduring and inherent instinct for self-determination, even in the darkest shadows of tyrannical control.

But freedom alone is not enough. If we use our freedom only for selfish purposes. Or as cover for perpetuating a fund corrupt system of campaign finances, we will have abused freedom. If we fail to first recognize then deal with these societal cancers in our system we will have squandered a priceless legacy left to us by what I have come to call THE GREATEST GENERATION. Some of them are here today, although they would not have you know it for they are characteristically modest. They prefer to let their lives and their sacrifices speak from them.

They are the men and women who came of age in the Great Depression when economic despair was on the land like a plague. There were great bands of migrant workers, drifting across the American landscape, looking for enough of a wage to get through the next day. In families youngsters quit school to go

to work — not to buy a car for themselves or a new video game. They quit to earn enough to help their family get through another week.

Then, just as the economic gloom was beginning to lift, World War. Two powerful and ruthless regimes, one east, the other west, were determined to choke off the idea of political freedom, political and ethnic pluralism — and to impose their twisted ideology on vast areas of the globe with brutal military might.

Here, the young men and women who had just been tested by the Great Depression were to be tested again — in the battlefields thousands of miles across the Atlantic or thousands of miles across the Pacific. In bitter European cold and the suffocating heat of the jungle. In the air and on the seas, they fought — often hand to hand — for more than three years, day in and day out. More than 12 million in uniform, millions more at home on the assembly lines, converting the American economy into a war machine overnight. Women went to work where only men had prevailed — in the cabs of trucks, in research labs, in ship building yards.

It was a tense, dangerous and vibrant time. The world was at stake — and at a time in their lives when their days should have been filled with the rewards of starting careers and families, their nights filled with love and innocent adventure, this generation was fighting for survival — theirs and the worlds.

They prevailed through extraordinary acts of courage and heroism by ordinary people from the farms and the small towns, from the pavement of big cities, from the bucolic and privileged surroundings of great universities.

They saved the world. Nothing less.

Then, they came rushing home to go to college in record numbers, marry in record numbers, give us new art, breakthroughs in science and industry, expanded political freedoms and, always, a sense of the possible. They re-built their enemies and drew the line against a new form of oppression rising like a dark cloud out of Moscow.

They weren't perfect: they were too slow to recognize the equal place of women — and racial minorities, especially Black and Asian Americans. But those women and Black and Asian Americans were part of the tensile strength of this generation for they never gave up.

They all recognized that for all of the genius of the American political system and the framework of laws, beginning with the Constitution, the enduring strength of this immigrant nation has been its common ground, wide enough and strong enough to accommodate all races and beliefs.

Now great fault lines run through that common ground. We have allowed it to be so fractured we are in danger of becoming less than the sum of our parts. We have become the culture of cheap confrontation rather than resolution.

We have political leaders too eager to divide for their selfish

aims rather than unify for the common good. And, yes, we have a mass media much too inclined to exploit those instincts. The quick hit has become a suitable substitute for thoughtful dialogue in both the political and journalistic arena.

In the business arena we celebrate the astonishing good fortune of those at the top without raising enough questions about the economic opportunity of those at the bottom.

I wonder, is this what the GREATEST GENERATION made all those sacrifices for? Did we win the war — then — and the cold War later to lose our way?

Francis Fukuyama, the provocative student of social and historical trends, has given voice to the concerns of many, most recently *THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY*. He concludes that in this post industrial information age the old conceit that social order has to come from a centralized, rational, bureaucratic hierarchy is outdated. Instead, he argues that in the 21st century societies and corporations will de-centralize and devolve power and rely on people to be self organizing, using the new tools of this age.

Social order norms have been disrupted by new technologies before. The shift from rural agrarian to urban industrial economies representing only the most recent example; the impact of freeways and jet travel in establishing new living patterns. California is testimony to those trends.

So now, in this new age of spell-binding possibilities for communication, information retrieval, marketing and proselytizing we are undergoing another major shift in the norms of how society is organized for every day life, work and play.

It is wildly exciting to be on the frontier of such an empowering era.

But no piece of soft-ware, no server or search engine will offer you the irreplaceable rewards of a loving personal relationship, the strengths and comfort of a real community of shared values and common dreams, the moral underpinning of a life lived well, whatever the financial scorecard.

