

SARAH BALDWIN: From the Watson Institute at Brown University, this is *Trending Globally*. I'm Sarah Baldwin.

This week, we have something a little different. We came across a great podcast produced by the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University, and we wanted to share it with you. It's called *Policy 360*. On it, Stanford school dean Judith Kelley interviews scholars, policymakers, and politicians about some of the most pressing public policy issues today. We think you'll really like it. This one's an interview with former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Enjoy.

JUDITH KELLEY: Hello and welcome to *Policy 360*. I'm Judith Kelley, dean of the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University. It's my great pleasure to welcome Madeleine Albright to the program.

Dr. Albright served as the 64th US Secretary of State under President Bill Clinton, and President Obama awarded her the nation's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2012. Secretary Albright's latest book is a number 1 *New York Times* bestseller, *Fascism-- A Warning*. Welcome to *Policy 360*.

MADELEINE It's wonderful to be with you, dean. Thank you.

ALBRIGHT:

JUDITH KELLEY: So in your book, you describe asking a group of your graduate students at Georgetown two questions-- what is real fascism, and how does one recognize a practitioner? So how did they respond, and to you, what is fascism?

MADELEINE Well, fascism is actually hard to define because people throw the term around. Everybody you disagree with is a fascist. And so it's not an ideology. It is a process.

ALBRIGHT:

And with the students we talked about what the definitions were. And it is when a leader identifies himself with one group at the expense of another so that the minority is really not only ignored but often scapegoated about things. But instead of trying to deal with the problems of society by finding some common answers, a fascist divides the society and so that is one of the definitions.

The other is when the leader has absolutely no respect for laws and for institutional structures and when, in fact, the press is viewed as the enemy of the people. So it's some behavioral aspects that are how a dictatorial leader actually takes power. It's a process. Fascism is a process.

JUDITH KELLEY: So when you say it's about identifying with one group or with the other, is that always in your mind ethnic or can it be politically groups.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: It can be different. Different groups. It's mostly ethnic, nationalist, linguistic, or something, but it can be any group. And that's why it's hard to define. And it's basically majority rule with no minority rights. And then when it goes that extra step of blaming that minority for whatever the problems are, then it gets even more virulent.

JUDITH KELLEY: So what do you think are the biggest examples we have of fascism today.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: Today-- and this is the part that's very troubling because these particular leaders were all elected. So Hungary I think is-- by the way--

JUDITH KELLEY: As they were historically by the way.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: They were. But I think-- I try hard not to actually call somebody a fascist but more what path they're on in terms of this authoritarian dictatorial aspect.

JUDITH KELLEY: Right.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: Actually the only person that I have called a fascist is Kim Jong Un, the leader of North Korea, because he in fact has added to the things that I said, that he has terrified his people, has used violence. He has killed people around him including his relatives. So he's the only one.

But I do think that in terms of trends, the Hungarian leader Viktor Orban, Philippine Duterte, Maduro in Venezuela, Erdogan in Turkey. Those are the major ones. I'm concerned about what's happening in Poland, but mostly those are-- and by the way, I also do think that leftists, Communists, are fascists. Putin is a fascist or on his way to being one.

JUDITH KELLEY: Right, underscoring that it's not a political spectrum.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: It is not a spectrum.

JUDITH KELLEY: So what most concerns you about the rise of fascism today as opposed to in the past or--

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: Well, I think it's something always to be concerned about. But what is troubling now is that the various people tending towards fascism help each other. They are a group that strengthens

each other by praise of each other and by linking themselves.

So, for instance, I found truly strange-- Viktor Orban is somebody that I met when he-- in the '80s when he was everybody's favorite dissident. He has now developed a turn called illiberal democracy, which is definitely an oxymoron. But the person he's linked up with is Putin. He has gotten support from Putin.

JUDITH KELLEY: Right.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: And then Erdogan in many ways has gotten also support from the Russians, and they live off of each other. And that is what concerns me. And the other part that really does concern me is I sometimes talk about the megatrends of this time, and they're positive and negative parts. So the first megatrend is obviously globalization. And most of us have benefited from it, but its downside is that it's faceless. And so people want to know what their identities are exactly as you were saying, the identification of an ethnic or tribal group.

And so the downside is that. And one thing is interested-- in being interested in what your identity is. We all want to know that. But when my identity hates your identity, then it becomes nationalism, and hyper-nationalism is very dangerous.

