



PRESIDENT CLINTON VISIT

Catherine Carey Manager, UCD Clinton Institute

On 9th April President Clinton returned to the Institute to deliver a speech to mark the 20th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement.

While the President spoke of the Good Friday Agreement in his speech, he also focused on contemporary matters, especially around issues of identity and the increasingly interdependent world we live in. "If we agree as a society that the world can accommodate universal empowerment, access to economic improvement, access to social equality and a sense of political equality, then it is easy to believe that economic politics and social policy are positive sum gains, creative co-operation works better than constant conflict because then all can win. However, if one believes they are static then we are prone to believe that everyone who is doing better than you is therefore hurting you so you have to take from them to do better yourself, it is a zero sum gain. The result is an us-versus-them mentality." "My identity is so separate from yours that what separates us is far more important than what we have in common and basically that is what the Good Friday Agreement had to confront."

The political parties in Northern Ireland, the Republic and in the UK took huge gambles as people were weary of violence. At the time when the process began the two dominant parties were the UUP and SDLP, however when peace arrived, out of fear of losing out to the other side, the two 'toughest' parties Sinn Féin and the DUP fully engaged with the process. President Clinton drew comparisons with Lebanon where a peace agreement has meant opposing parties each hold a key role in their government and Supreme Court. It was in everyone's interest to maintain the agreement so that when their party was no longer the largest they knew they would still have a say in government. NI used something similar. "The genius of the Good Friday Agreement was that it was about real democracy not just majority rule but minority rights, individual rights, the rule of law and the absence of violence." "It was a system of shared decision making, shared economic benefits, shared political and social benefits, and maintaining special ties to the Republic and the UK."

However, he issued a word of caution, "you cannot take democracy for granted." While referencing an article he read, he outlined what is needed to preserve a democratic system which he felt is at risk today: "economic growth shared by all," a "high degree of social cohesion," and an "information eco-structure that allows people to agree on the facts so that they know what they are disagreeing on." But, he added, "in the world we are living in today in some eco-structures a lie works just as well as the truth sometimes, better, because you can repeat it over and over again. If you are telling the truth you get bored saying the same thing every day and you want to say something tomorrow."

"In Northern Ireland the current paralysis isn't helped by the uncertainty around Brexit, the lower participation rate of work force than in Ireland and the absence of a government contribute to the fact that NI economic growth rate is much lower than in the Republic. However, while no one is questioning democracy there is a political limit. Even if the economy stays static politics doesn't."

"Reconciliation is a process it is not an event. We wake up every day with a little scale inside with hope on one

side and fear on the other, we've all got something to resent, it's part of the human condition".

Speaking about the ending of apartheid in South Africa, he spoke of Nelson Mandela who "didn't stop feeling the anger, he just stamped it out and made a decision to create a country where what they had in common was better than their differences, he never gave up on democracy. Everyday he had to fight to keep hope alive." The President predicted that one of three things could happen in the North:

1. The whole thing will fall apart and goes back to the Troubles.
2. You stay in purgatory where dreams are lost and broken.
3. Everyone can settle down and make a new beginning. Whatever compromises have to be made to minimise the damage of Brexit, to keep the markets open and share the government.

The agreement "should not be taken for granted, you should not underestimate the fragility of the system." "Compromise has to be a good thing not a dirty word and voters have to stop punishing people who make those compromises and start rewarding them."



Prior to his speech, President Clinton spent some time talking to a number of Institute students and catching up with former Institute alums who interned at the Clinton Foundation.

President Clinton Visit (Continued from page 1)

"With paralysis authoritarianism has an appeal. With truth not being spoken how are voters to know how to make an informed decision. Northern Ireland's situation is unfolding against a global background in which all of these forces are working."

"While Europe has its own issue with democracy and the growth of the far right, it has a strong information eco-structure. In the US there is also a rise in white supremacy, attacks on voting rights and the integrity of voting... we are having to re-fight battles we thought we had won years ago."

"You cannot stop the momentum of human aspiration or frustration or resentment sets in. People will not accept that nothing will ever change for them, their families or their community, they understand that economies can go up and down, but it is mobility rather than economy that is the determining factor of openness for us-versus-them politics."

