

UNITED STATES
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The 22nd
Sol Feinstone Lecture

on

**THE
MEANING OF FREEDOM**

BY

Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright

23 February 1995

The United States Military Academy is pleased to sponsor an annual lecture series on the Meaning of Freedom. It is significant that this lecture program has been made possible by the generosity of the late Mr. Sol Feinstone, a dedicated American patriot whose commitment to the ideals of the American Revolution led him to devote many years of effort, as well as considerable personal resources, to the collection of important letters, manuscripts, and books dealing with our heritage of freedom. His donation of these items to libraries and educational institutions ensures that the message which they proclaim will be preserved and transmitted to future generations of Americans.

Mr. Feinstone's abiding faith in a brotherhood of free nations of men has found further expression in several lecture series which he has endowed in order to permit prominent Americans to interpret the Meaning of Freedom.

The U.S. Corps of Cadets and the staff and faculty of the Military Academy are pleased to recognize the generosity and loyalty of this great American for providing a living endowment in the defense of freedom.

THE MEANING OF FREEDOM

Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright

I am very pleased to be able to be here this evening. Let me also offer my condolences to you for the loss of two of your colleagues, 2LT Spencer Dodge and 2LT Curt SanSoucie. They served their country, and I know that it is very difficult for many of you to absorb their loss.

I am very, very honored to be here. In this information-sated, wisdom-starved age, institutions that truly educate are rare. This historic academy is one of the best.

As a former professor, I am always delighted to return to an academic setting where thought is valued, principles are honored, and distinguished educators do not, except in the privacy of their own homes, admit to watching the O.J. Simpson trial.

It is also a pleasure to participate in the Sol Feinstone Lecture series. I understand that members of the lecture committee are here. We have been introduced to Sol Feinstone's grandchildren, and I was very glad to make their acquaintance at dinner. It is highly appropriate that this lecture series is about freedom, for the task of preserving freedom requires a blend of diplomacy, which is my department, and force, which is yours. As General Shalikashvili said recently:

Both diplomacy and force are operating in a new kind of global climate and structure. . . Compared with yesterday, it is a far more complex environment, and far more fluid than we have been accustomed to these last few decades.

The United States enters this new era with important assets. We have, without doubt, the finest and most powerful military in

the world. Our economy has come back strong. Around the globe, we are respected and looked to for leadership. But, if we are to protect our interests, maintain our strengths, avoid quagmires, and advance the cause of freedom, how we lead must reflect the dynamics and interconnected nature of our times.

Global forces that had been partly obscured during the Cold War, are now fully exposed. Borders are being overwhelmed by economic, technological, environmental, demographic, and even criminal forces that national governments cannot control on their own.

On what matters most to American families, international cooperation has become a necessity. We can't create jobs without expanding exports; we can't free our neighborhoods from drug-related crime without aid from countries where drugs are produced or transported; we can't track down terrorists without help from foreign police; we can't respond ourselves to every conflict that explodes into war; and we can't keep nuclear weapons from falling into the hands of dictators and terrorists through our vigilance alone.

All of this should be obvious, but not everyone gets it. So, what I am going to say tonight may sound tough, but it's true, and somebody has got to say it.

Today, as in the aftermath of other great struggles in our nation's history, isolationism is on the rise. This is particularly evident in Congress, where there are those who counsel us to duck, not deal with, the threats we face.

These new isolationists find their echo in the narrow-visioned naysayers of the 1920's who rejected the League of Nations, embraced protectionism, downplayed the rise of Hitler, opposed help to the victims of aggression and ultimately endangered our own security -- claiming all the while that all they were doing was putting America first.

Today's isolationists' battle cry is; "Keep our troops at home." Its bumper sticker is "Kill the UN," and its philosophy is to "Let the people of the Balkans and other troubled lands slaughter each other -- for their anguish is God's problem, not our own."

These are the same folks who say we shouldn't bother, internationally, to help emerging democracies or assist in the safe handling of nuclear materials, or sustain efforts to reduce poverty, or help limit population growth or increase awareness of AIDS.

