

VITAL SPEECHES *of the day*

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Impartial. Constructive. Authentic.

134 _____

Why This Deal Is So Bad

BENJAMIN NETANYAHU, Prime Minister, Israel

138 _____

Innovating Financial Inclusion

AJAY BANGA, President and CEO, MasterCard

140 _____

European Central Bank: An Achievement We Can't Take for Granted

MARIO DRAGHI, President, European Central Bank

142 _____

Sustainability: A Journey That Has to Be a Way of Life

SAMIR AL-ABDRABBUH, Vice President, Corporate Communications, SABIC

144 _____

For Onika, and Others Struggling to Afford Housing

JULIAN CASTRO, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, United States

147 _____

"Others" Must Stick Together

KERRY WASHINGTON, Actress

148 _____

Is a Digitally Connected World a Better Place?

DAN HESSE, Former President and CEO, Sprint Corp.

152 _____

Imagine a President Who Says, "I Will Honor the Constitution"

TED CRUZ, U.S. Senator (R-Texas)

155 _____

In Defense of Britain's National Health Service

MICHAEL SHEEN, Actor

156 _____

Flying Lessons, First Hand

ROD THORN, Communication Executive, PepsiCo

WHY THIS DEAL IS SO BAD

It doesn't block Iran's path to the bomb; it paves Iran's path to the bomb. So why would anyone make this deal? Because they hope that Iran will change for the better in the coming years, or they believe that the alternative to this deal is worse? Well, I disagree.

Address by BENJAMIN NETANYAHU,
Prime Minister, Israel



Delivered to a Joint Session of U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C., March 3, 2015

Speaker of the House John Boehner, President Pro Tem Senator Orrin Hatch, Senator Minority—Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, and House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy.

I also want to acknowledge Senator, Democratic Leader Harry Reid. Harry, it's good to see you back on your feet.

I guess it's true what they say, you can't keep a good man down.

My friends, I'm deeply humbled by the opportunity to speak for a third time before the most important legislative body in the world, the U.S. Congress.

I want to thank you all for being here today. I know that my speech has been the subject of much controversy. I deeply regret that some perceive my being here as political. That was never my intention.

I want to thank you, Democrats and Republicans, for your common support for Israel, year after year, decade after decade.

I know that no matter on which side of the aisle you sit, you stand with Israel.

The remarkable alliance between Israel and the United States has always been above politics. It must always remain above politics.

Because America and Israel, we share a common destiny, the destiny of promised lands that cherish freedom and offer hope. Israel is grateful for the support of American—of America's people and of America's presidents, from Harry Truman to Barack Obama.

We appreciate all that President Obama has done for Israel.

Now, some of that is widely known. Some of that is widely known, like strengthening security cooperation and intelligence sharing, opposing anti-Israel resolutions at the U.N.

Some of what the president has done for Israel is less well-known.

I called him in 2010 when we had the Carmel forest fire, and he immediately agreed to respond to my request for urgent aid.

In 2011, we had our embassy in Cairo under siege, and again, he provided vital assistance at the crucial moment.

Or his support for more missile interceptors during our operation last

summer when we took on Hamas terrorists.

In each of those moments, I called the president, and he was there.

And some of what the president has done for Israel might never be known, because it touches on some of the most sensitive and strategic issues that arise between an American president and an Israeli prime minister.

But I know it, and I will always be grateful to President Obama for that support. And Israel is grateful to you, the American Congress, for your support, for supporting us in so many ways, especially in generous military assistance and missile defense,

VITAL SPEECHES *of the day*

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The publisher of *Vital Speeches of the Day* believes that it is indeed vital to the welfare of the nation that important, constructive addresses by recognized leaders in both the public and private sectors be permanently recorded and disseminated—both to ensure that readers gain a sound knowledge of public questions and to provide models of excellence in contemporary oratory. These speeches represent the best thoughts of the best minds on current national and international issues in the fields of economics, politics, education, sociology, government, criminology, finance, business, taxation, health, law, labor, and more.

It is the policy of the publisher to cover both sides of public questions. Furthermore, because *Vital Speeches of the Day* was founded on the belief that it is only in the unedited and unexpurgated speech that the view of the speaker is truly communicated to the reader, all speeches are printed in full. When it is necessary to condense a speech for reasons of unusual length or the use of extraneous matter, it is so stated. Speeches featured in *Vital Speeches of the Day* are selected solely on the merit of the speech and the speaker, and do not reflect the personal views or pre-established relationships of the publisher.

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Editor

David Murray, vseditor@mcmurry.com

General Manager

Mike Hines

Telephone 888-303-2373

Fax 602-395-5853

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including Iron Dome. Last summer, millions of Israelis were protected from thousands of Hamas rockets because this capital dome helped build our Iron Dome. Thank you, America. Thank you for everything you've done for Israel.

My friends, I've come here today because, as prime minister of Israel, I feel a profound obligation to speak to you about an issue that could well threaten the survival of my country and the future of my people: Iran's quest for nuclear weapons. We're an ancient people. In our nearly 4,000 years of history, many have tried repeatedly to destroy the Jewish people. Tomorrow night, on the Jewish holiday of Purim, we'll read the Book of Esther. We'll read of a powerful Persian viceroy named Haman, who plotted to destroy the Jewish people some 2,500 years ago. But a courageous Jewish woman, Queen Esther, exposed the plot and gave for the Jewish people the right to defend themselves against their enemies.

The plot was foiled. Our people were saved. Today the Jewish people face another attempt by yet another Persian potentate to destroy us.

Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei spews the oldest hatred, the oldest hatred of anti-Semitism with the newest technology. He tweets that Israel must be annihilated—he tweets. You know, in Iran, there isn't exactly free Internet. But he tweets in English that Israel must be destroyed. For those who believe that Iran threatens the Jewish state, but not the Jewish people, listen to Hassan Nasrallah, the leader of Hezbollah, Iran's chief terrorist proxy. He said: If all the Jews gather in Israel, it will save us the trouble of chasing them down around the world. But Iran's regime is not merely a Jewish problem, any more than the Nazi regime was merely a Jewish problem. The 6 million Jews murdered by the Nazis were but a fraction of the 60 million people killed in World War II. So, too, Iran's regime poses a grave threat, not only to Israel, but also the peace of the entire world.

To understand just how dangerous Iran would be with nuclear weapons, we must fully understand the nature of the regime.

The people of Iran are very talented people. They're heirs to one of the world's great civilizations. But in 1979, they were hijacked by religious zealots—religious zealots who imposed on them immediately a dark and brutal dictatorship. That year, the zealots drafted a constitution, a new one for Iran. It directed the revolutionary guards not only to protect Iran's borders, but also to fulfill the ideological mission of jihad. The regime's founder, Ayatollah Khomeini, exhorted his followers to "export the revolution throughout the world." I'm standing here in Washington, D.C. and the difference is so stark. America's founding document promises life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Iran's founding document pledges death, tyranny, and the pursuit of jihad. And as states are collapsing across the Middle East, Iran is charging into the void to do just that. Iran's goons in Gaza, its lackeys in Lebanon, its revolutionary guards on the Golan Heights are clutching Israel with three tentacles of terror. Backed by Iran, Assad is slaughtering Syrians. Back by Iran, Shiite militias are rampaging through Iraq. Back by Iran, Houthis are seizing control of Yemen, threatening the strategic straits at the mouth of the Red Sea. Along with the Straits of Hormuz, that would give Iran a second choke-point on the world's oil supply.

Just last week, near Hormuz, Iran carried out a military exercise blowing up a mock U.S. aircraft carrier. That's just last week, while they're having nuclear talks with the United States. But unfortunately, for the last 36 years, Iran's attacks against the United States have been anything but mock. And the targets have been all too real. Iran took dozens of Americans hostage in Tehran, murdered hundreds of American soldiers, Marines, in Beirut, and was responsible for killing and maiming thousands of American service

men and women in Iraq and Afghanistan. Beyond the Middle East, Iran attacks America and its allies through its global terror network. It blew up the Jewish community center and the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires. It helped Al Qaida bomb U.S. embassies in Africa. It even attempted to assassinate the Saudi ambassador, right here in Washington, D.C. In the Middle East, Iran now dominates four Arab capitals, Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut and Sanaa. And if Iran's aggression is left unchecked, more will surely follow. So, at a time when many hope that Iran will join the community of nations, Iran is busy gobbling up the nations. We must all stand together to stop Iran's march of conquest, subjugation and terror. Now, two years ago, we were told to give President Rouhani and Foreign Minister Zarif a chance to bring change and moderation to Iran. Some change! Some moderation!

Rouhani's government hangs gays, persecutes Christians, jails journalists and executes even more prisoners than before. Last year, the same Zarif who charms Western diplomats laid a wreath at the grave of Imad Mughniyeh. Imad Mughniyeh is the terrorist mastermind who spilled more American blood than any other terrorist besides Osama bin Laden. I'd like to see someone ask him a question about that. Iran's regime is as radical as ever, its cries of "Death to America," that same America that it calls the "Great Satan," as loud as ever. Now, this shouldn't be surprising, because the ideology of Iran's revolutionary regime is deeply rooted in militant Islam, and that's why this regime will always be an enemy of America. Don't be fooled. The battle between Iran and ISIS doesn't turn Iran into a friend of America. Iran and ISIS are competing for the crown of militant Islam. One calls itself the Islamic Republic. The other calls itself the Islamic State. Both want to impose a militant Islamic empire first on the region and then on the entire world. They just disagree among themselves

who will be the ruler of that empire. In this deadly game of thrones, there's no place for America or for Israel, no peace for Christians, Jews or Muslims who don't share the Islamist medieval creed, no rights for women, no freedom for anyone.

So when it comes to Iran and ISIS, the enemy of your enemy is your enemy. The difference is that ISIS is armed with butcher knives, captured weapons and YouTube, whereas Iran could soon be armed with intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear bombs. We must always remember—I'll say it one more time—the greatest dangers facing our world is the marriage of militant Islam with nuclear weapons. To defeat ISIS and let Iran get nuclear weapons would be to win the battle, but lose the war. We can't let that happen. But that, my friends, is exactly what could happen, if the deal now being negotiated is accepted by Iran. That deal will not prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons. It would all but guarantee that Iran gets those weapons, lots of them. Let me explain why. While the final deal has not yet been signed, certain elements of any potential deal are now a matter of public record. You don't need intelligence agencies and secret information to know this. You can Google it.

Absent a dramatic change, we know for sure that any deal with Iran will include two major concessions to Iran. The first major concession would leave Iran with a vast nuclear infrastructure, providing it with a short break-out time to the bomb. Break-out time is the time it takes to amass enough weapons-grade uranium or plutonium for a nuclear bomb. According to the deal, not a single nuclear facility would be demolished. Thousands of centrifuges used to enrich uranium would be left spinning. Thousands more would be temporarily disconnected, but not destroyed. Because Iran's nuclear program would be left largely intact, Iran's break-out time would be very short—about a year by U.S. assessment, even shorter

by Israel's. And if—if Iran's work on advanced centrifuges, faster and faster centrifuges, is not stopped, that break-out time could still be shorter, a lot shorter. True, certain restrictions would be imposed on Iran's nuclear program and Iran's adherence to those restrictions would be supervised by international inspectors. But here's the problem. You see, inspectors document violations; they don't stop them. Inspectors knew when North Korea broke to the bomb, but that didn't stop anything. North Korea turned off the cameras, kicked out the inspectors. Within a few years, it got the bomb. Now, we're warned that within five years North Korea could have an arsenal of 100 nuclear bombs. Like North Korea, Iran, too, has defied international inspectors. It's done that on at least three separate occasions—2005, 2006, 2010. Like North Korea, Iran broke the locks, shut off the cameras.

Now, I know this is not gonna come a shock—as a shock to any of you, but Iran not only defies inspectors, it also plays a pretty good game of hide-and-cheat with them. The U.N.'s nuclear watchdog agency, the IAEA, said again yesterday that Iran still refuses to come clean about its military nuclear program. Iran was also caught—caught twice, not once, twice—operating secret nuclear facilities in Natanz and Qom, facilities that inspectors didn't even know existed. Right now, Iran could be hiding nuclear facilities that we don't know about, the U.S. and Israel. As the former head of inspections for the IAEA said in 2013, he said, "If there's no undeclared installation today in Iran, it will be the first time in 20 years that it doesn't have one." Iran has proven time and again that it cannot be trusted. And that's why the first major concession is a source of great concern. It leaves Iran with a vast nuclear infrastructure and relies on inspectors to prevent a breakout. That concession creates a real danger that Iran could get to the bomb by violating the deal. But the second major concession creates an even greater danger that Iran could

get to the bomb by keeping the deal. Because virtually all the restrictions on Iran's nuclear program will automatically expire in about a decade.

Now, a decade may seem like a long time in political life, but it's the blink of an eye in the life of a nation. It's a blink of an eye in the life of our children. We all have a responsibility to consider what will happen when Iran's nuclear capabilities are virtually unrestricted and all the sanctions will have been lifted. Iran would then be free to build a huge nuclear capacity that could produce many, many nuclear bombs. Iran's Supreme Leader says that openly. He says, Iran plans to have 190,000 centrifuges, not 6,000 or even the 19,000 that Iran has today, but 10 times that amount—190,000 centrifuges enriching uranium. With this massive capacity, Iran could make the fuel for an entire nuclear arsenal and this in a matter of weeks, once it makes that decision. My long-time friend, John Kerry, Secretary of State, confirmed last week that Iran could legitimately possess that massive centrifuge capacity when the deal expires. Now I want you to think about that. The foremost sponsor of global terrorism could be weeks away from having enough enriched uranium for an entire arsenal of nuclear weapons and this with full international legitimacy. And by the way, if Iran's Intercontinental Ballistic Missile program is not part of the deal, and so far, Iran refuses to even put it on the negotiating table. Well, Iran could have the means to deliver that nuclear arsenal to the far-reach corners of the earth, including to every part of the United States.

