

Audience Member: [00:02](#) Feel free down. Good afternoon. Could I have ever, uh, everyone's attention please. Uh, my name is Gary Thomas Soulo and I'm the chief security officer for American Airlines and I'll be half of our more than 130,000 employees at American Airlines. I'm honored to introduce the, uh, the next session and I think probably one that many of you have been waiting for all day. Uh, to hear, uh, we have our moderator today is uh, Susan Glasser and she's from New Yorker magazine. But even more importantly, we have secretary Madeline Albright. Secretary Albright was the first female secretary of state in 1997 becoming at that time, the highest ranking woman in the history of the u s government. During her time as secretary of state, she worked to reinforce America's alliances, advocate for democracy and human rights and promote American values to nations and peoples abroad. Prior to her post at Secretary of State, Secretary Albright served as the u s permanent representative to the United Nations from 1993 to 1997.

Audience Member: [01:25](#) She also served as a member of President Carter's national security staff. In 2012, Secretary Albright received the Presidential Medal of freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor. Since 2009, she has served as the chair of the Albright stonebridge group, a global strategic, a strategy firm. It digitally. And more importantly, she continues to be actively engaged in teaching and promoted the craft of diplomats to meet diplomacy. Included through her role as a member of the board of the Aspen Institute, Secretary Albright will discuss democracy under siege, the rise of extremism, extreme nationalism. Please join me in welcoming Secretary Albright.

Speaker 2: [02:18](#) Thank you.

Susan Glasser: [02:25](#) Well, that was a great introduction and thank you of course to all of you for being here. And especially to Secretary Albright. We came out on the plane together from Washington the other day and, uh, we said, well, what will we talk about? And I said, you know, madam secretary, there tend to be a lot of events these days. Uh, they get our attention, so maybe we'll just wait and see what happens. Well, something happened. Uh, and uh, actually we're going to start in a little bit of an unconventional way today because as I think all of you know, Secretary Albright in addition to the dazzling resume just listed here is also an immigrant and an a refugee to the United States. And she put out a statement a little while ago that I thought it might be worthwhile to start our conversation with.

Madeleine A: [03:08](#) No, thank you. Thank you Susan. And thank you all for staying all day. So thank you. This is what I just put out. Since arriving in

America 71 years ago, I have developed a deep love for this country that devotion is typical of the millions of other immigrants and refugees who have enriched our land and added new sources of energy and strength to it. Like other Americans, I expect the president to try and unite our country. It's part of any chief executives job description. It is what the u stands for in USA. But today we have a leader who either doesn't understand or doesn't care about the responsibilities of this, of his office. We have a president who is dividing our country and dehumanizing those with whom he disagrees that is dangerous and wrong. As a refugee whose family fled fascism and communism, I learned early in life that there is much evil in this world. But I also learned early about a land across the sea where freedom was cherished and whose ideals inspired people all over the world. The time has come for all of us from every part of the political spectrum to reclaim America's proud heritage by saying no to division and hate, and by participating actively in our democracy on behalf of the common good. Today we have a president who does not speak for us. We must therefore speak up for ourselves.

Speaker 2: [04:54](#)

[inaudible]

Susan Glasser: [04:57](#)

well, that's quite a way to start out. Uh, you know, the framing of this conversation today was the rise of extreme nationalism. We're used to thinking of that as a foreign policy subject. We're used to thinking of that as perhaps a national security conversation. I don't think we're used to thinking of it as much as a subject for domestic politics as well. Uh, just a few minutes before our panel began, uh, one of the four Congress women who was targeted by president Trump put out a new statement and she said that she believes this is congresswoman Ilhan Omar. And she said that she believes that the president United States is in fact a fascist. Now, the title of a book he wrote last year was fascism and ideology. Uh, do you agree with that statement? And, uh, you know, what are we to make of the last 24 troubled hours in our, in our national life? Well, I did, right?