JUDITH KELLEY: Yes. I think it's interesting what you say about Orban and illiberal democracy because we've seen-- you talk about having worked for the NDI, and we spoke about election monitoring before we just started this podcast. We've certainly seen autocrats undertake the outward signs of democracy with elections and things like that and in many ways run illiberal democracies. But the fact that he's able to label it and it's potentially a legitimate way of framing one's rule is curious.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: It is very curious. And I think it's because the term democracy is something that people want to identify with without fully understanding that it takes work on both sides from the government and the population in terms of understanding what they're voting for and working on making sure that the social contract is being carried out. It's a-- what is so interesting is having read constitutions of authoritarian governments, they somehow all have democracy in it.

So what is another oxymoron term is what the Chinese call themselves, authoritarian capitalism. So it's trying to appeal to one group or another. But the other megatrend that has also had an effect on this is technology, and we clearly all are beneficiaries. I always love to talk about the Kenyan woman farmer who no longer has to walk miles to pay her bills. She can

do it on her--

JUDITH KELLEY: On a phone.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: On her phone. And as a result of that, she can have a life, get an education, start a business, so that's great. But what it has also done as I've said, there already divisions in society. So technology makes it possible to disaggregate all those voices, and everybody gets their information from their own echo chamber. And then it's very hard to create political parties.

So those are the things that are going on that make this era more susceptible I think to divisions in society. And then what you really need is a leader who understands is there are divisions and can find common answers instead of one that deliberately divides the people. And you find that in all the countries that I mentioned.

JUDITH KELLEY: So you were born in Czechoslovakia, and your family escaped the Nazis by fleeing to London. And then after the war, you returned to Czechoslovakia again, but your family then were driven into exile once again and this time by Stalin and by the Communists. So does your experience give you a special insight into fascism?

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: Well, I think it does, but mostly it makes me-- the reason I wanted to write the book was very personal, trying to figure out how did it happen. What were the conditions that allowed fascism to take place? And in each of those case, it's slightly different.

But the part that I think it's important to-- I think we all have reasons why we get interested in something, but the personal part really did play a role. And in Czechoslovakia, for instance, what did happen was that there-- the term appeasement is always associated with Munich-- and it was that the British and French made an agreement with the Germans and Italians. The United States wasn't at the meeting, but also it thought that, well, if we can make a deal appease Hitler, it will be all right. Instead, that kind of lack of understanding about what was going on is what allowed him to march into Prague in March 1939.

So I think that one of the things that I've been very interested and involved in now is how-- what happens when extremism hits in fragile states. And it's partially because we don't think ahead and whatever can be done to prevent this kind of way that some-- and I have to say evil person divides people even more. So trying to figure out what the symptoms are--

JUDITH KELLEY: And what the breeding grounds are.

MADELEINE What the breeding grounds are. So that's one of the other reasons that I looked at history and
ALBRIGHT: also hope that there-- some people think my book is too desperate in many words, alarming.
And, well, it's supposed to be alarming.

JUDITH KELLEY: Intentionally provocative.

MADELEINE Yeah, yeah.

ALBRIGHT:

JUDITH KELLEY: It's a wake up call.

MADELEINE Yeah.

ALBRIGHT:

JUDITH KELLEY: Yes. So speaking of wake up calls, your father posited that Americans were so very, very free that maybe they were taking democracy for granted. Do you share that view?

MADELEINE I do. And what has been so interesting I have to say, I have learned an awful lot on my book
ALBRIGHT: tour because I'm fascinated by the questions that people ask. And I think that they're really is a sense of trying to-- people are not-- at the moment, they really want to know what has happened and don't want to take it for granted. But I always quote my father in my book talks, and I say first of all how grateful he was to come to America. And there's nothing better than to be a professor teaching in a free country but that he was afraid that Americans were taking democracy for granted.

JUDITH KELLEY: So what kind of questions is it that people have ask particular on your book that have startled you or that you've learned from?

MADELEINE Well, I think partially they want to know what to do. And so what I've done-- I say we all know
ALBRIGHT: the see something say something saying. So I've added to that do something.

So I go through my to do list, which is obviously first of all understanding that one has to be careful about a leader who identifies himself with one group and blames others, who has no respect for the press, who also has no respect for the judiciary specifically, and basically not an understanding of the institutions. So one has to call it out.