So you see, my friends, this deal has two major concessions: one, leaving Iran with a vast nuclear program and two, lifting the restrictions on that program in about a decade. That's why this deal is so bad. It doesn't block Iran's path to the bomb; it paves Iran's path to the bomb. So why would anyone make this deal? Because they hope that Iran will change for the better in the coming years, or they believe that

the alternative to this deal is worse? Well, I disagree. I don't believe that Iran's radical regime will change for the better after this deal. This regime has been in power for 36 years, and its voracious appetite for aggression grows with each passing year. This deal would wet appetite—would only wet Iran's appetite for more. Would Iran be less aggressive when sanctions are removed and its economy is stronger? If Iran is gobbling up four countries right now while it's under sanctions, how many more countries will Iran devour when sanctions are lifted? Would Iran fund less terrorism when it has mountains of cash with which to fund more terrorism? Why should Iran's radical regime change for the better when it can enjoy the best of both worlds: aggression abroad, prosperity at home? This is a question that everyone asks in our region. Israel's neighbors—Iran's neighbors know that Iran will become even more aggressive and sponsor even more terrorism when its economy is unshackled and it's been given a clear path to the bomb.

And many of these neighbors say they'll respond by racing to get nuclear weapons of their own. So this deal won't change Iran for the better; it will only change the Middle East for the worse. A deal that's supposed to prevent nuclear proliferation would instead spark a nuclear arms race in the most dangerous part of the planet. This deal won't be a farewell to arms. It would be a farewell to arms control. And the Middle East would soon be crisscrossed by nuclear tripwires. A region where small skirmishes can trigger big wars would turn into a nuclear tinderbox. If anyone thinks—if anyone thinks this deal kicks the can down the road, think again. When we get down that road, we'll face a much more dangerous Iran, a Middle East littered with nuclear bombs and a countdown to a potential nuclear nightmare. Ladies and gentlemen, I've come here today to tell you we don't have to bet the security of the world on the hope that Iran will change for

the better. We don't have to gamble with our future and with our children's future. We can insist that restrictions on Iran's nuclear program not be lifted for as long as Iran continues its aggression in the region and in the world. Before lifting those restrictions, the world should demand that Iran do three things. First, stop its aggression against its neighbors in the Middle East. Second... Second, stop supporting terrorism around the world. And third, stop threatening to annihilate my country, Israel, the one and only Jewish state. Thank you. If the world powers are not prepared to insist that Iran change its behavior before a deal is signed, at the very least they should insist that Iran change its behavior before a deal expires. If Iran changes its behavior, the restrictions would be lifted. If Iran doesn't change its behavior, the restrictions should not be lifted. If Iran wants to be treated like a normal country, let it act like a normal country. My friends, what about the argument that there's no alternative to this deal, that Iran's nuclear know-how cannot be erased, that its nuclear program is so advanced that the best we can do is delay the inevitable, which is essentially what the proposed deal seeks to do? Well, nuclear know-how without nuclear infrastructure doesn't get you very much. A racecar driver without a car can't drive. A pilot without a plan can't fly. Without thousands of centrifuges, tons of enriched uranium or heavy water facilities, Iran can't make nuclear weapons. Iran's nuclear program can be rolled back well-beyond the current proposal by insisting on a better deal and keeping up the pressure on a very vulnerable regime, especially given the recent collapse in the price of oil.

Now, if Iran threatens to walk away from the table—and this often happens in a Persian bazaar—call their bluff. They'll be back, because they need the deal a lot more than you do. And by maintaining the pressure on Iran and on those who do business with Iran, you have the power to make them need it even more.

My friends, for over a year, we've been told that no deal is better than a bad deal. Well, this is a bad deal. It's a very bad deal. We're better off without it. Now we're being told that the only alternative to this bad deal is war. That's just not true. The alternative to this bad deal is a much better deal. A better deal that doesn't leave Iran with a vast nuclear infrastructure and such a short break-out time. A better deal that keeps the restrictions on Iran's nuclear program in place until Iran's aggression ends. A better deal that won't give Iran an easy path to the bomb. A better deal that Israel and its neighbors may not like, but with which we could live, literally.

And no country has a greater stake than Israel in a good deal that peacefully removes this threat. Ladies and gentlemen, history has placed us at a fateful crossroads. We must now choose between two paths. One path leads to a bad deal that will at best curtail Iran's nuclear ambitions for a while, but it will inexorably lead to a nuclear-armed Iran whose unbridled aggression will inevitably lead to war.

The second path, however difficult, could lead to a much better deal, that would prevent a nuclear-armed Iran, a nuclearized Middle East and the horrific consequences of both to all of humanity. You don't have to read Robert Frost to know. You have to live life to know that the difficult path is usually the one less traveled, but it will make all the difference for the future of my country, the security of the Middle East and the peace of the world, the peace, we all desire. My friend, standing up to Iran is not easy. Standing up to dark and murderous regimes never is. With us today is Holocaust survivor and Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel. Elie, your life and work inspires to give meaning to the words, "never again." And I wish I could promise you, Elie, that the lessons of history have been learned. I can only urge the leaders of the world not to repeat the mistakes of the past. Not to sacrifice the future for the present; not to ignore aggression in the

hopes of gaining an illusory peace. But I can guarantee you this, the days when the Jewish people remained passive in the face of genocidal enemies, those days are over. We are no longer scattered among the nations, powerless to defend ourselves. We restored our sovereignty in our ancient home. And the soldiers who defend our home have boundless courage. For the first time in 100 generations, we, the Jewish people, can defend ourselves. This is why—this is why, as a prime minister of Israel, I can promise you one more thing: Even if Israel has to

stand alone, Israel will stand. But I know that Israel does not stand alone. I know that America stands with Israel. I know that you stand with Israel. You stand with Israel, because you know that the story of Israel is not only the story of the Jewish people but of the human spirit that refuses again and again to succumb to history's horrors. Facing me right up there in the gallery, overlooking all of us in this (inaudible) chamber is the image of Moses. Moses led our people from slavery to the gates of the Promised Land.

And before the people of Israel entered the land of Israel, Moses gave us a message that has steeled our resolve for thousands of years. I leave you with his message today [speaking in Hebrew], “Be strong and resolute, neither fear nor dread them.” My friends, may Israel and America always stand together, strong and resolute. May we neither fear nor dread the challenges ahead. May we face the future with confidence, strength and hope. May God bless the state of Israel and may God bless the United States of America.

INNOVATING FINANCIAL INCLUSION

Other generations have eradicated disease, invented radio and television and ... the telephone. The opportunity to drive financial inclusion is unique to us and our time. We can bend the arc of history towards financial inclusion and a world where more people have the opportunity to enjoy what we take for granted.

Address by AJAY BANGA,
President and CEO, MasterCard



Delivered at the Mobile World Congress,
Barcelona, Spain, March 3, 2015

Thank you for that introduction. When I think about our topic today—Innovating for Inclusion—I think of a shared journey before us. I think about the good we can do if we act together.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. once said that “the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice.” It’s a powerful quote that’s been used by many in different contexts, from U.S. President Barack Obama to World Bank President, Dr. Jim Kim. It’s a quote I want to apply directly to one of the global challenges of our time: creating access and opportunity for more people to join the financial mainstream.

Because of technology—because of the roles we in this room play, we can help shape the arc of history to bend it towards financial inclusion and greater human progress.

Financial inclusion is a massive undertaking—one that can only be met together—across countries, sectors, and industries. I’ll offer some perspectives on how we might get closer

to achieving that goal. I’ll do that by addressing three questions:

First, why should we care about financial inclusion?

Second, what does MasterCard bring to the table?

Third, what lessons have we learned?

1. Why should we care about financial inclusion?

So, why does financial inclusion matter? Financial inclusion matters because without it large swaths of people are left behind. More than 2.5 billion people don’t have a bank account and millions more don’t use their bank accounts regularly. That’s half the world’s adult population.

Financial inclusion isn’t just a developing market issue. In the U.S., nearly 70 million Americans are currently unbanked or under banked. Here in Western Europe, it’s closer to 100 million.

Of the 2.5 billion who are financially excluded, nearly 40% are young

people. Nearly 50% are women. Half are urban. Half have jobs.

In many ways, these are people just like us. They are Mothers, Fathers, refugees, students, and farmers. They are left without the things we take for granted—proof of identity, a way to save money for a rainy day, to get loans, or to insure themselves or their crops.

Financial inclusion matters for all of these reasons and more. It matters because the risks of not addressing it are profound.

And by the way, in the future with the Internet of Things, where every device will be connected to the Internet, what kind of life will those who are financially excluded have? We’ll have the Internet of Everything but not the Inclusion of Everyone.

We can’t talk about financial inclusion without talking about cash. Cash isn’t the friend of the financially excluded. Think about having to pay a bill in cash and standing in line for hours—when you get paid by the hour. And you can’t pay that bill over the phone or online.

Think about not being able to send a small amount of money to your mother at a reasonable cost. Think about having the social benefits you just got in cash stolen as you make your way home.

Or worse by relatives at home—which happens far more than you might think, especially to women. Yet, 85% of the world's retail transactions are still done in cash.

While we can't talk about financial inclusion without talking about cash, we can't talk about cash without the need to move beyond it—to move to electronic forms of payment.

Let me now turn to the second question. What does MasterCard bring to the table?

2. What does MasterCard bring to the table?

In a word: interoperability. We connect banks, Telcos, merchants, governments, and consumers. We connect nearly two billion cardholders to 40+ million merchants through more than 25,000 banks in 200+ countries. And we're doing it through our network—the fastest, most secure on the planet. I want to underscore, we don't issue a single card. Those are issued by banks and licensed financial institutions in each country.

With our network, we can connect a complicated web of players who operate with different rules and technologies. Together, we can drive ubiquity, safety, and utility—the trifecta of success in mobile payments.

But here's the problem: the majority of mobile money programs aren't connected. They operate in silos. They compete to own the entire end-to-end solution. The basic commercial contract suffers if consumers can't use their accounts in the most ubiquitous way possible. They need to pay bills. They need to shop. They need to send money to relatives. They need cash.

Financial Inclusion must be inclusion into the existing banked world. Otherwise, we risk creating islands, where the unbanked transact with each other.

Imagine if we didn't operate as islands. Imagine if we didn't compete to own the entire end-to-end solution. Imagine if we made it easier for consumers, not just to open an account but to use one in simple ways—to do the things they need to do to live their lives. Together, we can truly move the needle for greater financial inclusion to happen in our lifetime.

Examples and Announcement

Let me give you some examples of what we've been doing. In our first efforts, we partnered with governments like those of Nigeria and South Africa. We added payment functionality and biometric identification functionality to cards issued by those governments.

We're ensuring that social benefits can be paid safely and securely with minimum leakage through that channel. These cards can be used to take out cash and to buy things from merchants.

Plastic cards are but one form factor. We're working with other technologies to achieve even greater scale. What's more ubiquitous than the mobile phone?

While it's still early days, let me give you a few examples of what we've been doing in this new space.

First, remittances to developing nations are expected to hit nearly half a trillion dollars this year alone. The runway is long. With that in mind, we formed a joint venture called HomeSend with BICS—a global mobile operator and eServGlobal—a global mobile financial services firm. HomeSend is a global money transfer hub that creates a bridge among banks, Telcos, and money transfer locations. People can send money via mobile, a payment card, a bank account, or in person in cash—regardless of carrier, financial institution, or location.

Second, we've partnered with mobile network operators in Brazil and with CAIXA—the second largest public bank. Soon Brazilians will be able to get their government benefits via their mobile phones.

Third, we recently launched an Innovation Lab for Financial Inclusion in Kenya with a grant from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Our goal is to extend financial services to the poor in East Africa with a target of helping at least 100 million people across the region.

And today, we just announced a new partnership with the Government of Egypt. Joining us in the audience is the Minister of Communications and Information Technology of Egypt—Mr. Atef Helmy, who was instrumental in that effort. We're working with the Egyptian government to roll out a digital ID program that links citizens' national IDs to the country's existing mobile money platform. As a result, 54 million Egyptians will now have a connection to the financial system for the first time!

They'll be able to use their National ID to register for an account, using their National ID credentials and digital signature. They'll be able to receive government salaries, pensions, subsidies, and grants directly into their Mobile Payment Record. They'll be able to use their mobile phones to make payments directly to merchants, send and receive domestic remittances, withdraw cash, and pay bills using a bill payment platform.

All of this is greatly facilitated by the fact that 100% of the Egyptian population has some form of mobile coverage. None of this could happen without leveraging Egypt's existing interoperable national mobile money platform that MasterCard helped set up.

Now let me turn to some lessons we've learned along the way.

3. What lessons have we learned?

First, you can't go it alone. If we're going to have a true impact on financial inclusion, we must work together on behalf of the 2.5 billion who are currently excluded.

Second, we need public-private partnerships. Financial inclusion is too big a task for anyone to believe

they tackle it on their own. Silos won't work. Owning solutions end-to-end won't work.

Hence, the need for partnerships. Partnerships among different players within the private sector. Partnerships between governments and the private sector. It's public-private partnerships that are the fastest, most efficient route to financial inclusion.

Why? Because globally, the public sector represents the single largest, flow of money to the financially excluded. About 30% of what they receive comes from governments via social security payments and other benefits. We need the public sector to help with regulations, to help with a citizen identification system to facilitate Know Your Customer

compliance, and to help with a good business climate.

The private sector brings: distribution, innovation, efficiencies, and execution.

Third, just because a person has an account doesn't mean our job is done. Those accounts must be used. And too often, they're not. We need to bolster usability of accounts. A study by the Gates Foundation and McKinsey & Co. found that in countries where more than 70% of people can pay digitally, financial inclusion is over 85%.

Before I conclude my remarks, let me recap:

Financial inclusion matters—it affects all of us.

Interoperability is key to financial inclusion.

We need public-private partnerships. The magnitude of the problem is too large. We cannot go it alone.

Closing

Other generations have eradicated disease, invented radio and television and yes—the telephone. The opportunity to drive financial inclusion is unique to us and our time. We can bend the arc of history towards financial inclusion and a world where more people have the opportunity to enjoy what we take for granted. But it takes all of us working together.

