HIS PRESIDENCY WAS A PRICELESS HEIRLOOM: SACRED TO HIM BECAUSE IT IS SACRED TO THE PEOPLE."

HIS PRESIDENCY, TOO, IS NOW REMEMBERED WITH GREATER RESPECT AND ADMIRATION. IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS PRESIDENT, HE HAD SAID THAT "BECAUSE WE ARE FREE, WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE." SINCE THAT DAY, HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE BEEN AN EXPLICIT AND ESSENTIAL VALUE IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY. I BELIEVE THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR CAN BE TRACED TO THESE WORDS — AND TO THE SPIRIT AND DETERMINATION WHICH THEY EXPRESSED.

TODAY, PEOPLE ALSO ADMIRE PRESIDENT CARTER

AND ROSALYNN FOR THEIR AMAZING RANGE OF EFFORTS
SINCE LEAVING THE WHITE HOUSE. THESE INCLUDE:

- HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, WHICH ENLISTS

  VOLUNTEERS TO USE THEIR OWN HANDS TO BUILD AND
  RENOVATE HOMES FOR THE NEEDY.
- GLOBAL 2000, THEIR PROGRAM TO END HUNGER
  AND ERADICATE DISEASE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
- THE CARTER CENTER AT EMORY UNIVERSITY,
  WHICH IS UNDOUBTEDLY THE BEST OF ALL OF THE
  PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES. IT IS NOT JUST A PLACE TO
  STORE THE PAST. INSTEAD, IT IS A CENTER OF ALMOST
  CEASELESS ACTIVITY TO BUILD A FUTURE OF PEACE.
  AMONG ITS PRINCIPAL ACTIVITIES IS THE RESOLUTION OF
  VIOLENT ETHNIC AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS.

- THEIR LEADERSHIP IN MONITORING ELECTIONS
  IN COUNTRIES LIKE NICARAGUA, PANAMA, ZAMBIA, AND
  HAITI.
- MOST RECENTLY, THEY INITIATED THE ATLANTA

  PROJECT THE FIRST STEP IN A NATION-WIDE EFFORT TO

  ATTACK THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH

  POVERTY IN OUR MAJOR CITIES.
- FINALLY, OF COURSE, THE FORMER PRESIDENT
  OF THE UNITED STATES IS STILL TEACHING <u>SUNDAY</u>

  <u>SCHOOL</u> AT MARANATHA BAPTIST CHURCH IN PLAINS,
  GEORGIA.

THROUGH ALL THESE YEARS, PRESIDENT CARTER
AND ROSALYNN HAVE ALWAYS BEEN LEADERS WHO CARE
ABOUT DOING WHAT IS RIGHT. TO THIS DAY, THEY REMAIN

THOROUGHLY DECENT AND CARIN PEOPLE OF GREAT FAITH
WHO FOLLOW THEIR CONVICTIONS AND CARRY
ABSOLUTELY NO PRETENSE.

SOMEONE ONCE SAID THAT THE PROBLEM WITH
CHRISTIANITY WAS THAT IT'S NEVER BEEN TRIED. WELL,
THE CARTERS ARE TRYING IT — AND I BELIEVE WE ALL SEE
THAT IT WORKS. THEY ARE A WONDERFUL INSPIRATION TO

ALL OF US.

IT IS GOOD THAT THEY ARE HERE BECAUSE
PRESIDENT CARTER AND ROSALYNN REPRESENT
EVERYTHING MACALESTER STANDS FOR. AND THEIR
EFFORTS HIGHLIGHT THE THEME OF MY REMARKS THIS

AFTERNOON.

I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE THREE BASIC POINTS:

FIRST, AS INDIVIDUALS, WE ALL DEPEND ON ONE ANOTHER. NO MAN — OR WOMAN — IS AN ISLAND. AND NO MATTER WHAT OUR DIFFERENCES MAY BE, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THERE IS ALWAYS MORE THAT JOINS US THAN THAT DIVIDES US.