Then I also say that people need to either run for office or support those who do that there needs to be political activity. Then on my to do list, I have two other points. One is that we

need to talk to the people we disagree with. I don't like the word tolerance because that's tolerate, put up with, but respect what they are thinking about and try to find out why.

This morning I was very tempted in the airport, these two women came up to me and wanted to have their picture taken with me and they had Trump buttons on. And I thought we should have a discussion, and then I thought it's too early in the morning. But I do think that what we need to do is find out what has motivated the people and not just put up with them.

And then the last point, there isn't a book or speech ever given that doesn't quote Robert Frost. So one of the quotes that I like from him is the older I get, the younger are my teachers. And I think, for instance, what those Parkland kids did after that horrible shooting a year ago of going out and marching and town halls and a lot of political activity. I'm very interested in how students really are getting more and more active and understand that many of them should have voted the last time.

And so that-- I think people want to know what the to do list is. The thing, though, that I say-- I don't have some magic answers. I just am stating how this authoritarian anti-democratic atmosphere develops and that we all have to push back on it and push back.

JUDITH KELLEY: No, I certainly-- your point about young people and needing to vote is so important especially for our audiences to hear. But we in the Brexit vote, it was very clear that it was the young people who stayed home.

MADELEINE And they also-- nobody understood what it was about, the whole thing.

ALBRIGHT:

JUDITH KELLEY: So as we know from Freedom House, we have the global decline in democracy, do you think that the United States is doing the best it can in democracy promotion, or is there one particular thing you think United States could do better?

MADELEINE Well, first of all, I really do believe in democracy promotion. And interestingly in the modern era, it was something that Ronald Reagan started. He spoke in Parliament in England in 1983, and he said democracies were not real good about explaining themselves vis a vis communism. So he came back to the United States and started the Endowment for Democracy that has four institutes-- Democrats and Republicans, business and labor, of the warp and woof in terms of working together.

And I think that there has been mostly support for promotion of democracy. Interestingly

enough when this first started-- and I was the original vice chair-- it was very hard to explain to Congress. They said it's interference in domestic affairs or whatever. [INAUDIBLE] and because our political parties don't have institutes attached with them, the ones that are the-- I mean, the Germans, for instance, their stiftungs.

JUDITH KELLEY: Oh, sure.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: They have really had very active. And so we began to see what they were doing. So, for instance, it was just about the time of the end of Franco and Salazar and Spain and Portugal. And what happened was that the German stiftungs were in there doing things, and we learned a lot from them. And then it's been up and down and democracy promotion.

I think it's very important because you can't imposed democracy. That's an oxymoron. What you can do, however, is to help people learn the nuts and bolts of democracy And what is essential. And so I'm very proud I'm now chairman of the board of the National Democratic Institute. We have programs in about 70 countries, and they're a little bit different in every way. But it's working with civil society, thinking about what institutions are needed.

And by the way, especially sitting in a university, I think students all know that we all-- when we were students or are professors-- think about what comes first, political or economic development. They clearly go together. And because democracy has to deliver because people want to vote and eat. And so the question is how to create an atmosphere that supports people making choices.

And one of the things I talk about a lot is democracy's hard, and it takes quite a long time. And so NDI was very involved in things that were going on or had programs in Egypt during the Arab Spring. And I went, and I met with a group of Egyptian MPs, many members of parliament, and I said the really essence of democracy is compromise and coalition building. So they said you mean like you guys?

So the bottom line is we are not a great example at this moment. And then the other part, I made up this various aspects of this. I talk-- what I was saying before was how social media has played a role in it. Well, social media got people to Tahrir Square in Cairo. And then, I rarely say this, but elections were held too soon there. The Muslim Brotherhood was organized, and the people in Tahrir Square were not because they'd gotten their information in their own echo chamber and they weren't organized.

Then I made up this older guy that lives outside of Cairo, needs to go in to open his stall in the marketplace. And he sees that everything's a mess, and he says to hell with this. I want order. And then all of a sudden, you have a military government.

And so there has to be a progression of this and understanding that it's not easy. That it takes time. And those are the kinds of things that I think that one can do and help in the promotion of democracy.

JUDITH KELLEY: So prior to your visit, we asked some of our social media audiences if they had a couple of minutes in an elevator with you, what would they ask you. So I'm going to give you a couple of those questions now.

