

The Rogow Distinguished Lecture
The University of Hartford
March 28, 2006

Build a New Code: The Global Challenge to Connecticut and America

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Thanks very much for the opportunity to join you this afternoon in Hartford. I am pleased to be in Connecticut and honoured to be invited to deliver a Rogow Distinguished Lecture.

Considering what happened Sunday in the NCAA basketball tournament, I am pleased to be at the University of Hartford *and* not at the University of Connecticut. My niece is a student at GMU so our entire family was engaged in watching the game.

I have been asked to challenge this gathering of leaders with some provocative ideas and I will try to do so. Let me set the stage with a brief golf story – since, no matter how high tech Ireland becomes, it will always have golf.

Golfing is an 18-hole lesson in humility. Thinking about the challenge I was going to talk about with you, I was reminded of the story of an exasperated golfer's long day on the course. He finally turned to his caddy and said, "You must be the absolute worst caddy in the world!"

"No, I don't think so," said the caddy. "That would be too much of a coincidence."

Today I want to review for you why I believe America and Connecticut need a new attitude toward their economic competitiveness. I will also talk about Ireland's progress and a few of the secrets of its game, so to speak.

I will deal with competitiveness in the context of larger issues that relate to competitiveness in biotechnology, information technology, and beyond. I want to connect this focus with ideas that I hope you, as leaders in Connecticut, can act upon to secure the state's future. Frankly, I do not believe that Connecticut or, for that matter, America will keep pace with the world's new global competition without changing approaches dramatically.

The Pace of Global Competition

Other nations have broken the code of American success. If Connecticut wants to compete successfully in the 21st century, it must do things differently than other states and the nation are doing them now. If it does, it can set a new example for how America can prosper in the decades ahead. If it doesn't, other countries will pass us by as the world's leader of innovation and knowledge-development – and that which flows from them, namely economic strength.

I am going in part to focus on China because China and Ireland have begun working together, and that has given me a chance to see this Chinese “juggernaut” everyone talks about. And let me tell you: what you have heard is mostly true. In fact, one of the things I must urge you to do is get a team together, if you haven't already, and send them on a fact-finding tour of China. Trust me, it will bring home in dramatic fashion the urgency of Connecticut's challenge.

Last fall, I spoke at the high-tech summit in Hangzhou – a magnificent city a couple of hours south of Shanghai. I heard university and government leaders outline their ambitions for a knowledge-based economy cantered on modern universities. There is a sense of energy *and* urgency in China that reminds me of the post-Sputnik years in the U.S.

I'm not sure we understand how severe the new pace of competition is. Many American visitors to my office in Dublin seem to still have a Cold War view of Asia. They don't seem to understand the investment in education, science, and technology taking place. Education, especially in science and engineering, really is a core value in places like China, Singapore, Taiwan, and India.

At the end of this talk, I want to give you a top ten list of things I think Connecticut can and must do to truly compete. And the **first one**, and the one that is threaded through everything is this: *Make education a core value, including in science, math, and engineering.*

Today, education in India and China is growing at a pace comparable to what the U.S. experienced after World War Two.

Because of China's and India's huge populations – together almost half of the world – they are producing scientists, mathematicians, and engineers at numbers we can't compete with. What we must do is give the talent we have every opportunity to thrive. America is still the place where an individual can dream and imagine – and we need to insure this unique aspect of our culture is supported as it is the source of innovation and inspiration.

Competition for knowledge is, in a way, a matter of statistics. Get enough technically educated people into the system, and innovation and invention will result, in biotechnology or any cutting-edge field. This approach has served America well. Between the GI Bill, creating the world's

best universities, and developing the national science complex – including agencies like the ONR, the National Science Foundation and DARPA – America all but achieved the alchemist’s dream – *we turned knowledge into something entirely different, global economic dominance.*

Other countries have learned well how education fuels economic success. Two decades ago, China and India awarded barely a fraction of the science and technology degrees they do now.¹ Between 1995 and 2000, China’s college enrolment grew by two-thirds. In roughly the same years, India’s college enrolment grew by a third, to 8.8 million.²

Every time I visit China, I am reminded again how powerful the force of learning and education in science and technology there is. Forty to fifty percent of the university students study science and engineering – that is three to four million students. Imagine the numbers of technically sophisticated students that China will have in the future as it encourages and supports overtly advanced education.