Isolationism will always have appeal for us, as it has, in varied form, to all peoples. It is comforting to believe that we can wall ourselves off from the ills of the world; or that we can build multi-billion dollar umbrellas that will keep us safe from attack. But there is a dangerous hook beneath this bait, for American security cannot rest on fantasy; freedom cannot be ensured without risk or--in the modern world--without the active help of other free peoples.

The Cold War is over, but threats to America and to freedom remain. We will respond most effectively if we make full use of all available options--unilateral, bilateral and multilateral. For just as the best Army will have a range of weapons suited to various missions, so a wise foreign policy will make use of every available tool.

Our military must remain modern, mobile, ready and strong. As President Clinton has pledged--and this academy helps to guarantee--it will.

We must maintain vigorous alliances--and we are.

We must conduct creative diplomacy in the Middle East and other regions of strategic importance and -- under the leadership of Secretary of State Christopher -- we are doing just that.

Finally, we must combine the skills of the soldier and statesman to meet the special challenges of the new era.

This evening, I will discuss five situations which, if not well-managed, could pose threats to freedom and to our core interests. They relate to issues of long-standing concern: security in the Persian Gulf, stability in our hemisphere, containing the threat to Europe posed by conflict in the Balkans, the future of our relationship with Russia and controlling the spread of nuclear arms. In each case, our goal is to shape events so that our own security is not endangered. In each, we are seeking to mix the tools of power and persuasion. In each, multilateral institutions are involved. And in each, American engagement--not American isolation--is needed to protect our interests.

I will begin with Iraq. We are determined that the Persian Gulf never again be threatened by the ruthless ambition of Saddam Hussein. To secure that objective, we are employing active diplomacy, backed by force.

At the United Nations, we are insisting that sanctions against Iraq remain in place until it complies with relevant Security Council resolutions. In fact, later this evening, I will depart for Europe and the Middle East to lock in support for that position. We are not going to allow Iraq's government to resume building weapons of mass destruction and we will continue to condemn its use of terror against others and against its own people.

We have made it clear, as well, that we will not stand by while Iraq uses its military to threaten its neighbors. Our willingness -- and our ability -- to respond to such threats, with force if necessary, should not be in doubt.

Iraqi complaints about the unfairness of all this reminds me of the story about the school boy who came home with his face damaged and his clothes torn. When his mother asked him how

the fight started he said, "It started when the other guy hit me back." Make no mistake, when Saddam Hussein complains about his people suffering because of sanctions, he should look not to the UN or the United States of America for blame; he should look in the mirror.

In Haiti the tools of force and diplomacy have been combined to serve American interests. These include: regional stability, the restoration of democracy, an end to human rights abuses and a halt to refugees flooding our shores.

President Clinton's decision to authorize force came only after lesser measures -- including persuasion, negotiation, censure, and tough economic sanctions -- failed to convince those who had seized power illegally to depart. Just as the U.S. benefited from Security Council support during the Persian Gulf war, so we have been helped by the Council's backing in Haiti. Key resolutions have helped to legitimize the use of military power, gained the participation of others in the Multinational Force and paved the way for a transition next month to a UN force that will cost us less and allow more of our troops to return home.

We have worked hard with the UN to make certain that this UN mission will be the best-planned and best-executed ever. Through the professionalism of our armed forces, a stable and secure environment in Haiti has been created. More than 21,000 weapons have been taken out of circulation. A new police force is being trained that will protect -- not terrorize -- the Haitian people.

When the UN force takes over, it will be commanded by an American Army general. More than half of the military personnel and about one-third of the civilians in the UN mission will be veterans of the Multinational Force. Overall, there will be no dramatic alteration in mission size, troop capabilities or quality of command.

The road ahead in Haiti remains uphill. Real democracy does not take root overnight. But the steps we have taken thus far have reinforced American credibility, honored our values, eased a humanitarian crisis, demonstrated again the professionalism of our armed forces, and shown the value to American interests of an effective, activist UN.

In the Balkans, the international community continues to face a difficult and dangerous test. This is a challenge that no one welcomes, but which we would only at our peril ignore, for the conflict in this region knows no natural boundaries.