Nor will this new technology by itself make you more racially tolerant — more sensitive to the plight of the disenfranchised — more courageous to take a firm stand for what you know is right.

These are mere tools in your hands. And your hands are an extension not only of your mind but also of your heart and soul.

Taken altogether they're a powerful combination.

Use them well.

→ Take care of your Mother / Mother Earth.

→ Become color blind.

↔ Hate hate.

→ Fight violence.

→ And take care of each other.

You have a whole new century to shape. I envy you, but I want to stand aside now because you have work to do.

Buck is easy to make. Tough to make lots of bucks — easier to make a difference.

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The Five Biggest Political Mistakes Of The 90's

WE MUST SEIZE THE MOMENT WHEN OPPORTUNITY ARISES

Address by PETE du PONT, *Former Governor of Delaware, Policy Chairman, National Center for Policy Analysis*
Delivered to Hatton W. Sumners Distinguished Lecture Series, Dallas, Texas, May 18, 1999

The 20th century has been a great one for big policy ideas, both good and bad. In the bad corner: communism, fascism and socialism, three concepts based on the idea that government is smarter than people. The biggest and baddest was communism. It killed tens of millions of people and crushed the spirits and deprived of opportunity hundreds of millions more. It kept the world at war — The Cold War — for 45 years, and was the dominating factor of two generations of American foreign policy.

Socialism and its driving wheel, centralized planning, is a bad idea we're not entirely unfamiliar with. From the romantic view Western intellectuals took of Soviet central planning to the pro-government bias of Keynesian economics, America has sipped from the socialist cup from time to time, with uniformly bad results.

Sometimes we stop it before it can cause harm, like President Clinton's plan to socialize American medicine. Other times we embrace socialism; for example, business subsidies to farmers, steel companies, or exporters, which cost money and reduce opportunity. From the welfare system of the '60s, to the vast government bureaucracies and regulatory apparatus of the welfare state, big government mostly hurts people. Rather than helping people out of poverty, for example, the welfare system condemned not only them but also their children to ongoing poverty.

But it isn't all bad news. There have been good policy ideas in the 20th century, too. Winston Churchill's response to Germany's aggression was one. Margaret Thatcher's privatization was another. Ronald Reagan's vision of individualism was a third, with tax cuts, deregulation, and smaller government. And not to be partisan about it, John F. Kennedy also understood that when you cut taxes, you grow the economy. Kennedy's tax cut sparked annual GDP gains averaging 5 percent during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

But all this is history. What about the 1990s? What about the current state of ideas? The current economic expansion, encouraged by the good idea that government should keep out of the way, has been good news for most American families. The idea that we must build a missile defense is a good idea of the 1980s whose time seems to have come.

But the '90s have seen some bad ideas that have cost Americans opportunities they otherwise could have realized.

The decade got off to a bad start in 1991. When George Bush reneged on his "no new taxes pledge," and brokered a budget deal that sent spending up along with taxes, it set up a stunning Republican defeat for the White House in 1992.

A second bad idea was Bill Clinton's: That military strength didn't matter. Since 1992, we've seen a steady decrease in military preparedness and a constant de-emphasizing of the importance of the military. In real terms, defense spending has fallen every year of the Clinton administration.

In 1960, defense accounted for more than 50 percent of all federal spending. Last year it was a little over 16 percent.

So now, in Kosovo, the air force is almost out of cruise missiles and must rely on B-52 bombers that are 40 years old.

The Navy has been forced to scale back operations in the Persian Gulf to carry out its responsibilities in Yugoslavia, because it has no excess capacity to spare.

There's serious doubt that the Army could sustain a ground campaign in the Balkans for more than a few months without straining its already tight manpower beyond the breakpoint.

And it's not as if we can quickly snap back; it takes time to renew production of things like stealth fighters and cruise missiles.

A third political and policy mistake of the '90s has been the failure to reform taxes and reduce the tax burden. Ignoring clear evidence of the boom that the Reagan and Kennedy tax cuts provided, we've continued under George Bush and Bill Clinton to increase the tax burden and ignore tax cuts. Americans' tax burden is up 45 percent since 1993. Federal tax receipts as a percent of GDP stand at 21.8%, higher than at any time in history, in peace or war, since 1776. That is absurd. If taxes need to be raised in tough times, they should be reduced in good times when government doesn't need the money.