Madeleine A: [05:52](#)

This book was a very bland title, fascism a warning. And, um, I am, I, you know, defining the term fascist is very hard. We tend to call anybody we disagree with the fascist. Um, and the teenage boy who's not allowed to drive because his father a fascist and fascism is hard to define. And I do spend a lot of time in my book, um, going back into the history of fascism. Um, and, um, we, I hope we can talk about that, but I do not call Donald Trump a fascist. I do think, however, he's the least Democratic president in modern American history. Are there lasting consequences in your view? Uh, to our politics of something like

the rhetoric that we've seen before? Uh, there's been a really reaching debate, especially in foreign policy terms, but not exclusively. So over the role of president of words versus the role of presidential actions.

Madeleine A: [06:50](#) Did these words matter? Well, I think they do matter and I think the hard part frankly is the words, uh, are confusing our own people and are definitely confusing foreigners. I obviously spend a lot of time abroad and people ask me what I think. Um, I do try to keep with the rule that former diplomats do not speak ill of their country when traveling abroad. I grew up in Colorado, so I can say whatever I, uh, but I, I do think that it is troubling because it's hard and under many circumstances, speeches given by presidents do have, um, a, an echo aspect that is very important and, but actions ultimately are the issue. But given the way that the media is operating on a number of issues and, um, social media and a number of different aspects that makes the word spread much faster and therefore it's very hard to kind of explain what they mean.

Madeleine A: [07:47](#) I do think, and, and if I may, I do think that one of the aspects about, uh, I decided to write the book to try to figure out what really is not only going on in the United States, but internationally and I am a professor. And so I wanted to go back and kind of look at the history of fascism. Um, Mussolini was the first fascist. Um, in fact, that's the word where it comes from. And what is interesting and I think worth looking at the history of it, is why did Italy, uh, succumb to fascism? And it was partially because the Italians who had fought on the side of the allies during World War One were not, uh, recognized properly or honored. There were problems with the economy, uh, in Italy. Uh, and people were dissatisfied with the lack of equality. And Mussolini was a smart guy who was able to motivate people and um, gathered crowds.

Madeleine A: [08:41](#) The interesting part is that he took power constitutionally, uh, king a manual, uh, turn power over to him. Hitler also, Germany felt that they had been, um, really punished too much for world war one, that they had to pay money in a number of different aspects and Hitler came to power constitutionally. Uh, von Hindenburg gave him power. And I think that's worth talking about. I think the best quote in my book actually comes from Mussolini. Mussolini said that if you pluck a chicken one feather at a time, nobody notices. So there is a lot of feather plucking going on right now. Um, and by the way, you can't say those two words quickly

Susan Glasser: [09:25](#) together. You know, I think, I think that actually is even a better one than the, the one that we use all the time now is the, um, the frog boiling in the pot, right? You keep turning up the water until you don't even notice it's bar. A chicken is pretty bald at this point. Well, he's had organic and free range. Um, mom's secretary. This reason is I think, a very important point that, that everybody is struggling with, which is the question of, uh, Trump versus Trumpism, if you will. Uh, Donald Trump is both a uniquely American phenomenon and yet he also comes at a moment when you are seeing the rise of similar political figures, uh, in different countries in Europe, you're seeing a new era of, uh, right wing populism, uh, Britain itself tearing itself apart over Brexit. How much do you think, uh, you know, if there weren't a Trump right now in America, we, we'd end up inventing one. Well, I do,

Madeleine A: [10:23](#) and some of the panels today, I kind of touched on this, is that in fact, um, there was disquiet in this country before Trump did not invent the problems that are there, but he has taken advantage of them. I do think there are questions about illiberal democracy and various things that are taking place. Uh, and I think that there is this sense, by the way, my definition of authoritarian governments is, it's not an ideology. It is a way of it taking power and keeping it. And I think Trump has figured out how in fact to take advantage of that anger and make it worse operating on the basis of the fear factor. But it is happening in other places also. And if I may, I think there kind of two mega trends out there. One is, and they both have a downside. Globalization, we are clearly all beneficiaries of globalization.