I'm reminded of the African proverb that says: "if you want to go quickly, go alone. If you want to go far, go together." Let's go together. Thank you.

EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK: "THE HOUSE OF THE EURO"

There are some, like many of the protestors outside today, who believe the problem is that Europe is doing too little. And there are others, like the populist parties we see emerging across Europe, who believe that Europe is doing too much.

Address by MARIO DRAGHI,
President, European Central Bank



Delivered at inauguration of new ECB headquarters,
Frankfurt, Germany, March 18, 2015

Deputy Minister President Mr. Al-Wazir,
Lord Mayor Mr. Feldmann,
Former President of the ECB, dear Jean-Claude Trichet,
Fellow and former members of the Governing Council,
Former Lord Mayor, Mrs. Roth,
Honorary citizen, Mr. von Metzler,
Head of the Jewish Community, Mr Korn,
Heir of the Grossmarkthalle architects, Mr. Elsaesser, and
Mr. Prix, the famous architect of our new house

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am delighted to welcome you all today to the inauguration of the new European Central Bank headquarters.

Creating our new home is a project as old as the ECB itself. It began in 1998 with the search for a suitable site. In 2001 we found that site

here at the Grossmarkthalle. A year later, an international competition was launched for the best architectural design, which was eventually won by Wolf Prix and his team. And in May 2010 the foundation stone was laid and the main construction works started. Many people, some of them here today, have worked tirelessly over this period to make this project a reality. I would like to thank everybody involved for such tremendous work.

The euro, our single currency, has become the most tangible symbol of European integration—a piece of Europe accessible and valuable to each and every one of us. This building will inevitably become known as the "house of the euro". It provides a sound foundation for the ECB to pursue its mandate of maintaining price stability for all euro area citizens.

In that sense, the building is a

symbol of the best of what Europe can achieve together. But it is also a symbol of why we can never again risk to split apart.

We are standing here today in what used to be Frankfurt's former wholesale fruit and vegetable market, a state-of-the-art functional building from the 1920s that has largely been preserved and incorporated into the new structure. Between 1941 and 1945, more than 10,000 Jewish people from Frankfurt and nearby were deported from here to the concentration camps. A memorial on the east-side of the building has been built to remind us, and those who come after us, of deeds that cannot and must never be forgotten.

An integrated, democratic and peaceful Europe was one of the key lessons from this dark chapter in history. We have come a long way since

then—but nothing we have achieved should be taken for granted.

European unity is being strained. People are going through very difficult times. A recent Eurobarometer survey on how households in several countries are coping with the crisis showed that all respondents had been affected by a loss of income, and almost all said life was worse since the crisis hit.

As an EU institution that has played a central role throughout the crisis, the ECB has become a focal point for those frustrated with this situation. This may not be a fair charge—our action has been aimed precisely at cushioning the shocks suffered by the economy. But as the central bank of the whole euro area, we must listen very carefully to what all our citizens are saying.

There are some, like many of the protestors outside today, who believe the problem is that Europe is doing too little. They want a more integrated Europe with more financial solidarity between nations.

And there are others, like the populist parties we see emerging across Europe, who believe that Europe is doing too much. Their answer is to renationalise our economies and reclaim economic sovereignty.

I understand what motivates these views, why people want to see a change. Yet in truth neither offers a real solution to the situation we face today.

Solidarity is central to European integration and it is right that countries have supported each other during the crisis. But the euro area is not a political union of the sort where some countries permanently pay for others.

It has always been understood that countries have to be able to stand on their own two feet—that each is responsible for its own policies. The fact that some had to go through a difficult period of adjustment was first and foremost a consequence of their past decisions.

Nevertheless, standing on one's own feet is not the same thing as standing alone. Renationalising our economies is also not the answer.

It would not change the basic economic realities that European countries confront—that we are ageing societies which have to grow primarily through raising productivity. And it would not offer citizens any more economic security. There is no country in the world that is both prosperous and insulated from globalisation.

In fact, the Single Market process was introduced precisely because European economies, acting alone, could not create enough jobs in an increasingly open world. And that process led in turn to monetary union because—as the ERM crisis in the early 1990s showed—countries realised they could not integrate in part and benefit in full. The financial and sovereign debt crises since 2008 have only reaffirmed that truth.

So the answer is not to unwind integration. Nor is it to hold out an unattainable vision of where integration should lead. It is to complete our monetary union in the areas where it can and needs to be completed. We need ambition in our ends and pragmatism in our means.

We have already shown how this can be done with the solidarity and stabilisation mechanisms that were set up during the crisis. Banking Union is also a remarkable achievement. Now we need to make progress in the other areas that remain unfinished, notably in terms of economic and institutional convergence.

Still, I recognise that we cannot have a purely economic perspective on the questions facing our Union. While economic integration produces more jobs and growth on aggregate, this does not completely solve the problem that drives dissatisfaction with the euro and the EU. There is also the problem of distribution: who gains and who loses from that process?

For example, higher labour mobility across countries might reduce unemployment, but it can also stoke fears about immigration and create insecurity for low-skilled workers. Opening up a previously protected sector might reduce costs for consumers, but it can

also leave citizens employed there with an uncertain future.

So, if we are to build lasting confidence in our Union, we still need to address this tension—to reconcile the economics of integration, which is about efficiency, with the politics of integration, which is about equity.

This is a complex issue, but a solution can be summed up in one word: skills.

Theoretical and empirical research both suggest that recent technological change has been skill-biased. In other words, production technology has shifted in a way that favours skilled over unskilled labour, by increasing its relative productivity and therefore its relative demand.

Equipping workers with the right skills therefore makes the economy more efficient and creates new job opportunities. And it also makes the economy more equitable by allowing as many citizens as possible to participate in those opportunities.

For this reason, education and training need to be as much a part of the reform agenda as creating more flexible markets and reducing red tape.

But there is also a second way in which the economics and politics of integration need to be reconciled. The more decision-making over economic issues moves to the European level, the more democracy needs to move with it.

This is not just because democracy is a core value of the EU. It is because making policy without adequate representation and accountability does not work. So we need to deepen our economic union and our political union together. And this means strengthening the channels for genuine European democratic legitimacy, like the European Parliament.

Inevitably European democracy will be different. Voters in any one country may initially fear that they have less influence over decisions than at present. But it is my belief and certainly what has happened in the monetary policy area that in giving up some formal sovereignty, people will gain in effective sovereignty.

They will empower institutions with euro-wide responsibilities able to tackle the pressing problems of jobs and growth—and so their votes may in fact make more of a difference to their lives than they do today.

In this way, I trust, we can reconcile those who feel left out, including many of the protesters gathered in Frankfurt this week, with a process of integration that has already generated so many benefits for three generations of Europeans.

Let me conclude.

This building is a credit to all those who have worked to bring it to

fruition. It is a landmark for the city of Frankfurt. And it provides the ECB with an impressive new home to pursue its mandate.

But it also stands as a powerful symbol of what European integration is about. It reminds us of where we have come from and where we have come to. Of the horrors that can happen when we split apart, and the huge steps forward we can make when we work together.

So let us not undo what has been achieved. Let us not hanker for the past. Let us draw on the past to unite us in the present—to build a complete

Union that can deliver the stability and prosperity we need.

We as the central bank will do our part in this process by ensuring the integrity of our single currency. Our shared money is the most tangible sign of the trust we place in one another. As the ECB's first President, Wim Duisenberg, put it at the launch of the euro more than 16 years ago:

“A currency is far more than just a medium of exchange ... A currency is also part of the identity of people. It reflects what they have in common, now and in the future.”

Thank you for your attention.

SUSTAINABILITY: A JOURNEY THAT HAS TO BE A WAY OF LIFE

No single company, government or institution alone can address the mega-challenges we face in coming decades. The scale of the task is simply too vast, too urgent, and requires speed never before imagined.

Address by SAMIR AL-ABDRABBUH,
Vice President, Corporate Communications, SABIC



Delivered at the Second Bahrain International
CSR Conference, Feb. 9, 2015

Your Excellency, Minister of Energy Dr. Mirza, Your Highnesses, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen....

I am so delighted and honored to be representing my company—SABIC—once again at this important forum.

The theme of this year's conference is “Beyond Eco-Industrialism: Paving the Way for a Better Tomorrow.”

I agree. Eco-industrialism is a fine concept—as far as it goes.

But to truly build a better tomorrow for all of us, we must move beyond it—as your conference theme profoundly suggests.

We need to aim higher...and farther.

Building a better tomorrow requires taking corporate social responsibility to the next level: by constructing a truly sustainable business model—right across the value-chain.

In short, CSR can no longer be retrofitted onto an existing business model. It must be designed in, at the start.

Why?

No business exists in a vacuum. Even the largest organizations are acted upon by megatrends beyond their control.

This audience, I am certain, is familiar with many of them.

Global population is estimated to reach nine billion by 2050— with 60 percent of those people living in urban areas.

Those people want to live a middle-class lifestyle, with all that goes with it: central heating, air conditioning, clean water from the tap, cars and SUV's parked outside.

Addressing these challenges in a traditional manner will strain not only the planet's natural resources, but its political and social resources as well.

It is only by understanding and planning for the risks associated with this emerging marketplace that we can grow and produce value for the world.

But before going on, allow me to introduce my company—SABIC—to those who are not familiar with it.

We are one of the world's largest petrochemical companies, with \$50 billion in annual revenues, 40,000 employees spread across 45 countries, with over 10,000 patents and more being added each year.

Over the past decade, our spend on CSR programs and projects totals more than 2.7 billion Saudi riyals.

In many ways, SABIC's inception was the original model for sustainability—by re-using waste gas from oil production.

Forty years on, our business has moved far beyond simply that.

And so has our approach to CSR.

The approach must be holistic—under the bigger umbrella of sustainability—whereby social, economic and environmental aspects are well-balanced.

We begin with the recognition that our business depends on finite raw materials.

Our long-term success requires that we use them as efficiently as possible and make our environmental footprint as compact as possible.

Embracing the concept of circular economy, we are building what will be the world's largest carbon capture and use plant in Jubail, Saudi Arabia.

Currently, our fertilizer plants capture CO₂ and use it to manufacture urea and methanol—turning a source of pollution into a source of life.

At SABIC, we no longer look at our product life cycle in terms of “cradle-to-grave,” but rather, in terms of “cradle-to-cradle,” including transportation and logistics.

Our aspirational goal is reducing energy intensity and greenhouse gases by 25%—and waste material by 50%—over the next 10 years, from a 2010 baseline.

These efforts and others like them across SABIC are critical.

But we are extending sustainability to innovation and products—and so helping our customers and partners achieve their sustainability goals.

As we speak today, SABIC ingenuity is making the world a safer, cleaner, and a more energy-efficient place to live.

SABIC materials—which are not only stronger but also lighter than steel and deliver greater freedom of design—are found in planes, trains and automobiles—making them more fuel-efficient, with fewer emissions to the world.

They are being used to manufacture the world's first carbon composite auto wheel, the world's first 3D printed car, and Volkswagen's XL1 diesel plug-in hybrid.

In supermarkets, tin cans are disappearing and being replaced by more environmentally friendly packaging from SABIC.

SABIC smart fertilizers not only use less water, thus reducing runoff into rivers and streams, but also feed the plants only when they need it. That means the farmer buys less fertilizer.

Plus, it emits fewer harmful greenhouse gases.

It is a triple win for the world!

In today's time and age, it is only possible to differentiate yourself via such innovations rather than through

feedstock, prices or operational capability.

That is the path we have adopted and we take it very seriously.

That is why we continue investing in technology and innovation at very high levels.

And we look beyond our own walls when it comes to digging out the best ideas.

We are enjoying strategic relationships with top institutions such as King Abdullah University of Science and Technology (KAUST), MIT, Cambridge, King Saud University, Peking University, and many more.

And to energize and motivate the wider society in the search for ingenuity, SABIC just last month announced our Innovation Award.

Open to all ages and any nationality in Saudi Arabia, it will grant cash awards of up to 10 million Saudi riyals to encourage and incubate innovative ideas.

If we are to cross that bridge and move beyond eco-industrialism, then the days of subjective judgment on where corporate CSR spending should flow are gone.

A clear and coherent CSR strategy is indispensable.

At SABIC, we set out to design a robust new CSR strategy that meshes fully with our corporate strategy.

Our CSR activities must match our focus areas, geographic interests and corporate goals.

All CSR initiatives must pass through two gates.

First is whether or not they fall within one or more of our four CSR areas of focus, namely:

- Health and wellness;
- Science and technology education;
- Community engagement; and
- Environmental protection, including water and sustainable agriculture.

If an initiative is found to be contained within one or more of these categories, it moves to the next gate.

We have dubbed this filter RAISE: “R” stands for Reputation; “A” for Audience; “I” for Innovation; “S” for Strategy; and “E” for Endurance.

Examining each initiative against these filters ensures that we are aligned with our corporate strategy and executing our CSR efforts in a sustainable way that makes a difference.

So one of the cornerstones of our approach is lasting impact—for SABIC and for the world. We call this “creating lasting value.”

Our four areas of focus stretch from Saudi Arabia to China, the Americas and beyond.

So what kind of initiatives make the cut?

We are talking about:

Constructing hospitals;

Funding eye-care clinics, drug addiction and mental health programs;

Funding university chairs, scholarship programs for disabled children, research into autism, schools for children with Down's Syndrome;

Cleaning lakes and islands, and fostering a culture of volunteerism among our employees.

As I conclude, ladies and gentlemen, let me leave you with the following premise:

No single company, government or institution alone can address the mega-challenges we face in coming decades.

The scale of the task is simply too vast, too urgent, and requires speed never before imagined.

SABIC is rising to this challenge by developing innovative, sustainable solutions for the industries, regions and communities where we operate.

But we recognize there are no simple solutions.

All of us are definitely smarter than each of us.

Collaboration and partnership are not an option; they are a necessity.