A fourth political and policy mistake of the '90s has been the politicization of the Justice Department. To merely skim the surface: Bill Lan Lee, who can't get Senate approval, is serving as acting head of Justice's Civil Rights Division in violation of the law that says an acting official can't serve more than 120 days without a permanent appointment being made. At one point the acting heads of both the Criminal Division and the Office of Legal Counsel were holding their jobs in violation of the law. Attorney General Janet Reno has ignored recommendations of the director of the FBI and refused to appoint independent counsels to investigate serious violations of the campaign finance laws by both the President and Vice President. The Justice Department isn't even mentioned in the investigation of espionage by the Chinese and whether it has any kind of connection with campaign contributions. The Justice Department has gone to court to oppose prosecution of some campaign finance offenders, and of course to support President Clinton's efforts to prevent testimony in the Monica Lewinsky case by secret service agents and some of Clinton's advisors.

Which brings me to my final example of mistakes in the '90s: The abandonment of the conservative agenda. Remember 1994? Big Republican victories, big plans for reducing government, big plans for tax reform, market-based Social Security alternatives, Medicare reform, grand gestures, but no beef. None have come to pass. Indeed, last year's inflation — adjusted increase in domestic discretionary spending was the second largest in 21 years. And Republicans have outspent Clinton two of the past three years.

vidual liberty — empowering individuals to choose for themselves the course they wish to follow and the policies they wish to adopt for their own families. Individualism is a powerful idea, and a relatively new one in the history of the world.

Facts, as Ronald Reagan once said, are stubborn things. Ideas on the other hand, can be slippery. There are bad ideas, and good ones. A bad idea — communism for example — may grip a nation for decades; while a good one — market-driven economy — may blossom to full flower in a few short years.

Ideas ebb and flow at their own tempo. So when a leadership opportunity arises, we must seize the moment, for opportunities can be fleeting. As Shakespeare wrote: "There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads on to fortune . . ." We must take the current when it serves or lose our ventures."

Our venture has not prospered in the past few years, so let us rededicate ourselves to its pursuit, take our current when it serves, and lead onto greater fortunes for the cause of liberty.

Struggling Till You Make It

CHOOSING THE FIELD THAT YOU LIKE

Given by JANE BRYANT QUINN, *Consumer Columnist, Newsweek Magazine*
Commencement Address to Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, May 15, 1999

Whenever I hear my official job history read off, I am struck by how misleading it is. Naturally, I never say anything. I'm perfectly happy to get away with whatever I can. But in addressing you, the new graduates of Saint Mary's, I don't think it's right to let that resume stand.

It sounds as if I ascended life's ladder step by glorious step, accompanied by loud applause. If the same thing doesn't start happening to you right away, you may think something is wrong. So here is the flip side of that resume. The things that are written on the back and between the lines.

About Jane Bryant Quinn.

When she graduated from college, she didn't have a job. She didn't go home, because her parents had given away her room.

She eventually got an office job, delivering mail. She worked for a newsletter that failed, then for a line of special magazines that failed. She applied for a number of jobs she didn't get. She worked nights because her daytime salary wasn't enough to pay her bills.

She was twice fired. She had no firm plan for where she was going. When she started a second career in television, after many years in print, the news director took her aside one day and said that everything was fine, except for a few little problems. The problems were her hair, her clothes, her voice and the way she projected her personality, which were all bad.

The official biography shows that I leaped the chasm. The full, uncensored biography shows that I leaped the chasm in two bounds.

Hindsight is, of course, an exact science. In the next life, I plan to be chair of the Senate Hindsight Committee.

The topic today is foresight, otherwise known as "what is going to become of me after I take off this silly hat?"

Some of you will put that question off for a couple of years by going to graduate school. For those of you who are starting careers, or looking for a career to start, the future seems scary. What will you do in real life, and will anyone pay for your health insurance? But think back four years, when most of you started college. Back then, you were coming to something new and wondering what would happen to you. And now you know.

Four years from now, you'll have answered the questions about yourself you have today. Something will happen. Something will turn up. Chance will play a part — a much bigger part than you realize now.

You are entering the economy at a fabulous time. Your luck is being part of Generation X, or what demographers call the Baby Bust.

