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SPEECHES

REMARKS BASED ON NEW BOOK MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT ELECT: HOW WE CAN RESTORE AMERICA'S REPUTATION AND LEADERSHIP

*Madeleine K. Albright**

DEAN ROBERT JERRY:

My name is Bob Jerry and I am the Dean of the Levin College of Law. I want to thank Dean Emeritus Jon Mills at the Center for Governmental Responsibility and our friends at the Graham Center for Public Service for making possible the visit of our distinguished guest.

You have all had a chance to see an electronic copy of the resume of our guest. Suffice it to say that we are in the presence of one of the greatest public servants of any generation of Americans, a truly great American, and the 64th Secretary of State of the United States. Please welcome to the College the Honorable Madeleine Albright. (*Applause*).¹

* The following is a transcript of a speech delivered by Former Sec. of State Albright at the University of Florida Levin College of Law on March 26, 2008. In 1997, Dr. Albright was appointed the 64th Secretary of State of the United States. From 1993 to 1997, Dr. Albright served as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations and as a member of the President's Cabinet. She is the first Michael and Virginia Mortara Endowed Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. She chairs both the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, and the Pew Global Attitudes Project and serves as president of the Truman Scholarship Foundation. Dr. Albright co-chairs the UNDP's Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, serves on the Board of Directors of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Board of Trustees for the Aspen Institute and the Board of Directors of the Center for a New American Security. Dr. Albright earned a B.A. with Honors from Wellesley College, and Master's and Doctorate degrees from Columbia University's Department of Public Law and Government, as well as a Certificate from its Russian Institute.

1. Italicized words in parentheses indicate the live audience's response to Sec. Albright's speech.

SEC. ALBRIGHT'S REMARKS:**I. INTRODUCTION**

I am very happy to be here at this law school, on this glorious morning. I am known in my household as the mother of all lawyers. (*Light Laughter*). I have two daughters who are lawyers, and they are married to two other lawyers. (*Light Laughter*). So, we do not have a lot of agreement in our household. (*Laughter*). What I thought I would do this morning is talk to you about how I see what is going on in the world and then take your questions.

I just wrote a book titled *Memo to the President Elect*. The book is a little bit of a contrivance because it is written for the president elect to read on election night, but it is out now. It is written for the American people, and interested foreigners, to outline what I think are the major national security issues that the next president will have to confront. It is written for the candidates of either party or either gender.

I thought the book up while attending President Gerald Ford's funeral at the Washington National Cathedral. All of the former presidents were there, and President Bush was there too. The occasion made me think about the power of the American Presidency—its opportunities, its challenges, and the consequences of a president exceeding his powers. There are real questions about how the U.S. Constitutional System works—its checks and balances—so I went back and did research on how various presidents had approached the job. I get a big kick out of one thing I found: President Harding, not one of our best, (*Laughter*) said: "I wish there were a book that would tell me what to do." It is a little late for him (*Laughter*), but here it is.

II. THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL & FOIBLES OF WASHINGTON LIFE

In the first part of the book, I explain the National Security Council System and why it is that the Secretaries of State and Defense automatically dislike each other (*Laughter*) until they unite in their dislike of the National Security Advisor. (*Laughter*). In the first part of the book, I also talk a little about the foibles of Washington life. I write that it is

important for a president to get exercise—not all the time but sometimes. I learned, for instance, that John Quincy Adams exercised by swimming nude in the Potomac. There was once a journalist who wanted to interview President Adams, so she went down and sat down on his clothes until she finally succeeded in interviewing him neck deep in water. (*Laughter*).

III. THE “HORRORS OF THE WORLD”

The second part of the book is about what I call the “horrors of the world.” I think this is going to be one of the hardest presidencies we have seen in a very long time. There are big umbrella issues that the next president must address.

A. Fighting Terrorism Without Creating More Terrorists

The first issue is how to fight terrorism without creating more terrorists. The current administration talks about the “War on Terrorism.” I think it is a mistake to call the fight against terrorism a war. It is not a war because, unlike a war, this fight has no beginning or end. And, calling it a war glorifies murderers by labeling them as warriors. The people who attacked us on 9/11 were murderers; to give them mythical status as warriors enlarges their importance. Also, it is a mistake to link all the various terrorist groups together and make it appear as though al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden control everything.