Sustainability is not a destination....

It is a journey.

A journey that has no true end point.

A journey that has to be a way of life.

Thank you.

FOR ONIKA, AND OTHERS STRUGGLING TO AFFORD HOUSING

Despite what some outside this room may think, these folks aren't lazy. They aren't takers. They aren't trying to pull a "fast one" on taxpayers. They are proud people with the same hopes and aspirations as everyone else. They just need an opportunity to find their footing and build their lives, and that begins with a safe, affordable place to call home.

Address by JULIAN CASTRO, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, United States

Delivered to the Low Income Housing Coalition's 2015 Housing Legislative Forum, Washington, D.C., March 2, 2015

Thank you very much, Brenda (Clement), for that kind introduction and for all the great work you're doing as Chair and with your organization in Boston.

I'd also like to recognize your President and CEO, Shelia Crowley, for her remarkable leadership over the years. It's been said that service is the rent we pay for our place on earth. Shelia has already paid that rent in full, and I know she's just getting started. Thank you, Shelia.

Finally, let me thank the Board of Directors, the staff, and everyone with the National Low Income Housing Coalition for your tremendous contributions.

Words like "help" and "hope" sound simple, but they mean so much to the folks you serve across the nation. Thank you for providing them with these precious gifts, and for the compassion you display every day with your work.

Your advocacy is truly making a difference. One example is the National Housing Trust Fund, which is finally getting the resources it needs to bolster our nation's affordable housing supply.

HUD has published an interim rule for this effort and grantees could start receiving allocations as soon as the summer of 2016. This represents a new start for the folks you and I fight for, and I'm so pleased to be with you today to talk about building on this progress.

We gather here at this time and place to give young people like Onika Estrada a fair chance in life. She was 10-years-old when her family was profiled in their local Washington State

paper last year. And even at her young age Onika has big dreams for the future and is considering becoming a doctor, or an author, or a movie director, or maybe even President of the United States.

I know that all of us believe that she should have every opportunity to go as far as her talent, passion and work ethic will take her. But there is one major obstacle standing in her way: her family of four doesn't have a lot of money.

Her mother, Crystal, makes \$13 dollars an hour as a caretaker for the elderly. Her father, Miguel, earns \$18 dollars an hour in construction, but development projects are unpredictable so job opportunities come and go.

Their limited incomes have left them with few housing choices. They're living paycheck-to-paycheck and reside in an area with a high crime rate and a low-performing school, which will present challenges for Onika as she grows up.

All across the nation there are children and families experiencing this same hardship. They have so much to contribute but can't because their modest means have stacked the deck against them.

Despite what some outside this room may think, these folks aren't lazy. They aren't takers. They aren't trying to pull a "fast one" on taxpayers. They are proud people with the same hopes and aspirations as everyone else, they just need an opportunity to find their footing and build their lives, and that begins with a safe, affordable place to call home.

7.7 million low-income households—who aren't receiving

government assistance—pay more than half their income on rent, live in substandard housing, or both according to HUD's latest "Worst Case Housing Needs" study.

That's roughly the number of people living in Los Angeles, Chicago and Dallas combined. I've seen this need up close in my travels across the country. One of my most memorable experiences as Secretary was a trip to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, where

I visited an average-sized house with sixteen residents squeezed in it because that's all they could afford.

We're talking about folks who're spending so much of their precious dollars just to keep a roof over their heads that they can't invest in their children's education or build some savings, and our nation cannot reach its full potential if its citizens can't reach theirs.

We cannot accept this as Americans. We can and must do better by giving low-income folks both a voice and a chance. I know that this is the core of your mission and what brings you to Washington. And HUD is with you every step of the way. We call ourselves The Department of Opportunity because we know that housing shapes lives and futures.

And I'm proud to work for a President who believes in our mission as strongly as we do.

They say that a budget reflects one's values. Well it's clear that President Obama's Fiscal Year 2016 Budget reflects the ideals and values that you and I cherish: inclusive growth, shared responsibility and equal opportunity.

It proposes to finally end sequestration. And specifically for HUD he's requested \$49.3 billion—nearly \$4 billion more than Fiscal Year 2015's enacted level, and today I want to talk to you about how we're working to make these ideals and values real in people's lives.

The first is by increasing access to affordable housing by giving families the assistance they need to secure a roof over their head. This begins with helping many of the folks most in need—the homeless.

In 2010, President Obama launched Opening Doors, the first federal strategic plan to prevent and end homelessness. We've made great progress in the years since, including a 21% drop in chronic homelessness and a 33% drop in homelessness among veterans.

That's why we're going to continue investing in efforts that are working. HUD's Budget would fund Homeless Assistance Grants at \$2.5 billion—a \$345 million increase over 2015. This will help 25,000 more Americans obtain the housing stability they need to address their other challenges in life and stay housed.

We must never accept homelessness as a part of American society, and the requests in this 2016 budget help ensure we'll never have to. We must also never accept a society that blocks the ability of those with disabilities to live full and independent lives.

HUD's Section 811 initiative helps these Americans secure affordable housing that's integrated into their local communities and connected to community-based services like health care. For years this work has been making a profound difference in people's lives and to keep our momentum going, I'm proud to announce today that HUD is awarding \$150 million in Project Rental Assistance to help an additional 4,600 low-income households.

We're also proposing a 31% increase to the entire Section 811 effort in the 2016 Budget.

These actions reflect our belief that

our nation is at its best when everyone is valued, respected, and housed.

Another way we want to increase access to affordable housing is by bolstering our Tenant-Based Rental Assistance efforts. I don't have to tell you how important this program is or about the 2.2 million folks it serves.

But you should know that we have a great opportunity to extend this help to others because of the President's Budget. We've requested \$1.8 billion more for Section 8 Housing Choice Vouchers, which will provide another 200,000 low-income families with a decent place to call home.

And I promise you that we're going to fight for these dollars so that these folks can make that important move from struggle to security. But empowering more Americans with these tools is just one step in securing our nation's affordable housing future.

Another is preserving our affordable housing. It's no secret to this room that much of our nation's public housing is falling apart. There is currently a backlog of roughly \$26 billion in capital needs.

Children are growing up in units that have cracked windows, untiled bathroom floors and broken heaters. Furthermore, the nation is losing 10,000 units of public housing every year, mainly due to disrepair. And the cold hard truth is that federal dollars are scarce and aren't able to fully address these issues.

That's why we've had to think out-of-the-box with the Rental Assistance Demonstration in order to bring some private investment into the fold. This work is making an impact in places like Lexington, North Carolina.

The local housing authority began renovating all of its 268 units last year and, thanks to RAD, they'll be able to make 58 years worth of repairs in just 22 months. Low-income folks shouldn't have to wait 58 years for new windows, 58 years for standard lighting or 58 years for basic insulation to stay warm, which is why HUD continues to strengthen this effort.

Now, I know that RAD is a cause

of concern to some of you. Let me first say that we get it, we hear you, and we'll continue to keep our doors open for your feedback and counsel.

At the end of the day all of us share a common goal: helping folks obtain decent housing and I'm committed to collaborating with you to do this as fully, fairly and equitably as possible.

We also want to work with you, and local partners, to not only address obsolete housing units, but also the communities they're located in. Our Choice Neighborhoods initiative is doing that in areas of concentrated poverty by emphasizing a "big picture" approach to development.

In addition to transforming units with a one-for-one replacement approach, it's also strengthening the businesses, schools and transit options surrounding them, and it's doing it with private sector participation and with local leaders in the driver's seat.

Over a four year period, HUD's \$350 million leveraged more than \$2.6 billion of additional investment. This is generating new optimism and opportunity everywhere from Seattle to New Orleans to Chicago, and we're eager to build on this progress.

President Obama has requested \$250 million for this initiative in his latest budget, an increase of \$170 million from 2015. Far too many communities are wondering how to deal with poverty. Choice Neighborhoods is an answer, and we want this answer to be available to Americans for generations to come.

All these tools are important to preserve affordable housing, but we all know that maintaining the status quo isn't enough. We can't just keep the same levels of affordable housing, we've got to create more. Our HOME initiative has done just that over the last two decades, constructing and rehabilitating nearly 1.2 million affordable units.

The President's Budget proposes increasing funding for HOME by over 16%—bringing it over a billion dollars—which would help local leaders

meet more of their affordable housing goals. And although the politics on Capitol Hill have changed since your last conference, this Administration's commitment to broader financing tools remains unshakable.

We remain committed to preserving and enhancing the Low Income Housing Tax Credit.

And we're still firmly focused on Housing Finance Reform, which could turn the millions that are now going to the Housing Trust Fund into billions.

We're taking all these measures because inaction is simply not an option. The needs are too high and the current affordable housing stock is too limited. So let's work together to build more affordable housing in tribal areas, in rural areas, in cities and everywhere in between.

And let's not stop there. Housing should be a springboard for success, which is why one of my priorities is connecting it to efforts that boost knowledge and employment. One new area I'm placing a special focus on is expanding broadband adoption for public housing residents.

Access to knowledge and information is as vital to a thriving community as access to jobs, good schools and safe streets. But a White House report found that only 4 in 10 families making under \$25,000 had broadband access at home. Compare that to 9 in 10 families making over \$100,000. This disparity simply isn't right.

President Obama has challenged the nation to connect 99% of American's students to broadband and wireless in their schools and libraries by 2018.

As HUD Secretary, I'd like to ensure that this access follows them home, and we'll be announcing something in the near future. The time has

come for our nation to finally close the digital divide so that every child has the chance to succeed in the 21st century global economy.

Another area of focus is our Family Self-Sufficiency initiative which is linking residents with the education, job training and other services folks need to build assets and improve lives. We're also bolstering an initiative called Jobs-Plus to support folks as they move toward economic independence.

These efforts have made a profound difference for folks like Denisha Catron from Arizona. Denisha lived in public housing with her two children when she signed up for the initiative. She was unemployed and unable to pay off her debts.

Then her life began to change. She got good job training and went to work at a local medical facility. She took financial literacy courses and paid off loans. Then she brought up her credit score and built up \$30,000 dollars in her savings account. And then Denisha used that to buy a new home and start a new chapter. That's the value of our work.

Across the board, we're working to expand access to opportunity. And you know what? We're going to keep at it so that more public housing residents have a chance to move out and up.

In total, all of our work to increase access to affordable housing, to create and preserve it, and to connect it to knowledge and jobs is really about one simple thing: giving more folks a chance to share in the American Dream.

It's the Dream that allowed Sonia Sotomayor to go from the Bronxdale Houses in New York City to the highest court in the land. It's the Dream that allowed Ursula Burns to go from

the public housing complex to the CEO suite at the Xerox Corporation.

It's the Dream that's allowed generations of Americans of modest means to lift themselves up and achieve greatness in their own unique ways—as teachers, as community leaders, as advocates for the poor and so much more.

And it's the Dream that allows 10-year-old Onika Estrada to believe she can be a doctor, or an author, or a movie director or even President of the United States. But this dream has never been a given. It's been the responsibility of every generation to preserve it and enhance it for future generations.

I know you believe this which is why you've come to Washington this week to give a voice to low-income Americans, to stand up and speak out for their issues, and to give them the chance to contribute to our great nation.

I thank y'all for doing this important work, and I ask you to keep at it. There may be setbacks along the way, but know that the entire HUD team is proud to stand with you. Together, we'll continue to help folks make that life-changing transition from the shadows of despair to the sunlight of opportunity.

We'll continue to pave a path wide enough for everybody to get ahead in life. And if we hold up our end of the bargain, who knows, one day many years from now, maybe we'll all be back together to watch Onika's new blockbuster film, or even better, we'll be asking to meet with her in the Oval Office.

Thank you very much for inviting me, and I look forward to our conversation today.

“OTHERS” MUST STICK TOGETHER

Women, poor people, people of color, people with disabilities, immigrants, gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, trans people, inter-sex people, we have been pitted against each other and made to feel like there are limited seats at the table for those of us that fall into the category of “other.”

Address by KERRY WASHINGTON,
Actress

Delivered in acceptance of being honored as an ally to the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, at the GLAAD Media Awards, Los Angeles, Calif., March 21, 2015

Being an ally means a great deal to me and so I am gonna say some stuff and I might be preaching to the choir but I’m gonna say it, not just for us, because on Monday morning, people are gonna click a link to hear what that woman from Scandal said on that awards show. So I think some stuff needs to be said.

There are people in this world who have the full rights of citizenship, in our communities, our countries, around the world, and then there are those of us who, to varying degrees, do not. We don’t have equal access to education, to health care and some other basic liberties like marriage, a fair voting process, fair hiring practices. Now, you would think that those kept from our full rights of citizenship would band together and fight the good fight. But history tells us that no, often, we don’t.

Women, poor people, people of color, people with disabilities, immigrants, gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, trans people, inter-sex people, we have been pitted against each other and made to feel like there are limited seats at the table for those of us that fall into the category of “other.” As a result, we have become afraid of one another. We compete with one another, we judge one another, sometimes we betray one another. Sometimes even within our own communities, we designate who among us is best suited to represent us and who, really, shouldn’t even really be invited to the party. As “others,” we are taught to be successful we must reject those “other ‘others’” or we will never belong.

I know part of why I’m getting this award is because I play characters that

belong to segments of society that are often pushed to the margins. Now, as a woman and a person of color, I don’t always have a choice about that. But I’ve also made the choice to participate in the storytelling about the members of the LGBT community. I’ve made the choice to play a lot of different kinds of people, in a lot of different kinds of situations. In my career, I’ve not been afraid of inhabiting characters who are judged and who are misunderstood and who have not been granted full rights of citizenship as human beings.

But here’s the great irony: I don’t decide to play the characters I play as a political choice. Yet the characters I play often do become political statements. Because having your story told as a woman, as a person of color, as a lesbian, or as a trans person or as any member of any disenfranchised community is sadly often still a radical idea. There is so much power in storytelling and there is enormous power in inclusive storytelling and inclusive representations.”