The Baby Boom, ahead of you, was a big generation. Yours is a smaller one. In fact, yours is the first generation ever in our history to be smaller than the generation that went before. Every year, there are fewer and fewer 21-year-olds. And yet, every year, the economy grows.

That means you're in demand. The brains industries, in particular, need every ounce of brains it can find. Five years ago, students thought they had to specialize for a career in computers or business administration. Now business is competing so vigorously for able people that they're sending limousines even for philosophy majors.

I know what it is like, being liberal artsy. I majored in American Literature, which trained me to lie on my bed and read novels. Today, business seeks lit majors because they offer language and communications skills — like, hopefully. Awesome.

It is a truism that small generations do better than large ones. You'll start at a higher real wage than the Boomers did. You'll get more raises and you'll advance faster in your work. There are great opportunities today and many rewards for educated women of talent and drive.

You will earn enough money to pay my Social Security benefits, and a good thing, too.

Another thing about being part of the Baby Bust — it's terrific for women and minorities. Entry-level job discrimination is well behind us, but there is some jamming at the middle levels and up. By the time you get to those levels, they'll be wide open. Talent will be in short supply, all the way up the line.

As you all know, God made man ... Then He looked him over and said, I can do better than that. Employers have discovered that, too. Women are welcome everywhere.

Furthermore, your college degree remains a first-class ticket to the future — worth every dime you borrowed to get it. You are wealthy people, possessed of an asset of great value. You all know that stocks have been booming up. That's nothing compared with the return that society gets from its investment in people, and that you get for your investment in your wonderful education.

I've been talking about jobs because, at the start, most of you will want one. But many of you will stay home and raise

children for at least part of your life. This free choice you have to work, to be home, to do some of both — is what the feminists marched for 30 years ago.

Back then, you came to Saint Mary's mainly to bag a budding doctor or lawyer — or, at least, that's what your mother hoped. Now you can do that and/or be the doctor or lawyer — or Internet entrepreneur — yourself.

Gloria Steinem said that many of us have become the men we wanted to marry. I must say that I love being married. It's great to find that one special person you want to annoy for the rest of your life.

What gives me such joy today is that you can choose what suits you best. No woman, any more, is driven into a pre-ordained way of life.

In Chinese folk religion, the soul, after death, is ferried across a river into the Underworld to learn its fate. The river is named the What Now.

Starting out in real life, you are crossing the What Now. You have no idea where your choices are going to lead. I knew I wanted to be a journalist, but I came to financial journalism entirely accidentally, as a byproduct of the breaks I got and the people I met.

In looking for work, now or in the future, I urge upon you two things.

First, if you're interested in a particular line of work, take any job in that field. Get in the life. Because once you're in it, you will meet people who will, at unexpected times, lead you to other opportunities. I took a job in the mailroom at Newsweek, where I met the person who led me to my first reporting job on a different publication entirely. At that publication, I met the person who, ten years later, offered me a newspaper column.

That's how the world works. It's not who you know, it's whom you know. Like, definitely. The jobs you hear about, and where you go, usually depend on the people you meet — and to meet people in the field you like, you must get in the life.

The second thing is to consider any job that offers you more responsibility. It might be a job that had never occurred to you to think about ... the way financial reporting had never occurred to me. If you take that more responsible job, you will learn a lot. You will fit yourself for a higher job. And the challenge of a field you hadn't previously considered may pique your interest more than you ever would have thought.

I always found that my interest followed my opportunities rather than the other way around. If the job turns out not to interest you, you have at least gained in competence and knowledge, and have more behind you when you turn to something else. Good judgment, after all comes from experience. And where does experience come from? It comes from ... bad judgment. You always have to take the risk.

You may have several different kinds of jobs in your lifetime, even if it's within the same field — as I went from straight journalism to columns to television. You should take every opportunity to get more education, more training, because it might lead you to a new and interesting place. In my life, I have continually found what I was not looking for, and it turned out well.

Another thing about the working world. I have taken a highly scientific sampling of my personal friends, and researched a conclusion that is almost certainly true.

When we, my friends and I, were all in our twenties, and working in one dark pit or another, we all thought that nothing was happening to us. We seemed to be laboring along, with small rewards and minor gains. Toward our late twenties, most

of us started to think we would never amount to much. But in our thirties, we suddenly took great leaps ahead.