In 1999, American universities awarded 220,000 bachelor’s degrees in science and technology. China awarded 322,000, and India awarded 251,000. Last year, China’s institutions of higher education awarded 600,000 engineering degrees. India awarded 350,000. And the US? 70,000. Now, I know there is currently a lot of debate about what these numbers mean or how accurate they --- that is, are we comparing “apples with apples”. The trend or growth of the number of educated individuals in engineering in China and India should be the focus. And, just so you know what is going on in China, they are paying these returning “star” researchers their US level salaries. China seems to clearly understand the importance of outstanding talent in science and engineering.

China’s spending on R&D has tripled in seven years. India is due to double its number of engineering colleges to 1,000 by 2010. China’s share of scientific papers rose from 16 percent in 1990 to 25 percent in 2004. If this trend continues, Asia will publish more science than America within 10 to 15 years.³

In 2003, America even lost its status as the world’s leading recipient of foreign direct investment. The new leader is China – a warning sign for how the market now judges opportunity.

¹ “gunning for the US in Technology,” *Business Week*, March 16, 2004.

² “Higher Education Financing and U.S. Global Competitiveness,” Statement of Dr. Watson Scott Swail, President, Education Policy Institute, Committee on Senate Finance, July 22, 2004.

³ “Do Not Fear the Rise of World-Class Science in Asia,” Charles Leadbeater and James Wilson, *Financial Times*, October 12, 2005.

And India is equally dedicated to this transformation.

How Ireland Improved

Let me outline now how Ireland improved its competitive position so effectively. I want to explain Ireland so that you can understand what might be happening in China and India. They are all committed to improving their relative competitive position with respect to wealth and prosperity. They fully understand the American “secret” to economic competitiveness as they are now investing in education and *brain ware*, so to speak. Let me talk about Ireland’s results. Ireland cracked the code too. And I should add: So can Connecticut.

Size doesn’t matter either. Ireland’s population is roughly the size of Connecticut’s. Or 1/100th the size of America’s. But consider its pace of growth, and then consider the keys to it.

Between 1994 and 2003, while the European’s average annual real economic growth was just over 2 percent, and America’s just over 3 percent, Ireland’s was 8 percent. From 1990 to 2003, Ireland’s GDP more than tripled, from \$42 billion to \$166 billion, as did its GDP per capita, which rose from \$12,500 to \$42,000. (Last week, the Economist reported on the fastest-growing countries in the world. Which country do think was number one, again? Ireland.)

In 1990, there were about 11,000 companies exporting out of Ireland. By 2002, this figure had increased to 70,000.

Ireland now accounts for roughly one-quarter of all American foreign direct investment – or FDI – in Europe. It is a base for more than 1,100 multinational companies.

Ireland is the world’s *biggest* software exporter, ahead of the U.S. It accounts for almost one-third of all FDI in Europe in pharmaceuticals and health care. In fact, nine of the world’s top ten drug companies call Ireland home. So do 15 of the top 20 medical devices companies. 6 of the top 12 “blockbuster” drugs are now manufactured in Ireland.

Imagine the pace of Ireland’s progress at work in India and China and you have an idea of the new reality.

All these countries have learned that three factors now dictate which nations or states will succeed, have growing economies and prosperity, and offer their children the promise of rising opportunity. Places that do not offer people genuine opportunities to create knowledge, develop new ideas, and innovate will be condemned to third-rate status in this new era.

I believe today a state’s success in the knowledge-based economy requires several key actions. I’ve already specified one – ***make education a core value.***

I now want to add two more:

Second, support research and development that can transform those ideas into new knowledge and innovations. Do not think that the decisions made at NSF or NIH, for example, are driven by the *strategic priorities* of your state. I am persuaded, in fact, that you must become far more *strategic* at the state level in the initial years of the 21st century to insure you have a diverse and competitive economy which translates into a high quality of life for all of us.

Third, create an environment in which the best people compete to put forward the best ideas and are rewarded. We need merit and leadership in K-12 as our children are now scoring in what might be termed the second or third tier in world test rankings. How will this poor academic performance in K-12 enable a world-leading economy going forward?

Let me speak to each of these one a time.

First, make education a core value, including in science, math, and engineering.

It is crucial to invest in talented people with great ideas. Talent powers innovation and invention, without which no society in our time can keep up with the competition.