Madeleine A: [11:15](#) But what happens is it's faceless and people don't know what their identity is. And so I think people really do want to know who they are ethnically, religiously, linguistically. And that's fine, that's patriotism. But when my identity hates your identity, it's nationalism and hyper nationalism is very dangerous. And that's what we're seeing in Europe and in the United States. And frankly, when people were talking about China today, it is a very good tool of control. And also of getting people motivated with the fact that they have to be patriotic and make their country great again. Uh, and it puts people that are into nationalism into kind of a defensive mode. The other mega trend is technology, which obviously has connected a lot of people. And I always love to talk about the Kenyan woman farmer who no longer has to walk zillions of miles to pay her bills because she can do with a mobile phone.

Madeleine A: [12:11](#) But also technology is outpacing jobs. Um, trying to figure out how people live, what their identity is in terms of being proud of what they do. And also in many ways kind of complicating governance. So I, this is a plagiarized line, I have to tell you, I got it from Silicon Valley. People are talking to their governments on 21st century technology. The governments listen to them on 20th century technology and provide 19th century responses. So there's no faith in institutions. And that combination of all those things and the anger that comes out as a result of hating another identity and not being in control of one's life are kinds of things that were happening in Europe. And we can go through the various countries and to some extent in the United States. And then you get, um, a somebody who thinks they're a stable genius to take over and say they're going to drain the swamp and very stable, very stable, very stable.

Madeleine A: [13:12](#) It's very interesting actually. So just so I understand, you know, how you're framing your view of Trump, so you don't think that he's using the tools of fascism and you see fascism as, as a set of tools, but you do see him as essentially being an American version of an authoritarian. Yes. Is that right? And, and I do think that what one has to look out for, by the way, I've decided on the following thing, uh, we all know the see something, say something. I've added to that do something. And the do something has to do with what I've seen is going on. We have a president who thinks he's above the law and you have to call that out. Uh, and you, the judicial system in a country is a very important aspect of keeping the country under the rule of law and going, somebody who disregards the judicial system has to be called out.

Madeleine A: [14:00](#) Somebody who thinks that the press is the enemy of the people has to be called out. Uh, because democracy depends on the free press. And I think that what has happened, those particular things have been going on. Um, and I do think we have to call them out. What we have to also do, um, is to be involved in politics, either to run for office oneself or support those who do. And then the part that is hard I have to say is to talk to people with whom you disagree. I don't actually like the word tolerance because that's tolerate put up with, I think it's more that we need to respect where they're coming from and try to have civilized discussions and then there no book or speech ever given that doesn't quote Robert for us. So, um, the quote that I like of his is the older I get, the younger are my teachers.

Madeleine A: [14:52](#) And I really do think that the younger generation here also has to be a part of calling it out. Um, and we are at a very, very

complicated time and I think we have to call out what's going on. You know, you, um, were the secretary of state in the late 1990s at a time when we really couldn't have anticipated not only Donald Trump as the president of United States, but in particular, I, the, the big picture frame has changed pretty radically since you spoke of the United States as an indispensable nation. Uh, for the last 13 years in a row. According to freedom has the number of democracies in the world has shrunk rather than grown. That's not something that, that's not a world that you expected when you are secretary of state. To what extent, uh, you know, if there was a do over, was there something that we could have done to prevent this macro trend?

Madeleine A:

[15:44](#)

Well, let me just say the following of it's some misunderstanding. First of all, President Clinton first said we were the indispensable nation. I just said it so often. It became identified with me. But there is nothing about the word indispensable that says alone. Uh, it just means that the United States needs to be engaged. Um, today, this word came up many times. Multi-Lateralism Americans don't like that word. It has too many syllables and it ends in Ism. But all it means is partnership and operating with others. And I think that that's something that needs to happen. And supporting democracy and other countries, we don't have to promote democracy. We can support it because, um, in, uh, you can't, uh, you know, trying to inflict democracy is an oxymoron. Um, and so I do think that we should have been doing more to understand how difficult democracy really is and that we need to explain it better.