In retrospect, I can see that the scutwork I did in my twenties prepared me — in knowledge, judgement and experience — for the many opportunities that turned up in my thirties. But I didn't know it at the time.

When you are plodding through the indecisive days of lower rung jobs, please remember that I told you that those days would pass. You are making acquaintances who will move ahead with you, and who will form your own personal old-girl network. You are mastering the ground rules of your work. You will be experiencing, I hope, the tremendous pleasure of raising children. You will find that growing older is a pretty good deal, because you are able to do so much more.

I won't even try to imagine the conditions of life ten years from now. Life is the process of getting used to the unexpected.

Wherever our country is in trouble, it's where people have refused to change. Where they predicted that past trends would continue. Where they got tired of meeting new conditions and just plain stopped thinking.

Money magazine once interviewed a group of college graduates. One of them said that the job of his generation was to "create more certainty about the future."

In this, he will almost certainly fail. But the attempt to impose certainty — to button up events that are by their nature open-ended — has done a lot of damage to civilization over the years. It is far better not to know than to believe what isn't true.

Let me tell you what I think is your chief intellectual risk. You risk becoming prisoners of your own vocabularies.

For example, you know in advance that a farmer probably favors government farm programs, when farm prices are down. A banker favors deregulation of the financial system. A drug company executive hates the federal rules on new-drug testing. An ecologist hates lumberjacks. You know what a journalist thinks about the First Amendment, and I have to say that it's a very fine Amendment indeed.

Mark Twain said, "You tell me where a man gets his corn pone and I'll tell you what his opinions are."

But all these people — the farmers, the bankers, the industry or political stereotypes — were once college graduates like you, half listening to the commencement speaker, and wondering what would happen to them.

What happened is that they went into a particular business, learned its ways, and became its prisoner. A prisoner of its pre-existing ideas. A prisoner of its vocabulary. No longer a citizen, just an interest-group member.

Right now, you are new graduates with minds open to many points of view. The great danger ahead is that, when you enter a profession, your mind will pick up its ideas, then close, and sink like a stone.

As an intellect, you may vanish without a trace. The next generation will perceive you as stereotypical farmers, bankers, executives, ecologist, and journalists. You will have become the narrow-minded adults whose attitudes you once failed to understand. You have no idea how easy it is to pass that way.

Our country's greatest philosopher, who is Linus in the cartoon strip Peanuts, says that no problem is so big or so complicated that it cannot be run away from. As you grow older, you will see, all around you, people running away from open inquiry. People who have learned to enjoy the simple art of doing without thinking.

I urge you to keep alive the spirit of inquiry which you have

learned here. I urge you to keep your circle of acquaintance wide, so that you will always have fresh points of view. I hope that you will listen to your critics. If you can't answer them well, maybe they have something. I pray that you will worry if you start sounding like everyone else you know.

You are seeking what author Dorothy Sayers called "the integrity of mind that money cannot buy; the humility in the face of the facts that self-esteem cannot corrupt." This country des-

perately needs citizens who can look beyond their own narrow interest to the interest of the nation as a whole. Who think not just "what's best for me," but what's best for people not like me. What's best for our nation as a whole.

Women of the class of 1999, I commend this country and its institutions into your keeping. I congratulate you. I salute you. I am sure that you will be the most successful class that Saint Mary's ever had.

Nixon, Reagan And Clinton

LEARNING FROM PAST MISTAKES

Address by DAVID M. ABSHIRE, *President-Elect, Center for the Study of The Presidency, Co-founder and Vice Chair, Center for Strategic and International Studies*

Delivered to Fordham University's McNally Amphitheater at Lincoln Center, New York City, New York, May 5, 1999

It is a great honor for me to deliver the Sievers Lecture at this historic Jesuit university. I was of course trained by Jesuits in my doctoral work at Georgetown University. From what I have learned and read, your Dean Sievers was truly a great dean and a role model.

My theme tonight is the need for our next president to learn from the successes and failures, the triumphs and tragedies of the past century of presidential experience. I will focus particularly on Presidents Nixon, Reagan and Clinton. I will also look at what the Center for the Study of the Presidency might contribute in an attempt to transmit the art and character of presidential leadership directly to the President-elect in 2000.