B. Need to Reform the Current Nuclear Nonproliferation System

The second issue has to do with the fact that the nuclear nonproliferation system is broken. I do not know whether physicists knew how easy it was to move from peaceful to weaponized uses of nuclear power when President Eisenhower made his “Atoms for Peace” speech in 1953. But, there clearly is a loophole in the current system and the Iranians seem to be taking advantage of it.

Moreover, the current system was the product of a bargain among the original five nuclear powers. Its goal was for the five nuclear powers to systematically disarm and prevent non-nuclear powers from joining the club. Those five nuclear powers have not disarmed; in fact, the United States has gone about testing a new generation of nuclear weapons—the bunker busters. And clearly, there are new nuclear powers in the form of India, Pakistan, North Korea, and perhaps soon, Iran.

C. Restoring Democracy's Good Name

The third issue is about how to restore the good name of democracy. I believe in democracy. It's very important for people to be able to make decisions about their own lives. I believe people are better off if they are living under governments of their own choosing—even in Florida where you are able to participate occasionally. (*Laughter*).

However, what has happened is that democracy has gotten a bad name. President Bush said that it would be important to have democracy in the Middle East. I fully agree with President Bush's statement, but you cannot impose democracy. Imposing democracy is an oxymoron. Iraq was supposed to be the example for democracy in the Middle East, but the bottom line is that there are not many leaders out there who look at Iraq and say, "I want my country to look like that."

D. Dealing with Global Warming, Globalization, & the Rich-Poor Divide

The next president will need to deal with the whole set of issues related to global warming and climate change and energy security. We also have to deal with the negative aspects of globalization. I have a consulting firm with my business partner, Carol Browner, who is actually an alumna of your school. People come to our office and ask us how to stop globalization. Well, you cannot stop globalization, but there has to be a way to mitigate the negative aspects of globalization.

There is a growing gap between the rich and the poor that must be addressed. I have been involved in a new project that has an interesting legal component. Some of you may have heard of a Peruvian economist named Hernando de Soto. Dr. de Soto has a theory that if the poor have title to their land, they will become active members of their countries' economies. The poor are not stupid; in fact, the poor are quite entrepreneurial. They should be part of the economic system.

Dr. de Soto asked me to co-chair a commission on the legal empowerment of the poor.² I accepted. The commission will be releasing a report in about three months. In the report, we will say that there are about four billion

2. Specifically, Sec. Albright co-chairs, with Dr. de Soto, the U.N. Development Programme's Commission on the Legal Empowerment of the Poor.

people outside the legal framework of any country, and by legally empowering these people by making it possible for them to have title to their land and thus inherit land and be part of the legal system – the gap between the rich and the poor will narrow. I hope that when this report comes out there will be a blend between law school curricula and developmental policies.

E. The Unintended Consequences of Afghanistan & Iraq

The next president will also need to deal with two hot wars and their unintended consequences. Afghanistan, that is where the 9/11 murderers actually trained, is a place where things are not going well. We took our eye off the ball when the Bush administration made an unnecessary link between al-Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden, and Saddam Hussein. The Taliban are resurging. They are financing themselves with profits from their poppy crop, which they turn into opium. NATO is having problems operating as a strong alliance with a mandate to make things better in Afghanistan.

The unintended consequence of Afghanistan is Pakistan. Pakistan is a country that has every element of what gives you an international migraine. (*Light Laughter*). Pakistan has nuclear weapons, terrorism, extremism, poverty, and corruption. Pakistan just elected a new government; we will see how the new parliament and the new prime minister work with President Musharraf. The real question is how we, the United States, will behave toward Pakistan. I was just listening to the radio driving in, and the new parliament and the new prime minister do not want us to interfere. So two U.S. diplomats showed up there today. (*Light Laughter*). The new government is already saying that they do not need us. But the truth is that the United States needs Pakistan because it is the only access we have to Afghanistan and to dealing with these issues.

Then there is the other hot war: Iraq. I have said that I am afraid that Iraq is going to go down in history as the greatest disaster in U.S. foreign policy. Now, that's quite a statement because it means that I think Iraq is worse than Vietnam, not in the number of Americans killed or the number of Vietnamese or Iraqis killed, but in terms of the unintended consequences. The biggest unintended consequence of Iraq is Iran. I think that one might say that Iran has won the war in Iraq.