Ireland's recent success would not have been possible if, 40 years ago, the country hadn't done several things for its educational system. It made a concerted effort to increase educational participation rates. It began making an already demanding primary and secondary education system more rigorous. And it started linking industry and education, including support for workplace education.

The result?

- In the mid-1960s, less than 20,000 students attended college in Ireland. By 1999, the number had risen to 112,000. By 1995, Ireland had more students as a percentage of population with science-related qualifications than any of the other 30 countries in the Organization for Economic Development (OECD). Educated people helped draw companies in, and highly educated people will leverage those partnerships.
- As I noted earlier, between 1994 and 2003, while average annual real economic growth in Europe was just over 2 percent, Ireland's was 8 percent. From 1990 to 2003, Ireland's GDP more than tripled, from \$42 billion to \$166 billion, as did its GDP per capita, which rose to \$42,000.

The fact is, a *long-term commitment* to education in Ireland laid the groundwork for the boom that followed.

But ideas undeveloped are ideas wasted. Which is why you must provide support for research and development that can transform those ideas into new knowledge and innovation.

As a first step for this, you need a solid infrastructure. Ireland, for example, benefited from massive infrastructure improvements. For 20 years, the European Union invested in Ireland, based on the principle that growing markets benefit all members. This investment transformed Ireland's roads, ports, and communications. A strong infrastructure allows people to focus on creativity and business, not on overcoming literal obstacles. India and China are now acting upon this fact too. (I visited 3 Gorges Dam in China last fall and was hosted by the president of 3-Gorges University for dinner, conversation and a campus tour. This beautiful campus has 40,000 students and it is patterned on the US model – which means students live on the campus etc. The new campus was built in just 4 years. Talk about urgency *and* focus – that defines how China is building a modern education infrastructure to develop its knowledge-economy.)

Now Ireland kept the momentum going with investments in R&D. Through organizations such as Science Foundation Ireland, it is investing in R&D to again leverage its strengths for the country's long-term benefit.

These investments include our support for R&D in scientific and engineering fields that capitalize on Ireland's highly educated talent. Sounds just like India and China are trying to do.

Specifically, with the government's support, Science Foundation Ireland *now offers some of the largest grants in the world.* With the government's support, we are helping Ireland's universities and institutes of technology *keep the best scientists in Ireland and recruit them from around the world.* We are now funding 450 projects with grants totalling \$540 million.

These projects include 1,200 individuals, research teams, centers, and *visiting researchers* from Australia, Belgium, Canada, England, Germany, Japan, Russia, Scotland, Slovakia, South Africa, Switzerland, and the United States. *This work is in the information technology and biotechnology areas.* And, remember, Ireland only began investing in these programs in a serious manner less than 5 years ago.

Meanwhile, we are connecting our investments to the secondary schools with special incentives to bring the university and secondary teachers together in new ways to benefit the young students and the people of Ireland. So the investment in R&D and its core value of education tie together.

Ireland is not hidebound to what is happening at the moment either. This gets to that third key step, creating an environment in which the best people compete to put forward the best ideas and are rewarded. In the biotechnology area, for example, SFI supports work in areas ranging from DNA chips to drug delivery, from biosensors to bio-remediation. That is part of creating an environment in which ideas and talent thrive. As the goals of researchers evolve, so will the proposals that get our attention. **In fact, we encourage proposals that recognize that the next major leaps could occur in areas where information technology and biotechnology overlap, in what I sometimes call “digital genetics.”**

This sort of openness is friendly to scientists, besides giving us the benefit of their best, most original ideas. There must be ways Connecticut can offer this same sort of environment where people with talented ideas have the room and support to stimulate innovation and invention.

“Inventing” a New Code or Back to the Future

On that note, though, I have to say, I wonder to what extent we in America really take seriously the urgency of our challenge and the need for taking such steps in a bold way. I hope this doesn't apply to Connecticut, but I suppose it wouldn't be surprising, because complacency does seem prevalent in our system today.

As I have looked in from the outside, America looks like a place that doesn't quite get it and doesn't quite understand that if it intends to continue to lead, it must prove again that it can re-invent good ideas.