What strikes me about the presidency over much of the outgoing century is the enormous hubris each newly elected President brought to his transition and new office. Churchill was fond of citing the biblical quote, that pride goeth before a fall. Each new President thought he was not going to stumble or fall; he had defeated the outgoing President because the opposing candidate had fallen. The President-elect conducted an intense campaign over issues and ideas, and he won the battle, coming to the White House with the panacea for all things: It is Wilson's "New Freedom," Roosevelt's "New Deal," Kennedy's "New Frontier," Johnson's "Great Society," Reagan's "Morning in America," or Clinton's "New Covenant."

Indeed, most transitions of government tend to be high-handed, with the victors in high spirits just out of the campaign. I ran half of the first Reagan transition — the half that related to national security, foreign economic policy, intelligence, and international organizations. I remember in one transition meeting, the outspoken Ken Adelman, when his turn came, said, "Let's not set out to think we have to change everything the last administration did, just for the sake of change." It went over like a lead balloon — wisdom and competence from the past? Never! After all, Adelman, what was the campaign all about — we had the wisdom and confidence, not them!

When the Reagan Administration exited and an administration of the same party came in, the new Secretary of State-designate did not meet with the old one; the old Secretary of Defense was not needed to stay until a new one was appointed, even though the new one ran into extended confirmation problems on Capitol Hill. This from the "kinder, gentler" new Republican administration than the old Reagan one, which I might say,

had been rather successful.

So what's new? Franklin Roosevelt was elected amidst financial crises. He had decisively defeated "The Great Engineer" the intellectually brilliant, but uncharismatic, unpopular Herbert Hoover. The long interregnum from November to March was crisis-ridden — especially with increasing runs on banks throughout the country and the looming danger of global crises. Despite Hoover's pleadings, Roosevelt refused any symbol of cooperation on even such things as trying to cooperate with European powers on exchange rates and stabilizing currencies. Professor Arthur Link suggested that one reason for this was that FDR did not want any of Hoover's unpopularity to rub off on him.

The point of my lecture, however, is not how or how not to run transitions. A good bit of work has been done on that already. CSIS, for one, convened in 1992 a bipartisan group of key members of Congress to talk through such matters. My point is much bigger than the transition from one administration to another, or simply learning lessons from the outgoing administration. My point is that the new President has neither the time nor the humility to learn from the great successes and great failures of past presidents. Yet, Santayana famously said that whoever does not know history is condemned to repeat it. In more sarcastic terms, Cicero said that he who does not know history would forever remain a child. Believe it or not, some presidents have done childish things.

The problem is a lack of usable institutional history, matched with humility to see the need to learn from that history. I am speaking now about the art and character of presidential leadership; whether that leadership is transforming or transactional, to use the words of the academy.

On the first score, the White House has no institutional memory, no such record. Presidential papers go to presidential libraries, many other papers to the National Archives or the Library of Congress.

In early 1987, I was called back from being NATO ambassador to serve for three months in President Reagan's cabinet as his Special Counsellor, to insure that a past cover up and a flawed process to deal with Iran-Contra were ended and due process was instituted. Upon my arrival, I asked for a copy of the Murphy Commission Report, a bipartisan Congressionally-mandated commission, concluded in 1976, chaired by the famed

student who needs help, who needs that push that we've heard about today to make a difference. You might be the plumber who charges a reasonable price, gets up in the middle of the night for an emergency; that's public service itself. But you might also be coaching little league and making a difference. Take time to serve others because there is nothing more rewarding. To walk down a narrow dirt road in South Carolina to dedicate a new church to replace one burned and to have a lady break through a rope line and say, Ms. Reno, how are you? I knew you in Miami. And I look at her as she gives me a hug that almost knocks me down. And she says, you got me child support for my children and here they are. And I look up and there are two young men just beaming at me, grown and prospering.

The man that stops me and says, thank you for arresting me. I said, what do you mean, thank you for arresting me? He said, you got me drug treatment and I've been drug free for two years and I've got my family and my job back. You will remember moments like that for all of the rest of your life, and titles such as Attorney General fade in oblivion when you have these memories. Whatever you do we all must be involved in the service of this nation. How do we do it?