A lot of people talk about diplomacy and international relations as if they are a game of chess. They are not a game of chess. Chess is a game where two people sit across from each other; it is a game where opponents map

out their strategy; it's a game where opponents can take time between their moves; it's a game where there is some sense of predictability. Instead, I think diplomacy and international relations are like a game of pool or billiards where there are a bunch of balls in the middle of a table that somebody hits in the hope of putting a particular ball in a particular pocket. But, along the way, balls may hit other balls because of the dynamic nature of the game. I teach at Georgetown University and I have a student who claims that billiards is predictable—it is not predictable in anyway that I have seen, which may be because of the people I know who play the game. (*Laughter*).

F. Unfinished Business & the Need for Greater Engagement

The need for a Middle East peace process must be addressed. President Bush talked about a roadmap. Unfortunately, it took him seven years to take the roadmap out of the glove compartment. (*Laughter*). However, the current administration is working on something, and I hope the next president will have the opportunity to implement a plan for peace that comes out of the current process.

We have unfinished talks with North Korea and questions about how to handle Iran. We have not dealt with issues in Africa. There is a lot of discussion about what is going on in Darfur, but not much progress has been made. People are still dying and refugees are still being displaced. Kenya, a country that people thought was relatively stable, just experienced a massive ethnic killing. There are places in Africa where horrible things are happening—like Congo, which people are not particularly focused on because they do not make headlines on CNN.

We must also deal with Latin America. I know there is a lot of interest here, in Latin America and appropriately so. We, however, have not spent much time on Latin America, even though it is linked with issues of immigration and trade. Dealing with Latin America is a bit complicated because we are almost of damned if we do and damned if we don't. If we do not pay attention to Latin America, they feel ignored. If we pay too much attention, then we are accused of interfering in their domestic affairs.

The bottom line is that democracy in Latin America is not on the rise. When I was Secretary of State, I used to travel around with a map that was

given to me by SOUTHCOM³ commanders. It showed the progression of democracy in Latin America from authoritarian states to democratic states. The authoritarian states were in red and the democratic states were in green. Over the years, as I carried around those maps, ultimately there was only one small little red island.

While there have been many elections in Latin America, there has also been a trend back to authoritarianism, in Venezuela specifically. When I went to Venezuela as Secretary of State, it was run by a bunch of tired old men. There is no question that these men had no connection with the people of Venezuela, and I can understand how Hugo Chavez was elected. It may sound Marxist, but people want to vote and eat. (*Light Laughter*). To the extent that democracy does not deliver, a kind of populism takes root, if that is what one calls “Chavezism,” and attracts people to it.

The United States needs to help make sure that reforms take place in Latin America. The United States must ensure that Latin American economies function. The United States must help ensure that democracy delivers.

IV. CONCLUSION & PARTING WORDS ON EUROPE, RUSSIA, CHINA & INDIA

Needless to say, the next president has a huge agenda. The next president will have to operate in a different manner than the current president. The next president must realize that we have to work with other countries.

The Europeans, I hope, will be more useful by not examining themselves all the time. (*Laughter*). I think we need to have a different relationship with the Russians that is not loaded down with issues that are not essential to us, like putting missile interceptor bases and radars in Poland and the Czech Republic before they are really operational. We need to figure out how to deal with China and India. Every time we talk about China and India, we attach the adjective “rising.” Clearly, China and India will play

3. The U.S. Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM), located in Miami, Florida, is one of nine unified Combatant Commands (COCOMs) in the Department of Defense. It is responsible for providing contingency planning, operations, and security cooperation for Central and South America, the Caribbean (except U.S. commonwealths, territories, and possessions), Cuba and the Bahamas, and their territorial waters, as well as for the force protection of U.S. military resources at these locations. USSOUTHCOM is also responsible for ensuring the defense of the Panama Canal and canal area.

a bigger role on the international stage. So again, it is a huge agenda and the next presidency will be a very difficult one.

Now that I've dealt with just about everything (*Laughter*), I am happy to take your questions.

The question and answer portion of the event has been omitted.