That is why the work of GLAAD is so important. We need more LGBT representation in the media. We need more LGBT characters and more LGBT storytelling. We need more diverse LGBT representation and by that, I mean lots of kinds of different kinds of LGBT people, living all kinds of lives, and this is big—we need more employment of LGBT people in front of and behind the camera!

So in 1997, when Ellen [DeGeneres] made her famous declaration, it took place in an America where the Defense of Marriage Act had just

passed months earlier and civil unions were not yet legal in any state. But also remember, just 30 years before that, the Supreme Court was deciding that the ban against interracial marriages was unconstitutional. Up until then, heterosexual people of different races couldn’t marry who they wanted to marry either.

So when black people today tell me that they don’t believe in gay marriage ... the first thing that I say is “Please don’t let anybody try to get you to vote against your own best interest by feeding you messages of hate.” And then I say, “You know people used to stay that stuff about you and your love and if we let the government start to legislate love in our lifetime, who do you think is next?”

We can’t say that we believe in each other’s fundamental humanity and the turn a blind eye to the reality of each other’s existence and the truth of each other’s hearts. We must be allies and we must be allies in this business because to be represented is to be humanized and as long as anyone, anywhere is made to feel less human, our very definition of humanity is at stake and we are all vulnerable.

We must see each other, all of us and we must see ourselves, all of us and we have to continue to be bold and break new ground until this is how it is, until we are no longer “firsts” and “exceptions” and “rare” and “unique.” In the real world, being an “other” is the norm. In the real world, the only norm is uniqueness and our media must reflect that. Thank you GLAAD for fighting the good fight. God bless you.

IS A DIGITALLY CONNECTED WORLD A BETTER PLACE?

The plusses and minuses of this “Brave New World” represent the greatest change to the way people live and interact on this planet humankind has ever seen. We’ll see more change in the next five years than we’ve seen in the last five. If we take some basic precautions, I believe the utility of the mobile Internet far outweighs the risks.

Address by DAN HESSE,
Former President and CEO, Sprint Corp.



Delivered at the New York Global Leaders Gala,
New York City, N.Y., March 2, 2015

We are living at a time when technology is changing the world at a pace never before experienced in human history. Of all technological advances, in my view, the one that is changing the life we share on this planet the most, whether one lives in a G8 country or in the developing world, is the mobile Internet.

These dramatic changes bring with them many plusses, but also some negatives and risks. F. Scott Fitzgerald’s quote, “The test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in mind at the same time and still retain the ability to function” is perhaps a good theme for this talk.

I’m not claiming to have a first rate mind, but I have learned a bit about telecommunications during a 37-year career in the industry. Will Rogers said it well, “Everybody is ignorant, only in different subjects,” and perhaps this could apply here as this is one of the few subjects I don’t feel ignorant about.

I feel fortunate to have been in this rapidly-changing industry. I had the opportunity to launch AT&T’s Internet division in the mid-90’s when I was jokingly referred to as “Rubber Ducky” in the Halls of headquarters, a reference to the popular song about a trucker with a Citizens Band radio, as some thought that the Internet would be a passing fad like the CB. The BMW ad on TV with Katie Couric and Bryant Gumble brings back memories of the 90’s.

After launching AT&T’s Internet service provider business, Worldnet, I was sent to Seattle to run a recent acquisition, McCaw Cellular, which became AT&T Wireless.

Both the Internet and wireless were growth businesses, but it took the merging of the two for each to explode. When Internet browsers were put into cell phones (the early “smartphones” like the first iPhone in 2007), it was like peanut butter meeting chocolate. Wireless had been useful in connecting people with people, but when wireless connected people with the information and utility of the Internet, growth of both wireless and the Internet accelerated rapidly.

Wireless went from zero to 6 billion users in 25 years, the most rapidly-adopted technology in history. There are roughly ten cell phones produced daily for every baby born in the world.

Wireless’s next big growth period will not be driven by cell phones. Wireless chips are, or will be, put into almost every object imaginable: motor vehicles, health monitors, home appliances, wearables like fitness bracelets and watches, even into our bodies. Connecting not people, but things to the Internet, what has been referred to as “machine to machine” or the “Internet of things” will usher in the next big growth phase. Cisco estimates there will be 25 billion things connected to the Internet this year and 50 billion things connected by 2020.

Some would argue that this much change to the way we live our lives and communicate with one another is a scourge. Others see a blessing. I don’t know the answer. Bertrand Russell said, “The trouble with the world is that the stupid are cocksure and the intelligent are full of doubt,” so I guess it’s OK not to be sure. In the time I have tonight, I’ll try to give you both sides of the argument.

First, let’s consider the impact on the global economy. One study indicates that for each 10 percentage points of cell phone penetration (the percentage of the population with a cell phone), a nation’s GDP increases from a half to one-and-a-half points. Recon Analytics projects that wireless will contribute \$1.5 trillion to US GDP over the next ten years. And, with the rare exception of countries like North Korea, there is not a large difference in penetration rates between developed and developing countries. Peter Diamandis, in his book *Abundance*, gives the example of the Masai warrior in Africa with a smartphone and Google having better access to information than the US President had 15 years ago. From a telecom infrastructure perspective, wireless has allowed the developing world to “leapfrog” the expensive landline access networks deployed by more developed countries.

Some gaps still exist, between countries, and within countries, what is referred to as the “Digital Divide”. North America has less than 10% of the world’s wireless subscribers, but 45% of the 4G LTE connections.

The greatest economic benefits may still be ahead of us with the productivity that will be driven by the “Internet of things.” The information gathered by billions of “always on” devices, utilizing cloud and quantum computing, sophisticated analytics and algorithms, machine learning and artificial intelligence could have great economic potential. For example, UPS uses these technologies to track packages and vehicles, and each mile saved per day per driver adds \$50 million

per year to the bottom line. On the other hand, if a company is going to invest in embedding 3G wireless chips in thousands of vehicles with long productive lives, they may require their wireless carrier to maintain an outdated technology like 3G longer instead of investing in 5G.

I've been watching the History Channel program "The Men Who Built America", about how this country and our way of life was radically transformed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by Vanderbilt's railroads, Rockefeller's oil, Carnegie's steel, JP Morgan's electricity, and Ford's automobiles, and the important inter-relationship of these industries. We're seeing this same kind of new industry creation and interrelationship now in the digital domain.

The business model of every industry could be transformed in a world where every device and every person is connected all the time. This is an enormous opportunity for those who understand this power and harness it. On the other hand, seismic disruption like this could usher in great risk to incumbents.

There are two areas of expertise every board of directors and every "C-suite" should be steeped in: the mobile Internet and cybersecurity. For good reason, cybersecurity is rising to the top of the business risk list. There are two kinds of companies: those that know and those that don't know they've been hacked. Attacks can be harmful to current and to future operations. Examples include loss of trade secrets, customer and financial information, online advertising "pay by the click" scamming, and outright extortion—threats to the company's website or systems if a ransom isn't paid. Perhaps the greatest risk is to a company's valuable brand. Sony, Target and Home Depot are examples.

Just as systems that use the Internet increase productivity, protecting these systems reduce productivity by requiring added investment. It's estimated cybersecurity costs the typical firm of 1000+ employees \$9 million/year. US

labor productivity has been stagnant in recent years, perhaps partly due to the unproductive investments required for cybersecurity and for Sarbanes-Oxley compliance. The cybersecurity industry is a new industry, which will create some jobs, but like any new growth industry, it will come with its share of marketing hype.

There are opportunities and new challenges in education as well. Advanced Placement and specialized courses have historically only been available at large or elite high schools, but the connected Internet is democratizing education in the US and around the world through resources like online high school equivalent and college degrees, and the excellent Kahn Academy (which also has helped this father brush up on high school algebra in order to be a more effective tutor). But all students still do not have access to tablets or smartphones, or to high speed Internet access at school or at home in the evening when homework needs to be done.

These tools create new challenges. 35% of teens admit to using cell phones to cheat, and 65% say others cheat using cell phones. Some worry about the effect this technology will have on the quality of spoken and written language. One study found 13% of people pretend to be talking on their phone to avoid interacting with those around them. You've likely seen students texting each other across the lunchroom table instead of conversing. If we call our sons, it goes to voicemail. We need to text them to get an answer. Few would claim texting is the epitome of the "King's English." 64% of teens were found to use improper grammar while texting, something many of us are regularly guilty of.

School administrators and parents have another new worry-- cyberbullying. One study found one in ten students were victims of, and one in five participated in, cyberbullying. "Sexing" is a new word in the vernacular. 20% of teens admit to posting nude photos online.

An Elon University study found that students with this digitally enhanced education possess something called "fast-twitch wiring". "Always on" students are nimble, quick-acting multi-taskers, but with a thirst for instant gratification, quick fixes, and with little patience and deep-thinking.

But, social networking can be a constructive form of human interaction. I've used social media to connect with many old friends I would have lost touch with. Smartphones also allow us to be productive by staying in touch with the office at home or on vacation, which is certainly a quality-of-life double-edged sword. Some argue that the information and entertainment of the Internet improves the quality of life by reducing boredom.

The news is a form of education. Does the Internet improve the quality of news we get? From personal experience, and admitted to by reporters, the 24 hour online news cycle and the need to break a story first means verifying the accuracy of information or getting a second source often goes by the wayside. Reporters don't have the time that the next morning's paper edition gave them.

It also seems that "real" news curated by professionals is being replaced with the trivial from new news sources like Facebook, Twitter and BuzzFeed, with national or world events replaced by the exploits of Kim Kardashian, videos of water-skiing squirrels, or debates about the color of a dress.

On the other hand, the amount and depth of news available has never been greater. If you grew up in a "one paper town", far less news was available to you from around the globe vs. what you can access now at a reasonable cost.

Maybe talking to computers will replace some human interaction. I watched my son's fingers fly as he typed feverishly on his PC, and looking over his shoulder, I saw indecipherable characters—computer code. He was creating a new video game, for fun. On the one hand, this is

encouraging to see, but on the other hand, will this essential new language create another wave of untrained “have-nots?” For example, appliance or engine repair is moving away from screwdrivers to software programming and analysis. And the new machines: self-driving cars, trucks, trains, robots, and self-diagnosing and self-repairing machines, may replace many jobs. 3D printer programming skills will replace craftsmanship in some industries. The same son owns two 3D printers he is very skilled with. If manufacturing done via 3D printer largely eliminates the need for assembly, what will happen to the economies of countries which depend on low-cost labor as their primary export? But, manufacturing and product design intellectual property is now much easier to steal or compromise.

To increase our safety, cell phones allow us to call 911, locate our children, provide alerts and information helpful with natural disasters and aid first-responders. Cell phone fund-raising campaigns have raised millions for relief efforts.

But digital connectivity can reduce safety by distracting drivers. Texting while driving has led to fatalities, which is why you’ve seen wireless carriers join together with distracted driving campaigns.

Vehicles come connected with wireless digital monitoring capabilities for engines or tires and with GPS tracking and “On-Star”-like emergency buttons. These add to safety, but the reverse could be true if the connected vehicle is hacked.

In terms of environmental impact, computers use an enormous amount of energy to run and cool them. In addition, the US produces 2.5 million tons of e-waste annually, enough to fill a line of dump trucks from Washington DC to Disney World.

On the other hand, GPS saves fuel and miles driven as does teleconferencing and telecommuting, all enabled by mobile technology. Cell phones built to the new UL-E standard are more energy efficient, are designed

for reuse and recycling, and contain fewer harmful chemicals. The mobile industry is also driving “dematerialization.” The smartphone, akin to a Swiss Army Knife, can replace a PC, watch, alarm clock, camera, handheld GPS, flashlight, transistor radio, portable music player, TV, even plastic credit cards, keeping a lot of material out of landfills.

Because early cell phones had small storage and processing capabilities, and networks were slow, even though these devices made music more portable, the cell phone industry contributed to what many consider the “Dark Age” of music fidelity.

Recorded music was “sampled” to create MP3 files and compressed streaming services, played through small tinny speakers or “throw away” low-fi earbuds included in the phone’s box. But, new smartphones, like HTC’s Harman/Kardon edition, not only come with high-quality earphones, but can play high-resolution audio files from sources like HDTracks, with approximately 60 times the musical information of an MP3 or streaming service, providing better fidelity than a compact disc. So, after helping to create the “Dark Age” of fidelity, the mobile Internet is helping to usher in a new “Golden Age” of sound.

Perhaps no industry will be transformed more by the mobile Internet than healthcare. Imagine taking a pill with a small wireless chip inside that sends a voltage to a patch you wear on your skin, which in turn communicates with your smartphone to tell your doctor how your medicine is interacting with your body’s chemistry. No need to wait for blood work to return from the lab. This is in use today.

In much of the developing world, knowing whether water is safe to drink is a big issue. Photospectrometers to test the water for viruses, bacteria and toxins traditionally cost about \$50,000. A capability has been

developed to use a smartphone’s camera and processor, plus about \$200 in parts, to provide similar functionality.

Telemedicine has the potential to save billions and keep sick people at home, where they want to be and should be, to keep them from infecting others. Wearables like fitness bracelets, chips in pacemakers, and digital medical records are improvements, but also add risk if this information could be compromised or hacked. To take advantage of medical innovations, we may need to rethink our approval processes as well. When I ask entrepreneurs with health care innovations what their biggest challenge is, they don’t say funding, they say the FDA.

If we live longer, couldn’t the aging population become even more out-of-touch with current technology given the greater number of years out of the workforce? The elderly represent America’s largest “minority” group. My personal view is that this group will benefit the most from the mobile Internet. Smartphone speech-to-text and text-to-speech capabilities can improve the quality of life for the hearing or visually impaired. Mobile health monitoring will help people live in their own homes longer, as will connected smart appliances, self-driving cars and connected robotic personal assistants.

Social media will help the elderly stay connected with family, friends and with those who share common interests. Crowd-sourcing techniques will provide a way to tap into the collective expertise and wisdom of a graying society while stimulating this generation with renewed purpose.