We have a strategic interest in preventing a wider conflagration that could undermine new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, divide NATO and strain our relationship with Russia. We have a humanitarian interest in opposing the brutal violence, including acts of genocide, that have outraged the conscience and displaced hundreds of thousands from their homes. And we have a political interest in helping Bosnia to survive as a viable multi-ethnic state.

Here, our efforts to use diplomacy backed by force have been mitigated by two factors. First, we have not always agreed with our colleagues at the UN and in NATO about how to proceed. This has undermined our effort to sustain pressure on the Bosnian Serbs to halt their aggression, accept a territorial compromise and end the war. Second, although our interests in the region are significant, they do not warrant the involvement of American ground troops as partisans in the war. This has limited our leverage.

Nevertheless, the marriage of diplomacy backed by U.S. and NATO air power has kept a bad situation from growing even worse. The hardship imposed by UN sanctions has driven the Serb Government in Belgrade to support a negotiated settlement. Air strikes, though more limited than we would wish, have permitted a semblance of normal life to return to Sarajevo. And although UN

peacekeepers in the region have not been able to settle the conflict, their continued presence has helped to localize the fighting and maintain a humanitarian lifeline that has saved hundreds of thousands of lives.

Looking ahead, we must be realistic both in what we expect and what we attempt. Although America opposes the arms embargo against Bosnia, we cannot lift it unilaterally. To do so would be to invite others to disregard sanctions regimes that we support, including those against Serbia and Iraq.

Instead, we will continue to work with European powers to help the parties reach a negotiated settlement that preserves the territorial integrity of Bosnia. We are taking concrete steps to bolster the Government-Croat Federation in Bosnia to isolate further the Bosnian Serbs. We support a continued UN presence throughout the Balkans as a bar to wider war. And we will maintain our strong backing for the War Crimes Tribunal for former Yugoslavia, which is beginning to indict individuals thought responsible for some of the worst atrocities since World War II.

Another example of the challenges we face in this new era is the former Soviet Union. Here, our interests are evident: ensuring the safe handling of nuclear materials; continued arms control; broadening democratic reforms; and fulfilling the vision of an integrated and fully democratic Europe. Here, the means we will rely on are primarily diplomatic, but the stakes for our armed forces could not be higher. For the course of events in this region will do much to determine the shape of the defense challenges your generation will face in decades to come.

Twice this century, great wars have begun in the heart of Europe. The fall of the Berlin Wall has unleashed a flood tide of democratic experimentation and a riptide of potentially destabilizing competitions for power, some caused by personal ambition, some by ethnic identification and some by frustration

Overall, we would be left with the choice between acting alone or doing nothing whenever threats to freedom or stability arise. The result would be a far more threatening and fragmented security environment, and a far more difficult and dangerous task for you, the military leaders of the future.

The wave of isolationist thinking now present in the Congress must be confronted and defeated. It reflects a view of American interests that is too narrow and a perception of American public opinion that is plainly wrong. Our citizens understand the importance of U.S. leadership and the need for institutions that lift part of the burden of that leadership from our shoulders.

It is true that Americans always have been ambivalent about activism abroad. As children, we were taught to mind our own business but we were taught, as well, to honor Americans called upon to mind the world's business in the Argonne, Normandy, Inchon and, more recently, in Southeast Asia and the Persian Gulf.

I have a personal reason for the respect and gratitude I feel towards the armed forces of the United States. For long before most of you were born, when I had just been born, Hitler invaded my native Czechoslovakia. My family sought and found refuge in London. When we were not in the bomb shelter, we were glued to the radio. We wondered whether we would ever be able to return to our homes. Through the darkness, we were sustained by the inspiring words of Roosevelt and Churchill, and by the courage of allied soldiers and resistance fighters. I was just a little girl, but in my heart, even then, I developed an abiding respect for those willing to fight for freedom, and I fell in love with Americans in uniform.