SECOND, THE WORLD'S CHALLENGES ARE

BECOMING MORE INTERNATIONAL IN NATURE. NO SINGLE

NATION — NOT EVEN ONE AS POWERFUL AS OUR OWN, THE

UNITED STATES — CAN HOPE TO MEET THESE CHALLENGES

BY ITSELF. INCREASINGLY, NATIONS MUST COOPERATE —

WHETHER ON A BILATERAL, REGIONAL OR GLOBAL BASIS.

THIS MEANS PEOPLE MUST BE BETTER PREPARED TO

COOPERATE, TOO, REGARDLESS OF OUR DIFFERENCES.

THIRD, IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF
UNDERSTANDING ONE ANOTHER AND WORKING TOGETHER,
EDUCATION IS ABSOLUTELY CRUCIAL. THIS IS MY MAIN
POINT TODAY.

UNFORTUNATELY, THERE IS AN OPPOSING
IDEOLOGY THAT HAS GAINED SOME GROUND RECENTLY. IT
SEEKS TO SEPARATE PEOPLE RATHER THAN BRING THEM
TOGETHER. IT SAYS THAT PEOPLE OF THE SAME RACE,
SAME ETHNICITY, SAME RELIGION, SAME GENDER, SAME
SEXUAL ORIENTATION — PICK ANY QUALITY OR
CHARACTERISTIC YOU LIKE — STAND ALONE AND THAT
EVERYONE ELSE IS EXCLUDED. IT IS BEING ARGUED THAT
NOBODY CAN EVER POSSIBLY HAVE ANY HOPE OF
UNDERSTANDING PERSONS OUTSIDE OF THEIR OWN GROUP.
AT A FUNDAMENTAL LEVEL, THIS VIEW DENIES THE VERY

POSSIBILITY OF EDUCATION. FOR IT ASSUMES THAT WE CANNOT LEARN ANYTHING FROM ONE ANOTHER.

THIS VIEW DENIES WHAT IS MOST HUMAN IN ALL OF US  $\frac{\theta}{a}$  THATUS, THE GIFT FOR SYMPATHY, FOR UNDERSTANDING, FOR IMAGINATION, FOR STRIVING TO LIVE IN PEACE AND HARMONY WITH OUR FELLOW HUMANS: AND, ABOVE ALL, THE NEED AND THE DESIRE AND THE CAPACITY TO LEARN FROM ONE ANOTHER. IT ALSO ENTIRELY FORFEITS THE JOY WHICH FLOWS FROM DISCOVERING THAT COMMON HUMANITY WHICH IS TO BE song of this certy heartache, blackshed and despart fas we call con see.

PROBLEMS AROUND US. THERE ARE INJUSTICES AND

CRUELTIES IN THE WORLD — AND SOME GROUPS OF PEOPLE

HAVE SUFFERED MORE (MUCH MORE) THAN OTHERS. NOR

PEOPLE AND OUR INSTITUTIONS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO

LEARN AND HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CHANGE — NOT ALWAYS

AS FAST AS SOME WOULD LIKE, NOT ALWAYS IN JUST THE

WAY SOME WOULD PREFER. I NEVERTHELESS BELIEVE THAT

THERE IS SOMETHING VERY HOPEFUL IN OUR REMARKABLE

OPENNESS TO CHANGE.

YET AS WE LOOK AROUND OUR OWN COMMUNITY,
WE CAN SEE THAT MANY PEOPLE STILL HAVE A HARD TIME
GETTING ALONG. AND, CERTAINLY, AS WE LOOK AROUND
THE WORLD, WE SEE ATROCITIES THAT CAST DOUBT ON
OUR CHERISHED IDEALS OF PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING.