"The only thing that works in an interconnected world is inclusive economics, inclusive social policy and inclusive politics and active citizenship."

While the President made only a few direct statements on contemporary US politics and culture, he offered a biting observation: "America is a very interesting country now, it is less racist, sexist and homophobic than we used to be, our only remaining bigotry is we don't want to be around anyone who disagrees with us".

He concluded: "The Peace Process is at risk of being taken for granted if that happens you will end up living in purgatory as you are now... we should celebrate the 20th anniversary not for what happened but for what can happen... The most important thing is to fight the right fight and to keep doing it. That may well be the defining question of the 21st century citizenship all over the world, on that all else depends."

Diaspora, Diplomacy and Development Conference

Liam Kennedy

The linkages between diaspora, diplomacy and development are becoming more and more important in our networked age of global migration and connectivity.

In May the Institute with support from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Western Union hosted an international conference to look at these issues bringing together government and NGO actors, academic scholars and corporate representatives to address global examples of intersections of diaspora, development and diplomacy. Ireland's own history while not without tension and trauma also shaped the nation's global interactions and maintenance of bonds and networks across the world.

The conference was opened by Minister Ciaran Cannon, (Minister for Diaspora and International Development) who outlined the "enormous benefits" Ireland draws from its diaspora and stated that Ireland's development policy is deeply rooted in our collective memory, in our history of famine and migration.

Kingsley Aikins (Diaspora Matters) and Liam Kennedy (Clinton Institute) set the context for the event by remarking on the growth of diaspora engagement by government and IGOs in recent years.

Economic development was one of the core topics discussed in several sessions, with focus on a range of ways in which diasporas are actively engaging arenas of global economic development and transnational commerce. Pedro De Vasconcelos (IFAD) underlined the importance of remittances in the economies of many developing nations and explained how IFAD is working to boost the development impact of remittances. Many speakers commented



on the innovative initiatives by states and the private sector to promote diaspora investment and entrepreneurship. Almaz Negash (African Diaspora Network) spoke about her work with social entrepreneurship platforms and mentorship programmes that engage the African diasporas in the US and particularly in the Silicon Valley region. Other speakers, Barry O'Brien (formerly of Digicel), Colman Lydon (Everwise) and Joanna Murphy (Connect Ireland), spoke about various government diaspora engagement strategies.

A second core topic was the role of diaspora as stakeholders in international development. A key strand of discussion focused on diaspora groups as an integral element of civil society, often functioning as connective tissue between grass-roots communities and state institutions and external agencies. The discussion arose following presentations by representatives of the International Organisation for Migration, the German Development Co-operation, Comic Relief and AFFORD, all providing vivid examples of the partnerships between governments, private sector and diaspora civil society actors.

Addressing the topic of how and to what effect diaspora agents are being engaged by states and international organisations in areas of conflict or disaster was Laura Hammond (SOAS), speaking on the Somalia experience, Barlin Ali, (United States

Agency for International Development) and Mingo Heiduk Tetsche (Danish Refugee Council).

Nick Cull (University of Southern California) and Elaine Ho (National University of Singapore) provided an advanced scholarly introduction to this relatively new field of Diaspora and Diplomacy studies. Following on from this, several presentations offered detailed examples of diaspora diplomacy with particular emphasis on the "long distance politics" practiced by diaspora communities.

Senior representations of offices responsible for diaspora outreach in Poland, Lithuania, Georgia and Minister of Diaspora Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia presented insights on their national strategies, with all agreeing on the need to build capacity reflecting the steady growth in government offices and agencies engaging their nations' diaspora.

Communications technologies are reconfiguring the time and space of diaspora state relations, altering spheres of communication and connectivity. The creation of these networks are facilitating diaspora knowledge and skills transfer, mentoring and education. One of the most positive messages to emerge from the conference is that diaspora mobility and connectivity can be a dynamic source of innovation and creativity in many fields providing fresh knowledge and imaginative leadership that can provide solutions to the challenges of globalisation.