This past winter, I had the honor of representing the President and speaking in Belgium at the 50th anniversary observance of the Battle of the Bulge. There, in the freezing cold,

were gathered the survivors of that decisive battle for the heart of Europe and for mankind's soul.

These were the men of the Army who faced, and met, its sternest test. Undermanned, under-equipped, they beat back the assault of twenty-four German divisions. Despite bitter weather and relentless attack, the Americans would not yield.

Asked to surrender, General Anthony McAuliffe, like any good West Point graduate, said in one word what the world had been waiting to tell Hitler for years, "Nuts." The German commander asked: "Should this be interpreted as a positive or negative response?" The answer: "Negative, and it means go to hell."

This a year of anniversaries, a time for recollection, but also for re-dedication. History did not end in the fabled woods of the Ardennes, or on Iwo Jima where the U.S. flag was raised 50 years ago today. It did not end with the Nazi surrender or the fall of the Berlin Wall. Each generation is tested. Each must choose: engagement or isolation; resistance or appeasement; the rule of law or no law at all.

In making that choice, let us not forget: even before America was a country, it was an idea. We are the inheritors of a tradition that dates back not to the Courtly intrigues of inbred royalty, or to the depredations of rapacious empire, but to the architects of human liberty.

Not long ago, after the ceremony marking the breakthrough agreement between Israel and the PLO, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said that when the history books are written:

Nobody will really understand the United States. You have so much force and you didn't conquer anyone's land. You have so much power and you didn't dominate another people. You have

spurred by hard economic times.

We are concerned, as are Russian and other responsible leaders throughout the former Soviet Union, that if current conflicts spread, other regional powers could be drawn in, economic development will slow, democratic reforms will be curtailed and a new flood of refugees will crowd the international relief system.

Our policy is to buttress the sovereignty of the new independent states, while promoting constructive relations among them and with Russia. Our tools include diplomatic engagement with all of the republics; assistance in building open economic and political systems; and support for efforts to resolve conflicts peacefully, including the use of international observers or peacekeepers where circumstances indicate they can succeed.

The terrible violence in Chechenya has not altered our fundamental interest -- to encourage the evolution of a democratic Russia at peace with its neighbors. Our policies have achieved notable successes, including the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics, the promised reduction in nuclear powers in the region from four to one and Russian cooperation in key regional disputes such as the Middle East. Critics of these policies should contemplate the costs and risks should the reform process in Russia fail.

Finally, one of our highest priorities has been to ensure a peaceful, stable non-nuclear Korean peninsula. That goal has been challenged by North Korea's failure to comply with its obligations under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty or with IAEA safeguards. Four months ago, we signed a framework agreement that froze the North Korean nuclear program under IAEA supervision and, when fully implemented, will dismantle it. Here again, diplomatic vigor, backed by the reality of American military power, has worked to advance our interests and the cause of world peace.

As these examples illustrate, strategies for protecting America in the modern era cannot be boiled down to simplistic choices between working with others and going it alone; between economic pressure or political; or between coercion and persuasion. Each conflict or crisis will come with its own history; its own cast of players; and its own potential impact on our interests. Our responses should be determined not by rigid ideological doctrine, but rather by a melding of principle and pragmatism--our goal being to do the right thing, and to do the thing right.

What we cannot afford to do is disarm ourselves. Just as no military leader would agree to disarm unilaterally, so no responsible diplomat would discard the option of acting, at times, through the UN. Our goal should be to expand the President's choices, not restrict them. But consider the impact of legislation to kill UN peacekeeping, now pending in Congress, on the very problems I have discussed today.

In Iraq, our ability to maintain sanctions against Saddam Hussein would be in grave doubt and UN peacekeepers monitoring Iraq's border with Kuwait would be withdrawn.

In Haiti, we would have to go it alone; for there would be no UN force to pick up most of the costs.

In the former Yugoslavia, no barriers would remain to all out war.

In the former Soviet Union, we would have no ability to monitor Russian peacekeepers.

Finally, a portion of our assessments to the IAEA, which monitors nuclear safeguards in both Iraq and North Korea, would be withheld.

problems of your own and you have never turned your back on the problems of others.