UNFORTUNATELY, WE ARE NOW SEEING LONG-SUPPRESSED TENSIONS EXPLODE THROUGHOUT EASTERN EUROPE AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. AS WE READ DAILY OF ANCIENT HISTORICAL DISPUTES THAT FLAIR

ANEW, IT IS AS THOUGH WE SEE THE FUTURE AND IT IS

1914. THIS REGION, WHICH SHOULD BE ENJOYING ITS

FREEDOM, IS INSTEAD EMBROILED IN HATRED, BLOODSHED

AND DISARRAY. THE CURSE OF CENTRAL EUROPE, AS

WINSTON CHURCHILL ONCE PUT IT, IS THAT IT PRODUCES

MORE HISTORY THAN CAN BE CONSUMED LOCALLY.

IN WESTERN EUROPE, TOO, WE SEE ESCALATING RESENTMENT AND INTOLERANCE AGAINST IMMIGRANTS FROM EASTERN EUROPE AND AFRICA. MANY OTHER CONFLICTS CONTINUE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, SOUTH AFRICA, SOMALIA, AND ELSEWHERE. (EVEN IN CANADA, THE BITTER CONFLICT BETWEEN ENGLISH- AND FRENCH-SPEAKERS THREATENS TO SPLIT THE COUNTRY.)

BUT IT IS THE BREAK-UP OF YUGOSLAVIA AND
THE TRAGEDY TAKING PLACE IN BOSNIA THAT IS PERHAPS
MOST AGONIZING. NONETHELESS, WE MUST BE CAREFUL
HOW WE INTERPRET WHAT IS HAPPENING THERE.

IT IS SOMETIMES TOO EASY TO BLAME "HISTORY" FOR THESE PROBLEMS. BUT HISTORY IS NOT JUST "THERE." IT IS MADE AND REMADE - SOMETIMES FOR HATEFUL FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE BALKANS, WE OFTEN HEAR THE PHRASE "ANCIENT HATREDS" USED TO DESCRIBE THE CONFLICT AMONG THE CROATIANS, SERBS AND BOSNIANS. TO BE SURE, THERE ARE HISTORICAL CONFLICTS AT PLAY. BUT, AS ONE COMMENTATOR HAS SUGGESTED, "TO CALL THEM ANCIENT IS TO PRETEND THEY ARE PRIMORDIAL FORCES, OUTSIDE OF HISTORY AND HUMAN AGENCY, WHEN OFTEN THEY ARE SYNTHETIC ANTIQUES. INTELLECTUALS, WRITERS, ARTISTS AND

POLITICIANS 'MAKE' HATREDS. FILMS AND VIDEOS, TEXTS
AND TEXTBOOKS, CERTIFY STORIES ABOUT THE PAST, THE
COLLECTIVE MEMORIES THAT SHAPE PERCEPTIONS AND
ATTITUDES."

IT IS, IN FACT, SHOCKING TO FIND THAT SOME OF THE MOST VICIOUS DEMAGOGUES IN THE FORMER

YUGOSLAVIA ARE HIGHLY-EDUCATED INTELLECTUALS —

WHO ARE EXTRAORDINARILY ARTICULATE AND POSSESS

AN IMPRESSIVE VEIL OF LEARNING, BUT WHO ARE ALSO

MURDEROUSLY WRONG. IT IS A PERVERSITY OF THE

HUMAN INTELLECT AND OF THE HUMAN HEART.

ON CLOSER INSPECTION, MANY OF THESE SOCALLED "ANCIENT HATREDS" — WHETHER IN YUGOSLAVIA
OR ELSEWHERE — TURN OUT TO BE VERY MODERN
CREATIONS. THIS KNOWLEDGE SHOULD GIVE US HOPE, FOR

POWER TO RESOLVE. ALTHOUGH HISTORY EXERCISES

GREAT INFLUENCE OVER THE PRESENT, IT DOES NOT MEAN
THAT WE MUST RESIGN OURSELVES TO BEING VICTIMS OF
HISTORY.