This is a great nation where you live, in one of the most prosperous times in its history. It's a time of great opportunity. We're the safest we've been in 20 years. But we cannot become complacent with the signals of Littleton, with the national economies and other nations teetering, with the black man dragged through the streets of a Texas town and killed, with us looking to foreign work forces to provide skills for America; we've got a lot more to do. We've got to make sure that everyone in this country has an opportunity, a real opportunity, to participate as productive, creative citizens who are treated with respect, regard and dignity. And right now we have too many people who are on the outside looking in feeling angry and alienated and misunderstood. We have too many children who are unsupervised, alone and at risk in the afternoon. We have too many who do not trust authority, too many people killing and being killed, too many people who have no hope.

How do we navigate this changing world and address these issues? We must enhance two very important fields that I think are often neglected in our education; the skill of peacemaking and the skill of problem solving. Consider an example, when we deal with a criminal, the prosecutor oftentimes thinks that they won the battle and they get the conviction and send him off to jail, ignoring the fact that we don't have enough jails for housing for the length of time the judge sentenced him and ignoring the fact that there is no treatment program to deal with the drug problem that caused the crime in the first place. The public defender thinks he's won when he gets his client off on a motion to dismiss, ignoring the fact that the client is in a drug addiction that is worse than the prison that he might otherwise go to.

Why not solve the problem? Why not bring peace? The prosecutor and the public defender who come together to figure out how we get that person off that addiction, into recovery and into a secure job are going to be the true leaders, the true heroes of the next century.

The persons who come together to reach out to an angry young man to help him deal with his anger, to come back to the community and to make a peaceful contribution to society, these are going to be the people that lead us in the next century.

How do we become better problem solvers and peacemakers? First of all, we've got to learn how to talk with each other and use as Winston Churchill said, "small old words that every-

body understands." America has the habit these days of talking too fast, of E-mailing incomplete sentences that don't say very much in terms of human eloquence, of talking past each other and of looking over their shoulders. We've got to talk with each other face to face with clear language, we've got to listen with a listening ear as hard as we talk and understand what we hear. We've got to use a tone of voice that is understanding and positive, not diminishing or belittling or aloof or bored. Adults must learn to talk to young people; they're too busy these days to sit down and take the time to often to listen and to understand the hopes and fears. And the young person has got to be sure that that adult hears him. The 30-year-old whiz kid has got to understand the majesty of age and not ignore that wonderful elderly person that has made such a difference in their lives. The fifth-generation American must be able to put themselves in the shoes of the newest immigrant.

Use these skills of problem solving and peacemaking to heal the divisions caused by intolerance and bigotry. I have discovered that haters are cowards. And when you talk back to them and talk to them, they back down. But too often we don't want to become involved. We want to stand on the sidelines and watch the hate go on. We have got to speak out against hatred and bigotry in every form that it exists. For hate and turmoil in this land is everybody's problem, for it diminishes each one of us and diminishes our nation. We can do it if we reach out and care for each other. But if we are to solve the problems of today, if we are to bring peace today, we must make a new and striking investment in our children. We must make sure that every child in America has appropriate medical care, appropriate supervision, appropriate education to prepare them for the next century. Nobody should be left out, no child should be unsupervised without love and understanding of someone who understands how hard it is to grow up in this nation today.

I have one final challenge for you. I remember my afternoons after school and in the evening. I remember my place that Sandy Ungar talked about so eloquently. My mother worked in the home, she taught us to play baseball, she taught us to bake cakes. She taught us to love Shakespeare and she didn't like Dickens and I'm still trying to overcome that now. She punished us, she loved us with all her heart, she taught us to play fair. There is no child here in the world that will ever be the substitute for what that lady was in our life.

As you leave this wonderful university, you can start to solve problems right now. The problems that parents have faced for far too long, the question that is often asked, how do I do everything? How do I hold a job and raise my children and get a moment to breathe? As you go looking for jobs, find out who has the family-friendly workplace and get together with other graduates and form a consensus in this nation that says you want me and my Ph.D., you want me and my grade point average, you want me and my skill, you get it if you've created a family-friendly workplace that lets both parents spend quality time with their children.

You're starting a great adventure. You have come from a university that has given you wonderful tools; tools that will help you solve the problems. They can be solved. This nation can end the culture of violence. We can bring reason to the use of guns. We can give our children a future. And after being with you today I am more convinced of it than ever before. So go forth, have a good time in this great adventure and don't forget to remember the children.

Thank you.