Madeleine A:

[16:43](#)

And if I might, I'm chairman of the Board of the National Democratic Institute and I'm also things I'd love to celebrate anniversaries. So I have just been to crossover, uh, one of the most incredible trips I have ever taken for the 20th anniversary of the end of the war. And it's a country that actually is grateful to us. Um, they, I got there, there were hundreds of American flags signs all over the place that said, thank you USA. Thousands of people out in the streets. Um, and they are the ones that are the kinds of things where the u s with others can be helpful to those to try to let people live the way they want to. I don't like it when people say x, people are not ready for democracy. Everybody. We are all the same. We have, we want to live in countries where we can make decisions. Well, I'm glad you brought up Kosovo and this notion of the, the x people you listed globalization and new technologies as being some of the drivers of this current, uh, moment of grievance. Uh, and that

has caused really an anti-democratic trend both in Europe and here in the United States. You didn't mention,

Susan Glasser:

[17:50](#)

but I know it is, it is a factor. And I'm curious what you think, ah, the extent to which this is also reflected a generational, uh, a generation since the end of the Cold War. And since the collapse of the Soviet Union, you and I both spent a lot of time in that part of the world and it, it truly is no accident, uh, that you are seeing in effect a backlash. Uh, now that we are a full generation away from that moment in time, you have a president of Russia who, uh, has called for the last 15 years, the breakup of the Soviet Union, the greatest geopolitical collapse catastrophe of the 20th century. How much is that a factor in this wave of politics we're seeing in Europe, in the u s

Madeleine A:

[18:32](#)

I think we probably underestimated the difficulties of moving from communism to freedom. Um, and I've spent an awful lot of time on looking at central and eastern Europe specifically. Um, and how you move from a system, um, where, uh, we actually dealt with a lot of elites. Not Everybody was about Slough. Havo um, and the idea that we didn't quite understand fully that a lot of people, well, they didn't have a freedom. They had, um, some kind of organized jobs and retirement systems and all that. And it's very interesting. Um, I first met Viktor Orban in 1980s. He was everybody's favorite dissident. Uh, and by the way, since he's being so perfectly dreadful about George Soros, George Soros paid for his education at Oxford. Um, it's really quite stunning. And so what has happened, why does something like this happen? And we can talk a little bit about, um, I did, by the way, I did a survey in 91 of all of Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union.

Madeleine A:

[19:36](#)

And I was in Moscow. We had focus groups, and I'll never forget this man who stands up and he says, I'm so embarrassed. We used to be a superpower and now we're Bangladesh with missiles. And what has happened is Putin kind of plugged into that, this whole sense of who are we identification? Um, and, and I think we need, I don't think we fully understood all the, uh, forces that were out there and the hunger, I don't remember all the facts from this, but we asked a question, do you think a piece of your country's in the neighboring country, 80% Hungarians said yes. And so Viktor Orban is working off of that anger and lack of respect, changed his politics, totally found a scapegoat in the immigrants and has adopted a, an authoritarian system that in fact allows him to now say that his best friend is Putin.

Susan Glasser: [20:30](#) You know, there are some striking similarities in the playbook from country to country, whether it's an assault and the independent media or targeting of immigrants. As you mentioned, uh, you know, you could say the President Putin, uh, slogan from the time he took office was, was make Russia great again. And so we're seeing those echoes. I guess my question is, you of course are a democrat. Uh, you're watching. Yes. Well, you know, I think everyone's in on this year and so we're all watching the beginnings of what is clearly going to be a long and very contentious year and a half long American political conversation. Is there an arrival worldview to that presented by the trumps and or bonds of the world right now? Do you see Democrats as offering a, anything other than it will go back to the past? I think