So Lena Hantosh, she wondered about something you reportedly said many years ago to Colin Powell, at the time chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. And there was a disagreement over whether the US should provide humanitarian intervention in Bosnia, and you said what's the point of having this superb military that you are always talking about if we can't use it. So Lena wonders that if you see the quote as being-- and I'm quoting her here-- emblematic of a political culture which recklessly and destructively interferes in foreign politics in Iraq, for example, simply because we can. So how do you respond to that.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: Well, I'm glad to be asked that. Partially-- I teach a course actually on the national security toolbox. And force is obviously the toughest one. The bottom line is that I think that there are not a lot of tools in the toolbox even for the most powerful country in the world. Diplomacy, bilateral and multilateral, the economic tools, aid and trade, and then sanctions, and force, intelligence, law enforcement. So the question is how do you use them, and what do you-- in what order?

We tried-- this was in-- this was about Bosnia. And what had happened was that I was up in New York at the UN. Candidate Clinton had said he was going to go into Bosnia and do something, and then he got involved with the it's the economy, stupid, in various parts. And I was up there, and various countries would come to me and say why aren't you people doing something. Worse and worse things are happening in terms of ethnic cleansing.

And we actually tried every single tool. There were sanctions put on. There were a lot-- it was a lot of diplomacy. And ultimately the question was what could we do to stop killing.

And so I do think there is a time that force is appropriate if you have tried other tools and

especially with the support of the international community. So I think we did the right thing. But Colin Powell, we did have this discussion. He left, and then there was another chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Shalikashvili. He believed in using force. We did it with NATO.

And the thing-- the ethnic cleansing stopped. And so Colin Powell writes this book, and all of a sudden I get a call from a journalist saying what do you think about what Colin Powell said about you in his book. And I said, well, what did he say? He said that he had to explain to Ambassador Albright patiently that our soldiers were not toy soldiers. So what do you have to say to that.

And so I called him up, and I said-- oh, he also said that I practically gave him an aneurysm with that. So I called him up, and I say, Colin, patiently? And he said, yes, you didn't understand anything.

And so we kid about it an awful lot. But I do think there is a time for humanitarian intervention, and you were asking me about how my own life affected this. We now know everything that happened in the Holocaust. I think people at the-- that time said they didn't know, and I'm not going to argue that. We now know everything that happens everywhere. And the question is whether the international community does have some responsibility to do humanitarian intervention if you see a leader killing his own people.

JUDITH KELLEY: The responsibility to protect. Another listener, Martin McCabe, asks do you believe that democracies have a life cycle. In other words, do you-- would you say that democracies tend to be born, grow, reach a peak, and then decline and reach a low point from which they could either be resurrected again or fall apart? And if you think that's true, how would apply this to the current state of democracy in the US? That's a long question. Maybe that's a short version of the answer.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: No, but I do think-- I don't know if there's any set cycle, but there clearly are moments where democracy's stronger and democracy's weaker. It's interesting because I've been saying two words that actually could appear contradictory. One is that democracy's fragile, and the other that democracy's resilient.

And I think both are true, and you don't just have it by virtue of saying I want democracy. It does take work. I do think, and it goes back to the democracy has to deliver part and how the system works to have people feel that they're participating in the democracy. I happen to think that what's going on now is the social contract is broken.

People gave up-- 18th century concept-- but gave up individual rights in order to be protected by a government. And what's happened is both sides are not fulfilling their responsibilities. And so I do think there's psych-- I don't know whether it's cycles or ups and downs, but it does require work.

JUDITH KELLEY: So with that thank you very much for joining me today. It's been a pleasure to have you on campus.

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: Thank you so much for your questions and your interest and all the work that you do on this.

JUDITH KELLEY: Thank you. Madeleine Albright is former US secretary of state. She's on campus of Duke University to present David M. Rubenstein Distinguished Lecture. The lecture is presented by the Sanford School of Public Policy and Duke's program in American grand strategy. We'll be back in two weeks with another edition of *Policy 360*. I'm Judith Kelley.

SARAH BALDWIN: We hope you enjoyed that episode of *Policy 360*, a bi-weekly podcast from the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University. You can find more episodes and subscribe to their show by searching for *Policy 360* on iTunes, Stitcher, NPR One, or your favorite podcast app.

For more information about *Trending Globally* and other Watson podcasts, go to watson.brown.edu. Thanks for listening. We'll be back next week with a new episode of *Trending Globally*.