If we think, on the other hand, that we are *destined* to lead forever, we should think again. In 1840, China and India accounted for 40 percent of world trade. They produced commodities prized around the world, such as silk, jewels, and jade. In fact, at roughly the same time, in 1800, Cubans and Argentineans were richer than Americans.⁴

But none of those previously economically rich countries moved fast enough during the Industrial Revolution. China, India, Cuba, and Argentina all fell far behind their competitors in almost every aspect of national wealth and prosperity.

The fact is, “All of the world's great civilizationsrose on innovation, the spread of ideas and technology, and the cultivation of learning to fuel the creativity and productivity of their citizens. These societies ultimately failed not by being outflanked by stronger economies or military forces but from complacency.”⁵

⁴ Juan Enriquez, *As the Future Catches You*, pp. 21-22.

⁵ Business-Higher Education Forum report 2004.

We are not unlike the proverbial frog in the boiling water. Put a frog in hot water, he leaps to safety. But put him in cold water and slowly raise the heat, and he hardly notices, and finally succumbs to an unpleasant fate. Well, from where I sit and observe the USA from Dublin, the *water* seems to be heating up. Other countries are aggressively putting in place the key factors of education and R&D that have driven American success. And let me tell you in Connecticut, other states are now trying to be that aggressive.

As the President noted in his introduction, I accepted the position of CEO at Science Foundation Arizona last week. It excites me to return to the USA in no small part because, as you can tell, I think we have a lot of work to do, including getting people's attention on the changes taking place while we sit calmly in the water and let the temperature rise. Science Foundation Arizona, or SFAz, is out to build a new organization for investing in *strategic areas* to create a competitive advantage for its economy and its citizens. The plan is for the SFAz to be funded by a combination of private *and* public funding, *which seems unique in USA*. It is my goal to help make AZ fully competitive in this so-called knowledge arena or 21st century global economy. I hope that one of my main competitors *and* *collaborators will be Connecticut*. I look forward to working with Connecticut in the future, building on our discussions today.

Connecticut has done relatively well building its success as an exporter, expanding trade significantly beyond its number-one trading partner, Canada, including a rapid rise in trade with India and China. I was also interested to learn that these exports cut across a range of areas, including transportation, computers, electronics, chemicals, and industrial machinery. I think that suggests a robust, diverse economy responding to world markets. It also implies, I think, that there is a lot of interconnectedness and mutual dependence among your industries, a point I'm going to come back to in a moment in another context.

I was also pleased to learn about your efforts to build and reinvent industry clusters. Hopefully, Connecticut's growing world interchange is increasing the sense of urgency here by making clear how competitive the world is now and how competitive Connecticut *must* be.

I also admire the focus on leading areas such as bioscience and information technology. However, as Science Foundation Arizona's creation suggests, this sort of focus, as you probably know, is not unique to Connecticut. Many states in this country, and many countries, are focusing on them. They are like Holy Grails of invention that many cities and countries are chasing. So if you're going to go after it, don't do it for ego satisfaction or just because it seems like the big thing. *Do it to do it better than anyone else. And, do it faster and focus on partnerships that leverage your assets effectively.*

Regardless, as I've said, fulfilling Connecticut's potential in bioscience and information technology will be impossible without the right system for education and invention in place.

Allowing ourselves to imagine that layering more investments on the same old system can do the trick will come back to haunt us.

On that note, I'd like to emphasize some of the suggestions I've already offered by throwing the remaining list into the mix, and then close with that top ten. If you haven't thought about such things in a while, I hope you'll start now. And if you pursuing them, I would say: Hurry up.

Ideas for Change

I've already said education must be a core value, including in science, math, and engineering. And I've said, *second*, support research and development that can transform those ideas into new knowledge and innovations, and, *third*, create an environment in which the best people compete to put forward the best ideas and are rewarded.

Fourth idea: Truly link the best of our school system – namely, our universities – with the schools that serve most of our population – our K-12 schools. These two parts of our education system are mutually dependent in fact, but not in practice. You won't have the minds for a long-term, productive high-tech system without highly educated students coming through the pipelines. And students will only receive education at a world-class level if the parts work together. I think you should demand that Connecticut's universities and K-12 system start creating a *seamless* education system. They should not be islands unto themselves. As I suspect your industries have already done to survive, the education *system* must face the reality of supply chains *and* quality control to compete in a global system.