Madeleine A: [21:20](#) that there is a vibrant discussion going on in the Democratic Party in terms of trying to figure out what our position in the world really is. I know I have my views. I think that the world needs an engaged United States but not alone. And I think if one looks at some of the, I've spent a lot of time on the hill recently by the way, I keep talking about it as article one time. The first article of the constitution is that about the power of Congress and as the committees on the house side, um, they are really examining what America's role in the world is. Uh, trying to sort out, um, how we work with whom we work and what organizations we want to be a part of. And again, just going back on some of the discussions today and there was some about the UN. So I have to say people and organizations at age 70 need a little refurbishing. So the UN does need some refurbishing. Um, and I think NATO app organizations need to adjust to what is going on. And I think that there is support for that, uh, within the Democratic Party. But I think that we need to have a vibrant discussion. I just don't want us to form a firing line in a circle because, uh, we have a very important election coming up.

Susan Glasser: [22:33](#) Democrats are good at that. Uh, we're gonna bring in our audience for questions cause I know that there are many questions. Uh, okay. Uh, if you can do me the great favor of giving us your name and giving us a question. We do have microphones. You can go first. So thank you.

Speaker 5: [22:49](#) Uh, Madam Secretary, thank you very much. Charlie Dunlap from two law school. Uh, last December, Gallup poll reported that 158 million people want to move to the United States, including 37 million from Latin America. What, what policy should we have in sorting this out? Uh, like to hear your views on that?



Madeleine A: [23:09](#) Well, first of all, um, I've obviously been interested in immigration policy for a long time. The United States has had a mixed record. Um, and I do think what we need is a comprehensive immigration policy. Um, I, I really think that's a very important part. Um, I think it is important for people to be able to come in legally. Um, I also do think we need to understand that most people in the world would prefer to live in the country where they were born. Uh, which also means that there needs to be some way that we are helpful to in terms of creating a situation there where they want to live in their own economy. That is definitely true for instance, of the northern triangle where people cannot live a decent life. Um, and we are cutting our foreign aid programs. And so I think we need to look at things in a much larger comprehensive way.

Madeleine A: [24:04](#) We cannot do the kinds of things however that are going on that are inhuman in terms of separating people acting totally. UNAMERICAN and I just have to tell you, I was on, uh, Amtrak not long ago during spring vacation. And what was interesting, the conductor very quietly says, we're just coming in to Baltimore. Um, and this is spring vacation. And there are a lot of families getting on. And I would appreciate those of you that are traveling alone to sit together because we don't want to separate families. And I thought it was just a stunning example of what Americans are really like and what we need to do is understand we do need a policy, but we also need to be, have a humane way of dealing with people, not put them in cages. I mean, I'm in the back.

Audience Member: [25:02](#) Hi. Uh, given the difference of opinions among the Democrats in the house to whether to start impeachment proceedings or not against Trump, what is your personal opinion as to whether the house should start them or not or lead them to the 2020 election?

Speaker 2: [25:19](#) Okay.

Madeleine A: [25:20](#) Um, well, I do think that there's a process going on in the house in terms of investigation by a number of committees. I think, um, speaker Pelosi has made clear and I think that should be the process. I also do think that, um, this sounds really weird, but I think that Trump would like the process to begin that he would see it as some way to use in his campaign. And therefore I think it's important to go in a very organized way, uh, and understand what the powers of Congress are. Um, and not given that gift of having something to argue against. Okay. I your turn sir. Absolutely.

