

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE

ASPEN IDEAS FESTIVAL WELCOME AND CONVERSATIONS 2016

DAVID BRADLEY AND AMBASSADOR SUSAN RICE

Aspen, Colorado

Sunday, June 26, 2016

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DAVID BRADLEY AND AMBASSADOR SUSAN RICE

MR. BRADLEY: So, welcome Susan. You know Aspen and Aspen surely knows Susan. Susan is here with her family. Her husband Ian Cameron is a network news producer. She has her two children here, Jake just graduated high school and is off to Stanford and Maris is in her early teens and is in school in Washington D.C. We're very happy to have them here, but it doesn't do my opening questions which were going to be, whom did you date before Ian --

(Laughter)

MR. BRADLEY: -- and could you describe that first kiss; but forego those. So let's do a couple of topics on the news and then what I'd love to do is go backwards and do a more reflective conversation. So as national security advisor, you are in charge of coordinating economic, political, security matters. Brexit hits Thursday night, Friday morning. I assume the U.S. government scrambles or gets on it. Could you do a behind the scene story? What happened? What hour did you find out and then what did you begin to do?

AMB. RICE: Well, obviously in the first instance, David, we anticipated that we needed to be prepared for either scenario and we were. We had already on the economic team coordinated with our G7 partners and others in advance in anticipation particularly of the leave outcome, not because we thought that was the likely outcome, but because that was a more consequential outcome, and so Secretary of Treasury Jack Lew working with the National Economic Council and the National Security Council teams had in place a series of contingencies related to the leave scenario. On the national security side similarly we plan both our public statements that would come for either scenario. We had a plan for the President to speak as soon as reasonably possible to Prime Minister Cameron, he also spoke very closely in the same window to Chancellor Merkel and so we had a series of plans in place --

MR. BRADLEY: There is a protocol in place for

this?

AMB. RICE: -- that would have applied to either scenario. As it turned out, this all occurred on Thursday as the President was in California in Silicon Valley for the Global Entrepreneurship Summit and as we were on the plane and then arriving the results were beginning to come in, and you will recall that during the day on Thursday initially there was some degree of optimism that the remain outcome would prevail, but as the hours went by it became increasingly clear that that would not be the case. And so we operated on the basis of the plan for the leave scenario, the President reached out to try to get to Prime Minister Cameron that evening, but given the time difference and it was quite late in the U.K. it wasn't until the next morning that they actually connected.

MR. BRADLEY: So what would he say to the prime minister, he gets him on the phone, the largest fact in Britain of recent, the largest fact in Cameron's career?

AMB. RICE: Bummer.

MR. BRADLEY: Bummer.

(Laughter)

MR. BRADLEY: We made news.

AMB. RICE: No, obviously, I mean, this is something they talked about in many different contexts and when the President was in the U.K. in April they both had the opportunity to speak to the issue publicly. So there was -- you know, they'd had also spent time together just a couple weeks prior, the G7, with Christine and others and so they had, you know, talked through this potential outcome as well as the preferable outcome of the remain scenario. Obviously the President has worked very, very closely with Prime Minister Cameron over the years, and so in addition to a discussion about the consequences of the vote and conveying our respect for the will of the British people, it was also an opportunity for the President to underscore how much he appreciated David Cameron as a partner and as a friend. They will have time together for

the next few months, they'll see each other within the next couple weeks at the Warsaw Summit, the NATO Summit, but obviously it's a painful occasion when a partner that close experiences a loss that profound.

MR. BRADLEY: The lead editorial at least online in *The New York Times* today was the security implications of Brexit. I didn't find it very compelling. Are there a lot of security implications and what are you worried about?

AMB. RICE: Well, I think to be very candid there is a lot we don't know. I think in the most fundamental sense the United States and the United Kingdom are going to remain the closest of partners and allies. The much touted special relationship will endure as it has through many, many different challenges and periods of ups and downs. Britain is a core member of NATO and so the security architecture that binds us along with our European allies, 22 of the European Union members are also members of NATO and so all of that remains very much the same and arguably will be strengthened as a result of this because the need to stay lashed up will be even greater. Britain plays a critical role in the counter-ISIL campaign and in many of our collective efforts related to security around the world. So that will all remain the same. So I think the immediate security implications are probably relatively few and certainly we will do all we can to ensure that the areas in which we are cooperating counterterrorism, you name it, remains solid.