Fifth idea, the education system must change how it serves low-income students and new immigrants. Sixty percent of students from high socioeconomic backgrounds earn bachelor's degrees by age 26. Only seven percent of young people from low socioeconomic backgrounds do.⁶ Let me put that another way:

All combined, only 18 of every 100 of America's ninth-graders will graduate in ten years with either a bachelor's or an associate's degree.

Let me say that again: At current rates, only 18 of every 100 of America's ninth-graders will graduate in ten years with either a bachelor's or an associate's degree.

Connecticut has the highest per-capita income in the United States.⁷ But is everyone sharing in the good fortune? This is especially important when Connecticut faces, as the demographic data

⁶ National Center for Education Statistics Statistical Analysis Report, "Coming of Age in the 1990s: The Eighth-Grade Class of 1988 12 Years Later," U.S. Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement (June 2002).

⁷ *Connecticut Economic Digest*, January 2006.

show, a continued decline in its younger population over the next few years.⁸ Is talent leaking out of the state border as well?

Your data also show that for each of the past four years, the state's number of non-English-speaking immigrants has increased.⁹ What kind of education and integration opportunities are you or can you provide?

Our competitors, I must again stress, know that they must educate as many of their citizens as possible. Good for them, I say. If every country focused primarily on competing to best educate its people, the world would be a much better place.

Think of recent immigrants like Sergei Brin, born in Moscow, immigrant to America, and co-inventor of Google. Think of Jerry Yang, born in Taiwan, immigrant to America, and co-founder of Yahoo. Think of Pierre Omidyar, born in France, immigrant to America, and founder of eBay. Will our next generation have the same opportunities to learn and contribute? How about in Connecticut?

In the 1990s, the largest number of immigrants in our history moved to America. We cannot leave them out, or we have lost the race before we've even reached the starting line.

Today, we fail millions of immigrant and lower-income students in the schools that surround the very universities of which we are so proud. But if we could join the best part of our education system, our universities, with the element of the system that educates the most students, the K-12 system, we would have a powerful force for complete education and competitiveness.

Why not define a new system, a system that serves the people in Connecticut, particularly the young people? *Require* your universities to work together, to work with the K-12 system, to work with business, to benefit industry and society, to build an educated population and an economy that sets a new standard rather than chasing the old one.

For the **sixth idea**, I'd like to quote my favourite philosopher, Yogi Berra. He once said, "When you come to the fork in the road, take it." As is obvious, I think America and Connecticut are at a fork in the road.

Let me hark back to history again for a moment. In 1862, Congress passed the Morrill Act. It granted the states more than 17 million acres of land to raise revenue to establish colleges. The

⁸ *Jobs 2010: A Look at Connecticut's Workforce Needs Over the Coming Decade*

⁹ *The Condition of Education in Connecticut*, Connecticut State Department of Education, August 2005.

land was to be sold and the profits used to create colleges for agriculture and the mechanical arts. Such investments opened up college to a whole new population. So this is the sixth idea: **Make a bold investment in its education and research establishment. Saying they are core values is one thing. Supporting them like core values is another.**

I wonder if Connecticut has the foresight to do that for itself today? The impact on high-tech, high-knowledge, and high-wage areas would be profound.

When an agrarian and industrial economy drove American competitiveness, the Morrill Act was necessary. Now, wireless communication, the Internet, and the human genome project have come. **Can Connecticut come up with its own version of the Morrill Act?**

By this I mean a vast infusion of funding to revolutionize its education system, including raising the question of whether it needs entirely new types of universities and partnerships within the K-20 system?

The objection will be that you don't have the money. The objection will be that this idea threatens the system of today. The objection will be that the problem is private industry's, not government. Such objections did not stand in the way of finding the land to sell to fund the Morrill Act. Or in the way of the GI Bill. Or in the way of winning the race to the moon. What is the equivalent for Connecticut of such a bold, transformative step? Find it, and take it. And my reference to the private sector leads me to the seventh idea – **using state capital to leverage private investment.**

Science Foundation Ireland does make generous grants. These include support for centers for science, engineering, and technology, or CSETS. The CSET Program is the largest research commitment to research within SFI. Already the CSET program has brought together researchers from Ireland and around the world to establish highly sophisticated, multi-faceted teams at Ireland's universities, in partnership with leading local and multinational corporations.