So far, I’ve been discussing the tradeoffs this digital, connected world brings to education, the news, the environment, economies, health care, music, safety, and aging, but perhaps the greatest challenge will be balancing the tradeoff between the tremendous utility potential of the wireless Internet with threats to our privacy and security.

In terms of national security, despotic regimes are legitimately

concerned with the access to information and communication capabilities of mobile devices and social networking. We likely would not have seen the “Arab Spring” regime changes in Egypt or Tunisia if citizens did not have the mobilizing power of cell phones. These countries had mobile penetration of roughly 90%. North Korea, on the other hand, keeps penetration low, at roughly 5%. And, we’ve read of countries censoring the Internet as a way of mitigating internal threats to their security.

Social networking, plus access to Google, Google maps, and emerging digital currencies can be a threat to democracies too in the hands of even small groups of terrorists, and we’ve read of how easy it is to learn how to make a bomb, or print an undetectable plastic gun using a 3D printer on the Internet.

The Internet was created based on trust to facilitate sharing information. 90% of the Internet is privately owned, not under government control. The Internet is basically an architecture and protocol that links multiple private networks, where the word “inter-net” came from. The challenge is balancing sharing with protecting information. Just as personal privacy and security is inversely related to utility, network security is also inversely related to utility. Network utility increases with network size, but larger networks have more points of vulnerability.

Woody Allen said, “There are two kinds of people in this world, good and bad. The good sleep better, but the bad seem to enjoy the waking hours more.” One can’t pick up the newspaper without reading about a computer attack, whether it be attributed to a state-sponsored or criminal APT (Advanced Persistent Threat), attempting to steal information from government, business, or individuals.

It seems like a Cold War is re-emerging, filled with suspicion. The good news is that the alleged cyberattacks between nations haven’t been as lethal as conventional war, but in

conventional war, who the enemy is can be more apparent, as cyberattacks can take place from machines distributed across the globe. I’ve read that 25% of the machines used in the famous cyberattack against Estonia were US-based. And governments can support, yet hide behind, “patriotic hackers” to carry out attacks, giving a government plausible deniability. This complicates diplomacy. Responses are more complex when the effects are asymmetrical, when one side has much and the other very little to lose from a digital attack, like the US vs North Korea.

I can speak from personal experience that this new arena is difficult for Internet companies to navigate. Which CEO is more patriotic, the one who provides all of the information the government requests to help catch a criminal or prevent a terrorist attack, or the CEO whose company creates tools that make it difficult for law enforcement or the government to acquire a customer’s information, believing protecting civil liberties is a higher calling. I don’t have an answer, but there is perhaps no more important area for public/private dialogue and cooperation than this.

The most effective cyberattacks on companies have internal complicity, either by a mole or through an untrained employee. Well-trained employees don’t plug in USB drives they don’t know the origin of, don’t click on links they’re not sure about, don’t connect to free Wi-Fi networks they don’t know, recognize when social engineering or “phishing” attempts are being made, password protect all devices, and don’t put company logos on themselves or their computers when traveling.

In conclusion, we all share a responsibility to protect the Internet. Please pattern or password protect your devices. A study showed that if your phone is lost or stolen, there is a 90% chance your data will be breached, and a 50% chance you’ll never see your phone again. You can buy security apps like Lookout from

your carrier to protect against malware and also remotely lock or wipe information from your phone.

There are a lot of free apps out there. Be careful. If it seems like they’re asking for more personal information than the utility of the app requires, like access to your contacts and to your location, they probably are. It’s free because you’re paying by providing personal information. Be selective.

Laws may need to change to make the Internet safer. The U.S. President has made it easier for competitors in the same industries to share information to protect against attacks, what would have been an antitrust concern not long ago.

It can be argued that the meteoric growth in the Internet is because it has been unregulated. America’s Internet looks like it may be regulated soon like a utility of centuries past. On a global level, Russia and China have urged the ITU (International Telecommunications Union) to govern the Internet, citing cybersecurity issues, a move resisted by the US and Europe who are concerned this will be a tool to limit freedom. Once again, there are two sides to this coin.

The pluses and minuses of this “Brave New World” represent the greatest change to the way people live and interact on this planet humankind has ever seen. We’ll see more change in the next five years than we’ve seen in the last five. There are no absolutes, only shades of gray and two sides to practically every argument. If we take some basic precautions, I believe the utility of the mobile Internet far outweighs the risks.

I fell privileged to be able to hear what Admiral Rogers will have to say tonight. Continued dialogue and cooperation will be needed between governments, businesses and the citizens of the world to achieve a “Goldilocks” solution, a.k.a. getting it “just right.”

Thank you.

IMAGINE A PRESIDENT WHO SAYS, “I WILL HONOR THE CONSTITUTION”

It is a time for truth. It is a time for liberty. It is a time to reclaim the Constitution of the United States.

Address by TED CRUZ,
U.S. Senator (R-Texas)



Delivered as announcement of candidacy for U.S. president,
Liberty University, Lynchburg, Va., March 23, 2015

Thank you so much, President Falwell. God bless Liberty University.

I am thrilled to join you today at the largest Christian university in the world.

Today I want to talk with you about the promise of America.

Imagine your parents when they were children. Imagine a little girl growing up in Wilmington, Delaware during World War II, the daughter of Irish and Italian Catholic family, working class. Her uncle ran numbers in Wilmington. She grew up with dozens of cousins because her mom was the second youngest of 17 kids. She had a difficult father, a man who drank far too much, and frankly didn't think that women should be educated.

And yet this young girl, pretty and shy, was driven, was bright, was inquisitive, and she became the first person in her family ever to go to college. In 1956, my mom, Eleanor, graduated from Rice University with a degree in math and became a pioneering computer programmer in the 1950s and 1960s.

Imagine a teenage boy, not much younger than many of you here today, growing up in Cuba. Jet black hair, skinny as a rail.

Involved in student council, and yet Cuba was not at a peaceful time. The dictator, Batista, was corrupt, he was oppressive. And this teenage boy joins a revolution. He joins a revolution against Batista, he begins fighting with other teenagers to free Cuba from the dictator. This boy at age 17 finds himself thrown in prison, finds himself tortured, beaten. And then at age 18, he flees Cuba, he comes to America.

Imagine for a second the hope that was in his heart as he rode that ferry boat across to Key West, and got on a Greyhound bus to head to Austin, Texas to begin working, washing dishes, making 50 cents an hour, coming to the one land on earth that has welcomed so many millions.

When my dad came to America in 1957, he could not have imagined what lay in store for him. Imagine a young married couple, living together in the 1970s, neither one of them has a personal relationship with Jesus. They have a little boy and they are both drinking far too much. They are living a fast life.

When I was three, my father decided to leave my mother and me. We were living in Calgary at the time, he got on a plane and he flew back to Texas, and he decided he didn't want to be married anymore and he didn't want to be a father to his 3-year-old son. And yet when he was in Houston, a friend, a colleague from the oil and gas business invited him to a Bible study, invited him to Clay Road (ph) Baptist Church, and there my father gave his life to Jesus Christ.

And God transformed his heart. And he drove to the airport, he bought a plane ticket, and he flew back to be with my mother and me.

There are people who wonder if faith is real. I can tell you, in my family there's not a second of doubt, because were it not for the transformative love of Jesus Christ, I would have been saved and I would have been raised by a single mom without my father in the household.

Imagine another little girl living in Africa, in Kenya and Nigeria. That's a diverse crowd.

Playing with kids, they spoke Swahili, she spoke English. Coming back to California.

Where her parents who had been missionaries in Africa raised her on the Central Coast. She starts a small business when she's in grade school baking bread. She calls it Heidi's Bakery. She and her brother compete baking bread. They bake thousands of loaves of bread and go to the local apple orchard where they sell the bread to people coming to pick apples. She goes on to a career in business, excelling and rising to the highest pinnacles, and then Heidi becomes my wife and my very best friend in the world.

Heidi becomes an incredible mom to our two precious little girls, Caroline and Catherine, the joys and loves of our life.

Imagine another teenage boy being raised in Houston, hearing stories from his dad about prison and torture in Cuba, hearing stories about how fragile liberty is, beginning to study the United States Constitution, learning about the incredible protections we have in this country that protect the God-given liberty of every American. Experiencing challenges at home.

In the 1980s, oil prices crater and his parents business go bankrupt. Heading off to school over a thousand miles away from home, in a place where he knew nobody, where he was alone and scared, and his parents going through bankruptcy meant there was no financial support at home, so at the age of 17, he went to get two jobs to help pay his way through school.

He took over \$100,000 in school loans, loans I suspect a lot of ya'll can

relate to, loans that I'll point out I just paid off a few years ago.

These are all of our stories. These are who we are as Americans.

And yet, for so many Americans, the promise of America seems more and more distant. What is the promise of America? The idea that—the revolutionary idea that this country was founded upon, which is that our rights don't come from man. They come from God Almighty.

And that the purpose of the Constitution, as Thomas Jefferson put it, is to serve as chains to bind the mischief of government.

The incredible opportunity of the American dream, what has enabled millions of people from all over the world to come to America with nothing and to achieve anything. And then the American exceptionalism that has made this nation a clarion voice for freedom in the world, a shining city on a hill.

That's the promise of America. That is what makes this nation an indispensable nation, a unique nation in the history of the world.

And yet, so many fear that that promise is today unattainable. So many fear it is slipping away from our hands.

I want to talk to you this morning about reigniting the promise of America: 240 years ago on this very day, a 38-year-old lawyer named Patrick Henry...

... stood up just a hundred miles from here in Richmond, Virginia...

... and said, "Give me liberty or give me death."

I want to ask each of you to imagine, imagine millions of courageous conservatives, all across America, rising up together to say in unison "we demand our liberty."

Today, roughly half of born again Christians aren't voting. They're staying home. Imagine instead millions of people of faith all across America coming out to the polls and voting our values.

Today millions of young people are scared, worried about the future,

worried about what the future will hold. Imagine millions of young people coming together and standing together, saying "we will stand for liberty."

Think just how different the world would be. Imagine instead of economic stagnation, booming economic growth.

Instead of small businesses going out of business in record numbers, imagine small businesses growing and prospering. Imagine young people coming out of school with four, five, six job offers.

Imagine innovation thriving on the Internet as government regulators and tax collectors are kept at bay and more and more opportunity is created.

Imagine America finally becoming energy self-sufficient as millions and millions of high-paying jobs are created.

Five years ago today, the president signed Obamacare into law.

Within hours, Liberty University went to court filing a lawsuit to stop that failed law.

Instead of the joblessness, instead of the millions forced into part-time work, instead of the millions who've lost their health insurance, lost their doctors, have faced skyrocketing health insurance premiums, imagine in 2017 a new president signing legislation repealing every word of Obamacare.

Imagine health care reform that keeps government out of the way between you and your doctor and that makes health insurance personal and portable and affordable.

Instead of a tax code that crushes innovation, that imposes burdens on families struggling to make ends met, imagine a simple flat tax that lets every American fill out his or her taxes on a postcard.

Imagine abolishing the IRS.

Instead of the lawlessness and the president's unconstitutional executive amnesty, imagine a president that finally, finally, finally secures the borders.

And imagine a legal immigration

system that welcomes and celebrates those who come to achieve the American dream.

Instead of a federal government that wages an assault on our religious liberty, that goes after Hobby Lobby, that goes after the Little Sisters of the Poor, that goes after Liberty University, imagine a federal government that stands for the First Amendment rights of every American.

Instead of a federal government that works to undermine our values, imagine a federal government that works to defend the sanctity of human life ... and to uphold the sacrament of marriage.

Instead of a government that works to undermine our Second Amendment rights, that seeks to ban our ammunition. ... imagine a federal government that protects the right to keep and bear arms of all law-abiding Americans.

Instead of a government that seizes your e-mails and your cell phones, imagine a federal government that protected the privacy rights of every American.

Instead of a federal government that seeks to dictate school curriculum through Common Core...

imagine repealing every word of Common Core.

Imagine embracing school choice as the civil rights issue of the next generation ... that every single child, regardless of race, regardless of ethnicity, regardless of wealth or ZIP Code, every child in America has the right to a quality education.

And that's true from all of the above, whether is public schools, or charter schools, or private schools, or Christian schools, or parochial schools, or home schools, every child.

Instead of a president who boycotts Prime Minister Netanyahu, imagine a president who stands unapologetically with the nation of Israel.

Instead of a president who seeks to go to the United Nations to end-run Congress and the American people... imagine a president who says "I will honor the Constitution, and under no

circumstances will Iran be allowed to acquire a nuclear weapon.”

Imagine a president who says “We will stand up and defeat radical Islamic terrorism... and we will call it by its name.

We will defend the United States of America.”

Now, all of these seem difficult, indeed to some they may seem unimaginable, and yet if you look in the history of our country, imagine it's 1775, and you and I were sitting there in Richmond listening to Patrick Henry say give me liberty or give me death.

Imagine it's 1776 and we were watching the 54 signers of the Declaration of Independence stand together and pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to igniting the promise of America.

Imagine it was 1777 and we were watching General Washington as he lost battle, after battle, after battle in the freezing cold as his soldiers with no shoes were dying, fighting for freedom against the most powerful army in the world. That, too, seemed unimaginable.

Imagine it's 1933 and we were listening to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt tell America at a time of crushing depression, at a time of a gathering storm abroad, that we have nothing to fear but fear itself.

Imagine it's 1979 and you and I were listening to Ronald Reagan.

And he was telling us that we would cut the top marginal tax rates from 70 percent all the way down to 28 percent, that we would go from crushing stagnation to booming economic growth, to millions being lifted out of poverty and into prosperity abundance. That the very day that he was sworn in, our hostages who were languishing in Iran would be released. And that within a decade we would win the Cold War and tear the Berlin Wall to the ground.

That would have seemed unimaginable, and yet, with the grace of God, that's exactly what happened.

From the dawn of this country, at every stage America has enjoyed God's providential blessing. Over and over again, when we face impossible odds, the American people rose to the challenge. You know, compared to that, repealing Obamacare and abolishing the IRS ain't all that tough.