MR. BRADLEY: Let's do one other issue in the news, let's do Orlando, the Pulse Night Club, it was exactly 2 weeks ago today and do you know the term tick tock --

AMB. RICE: Yes.

MR. BRADLEY: -- we use in journalism? So I'd love to hear the tick tock of how something like this happens, the shooting took place at 1:58 a.m. The police were notified at 2:06 a.m. Can you tell us about how does the message come into the Whitehouse, who receives it, when do you get it, when does the President get it? And

then as to this issue, is this just a police matter or do you find yourself rallying something?

AMB. RICE: Well, as for the tick tock, David, in this case obviously it happened in the wee hours of the night, there was a fair bit of confusion and ambiguity as to the nature of what was going on for several hours from about 2:00 to 5:00 in the morning.

MR. BRADLEY: Do you get a wake-in for all of these events?

AMB. RICE: Typically yes, and in this case yes. And so too would Lisa Monaco, the President's counterterrorism Czar whom you know well, she would be the principal person in that circumstance, the case of what appeared to be and that turned out be home-based terrorism to gather the information and provide the first briefing to the President.

MR. BRADLEY: When does that take place?

AMB. RICE: Well, depends when it happens and in this instance, you know, it's very early morning.

MR. BRADLEY: Yeah.

AMB. RICE: And then in the hours as we were getting more information as you recall, tragically the numbers of dead jumped dramatically. We all came into the Whitehouse on that Sunday morning and we were there briefing the President, we had FBI Director Comey as well, and then the President of course went out and made a statement to the nation that was carefully crafted in light of what we knew and didn't know at that moment. And then the work obviously continues in the days and weeks that follow and it still remains something of great significance.

MR. BRADLEY: I guess this is hard to predict, but it feels like lone wolves could be with us for a while. Do you have a sense long after you're here in office, is this a new normal we should expect to be handling or are there ways that we can get on top of this?

AMB. RICE: Well, I think that first of all we do have to recognize that whether it's terrorism related and motivated by extremists from the outside or views that may be of an individual nature that motivate an individual to pick up a gun and go and commit a tragedy of significance and importance, we are going to face this for some time to come and I think any responsible policymaker or leader would acknowledge that, but what we are doing and what we must do is to take the fight to the maximum extent that we can to the terrorists abroad and that's what we're doing in the context of the counter-ISIL campaign in Iraq and Syria, but frankly not just in Iraq and Syria, we are working in places as far ranging as Libya to Afghanistan to deal with the ISIL threat as well as the remnants of Al Qaeda that persist particularly in places like Yemen.

So this is a challenge that the United States and the world is going to face for years to come, but we've made some very substantial progress in recent months in the campaign against ISIL particularly in Iraq where now about 45 percent of the territory that ISIL had taken and held in 2014 has been taken back by the coalition, by the Iraqi security forces, a number of the ISIL leaders have been taken off the battlefield, their financial resources have been diminished quite substantially by going after their oil infrastructure and their banking facilities, the number of foreign fighters flowing into Syria and Iraq is for the first time diminishing, still significant, but the numbers, the aggregate numbers are down.

MR. BRADLEY: Give some numbers on that.

AMB. RICE: Well, the high-end number some month or months ago or year ago reached as high of an estimate of 30,000. It's now the high-end and it's a range of course is about 22,000. So it's not insignificant, the reduction, but this is a function of the fact that we've got 66 countries that are part of this coalition and who are becoming more adept at monitoring who is travelling from their countries, who is returning from their countries, they're doing a better job of sharing

information on travelers and passengers and countries like Turkey which had been from quite some while a very porous border for ISIL to penetrate have cracked down and now it's quite a bit harder to get into Syria through Turkey than it was a year ago. So all of this has combined to make a difference.

MR. BRADLEY: I know we worry about the diaspora of ISIS, but if you had to think through a range of time here, when do you think ISIS may no longer control land in Iraq and Syria, when could that be done?

AMB. RICE: Well, I don't know that one can make a prediction with any certainty and I've been around long enough not to try. But I think if you look at the progress that has been made as I said, almost 45 to 50 percent over predominantly the last 12 to 18 months in Iraq, 20 percent of the territory that had been held by ISIL that's populated has been taken back in Syria. So if that rate can be sustained and people can draw their own conclusions, but I think frankly the bigger challenge is not just territory in terms of size and space, but critical pieces of territory. So for example the Iraqi security forces making progress in taking back Fallujah is quite significant. The -- in Syria the forces that we support the Syrian Arab forces are encircling a town called Manbij in Northern Syria which is strategically very significant and is a milestone on the road to Raqqa -

MR. BRADLEY: Raqqa.