How Much more hopeful sare the affects to wealer Racon the abyse of Halus & betterness, the abyse of Halus & butterne seems the tragedy of historie to that good for peace that to that good for peace that con only plan from an Aurreness of aur Common Homosity Flund for JC's efforts ul

## forever

By Thomas L. Friedman New York Times

Washington, D.C.
The Mideast will never be the same.

The mutual recognition agreement reached Thursday between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) fundamentally alters both the political and psychological maps of the region. It may not bring peace tomorrow or the day after, but it will reshape the Mideast more than any single event since the establishment of Israel in 1948.

The agreement creates the potential for dramatic new alliances that could knit together Israel and Arab countries; it unearths a mother lode of diplomatic opportunities for the United States, which no longer will have to choose between friendships with Israel or the Arab world; it will make it much easier for the pro-U.S. Arab states to be identified with Washington; it will deprive the Arab and Muslim fundamentalists of their most potent issue - the war with Israel - and, most important, it will lay a foundation for Arab-Israeli coexistence.

this event is so

It is the psychological impact of that ceremony — two neighbors who for years never recognized the other's legal title to Palestine-Israel finally acknowledging that they each have an equally valid claim — which will be the most enduring.

For the Israelis, that moment will not only signify the beginning of the healing of the Arab-Israeli conflict, but it also could signify the first signs of recovery of the Israeli people from the trauma of the Holocaust.

For years, said the Israeli political theorist Yaron Eztahi, Israeli leaders from Golda Meir to Yitzhak Shamir drew from the Holocaust the pessimistic lesson that the only way Jews can survive in the post-Holocaust world, given the tragedy they experienced, was by relying on their swords. They can and should trust no one. No matter how strong Israel became, they always spoke and behaved like victims who had to be defensive and reactive — not shapers of their own destiny.

"What [Yitzhak] Rabin, who is the first Israeli-born prime minister of Israel and the embodiment of the Israeli citizen-soldier, has done is draw just the opposite lesson from the Holocaust experience," Ezrahi said. "That lesson is that having power allows you to move in the direction of compromise. Power allows you to reshape your own future, not just hunker down.

"Rabin did not want to preside over another epic chapter in Jewish history where the Jews die in the end as heroes," Ezrahi said. "He opted instead for the sort of gray compromise that makes life possible. It is a triumph of Palestiman and Israeli middle classes over their own histories. Now they will each have to cooperate to deal with their respective extremists."

indeed, for the Arab world, the psychological effect of this event cuts equally deep. Two generations of Arabs have grown up on the conflict with Israel. It has been for many the prime political fact in their lives, and now it is beginning to be taken away.

"It is truly the end of something," said Mideast historian Fouad Ajami. "For years, generations of Arabs were told that there can be no democracy, because of the struggle with Israel; there can be no development, because of the struggle with Israel. Israel was the great alibi of Arab political life, and now it is being taken away by the very men who were the keepers of the flame."

If such a central taboo in Arab political life — the illegitimacy of Israel — can be broken, it redefines the limits of the permissible. For some in the Arab world, this will be a source great psychological emancipation. For others, it will be a source of confusion and fragmentation, for antipathy to Israel was the last glue holding together a splintering Arab world. And for all, it will be a source of great debate — a debate about whether the conflict with Israel has come to its rightful end.

For Amfast

But we must

NOW I BELIEVE IT IS TIME TO MOVE BEYOND

NATIONALITY AND EXTEND OUR EMBRACE TO OUR COMMON,

SHARED HUMANITY.

IN OUR NEW WORLD OF INSTANT INFORMATION

AND COMMUNICATION, THE FORCES OF TECHNOLOGY AND

COMMERCE ARE SHRINKING DISTANCES BETWEEN PEOPLE.

THESE FORCES BRING US ALL CLOSER TOGETHER, AND THEY

MAKE NATIONAL BORDERS INCREASINGLY IRRELEVANT.