These centers combine *powerful* assets – distinguished researchers from academia and industry, advanced technology and equipment, and the support of SFI, other Irish government agencies, and private corporations. They leverage public dollars in a powerful way to engage people and resources from industry. We want centers that can dramatically exploit opportunities for discovery and innovation as no smaller research project can. In many ways this investment in talented people, essential instrumentation and laboratories, and new industry-university research partnerships are essential for a 21st century economy – this investment is analogous to the development of the interstate highway system in the 1950s. The highways were, arguably, built for national security reasons but they were an essential government investment in the infrastructure essential to our manufacturing economy.

And it's worth mentioning how generous SFI's investment is. Our CSET grants are worth as much as 25 million dollars over five years, and may also be renewed for an additional term of up to five years. So far, the CSETs have brought together outstanding researchers from around the world, including partnerships with Bell Labs, HP, Intel, IBM, Medtronic, Glaxo, Servier, and Proctor & Gamble. They all spring from the conviction that the *best* minds like big challenges.

The **eighth** component for a successful system is implicit in the creation and support Ireland has given SFI, or that Arizona is giving SFA, and it is **leadership and focus from the political bodies**. In Ireland, across all government departments, there is an impressive commitment to policies, programs, and investments that are making Ireland an enduring knowledge society.

That includes our determination to have 5,000 PhD jobs in biotechnology by the end of this decade, up from the 350 now. It includes projects like BioNetwork USA-Ireland, designed to leverage the unique Irish-American connection for the benefit of Ireland. It includes having a part of government called BioResearch Ireland that facilitates the commercialisation of biotech research. And it includes making the **worldwide royalties of products or ideas tax free if the bulk of a company's research is done in Ireland**. That is, the politicians have to meet a standard for results because someone is always ready – and willing, and able – to take their place.

The **ninth** component is this: **Tie your research investments to your strengths**. I mentioned the work SFI has done building partnerships with many companies. SFI didn't just focus on IT and biotech for nothing. It focuses on them because in those areas we have strong outside investment and competitive companies ready to turn ideas into marketable products. Connecticut has its own set of companies where it has strengths. I would encourage you to focus your research investments to leverage that built-in source for funding, talent, and innovation.

Finally, the **tenth** component is this: *Be afraid*. I have always found fear a good motivator. I think it is fear that keeps Ireland committed to SFI and its other state investments in R&D.

The people in Ireland remember the high unemployment. They remember that for generations, Ireland's people fled the country for opportunities elsewhere. They remember what it is like to struggle to survive, let alone to compete. And they have, for 40 years now, invested in education, and for 10, invested in R&D, and I don't see that commitment ending anytime soon. The success has been too meaningful to too many lives.

So be afraid. We live in the richest country in the world. And Connecticut is one of the richest states in this country. But things can change. I hope Connecticut will change first.

On that note, let me call upon the words of someone who also knows firsthand the severity of the situation. Craig Barrett, Intel's CEO, spoke in Phoenix about two years ago.

He observed, "There has been a once-in-a-lifetime event that has taken place – the infusion almost overnight of about half of the world's population in the free economic system. That has meant increased competition because. They have lots of well educated people (who)...can do just about any job we do in the United States....No job is safe and secure in the United States by right. It's only safe and secure as long as we have best education system, the best ideas, the best productivity."

Complacency and the status quo cannot help us. Those of you interested in bioscience and information technology understand this. They depend on boldness and foresight. Connecticut has many riches of talent, including this group. And I hope you will lead the way for Connecticut.

Now, for my last few remarks, I just want to encourage you to read some books that are really insightful and helpful. I recommend *Tom Friedman's* book on the "flat earth" – really on globalization and what it means.

And I encourage you to read the books published over the past year or so about individuals who led the founding of this great country – books about George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, James Madison, and others. I have spent time reading these books while in Dublin and trying to understand how America has allowed complacency and factionalism to diminish its vision. I hope, and trust, we can overcome it. I hope Connecticut can help lead the way. We're certainly going to try in Arizona. I'd like to see you alongside us in the race.

Thank you for the opportunity to be with you today. Either you control the destiny of Connecticut or you cede the responsibility for it to others. I think we owe it to our children and grandchildren to renew and re-build a truly competitive civil society. There is no reason it can't happen in Connecticut *and* Arizona. Good luck in your work.

Again, thank you for the privilege and honour of presenting a Rogow lecture. Keep the dream of America and its future.