

**RELEASE IN
PART B6**

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2013 11:43 AM
To: 'monica.hanley [redacted]
Subject: Fw: here is the topper i did

Pls print.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2013 11:39 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: here is the topper i did

It wasn't as sharp as it should be because it was the first question and I hadn't collected my thoughts:

QUESTION: Okay. What would be – I have some specific questions, but before I ask them – specific ones, maybe just from your perspective, I think there – what is it that you think she accomplished as Secretary of State?

And also, there's another thing that's a little trickier to get at, but I think it's important, which is that any principal in these administrations, they have an influence within the administration that's not always manifest. Sometimes they don't. Sometimes their advice isn't accepted. But since we're on background and we're not quoting you and all that stuff unless – without your permission, maybe you could give us our take on what you think she's accomplished and where she was – maybe worked within the administration, as any principal does, to try to shape things.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Yeah. So I guess I can talk about my view of her accomplishments at three levels.

So the first is the most concrete, and that is specific policy initiatives and diplomacy that produced results. That list includes a major influence on the rebalance to the Asia Pacific in totality and with respect to specific elements like South China Sea diplomacy and the opening to Burma; her role in putting together the coalition that led to the fall of Qadhafi; her role in putting together and holding together the coalition on Iran sanctions; her role in putting together an effective partnership with ISAF countries to do both the increase in troops, including the troop contributions from those other countries as well as their contributions to the ANSF and Afghanistan's economic development agenda going forward; her role in the Gaza ceasefire. [Here you could add the Sudan-South Sudan oil deal, the NATO strategic concept, the New START treaty, responding to the coup in Honduras, Haiti earthquake response, and her role in national security decisions like bin Laden.] So you've got a set of kind of very specific accomplishments that you can take a look at.

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The second level is what she did to sort of reorient the building, to change the way this building does business. And there you have an economic statecraft agenda that has put economics more at the center of our foreign policy, both on the commercial diplomacy side and in terms of using economics as a tool of statecraft. So in the Middle East and North Africa; through the New Silk Road, et cetera. Her technology and innovation agenda, putting women at the center of basically every aspect of diplomacy and development, elevating development as a core pillar of American power. So a set of fundamental institutional changes that really mark a profound difference in the way diplomacy is practiced and institutional changes within the State Department from the creation of new bureaus to changed practices, changed training, changed promotion principles and so forth, that are all sort of collectively embodied in the QDDR but can be parceled out in more concrete terms.

And then the third and I think most profound impact that she's had over the last four years has to do with American – the question of American leadership and what diplomacy looks like today as compared with 60 years ago. So your present at the creation generation, your Achesons, basically could create a few major organizations, and that is the global architecture – the UN, the Bretton-Woods system, NATO.

Today you don't – you have to deal with an exponentially greater number of actors, both on the government side and the nongovernment side. So it's not about creating or advancing a couple of institutions. It's about putting the U.S. at the center of an incredible number of different types of partnerships and networks, some of which are formal institutions, some of which are strategic dialogues, some of which are public-private.

And if you look at the list of things that she has done to build that and the way in which she has made the job of Secretary of State be a constant gardener. From the Global Counterterrorism Forum to the Climate and Clean Air Coalition to her work with ASEAN and the Arab League and the AU to this entire operation around public-private partnerships to her reaching beyond government to engage with the private sector, civil society, et cetera, that, I think, is going to have to be the way that the United States practices leadership in mobilizing coalitions of actors to solve global problems. And it's going to be marked by persistent shoe-leather diplomacy combined with kind of innovative networks and new ways of doing business. And the results are going to come drop by drop as opposed to in big sweeping changes.

And I think her recognizing the moment that we're in, the landscape that we face, and adjusting America's role and the role of American diplomacy is probably going to end up over time being her most profound legacy.

And just on that point, I would add that it's easy to forget now four years later just what a deep hole we were in when she came into office. So much of the work that she had to do was repair work,

restoring our alliances, both in Europe and in the Asia Pacific;
strengthening partnerships with the emerging powers that were on more
shaky foundations; returning the United States to the center of
various international institutions; elevating our standing and our
voice at not just policy levels but at values levels. And now we're
sort of used to an Obama-Clinton era in foreign policy, but back when
we started things looked a heck of a lot different. So she deserves a
lot of credit for that too.