THE DRAMATIC INCREASE IN OUR GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE REQUIRES US TO CRAFT RESPONSES THAT ARE ALSO GLOBAL IN NATURE. WE MUST RETHINK SOME OF OUR MOST BASIC ASSUMPTIONS.

EDUCATION IS CENTRAL TO THIS TASK. AND THAT IS WHY WHAT MACALESTER COLLEGE IS DOING — AND WHAT EVERY STUDENT HERE IS DOING — IS SO IMPORTANT.

TO CARRY OUT OUR GLOBAL REPONSIBILITIES, WE NEED TO

LEARN LANGUAGES;

STUDY HISTORY;

LEARN ABOUT OTHER CULTURES, OTHER TRADITIONS, OTHER CUSTOMS;

WE NEED TO TRAVEL AND LIVE ABROAD;

WE NEED TO GET TO KNOW AND BECOME FRIENDS
WITH PEOPLE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES;

AND WE NEED TO DO IT WHILE WE ARE YOUNG.

LEGENDARY HISTORY PROFESSOR DURING MY TIME AT MACALESTER, INSIST THAT THE ONLY WAY WE COULD BUILD LASTING PEACE IS IF YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE A CHANCE TO SEE THE WORLD AND GET TO KNOW PEOPLE AROUND THE GLOBE.

THIS IS NOW MUCH MORE POSSIBLE THAN WHEN HE MADE THAT POINT SO MANY YEARS AGO. I PLEAD WITH EVERY STUDENT HERE TODAY TO SHAPE YOUR LIFE IN SUCH A WAY THAT YOU LITERALLY REACH OUT TO THE WORLD.

YOU ARE NEEDED; YOU WILL BE SERVING A NOBLE CAUSE
AND YOU WILL BE ENRICHING YOUR LIFE.

IT IS NOT JUST GOOD FOR THE INDIVIDUALS
INVOLVED; IT IS ALSO GOOD FOR THE NATION. IT SHOULD
BE AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY, BUT
IT USUALLY DOES NOT GET SUFFICIENT ATTENTION. ONE
WHO DID UNDERSTAND IS WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, THE
FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS
COMMITTEE AND THE FOUNDER OF THE FULBRIGHT
PROGRAM WHICH HAS SENT BOTH STUDENTS AND
SCHOLARS TO OTHER COUNTRIES, AND BROUGHT STUDENTS
AND SCHOLARS FROM ABROAD TO AMERICA.

HERE IS WHAT SENATOR FULBRIGHT ONCE SAID:

"EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE CAN TURN NATIONS INTO

PEOPLE, CONTRIBUTING AS NO OTHER FORM OF

COMMUNICATION CAN TO THE HUMANIZING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. ... I DO NOT THINK EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE IS CERTAIN TO PRODUCE AFFECTION BETWEEN PEOPLES, NOR INDEED DO I THINK THAT IS ONE OF ITS NECESSARY PURPOSES; IT IS QUITE ENOUGH IF IT CONTRIBUTES TO THE FEELING OF A COMMON HUMANITY, TO AN EMOTIONAL AWARENESS THAT OTHER COUNTRIES ARE POPULATED NOT BY DOCTRINES THAT WE FEAR BUT BY PEOPLE WITH THE SAME CAPACITY FOR PLEASURE AND PAIN, FOR CRUELTY AND KINDNESS, AS THE PEOPLE WE WERE BROUGHT UP WITH IN OUR OWN COUNTRIES."

I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A SPECIAL CASE FOR YOUR INTEREST IN JAPAN.

MAINLY BECAUSE OF A SHORTAGE OF GOOD TEACHERS AND THE FUNDS TO PAY THEM.