US Cyber Security Policy Adds to the Clinton Institute's Research Agenda

Eugenio Lilli

Cyber Security

Modern societies increasingly rely on cyber space.

The development and dissemination of Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) has changed individuals' daily activities such as reading books, listening to music, shopping, driving, and working. ICTs have also reshaped social interactions and mobilization through the spread of social networks, from Facebook and Twitter to Instagram and Flickr. Moreover, the rise of ICTs has had an impact on government-citizens relations. The introduction of the e-government has given the opportunity to citizens to benefit from online services and information. National critical infrastructure, like power grids, transport networks, telecommunications, financial transactions, and water distribution, depend on ICTs for their correct functioning. Finally, modern militaries rely on ICTs for command and control purposes, for intelligence,

reconnaissance, and surveillance operations, and for the use of advanced weapons systems.

The United States is a trend-setter on the issue of securing cyber space. The internet as we know it today evolved from a project sponsored by the US department of defense in the 1960s. ARPANET, this was the name of the project, was a network that allowed for information sharing among a number of supercomputers located in university departments and research institutes across the United States. The current governance of the internet also owes much to the United States. The UN Working Group on Internet Governance defines internet governance as "the development and application by governments, the private sector, and civil society, in their respective roles, of shared principles, norms, rules, decision-making procedures, and programs that shape the evolution and use of the internet". This definition partly reflects the United States' favored model of

internet governance, the so-called multi-stakeholder model, and it is currently used to run important segments of the internet. According to the multi-stakeholder model, not only national governments and international organizations, but also the private sector and civil society, should be actively involved in the governance of the internet. Finally, some of the major hi-tech companies that shape major trends in cyber space, like Google, Microsoft, Apple, and Amazon, are headquartered in the United States.

Despite its increasing salience to the functioning of modern society, the issue of cyber security policy is still characterized by a paucity of academic analysis scattered across very different disciplines. The UCD Clinton Institute's new research agenda on US cyber security policy is a rigorous attempt at filling this gap in the academic literature by offering teaching and research activities on the topic.

CNN Internship

Neil Monahan
& Elizabeth Wells

Working with CNN in Abu Dhabi gave us the opportunity to put everything we had learned over the course of our studies at the UCD Clinton Institute into practice.

When we began our studies at the Clinton Institute, we expected to learn more about the events that shape our world. We did not expect the chance to work with CNN in Abu Dhabi as some of these events unfolded. The experience gave us the opportunity to put our knowledge to the test.

While we had studied journalism, the broadcast news industry was an entirely new animal for both of us. The two weeks were jam packed with major stories. Being there when Trump pulled the United States out of the JCPOA agreement and when the US opened its embassy in Jerusalem gave us a taste of the wildly fast-paced environment of broadcast television. Participating in these editorial meetings was fascinating as we were able to offer our insights on the news of the day and see the vast network of CNN pull together to get the stories out.

We also had the chance to work with some journalistic pros. Neil spent a day with the veteran broadcast journalist Sam Kiley, preparing research material for an assignment about grisly murders in India that Kiley was headed to cover the following day. Kiley's war stories are actually war stories because he has been on the ground at every conflagration in the last 30 years. Hearing Kiley give a first-hand account about embedding in Afghanistan and covering war lords added another dimension to our understandings of some of the conflicts we've read and studied about.

Perhaps the most thought-provoking aspect was backing up and taking on news from the regional

perspective of the Middle East—from a strange alignment of Israel and Saudi Arabia that catalyzed when the US scrapped the Iran Deal to the violence the Palestinians faced during 'Nakba' as the US moved the embassy to Jerusalem. It broadened our point of view on some of the most pressing issues facing the region.

Finally, sitting in the control room at the end of each day and seeing everyone's hard work come together for 'showtime' of the Connect the World program was thrilling and rewarding. There is nothing like the experience of live news on TV and hearing the host speak the words you have written!



Neil Monahan, Elizabeth Wells
and Becky Anderson (CNN).