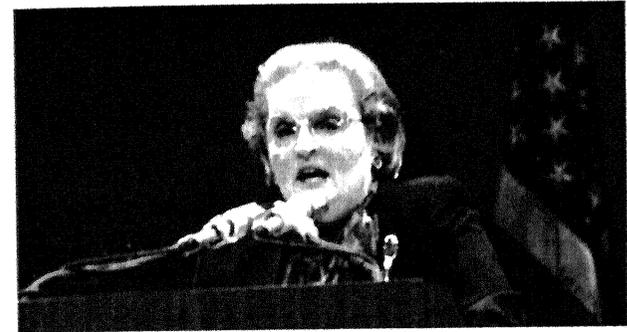
Our leadership today rests on the same solid foundation of principles, power and purpose -- the same enlightened self-interest --that has made service to America from the days of General Washington to the days of General Sullivan a badge not only of courage, but of honor.

We have a responsibility in our time, as our predecessors did in theirs, not to be prisoners of history, but to shape it; to build a world not without conflict, but in which conflict is effectively contained; a world not without repression, but in which the sway of freedom is enlarged; a world not without lawless behavior, but in which the law-abiding are progressively more secure.

That is what President Clinton has referred to, in a broader context, as a covenant with the future.

That is our joint mission--as diplomats and soldiers--in this new era.

Thank you very much.



About the Speaker

Ambassador Albright was appointed United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations by President Clinton in 1993. From 1989-1992 Ambassador Albright served as President for the Center for National Policy, a non-profit group that promotes the study of international and domestic issues. She has also served as Research Professor of International Affairs and Director of the Women in Foreign Service Program at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service from 1982-1992. Ambassador Albright was awarded the Woodrow Wilson Fellowship at the Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, and has served as Senior Fellow and Adjunct Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Ambassador Albright's previous government experience includes service as a National Security Council and White House staffer with responsibility for foreign policy legislation, and as Chief-Legislative Assistant for Senator Edmund Muskie.

Ambassador Albright received both her M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University's Department of Public Law and Government, and graduated with honors from Wellesley College with a B.A. in Political Science. Her publications include "Poland, the Role of the Press in Political Change," "The Role of the Press in Political Change: Czechoslovakia 1968," and "The Soviet Diplomatic Service: Profile of an Elite."

PAST FEINSTONE LECTURES

- 1971 - General Harold K. Johnson
- 1975 - Rear Admiral Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
- 1976 - Herman Wouk
- 1977 - Sidney Hook
- 1978 - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
- 1979 - Barbara W. Tuchman
- 1980 - Alistair Cook
Isaac Bashevis Singer
- 1981 - Carl Sagan
- 1982 - George F. Will
- 1983 - Hanna H. Gray
- 1984 - Milton Friedman
- 1985 - Daniel Patrick Moynihan
- 1986 - Tom Wolfe
- 1987 - Elie Wiesel
- 1988 - A. Bartlett Giamatti
- 1989 - Dr. Richard Selzer
- 1990 - Dr. John Stoessinger
- 1991 - Fred Friendly
- 1992 - Dr. Orlando Patterson
- 1993 - Terry Anderson



Dr. Sol Feinstone, (1888 - 1980), Founder and First Director of the David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, Pennsylvania, presenting to Major General J.B. Lampert, Superintendent, USMA, a gift of an original George Washington Letter (24 February 1965).

SOL FEINSTONE'S CREDO

DEDICATED TO

The Judeo-Christian commitment of self-sacrifice for peace on earth, and the brotherhood of free nations of free men;

The Spirit of '76, a struggle of free men to remain free;

The immigrants who came after the revolution and helped build our country in freedom;

The underprivileged of all races who, by uplifting themselves, will raise all mankind to a higher humanity.

MY DEFINITION OF FREEDOM

In the beginning there was the void of sameness; the spark of life made everything different.

The stamp of sameness is the stamp of death.

Freedom to me means a social order based on individual freedom to live differently and to dream differently. I dream of a Brotherhood of Free Nations of Free Men.

SOL FEINSTONE