WITHIN MY POWER, I HOPE TO ENCOURAGE MORE
EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. AT PRESENT, THERE ARE
MORE THAN 40,000 JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICAN
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. WE ARE GLAD TO HAVE
THEM (AND, IN FACT, THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TO THE
U.S. WAS A STUDENT AT LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY IN
APPLETON, WISCONSIN). BUT THERE ARE FEWER THAN
1,300 AMERICAN STUDENTS IN JAPANESE COLLEGES AND
UNIVERSITIES.

OF BOTH OUR NATIONS, OUR KNOWLEDGE AND

WITH OUR INTERDEPENDENCE — AND OUR IGNORANCE CAN
BE DANGEROUS UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES.

I HAVE SAID IT BEFORE, BUT IT BEARS

REPEATING: IF AMERICA AND JAPAN CAN WORK TOGETHER

— AS I KNOW WE CAN —THEN PRACTICALLY EVERY

PROBLEM IN THE WORLD WILL GET BETTER OR, AT LEAST,

BECOME MUCH EASIER TO SOLVE. THUS, THE WORLD

CANNOT AFFORD TO HAVE THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

FALL VICTIMS TO MISUNDERSTANDING,

MISCOMMUNICATION, EVEN MISTRUST — ESPECIALLY WHEN

WE SHARE SO MANY INTERESTS AND VALUES IN COMMON.

THE SAME LESSON REALLY APPLIES TO EVERY

COUNTRY.

MY HOPE IS THAT ALL YOUNG PEOPLE — NOT JUST
THOSE WHO ATTEND MACALESTER — WILL BE ABLE TO
ENJOY AN EDUCATION THAT PREPARES THEM FOR THE
CHALLENGES OF LIVING IN THIS WORLD AND HELPING TO
MAKE IT A BETTER PLACE.

THERE IS AN ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL IMPULSE AT THE VERY CORE OF A GOOD EDUCATION. IT MUST CULTIVATE NOT ONLY THE LIFE OF THE MIND, BUT THE LIFE OF THE HEART TOO.

THE CHALLENGE WE FACE TODAY IS TO CROSS THE MENTAL BOUNDARIES AND BRIDGE THE EMOTIONAL DIVISIONS WHICH SEPARATE PEOPLE AND LIMIT THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF OUR COMMON HUMANITY. ABOVE ALL, WE MUST LEARN HOW TO LIVE PEACEFULLY WITH

OTHERS — WHETHER THEY BE THE MOST DISTANT STRANGER OR OUR NEAREST NEIGHBOR.

JOHN GARDNER — A WISE AMERICAN WHO, AMONG OTHER THINGS, FOUNDED "COMMON CAUSE" —TELLS A STORY ABOUT A FIVE-YEAR-OLD GIRL ASKING HER GRANDFATHER WHAT "E PLURIBUS UNUM" MEANT — SHE SAW IT INSCRIBED ON THE BACK OF A PENNY.

THE GIRL'S GRANDFATHER TOLD HER THAT IT WAS ABOUT THE IDEA OF AMERICA — A LATIN EXPRESSION MEANING "OUT OF MANY, ONE."

THIS ANSWER, HOWEVER, DID NOT SATISFY THE LITTLE GIRL'S CURIOSITY. SHE WANTED TO KNOW WHAT THAT MEANT.

THE GRANDFATHER EXPLAINED THAT IT HAD TO

DO WITH FORMING ONE NATION FROM 50 STATES. "WE ARE

A COLLECTIVE WHOLE — A SINGLE PEOPLE."

BUT THE FIVE-YEAR-OLD WAS NOT CONTENT WITH THIS EXPLANATION, EITHER.

FINALLY, THE GRANDMOTHER — WHO HAD BEEN
LISTENING — TURNED TO HER GRANDDAUGHTER AND SAID:
"IT MEANS THAT WE NEED EACH OTHER."

AND SO WE DO.

BUT THIS IS NOT A NEW MESSAGE FOR YOU, FOR, AS WE ALL KNOW, THIS MESSAGE IS WHAT MACALESTER IS ALL ABOUT. THANK YOU.



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