The power of the American people when we rise up and stand for liberty knows no bounds.

If you're ready to join a grassroots army across this nation, coming together and standing for liberty, I'm going to ask you to break a rule here today and to take out your cell phones, and to text the word constitution to the number 33733. You can also text imagine. We're versatile.

Once again, text constitution to 33733. God's blessing has been on America from the very beginning of

this nation, and I believe God isn't done with America yet.

I believe in you. I believe in the power of millions of courageous conservatives rising up to reignite the promise of America, and that is why today I am announcing that I'm running for president of the United States.

It is a time for truth. It is a time for liberty. It is a time to reclaim the Constitution of the United States.

I am honored to stand with each and every one of you courageous conservatives as we come together to reclaim the promise of America, to reclaim the mandate, the hope and opportunity for our children and our children's children. We stand together for liberty.

This is our fight. The answer will not come from Washington. It will come only from the men and women across this country, from men and women, from people of faith, from lovers of liberty, from people who respect the Constitution.

It will only come as it has come at every other time of challenge in this country, when the American people stand together and say we will get back to the principles that have made this country great. We will get back and restore that shining city on a hill that is the United States of America.

Thank you and God bless you.

IN DEFENSE OF BRITAIN'S NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

Do we want to be a society that is fractured, divided, disconnected? ... A society that is exploitative, that sees people as commodities, as numbers. Or do we want to be a society where each person is recognized? Where all are equal in worth and value. And where that value is not purely a monetary one.

Address by MICHAEL SHEEN,
Actor



Delivered at St. David's Day March to celebrate NHS,
Tredegar, Wales, March 1, 2015

In 1945 Aneurin Bevan said: "We have been the dreamers, we have been the sufferers, and now, we are the builders." And my God, how they built. And what they built. Every bit as much a wonder of the world as any architectural marvel, or any natural miracle ... The National Health Service. A truly monumental vision. The result of true representation. Of real advocacy. A symbol of equality, of fairness, and of compassion.

The nation that swept the postwar Labour government into power was made up of people who had faced the horrors and the hardships of the second world war. And had bound together as one community to overcome them. They had been sustained and inspired by their feeling of comradeship, and their sense of responsibility for their fellow man and woman. Compelled to help those in need and those struggling in the face of hardship.

These were the experiences that shaped them, and this was the vision of life that the welfare state was born out of. Faced with an enemy that sought only to divide, the National Health Service strove for unity. Where they traded in fear-mongering, and blame, and exploitation of the vulnerable, the NHS represented compassion, and generosity, and acceptance. Where they slavered with voracious self-interest, the NHS symbolized courageous self-sacrifice for the good of all.

In his book *In Place of Fear*, Bevan said: "The collective principle asserts that no society can legitimately call itself civilized if a sick person is denied medical aid because of lack of means."

"No society can legitimately call itself civilized": now that begs the question, what sort of society do we want to be? What is our vision for ourselves? What are the qualities and the principles that we aspire towards, and choose to defend?

Because it is a choice. Do we want to be a society that is fractured, divided, disconnected? Do we want to be a society that is suspicious and mistrustful of its own people? A society that is exploitative, that sees people as commodities, as numbers? Mere instruments of profit, to be used while they have use, drained of whatever they can offer, and when they are seen as no longer useful, just abandoned, cut adrift. Preferably unseen and never again heard from.

Or ... or ... do we want to be a society where each person is recognized? Where all are equal in worth and value. And where that value is not purely a monetary one. A society that is supportive, that is inclusive and compassionate. Where it is acknowledged that not all can prosper. Where those who are most vulnerable, most in need of help, are not seen as lazy, or scrounging, or robbing the rest of us for whatever they can get. Where we ... we do not turn our backs on those facing hard times. We do not abandon them or exploit their weakness. Because they are us. If not now, then at some point, and inevitably, they are us.

We are not afraid to acknowledge that we can be ailing, that we can find ourselves weak, that we can be infirm, and that we all at some point need help. We don't shy away from this hard truth, we embrace it. Because

in that way, together, we are always strong. We leave no one behind. We only say we've crossed the finish line when the last of us does. Because no one is alone. And there is such a thing as society.

This is what I believe to be Aneurin Bevan's vision of a living tapestry of a mixed community, as he said.

At a time now, when people mistrust politicians as being too professional, too disconnected, no longer representing the voice of the people they have been elected to serve but more likely to represent the voice of wherever the money is. No longer standing for anything meaningful, or inspired by strongly held beliefs.

At a time like this a man like Aneurin Bevan seems like a mythical creature. Like a unicorn perhaps. Or perhaps more fittingly, a dragon. He didn't care what the polls were saying. He didn't worry about his PR, or what the current popular trends might be. His vision was long term. It was far-reaching, visionary in its scope and revolutionary in its effects. He had cast iron integrity and a raging passion.

This was a man who had no fear in standing up for what he believed in. And he made no bones about how he felt. This was a man who publicly stated: 'No amount of cajolery, and no attempts at ethical, or social seduction, can eradicate from my heart a deep, burning hatred for the Tory party.'

In today's political climate, where politicians are careful, tentative, scared of saying what they feel for fear of alienating a part of the electorate; where under the excuse of trying to appear electable, all parties drift into a morass of bland neutrality; and the

real deals, the real values we suspect, are kept behind closed doors—is it any wonder that people feel there is very little to choose between? Bevan said: “We know what happens to people who stay in the middle of the road. They get run down.”

So when people are too scared to say what they really mean, when they’re too careful to speak from their hearts, when integrity is too much of a risk, it’s no surprise that people feel disengaged with politics.

There is never an excuse to not speak up for what you think is right. You must stand up for what you believe. But first of all—by God, believe in something.

Because there are plenty out there who believe in grabbing as much as they can for themselves. Constantly sniffing around for markets to exploit, for weakness to expose. They won’t

say it, of course—they’re too smart for that.

No one says they want to get rid of the NHS. Everyone praises it, across all parties. It is about as powerful a symbol of goodness that we have, so it would be too dangerous not to. But for decades now, there has nevertheless been a systematic undermining of its core values.

This is beyond party politics. The Labour government arguably did as much damage to the NHS as any Tory or coalition-led one.

This is about who we want to be as a nation, and what we believe is worth fighting for. Too many people have given too much, and fought too hard, for us to give away what they achieved and to be left with so very little.

To those across the whole party political spectrum, and to anyone in any position of power or authority, I

ask you to search your heart, and look at who and what you serve.

To those who have discarded all principles, save that of profit before all else; to those who have turned their backs on the very idea of a truly democratic society, and aligned themselves to nothing but self-interest; to those who have betrayed the vision of equality, and justice, and compassion for all—that vision that provided the crucible from which came forth the National Health Service—I say to you, as Aneurin Bevan said in Trafalgar Square in 1956: you have besmirched the name of Britain; you have made us ashamed of the things of which formerly we were proud; you have offended against every principle of decency and there is only way in which you can even begin to restore your tarnished reputation. Get out. Get out! Get ... out!

FLYING LESSONS, FIRST HAND

I am the people I've been flying over. That, my fellow speechwriters, is my most important insight and most valuable asset. And it is yours as well. It is people like us who help CEOs who never knew, or have long forgotten, what it is like to be down on the ground instead of high in the air.

Address by ROD THORN,
Communication Executive, PepsiCo //

Delivered at the 2015 Speechwriters and Executive Communicators Conference,
Washington, D.C., March 10, 2015

A star speechwriter from the humblest of origins comes to understand his ultimate worth: “I am the people I’ve been flying over.”

I want to take you on a journey today. The journey of a dirt poor kid who started his life in a trailer, then became a trusted advisor to CEOs, flying all over the world in corporate jets.

This is my story.

And while I may not quote Alexis de Tocqueville, I WILL tell a tale of democracy in America.

To begin, I ask you to travel back in time with me about 45 years, and step into the trailer I grew up in. It’s a used New Moon Hallmark; 10 feet wide, by 40 feet long. It’s on a dirt road, way out in the country, in upstate New York.

My father and mother are very poor. They’re not blue collar. They’re no collar. And somehow they cobble together enough money to buy this trailer. Not a double-wide, mind you, but a 10-wide. A double-wide is for rich people who are showing off. And if you have a house, well, then you’re royalty.

One day, two neighbor boys, three and four years older than me, knock on our door. I’m home alone, which is often the case. The boys tell me to follow them because they have something very important to tell me. They are bigger and older than me so I do as I am told.

When we enter their house they say, “Pay attention, because we’re going to teach you seven of the most

important words you’ll ever know. After we say what they are you need to practice ‘em so you’ll never forget ‘em. Got it?”

I nod yes, and I am wide-eyed with anticipation. They have a house. They are older than me. And they are giving me advice. This is my entry into the big boy club!

And that’s when they tell me the seven words that got the comedian George Carlin arrested and thrown in jail for public indecency. The boys don’t tell me these are dirty words, only that they are important words. I’m not going to say what these words are, despite the fact that I seem to have grown so fond of them. But I can tell you this . . . one of them sounds an awful lot like you were taking

your mother to the hamburger chain, Fuddruckers.

Anyway, I run back to the trailer, saying the words over and over.

I get a piece of paper and a pencil, and I write out the seven words. My tongue is sticking out of my mouth. I'm really concentrating. I've got to get these words right.

My mother comes home. She says, "Whatcha' doin', honey?"

I say, "The boys across the road taught me some words so I'm practicing them."

She says, "Oh, that's nice. What words?" And she looks over my shoulder.

The next thing I know my very angry mother marches me back across the road.

She knocks on the door. The mother answers. The boys are peeking out from behind her. My mother says, "Your boys just taught my son these words!" And she angrily thrusts the paper I was writing on at the mother, who takes the paper, looks at it, and says to her sons, "Did you teach him these words?" They say no, they don't know what he's talking about, pointing at me. Their mother shoves the paper back at my mother and, using a couple of the seven words her sons taught me, says, "Your boy's nothin' but a no-good liar" and slams the door in our face.

Back at the trailer, my mother tells me these are very bad words. I am never to use them, and I should forget I ever heard them. She's not mad at me, she says, and I didn't do anything wrong. She's just . . . concerned.

Many years later she told me that in that moment, she realized how big of a hill life was going to be for me, and that she had no idea where to begin to help me make the climb.

She only had a seventh grade education. She was one of eight children. She grew up poor, and then it got worse when she married my father. But she was determined to use whatever she could get her hands on to teach herself. And what she could get her hands on was books.

So here's what she does: She pulls out a dictionary, and we begin a daily lesson that will last for many years to come. We read the dictionary together. Every day, pick a word, use it in a sentence. Recite its meaning. Pass it back to my mother, who does the same. And we constantly play Scrabble.

In my entire life—despite getting a degree in Rhetoric and Communications from a very good school, becoming a playwright and author and corporate executive—I only beat her at Scrabble once. And that's because she let me.

But on that day, she says we won't always have to live this way. We won't always be surrounded by, "drunks and druggies and hoodlums and lying, good-for-nothing, violent people. People you can't trust as far as you can throw them."

What she says next is not as much advice as it is a commandment: "Words have the power to hurt and to heal. If you want to live a life that matters, and become a person that people can trust, you will use your words as a force for good."

I've been trying to do just that, and make my mama proud, ever since.

Now, let's leave that trailer and fast forward—to my first ride on a corporate jet. If you've ever flown on one and then had to go back to flying commercial it's like dying and going to Heaven, and then having to reenter your body on the operating table.

This is truly rare air.

A limo picks me up, takes me directly to the plane. Someone takes my luggage, I walk up the stairs. The pilot and co-pilot greet me at the door. A flight attendant, who doubles as the flight engineer, shows me around the plane. I try to act like I've been there before.

I am surrounded by power and influence. There's polished wood and fine leather. There are lamps. There's an antique rug. There's a conference table, big enough for Thanksgiving

dinner. There's a bedroom with a shower. There's a private office. There's a kitchen. There are huge televisions with every channel and movie you'd ever want to watch. This is bigger and nicer than the trailer I grew up in. The people are so polite. And it has much better food.

My CEO motions for me to sit across from him. I've worked for the company for a while. But I've never been on the plane with him.

There are several other executives on the plane. And they seem to me a little smug, and a little suspicious of my presence. I'm an outsider. I'm a newcomer. And I'm not in the inner circle.

After some small talk we take off, and my CEO tells me we will make a sharp ascent because the pilot used to fly fighter jets and he likes to get to 41,000 feet as quickly as possible.

I nod as if I already know that.

After the flight attendant brings drinks and a snack for us my CEO leans forward, looks out the window, and says, "You know, when you take this job the bullet that gets you has already been fired. The only question is how long will it take to reach you?"

I am floored. I don't need any help breaking out in a flop sweat. And now a sniper's going to take me out!?

Next, I hear him saying words and sentences but they're all gauzy and muffled, like one of the parents in a Peanuts cartoon saying, "Whah, whah, whah, whah, whah, whah, whah, whah."

Then he says: "And that's why I need someone I can trust to advise me. Not just to write for me. I can get anybody to do that. I need someone to be my second brain. An extension of me. A strategic thinker and a tactician. Someone who will tell me the truth. Someone who has my best interest in mind, and the best interest of the company." And then, finally, he says: "Someone who can keep that bullet from reaching me."

Bang. This flashes into my head: "The bullet's going to hit him, not me! This is awesome!"

So I'm relieved. But at the same

time, I'm confused. He's the CEO. And he's worried about who is going to take him out?

I lean back in my seat. I flip open my laptop. And I act like what just happened is no big deal. But it is a very big deal. It's so big . . . I cannot concentrate on a single thing.

Because, my fellow speechwriters, I'd finally reached my destination. I was using my words as a force for good. And I was becoming a trusted advisor.

Before I go on I'd like to say something that is very hard for me to admit. Back on that corporate jet, staring into my laptop, there was a very big part of me that does not believe I belonged in such rare air. In fact, I feel it right now.