PhD Profile: James Doran

Thesis Title: Defining Health Care: President Obama's Health Care Rhetoric, 2007-2017



Words mattered for the rhetorical theorist Kenneth Burke because, in his estimation, language had a transformative quality necessary for both the communication and shaping of meaning. For Burke, meaning was an evolving drama, a dialectic where a rhetor makes particular choices around how to present an issue, thereby providing a means for directing an audience's attention and shaping how they reached towards understanding.

Woodrow Wilson shared a similar enthusiasm for the importance of rhetoric. He argued that the singular nature of the presidency made its holder, "the one person who can form opinion by his own direct influence and act upon the whole country at once." Wilson's enthusiasm then was more narrowly applied than Burke's. It was as a strategic tool used by presidents to communicate and shape meaning. More specifically then, for Wilson, presidential words mattered. The presidency was a speaking or rhetorical

institution; its power derived, in large part, from its capacity to shape meaning.

Obama's rhetorical choices, while telling us how he sought to define the issue of health care, also reveal the broader vision that underpinned his approach to it.

Barack Obama shared these conclusions around the power and importance of rhetoric in explaining his policy ideas. Dominating his tenure in the White House was the vexing problem of health care reform. My research aims to investigate, through interpretative rhetorical analysis of Obama's health care speeches between 2007 and 2017, the rhetorical choices he

made, identifying the patterns that emerged and the arguments made, in order to understand how Obama attempted to shape the health care debate.

More broadly, however, the choices made to define issues in particular ways is part of an interplay between rhetoric and philosophy, where through the former the latter is uncovered. Obama's rhetorical choices then, while telling us how he sought to define the issue of health care, also reveal the broader vision that underpinned his approach to it. Therefore, my thesis aims as well to understand the tenets of Obama's political philosophy.

Situated across the study of rhetoric and the presidency, this project contributes to scholarship on two fronts: addressing Obama's contribution to the problem of health care while also seeking to understand the operating principles that grounded the president's political vision.

Making research at UCD Clinton Institute

Valentia Ferrigno

In three months of individual research at UCD Clinton Institute I have benefited greatly from huge resources it makes available to visiting researchers.

Primarily, texts in the James Joyce Library and the open access to multifarious online reviews and articles, made me able to collect an outstanding and valuable bibliography concerning my research topic: the transnational Modernism and the cultural exchanges between the US and Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, focusing on the figure of Sherwood Anderson as a mediator between the Atlantic shores.

Means, openness, and kindness have been the *Leitmotiv* for every phase of my stay and my work in Dublin: my gratitude to Prof. Kennedy and Catherine Carey for their precious support and hospitality.

Welcome

We would like to welcome two new Government of Ireland Postdoctoral Fellows to the Institute, Dr **Lola Resano** (PhD University of Barcelona) is studying satire and politics and **Dr. Jonathan O'Donnell** (PhD University of London) is focusing on the politics and evangelical support for the Trump administration.

The Institute would also like to welcome two new members to our Advisory Board:

Brett Bruen (President, Global Situation Room)

Mark Redmond (CE American Chamber of Commerce)

And finally, congratulations to **Jack Horgan Jones** and his partner **Kate Doughan** both of the class of 2010 on the birth of their son **Ollie**.



Advisory Board Members of UCD Clinton Institute:

Mr. Ted Smyth (Chair)
Mr. Kingsley Aikins (Diaspora Matters)
Ambassador Dan Mulhall, Irish Ambassador to the USA
Prof. Maurice Bric (UCD)
Prof. Robert Bringham (Vassar College)
Mr. Terry McCarthy (Los Angeles World Affairs Council)
Prof. Mary Daly (UCD)
Prof. Donald Pease (Dartmouth College)
Prof. Sarah Prescott (Principal, UCD College of Arts & Humanities)
Professor Kathleen James Chakraborty
Brett Bruen (President, Global Situation Room)
Mark Redmond (CE American Chamber of Commerce)

For further information about the Institute or this newsletter please contact the Editor:

Catherine Carey, Manager

UCD Clinton Institute, UCD, Belfield, Dublin 4, Ireland

Tel: +353 (0)1 716 1560 • catherine.carey@ucd.ie

[Twitter](https://twitter.com/Clinton_InstUCD) Clinton_InstUCD



UCD CLINTON
INSTITUTE