- Speaker 6: [26:01](#) Well, Frank Larkin, a former U.S. senate sergeant arms and also father of a decorated navy seal who lost his life in combat, uh, against extremists who are trying to challenge our freedoms and freedoms of others. My question is a little bit off vector, but I think related it has not been talked about and that is what role does the growing population of disadvantaged and disenfranchised youth globally play in the calculus of what we've been talking about today. And then national policies in some of the extremist movements that we've been reading about. Um, both in ungoverned countries, areas of lawlessness, but more so that we're seeing now in some other governed areas.
- Speaker 2: [27:00](#) Yeah.
- Madeleine A: [27:00](#) Thank you for what your son did and for everybody that is in the United States military service. Um, I have to say the following thing. I spend an awful lot of time looking at, um, obviously what's going on in, in foreign countries and, and what we have is basically a, a rising population surge of young people throughout the world. Um, those that are trying to get an education in the countries where they live, those who want jobs, um, and how that serves, um, whether they then become kind of a petri dish for those who are trying to immobilize them to turn against us. Um, by the way, when I say I've been somewhere recently, I actually have, I am, uh, geographically challenged anyway. I just was in Tunisia and Tunisia basically, um, has a democratic government but is having real issues about the surgeon. They're young population that can't find jobs.
- Madeleine A: [28:02](#) They're either trying to figure out how not to come to their neighbors. They are between Libya and Algeria. Uh, and they also would, if they can't get a job, they want to leave and then they are, um, drowning in the Mediterranean. And so I think it is one of the major challenges in terms of looking towards the future. And I think our hard part, if I may say so, is that we are dealing with some terrible problems now generally, but we need to think about the effect of issues on the future and the young people are obviously that and we need to pay some attention through our assistance programs and with our allies in terms of dealing with the rising youth population everywhere that wants, that it obviously are the future care about global warming care about jobs and care about, uh, how they can live in the countries where they were born. And we can say this as two non baby boomers on the stage. So definitely we're allowed to say that. Okay. We have time for more questions, ma'am. Yes,

- Audience Member: [29:08](#) thank you. I'm Gillian's Aaronson and now with the international rescue committee and formally with the UN, um, madam secretary, you made passing reference to the United Nations. As you well know, we have not had a US ambassador to the United Nations since last November. Can you give us some thoughts on what we should do about that absence of the u s in the u n and what we might, uh, what leadership we might exercise into in terms of route renewing the UN and making best use of it for the future?
- Madeleine A: [29:43](#) Sure. Well, um, I am a great advocate of the UN and um, loved being an ambassador there, especially at a time you and I knew each other over that and the role that we were able to play at that point. Um, it's was interesting because that was the first time that the UNM Bester me. I was a member of the president's cabinet, a member of the principles committee, which made me one of the decision makers. I think we have to show the importance of the UN role in the first place, but it is not an easy place. And I love to say the following thing about the [inaudible]. There was some discussion about expanding the Security Council. Not Easy. So, um, when we were in office we wanted to add German in Japan as permanent members of the Security Council. So the first country that came to me to complain was Italy.
- Madeleine A: [30:34](#) They said, this is outrageous. We lost the war too, which is not a great campaign. So, so also at any given time, I'd have 15 members of the UN there, five Europeans, and I would go to a European country and I'd say, I need your help on a vote. And the ambassador would say, I'm so sorry I can't help you. The EU does not yet have a common position. So two days later I'd go back to the same person and I say, can you help me now? And the ambassador would say, no, I can't. Because the EU does have a common position. So in the days before Brexit, I would've thought that maybe the EU could have the permanency, which obviously wouldn't work. But there really are questions about how we see the u n we have now cut, uh, how much we're spending on peacekeeping operations and we are the ones and not on the human rights council and are undercutting the work of the UN.
- Madeleine A: [31:27](#) I do think that there are foreign service officers at the U s mission. At the United Nations, but it's an example and the person being nominated, um, doesn't sound, I shouldn't say this, I have no business in this, but we don't know who she is. Um, and not whether she's capable or not. And what has happened is the secretary general really does count on the u s being very active and we are not. And then you have a president

that goes to the UN and he's laughed at because all he talks about is sovereignty instead of talking about what the United Nations is really about is trying to solve problems. Multilaterally right. I want to go all the way in the back there. Yes. You. Thank you. Um,

Audience Member: [32:13](#)

hi Leah Khan from the State Department but actually also formerly the Chicago Project on Security and threats where Secretary Albright gave a very inspiring lecture to several young researchers a couple months ago at the University of Chicago. Um, I have a question about research and I think as an academic you could definitely contribute to this as well. I think that many major think tanks and universities have no problem finding funding or interest in to study things. Like violent jihad as extremism, but it seems that we struggle and hesitate as an American public to understand or label things like white nationalism or the rise of neo-nazis in America for what it is, which is also a violent extremism and terrorism. Um, and I've, I have a question about how we incorporate the same tools we've established as an intellectual community for studying groups like isis to study in groups like the Aryan Brotherhood or the KKK or the rise of neo-nazis in America.