There is a voice inside of me—sometimes very loud and persistent—that says, “Who do you think you are to give advice? What makes you think what you have to say is important to anyone? You're a fraud, you've somehow tricked these fine people into thinking that you are somebody, and one day they will all find out that you're faking it. Then, you'll be back in that trailer, right where you belong.”

That voice is the thing that makes me sweat with anxiety when I'm up here. That makes me short of breath. That makes my voice quiver with fear. That makes me almost quit—every single time—when I'm writing a play or a book or a speech.

You see, despite the facts—I am a communications executive at a 67 billion dollar company; I have written for and advised dozens of CEOs and hundreds more senior executives at Fortune 100 companies; I am a member of the Paley Media Council, the Professional Speechwriter's Association, and the Dramatist's Guild; I have written several books and had more than 25 productions of my plays; I have spoken at Dartmouth and Columbia and other universities; I have a degree from a fine university, where I also played football and baseball, and was even the lead singer in a band—I can be insecure and wonder why CEOs let me write speeches

for them or consider me to be their trusted advisor.

In my mind, CEOs are different than me—by CEO I mean anyone who is in charge of an entire organization where they are the sole, accountable individual.

In my mind, CEOs grow up wealthy, with big houses, new cars, country club memberships, private schools, and European vacations. They go to Harvard and Yale and have MBAs and degrees in economics. They know what fork to use. They know what to wear for different occasions. They drink wine, not beer. They say EYE-ther and NEY-ther instead of EE-ther and NEE-ther. And they live upstairs at Downton Abbey, not downstairs.

In reality, CEOs are humans just like anyone else. They have many of the same insecurities and voices in their heads. They might not admit it in public, but in private—in moments I've had with so many of them in board rooms, in green rooms, and on those company jets—they share many of the same things I'm saying here.

And I know it's not just my experience.

I was reading the Harvard Business Review the other day and I saw an article called, *What CEOs Are Afraid Of*. It was by a consultant in the UK named Roger Jones, who had surveyed and interviewed 116 CEOs. In the article, Jones states, “Deep-seated fears—of looking ridiculous, losing social status, speaking up, and much, much more—saddle children in the middle school lunchroom, adults on the therapist's couch, and even, my research has found, executives in the C-Suite. While few executives talk about them, deep and uncontrolled private fears can spur defensive behaviors that undermine how they and their colleagues set and execute company strategy.”

While I feel bad for these CEOs, this was a confirmation of what I've been experiencing with CEOs throughout my career.

What's more, what Jones found

about executives' fears and their impact in the boardroom was revealing, and in some cases astonishing. For instance, the biggest fear among CEOs was being found to be incompetent, also known as the “imposter syndrome.” This fear diminishes their confidence and undermines relationships with other executives. Their other most common fears, in descending order, are underachieving, which can sometimes make them take bad risks to overcompensate; appearing too vulnerable; being politically attacked by colleagues, which causes them to be mistrustful and overcautious; and appearing foolish, which limits their ability to speak up or have honest conversations. About 60 percent said those first three fears affected behaviors on their executive team, although 95 percent said that executive team members had a very limited view of their own fears. About two-thirds believed they had “some” self-awareness.

The five top fears resulted in these dysfunctional behaviors: a lack of honest conversations, too much political game playing, silo thinking, lack of ownership and follow-through, and tolerating bad behaviors.

When they were asked to think about the fallout from those dysfunctional behaviors, the executives mentioned more than 500 consequences. Those mentioned most frequently were poor decision-making, focusing on survival rather than growth, inducing bad behavior at the next level down, and failing to act unless there's a crisis.

Makes you wonder why anyone in their right mind would want the job, right? Or why anyone in their right mind would want to be their trusted advisor!

But it's not all fear and loathing in the corner office. CEOs also get to see people grow and reach their potential. They get to see teams come together and accomplish great things. They get to influence their customers' success. They get to go to their employees' most important family events. They

get to watch their teams let their hair down, and begin to trust each other. They get to feel the satisfaction when the company reaches a milestone. Most importantly, they get to help build something in this life that might just change the world.

Still, given all of the fears and insecurities that CEOs have to deal with, is it any wonder they need someone they can trust?

That's why people like us are so important to them. Because we provide far more than JUST Words.

Let's go back in time again. I'm about 17 years old. Getting ready to go to college.

Remember the two knuckleheads who taught me the seven dirty words? They're not going anywhere, and they're getting in even worse trouble. As my "trusted advisors" they've been replaced by my Uncle George. A man who, despite growing up with even less than I had, despite having no education to speak of, despite being in and out of juvenile detention homes, becomes a very successful business executive. Not a CEO, but pretty close.

One day he visits us and gives me some advice about working, and about life, that has served me well in working with CEOs. Instead of seven dirty words, he gives me seven things I need to be. If you're looking for the best advice I can give on how to be a trusted advisor, this is it.

Number one, be versatile. Or as my Uncle George said, "Be ready for anything."

Think about all of the people CEOs encounter in the course of their work: Employees, customers, shareholders, the media, the investment community, partners, foreign and domestic governments, NGOs, community groups, activists, and competitors.

Whoever they are dealing with, CEOs know that everyone wants something from them. They want funding for their project. They want to be hired. They want to be promoted. They want a deal. They want

a greater return on their investment. They want a story. They want to call themselves strategic partners. They want tax revenue. They want regulations. They want donations and volunteers. They want to use your name—on books, in articles, videos, speeches, on buildings, in parks, on legislation, you name it.

Everyone wants a piece of the CEO. They want, they want, they want.

So to be a trusted advisor, you have to play many roles. Besides writing speeches, op-eds, briefs, videos, letters and more, at any given time you are a lawyer, diplomat, bodyguard, confidante, salesperson, psychologist, nurse, lobbyist, researcher, media expert, spokesperson, and strategist.

And you are the only person who isn't trying to get something from your CEO.

So to be a trusted advisor, you need to be versatile. And ready for anything.

Number two, be humble. Or as Uncle George said, "Lose the ego, Bub."

Today on the train ride down here I wrote a letter to a Boy Scout, and a brief for an economic summit in Europe. Next week I may stay in a five-star hotel, and then shine my CEO's shoes. And that's just fine with me.

At one company I worked for the chief marketing officer blatantly used the company to promote himself and his career. He gave speeches everywhere. Wrote a book, well, HE didn't write it. This guy made horrible marketing deals that cost millions of dollars the company could not afford. He made deals that got him on network television with Donald Trump. And he loved to get his picture taken with porn stars. And through it all, he somehow convinced this very smart CEO that it was all for the good of the company.

This, as you might expect, did not end well. Because let me tell you something—the last thing a CEO needs is someone who wants the

limelight more than they do.

So to be a trusted advisor, you need to be humble. And lose the ego, Bub.

Number three, be flexible. Or as Uncle George said, "Be willing to do what others won't . . . or can't."

About 15 years ago I worked for the CEO of a major technology company. One day I was told to drop whatever I was doing and handle a crisis. This kind of thing happens all the time. But in this case, the crisis was all day, every day, for nine months. Of course I couldn't drop everything else to solely deal with this crisis. But it certainly became my priority.

I can't give too many details. But here's what happened: A disgruntled genius and former chief information officer of a major utility was using my company's information systems and technology to essentially hold the utility hostage. Unless his demands were met, he said he would initiate phony work orders on the utility's nuclear facilities and cause meltdowns in major metropolitan areas.

It's like a James Bond movie, right?

Since this guy designed the entire IT structure of the utility he knew how to make good on his threat. And from time to time he would prove it. Then stop short of actually going through with it.

Every day I had to talk with the FBI. With the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. With my general counsel. And of course, every day I had to brief my CEO. I also had to go to secret meetings with the utility company's CEO, and her trusted advisor, who in this case, was her general counsel. This is while beefy security guys stood by the door wearing sunglasses and talking into their wrists. It was a bit unnerving. But it was part of the job.

So . . . to be a trusted advisor, you need to be very flexible. And be willing to do what others won't, or can't.

Number four, be curious. Or as Uncle George said, "Ask questions. Poke your nose where it doesn't belong. Keep learning."

For example, a few years ago I wrote a book for a CEO who invented, among other things, motorized wheelchairs, motorized lifts and ramps on buses and vans, and hand controls for driving. He had a very successful company—out in the middle of a cornfield in Indiana—that he created out of necessity. At the age of six he was told he wouldn't live to be 13 due to Muscular Dystrophy. This was back in the 1950s. If you couldn't walk you were hidden away. Kept out of sight due to some kind of misplaced shame.

To make a long story short, he created an entire industry because he refused to be hidden away. He didn't live to be 13. He lived to be 74. And had several grandchildren. Today, thousands, if not millions, of disabled men and women have the freedom of mobility because of him. And because of his work with wounded warriors, military jets fly over his house and wave their wings at him in respect.

I wouldn't have known any of that if I hadn't spent a summer living on his alpaca ranch in Indiana, over his barn full of mating alpacas, digging into this man's history, and having some very uncomfortable personal conversations—at least they were uncomfortable for me.

So to be a trusted advisor, you need to be curious. And poke your nose where it doesn't belong.

Number five, be strategic. Or as Uncle George said, "Think about how everything affects everything else."

At one point in my career I was working for a huge and well-known company that was trying to make a comeback from a corporate near-death experience. Among its many challenges, the company's culture was badly in need of an overhaul. In particular, its salesforce was set in its ways and being outsold by far lesser companies. My CEO asked me to put on my thinking cap and figure out what I could do to address this situation. No speech would do. No email. No video.

So I created a brainstorming event that brought the company's top 500 salespeople in from all over the world for three days. I made them take off their shoes. Draw with crayons. Play with blocks. Eat granola bars. You name it. I even banned white shirts, and ties. And these were people with billion-dollar quotas so pulling them out of the field was a huge deal.

To get backing for it I pitched the CEO and her senior leadership team. About 10 people. All middle-aged men. When I was done with my pitch the CEO asked her senior leaders what they thought. She was non-committal. Didn't give them any indication of what she thought. To a person, they openly said how stupid the idea was, how it was doomed to fail, and how I had wasted their time. I was as nervous as a long-tailed cat in a room full of rocking chairs.

After a silence that seemed to last forever, my CEO said, "Well, I think it might work. We need open minds and new thinking. Especially in this room. And this doesn't just change the way we sell. It affects everything we do—from research and development, to customer insights, to manufacturing . . . everything."

One by one every executive in the room then quickly said, "You know I think you're right! It just might work!" Inside my head I used most of the seven dirty words. But on the outside, I smiled, said thank you very much, and then got the hell out of Dodge.

So . . . to be a trusted advisor, you need to be strategic.

Number six, be thorough. Or as Uncle George said, "Pay attention to the little things. Leave no stone unturned."

At one company my CEO told me to think about what we could do to combat a very influential and vocal critic of our business. This critic was a best-selling author, Harvard professor, and very well-known public speaker. We at least needed to get him to stop bashing us so much in the press, in his books, in speeches, and in his classes. Everywhere he had a platform. Our

hope was to educate him enough about our business so he could be neutralized.

I researched everything about him. Read all his books and articles. Watched his speeches. Pored over everything he said in the press. I even figured out who was influencing him, and started courting them. I sent emails. I called. I visited. I got him together with my CEO for private briefings. I brought him to a product launch. I even brought him to my company to speak to our employees, most of whom despised him for what he had been saying.

It turned out that he was criticizing our business based on information that was at least three years old. And that one of the people who was influencing him was a former executive at my company who had an axe to grind.

Somewhere along the line, someone hadn't been thorough enough to bring this guy along in his understanding.

It took about a year and a half. And ultimately, this very influential critic became a very influential advocate.

So . . . to be a trusted advisor, you need to be thorough. You need to leave no stone unturned.

Number seven, be trustworthy. Or as Uncle George said, "Live a life that is worthy of trust."

Being a trusted advisor is not something you declare. It is not an entitlement given to you because of your title, or because of your seniority. It is something you earn. And it is something you can lose in an instant.

Case in point: I was working for one of the world's foremost experts on traumatic brain injuries. A doctor at a prestigious university who had been hired by all the major sports leagues to figure out how to reduce concussions among their athletes.

I have him speaking at conferences. Writing articles. Doing media. Things are going great.

One day he shows me a photo of a mouse in his lab who is wearing a tiny football helmet. The doctor says he has a device that whacks the mouse on the head and causes varying levels of

brain injury. Then the doctor measures it. Contrasts the results with the thickness and design and material used in the little football helmet. Produces reports. Advises the leagues and manufacturers.

Sounds horrible and intriguing at the same time, doesn't it? Causing little mouse concussions? In my journalistic zeal I pounce on the story. I tell it to a major newspaper and I give them the photo. They immediately run it, and the photo. It gets picked up all over North America. Success, right?

Wrong. For a few days that brilliant doctor became the laughing stock of his profession. Because it turned out the photo was a joke. Yes, they do experiments on mice. But no, of course they don't have tiny little helmets.

The doctor let me have it. He didn't give me a concussion, but he used most of the seven dirty words.

You might say, how was I to know? He didn't tell me it was a joke. But I should have known. As his trusted advisor, I should have been versatile, and humble, and flexible, and curious, and strategic, and thorough. All of the things I've been talking about to be worthy of his trust. But I wasn't, and I let him down.

So . . . to be a trusted advisor, you need to be trust—worthy.

In closing, let me say this: When I was growing up in that trailer, whenever I heard a plane flying overhead I would burst out the door and chase it. I would wave at it. And shout at it. And run until the plane was out of sight. I honestly thought I could catch

one of those planes. You see, I thought if they could see me, if they could understand what I was going through, they would land just over the hill and take me away from that place.

Well, I finally caught one of those planes. And I realize that I am a lucky man. Because in that time, flying with all of those CEOs, I've come to realize something that is very important in my role as a trusted advisor: I am the people I've been flying over. That, my fellow speechwriters, is my most important insight and most valuable asset. And it is yours as well.

It is people like us who help CEOs who never knew, or have long forgotten, what it is like to be down on the ground instead of high in the air.

Thank you very much.

1010 E. Missouri Ave.
Phoenix, AZ 85014