Madeleine A: [33:04](#)

Well, I think one of the issues is how universities are organized, whether they have public policy programs, how they operate, are they willing to take that kind of role? I have to say I do teach, it is not simple these days. Um, in terms of safe zones and a variety of things of what you can say and can't say. I do think we need to make very clear that academic freedom is one of the basic aspects of American life. Um, and I think we should be looking at, uh, what are the causes of the various problems that we have, but be willing to have decent, respectful discussion of those issues and especially in academic circles. So we're almost out of time. Okay. So what I thought I'd do is take two final questions, uh, together and then you can answer them and have some closing remarks. You've been very patient sir.

Audience Member: [34:04](#)

Thank you very much madam secretary, to share your thoughts with us and Motiva. So ZDF German television. I was wondering, given the fact that we have a rising number of right wing extremists in Europe, we're willing to resort to violence. They are arming themselves. We have that problem even in some of the security forces within our countries. For example, in Germany and we have seen over the last couple of months, members of government parties in Italy, Poland and also in Austria, calling for categorizing Sinti and Roma, registering them in one country, even suggesting that we should register Jews. Do you think that given all those facts, what comes out of the

White House is acting like kind of a fire accelerator to what is going on in Europe.

Speaker 8: [34:49](#)

Okay.

Madeleine A: [34:49](#)

I am concerned about the fact that, and it goes to one of your questions about what words etc. Um, I am concerned about the friendships and the, um, kind of same language that is being used because uh, people with bad ideas can encourage each other. And I think I am very concerned and I think it's one of the things we need to talk about. Um, and one of the things, the reasons that I wrote the book was in fact to talk about some of the issues that were going on in Europe and in fact the kind of middle of ideas and that, and we do, it goes back to the original thing. I said, we have to call out what's going on. We cannot say that this is normal, this is not normal. And I think we have to, uh, really call things out in a particular way.

Susan Glasser: [35:38](#)

Madam Secretary, I'll finish up by exercising the moderator's privilege. I'm surprised that no one asked about your pin. Usually they do a, but if we're talking about how words matter, you've always been a believer that symbols matter as well. And this I believe has some connection to the debate we're having today. Well it's the

Madeleine A: [35:56](#)

a head dress of the statue of Liberty with the first words of the American constitution. We the people. So, and let me just say and thank you. Um, I did say, and I started out by talking about the fact that I'm an immigrant and it is. So one of the things that I have loved doing as secretary state was going to participate in naturalization ceremonies. And the first time I did it was July 4th, 2000 at Monte Cello. I figured since I had Thomas Jefferson's job, I could do that. And so I'm giving this person his naturalization certificate and he walks away and he says, can you believe it? I'm a refugee. And I just got my naturalization certificate from the Secretary of state and I went back to him and I said, can you believe that a refugee is secretary of state? And I think that that,

Speaker 2: [36:49](#)

yes. Um, I am, I describe myself as a [inaudible]

Madeleine A: [36:56](#)

grateful American and going, and I've done a lot of the naturalization ceremonies and I wish all of you the opportunity to see them, they show the diversity of America. That is what makes America great. And I'm very honored to have had the possibility of sipping sitting behind a sign that said, United States. Thank you all very much.

Speaker 9:

[37:35](#)

Please don't go far. We're going to turn the stage around very quickly. There is no break at the moment. And then we'll start in just one minute.