AMB. RICE: -- which is obviously the ISIL capital in Syria. And so we have -- you know, the focus frankly is on Raqqa, ultimately in Syria and Mosul, ultimately in Iraq.

MR. BRADLEY: let me shift gears and shift decades by just a little bit. Let me take you way back. So Susan was born in 1964, is a Washingtonian, she calls herself D.C. girl through and through. Who are your parents, Susan?

AMB. RICE: My father was Emmett Rice, he has

passed away. He was born and raised in segregated South Carolina. He was a Tuskegee airman during World War II. He got his Ph.D. in economics after the war at UC Berkeley. His first job was as an assistant professor of economics at Cornell where he was the first African-American professor and his career spanned academia, the development world, he was at the Treasury Department and the World Bank for many years, private banking and he retired as a governor of the Federal Reserve System appointed by President Carter. So my dad who's been gone now 5 years was a tremendous influence in my life and a wonderful man. My mom thankfully is still alive, Lois Rice, but in fragile health.

She was born and raised in Portland Maine which was a rarity, the daughter of immigrants from Jamaica and she -- my grandparents, my maternal grandparents having emigrated from Jamaica in 1912 had very little education. My grandfather was a janitor, my grandmother was a maid and seamstress, and yet and they cobbled together the resources and got financial aid and sent my mother's four older brothers to college at Bowdoin and my grandparents were the first parents ever to have four sons graduate from Bowdoin. And so to honor that they made my grandfather an honorary member of what would have been his graduating class of 1912.

MR. BRADLEY: Amazing.

AMB. RICE: My mom couldn't go to Bowdoin because she was a girl, so she unfortunately had to go to Radcliffe instead.

(Laughter)

MR. BRADLEY: Everybody's fallback.

AMB. RICE: She made her career primarily in education policy. She's sometimes known as the mother of the Pell Grant because she worked very actively to bring that into fruition from various purchase particularly when she served at the college board. She's now still nominally a fellow at the Brookings Institution where occasionally she still goes into work and her most recent

work has been on trying to bring diversity to the think tank community which is about as hard as bringing diversity to the national security workforce.

MR. BRADLEY: And so I assume it wasn't an everyday household.

(Laughter)

MR. BRADLEY: What was distinctive about them in the way that they produced these children?

AMB. RICE: Well, we grew up in a very engaged household where the dinner table conversation was about the events of the day. I would get yelled or my younger brother would get yelled at if we did something that prevented my father from catching the lead story on the nightly news, that was about as big a sin as we could commit growing up. And we watched the nightly news back in the day when there was three networks and you know, Walter Cronkite and Vietnam War and that is the environment --

MR. BRADLEY: *The Atlantic*.

(Laughter)

AMB. RICE: -- that's the environment that we grew up in. And my parents went out of their way to make sure we knew what was going on, I have vivid memories, 3 and 4 years old of going down to see Washington after the riots and visiting Resurrection City and being made to watch Bobby Kennedy's casket come back across the country and learning about Martin Luther King's assassination and all of this was very real and very tangible and part of our day-to-day home training.

MR. BRADLEY: I've read that they taught you about race. What was that teaching?

AMB. RICE: Well, it was different. My father having grown up in the segregated south and serving in the segregated Air Force had and being also about 15 years older than my mom had a different perspective than my mom

growing up in Portland Maine as the daughter of immigrants. You know, my father's view was, well, actually it's interesting. They came from different orientations, but their basic message and teaching to us was very much the same, which is you have to do your best, if you do your best that would be good enough, but don't ever let race be an excuse or a crutch, you just have to be who you are and do your best and your best will be good enough. Now, my father interestingly, you know, felt even having had extraordinary success in his career, some lingering degree of resentment about the concept of having had to serve in a segregated army. If you're -- if you're good enough to put your life on the line for your country, his view was you should be treated as an equal citizen and for much of his life he wasn't.

MR. BRADLEY: And that stayed with him.

AMB. RICE: It stayed with him, but not in a sense of causing him to be bitter, but motivating him to prove all of those concepts wrong. His focus was on demonstrating the folly of segregation and the, you know, the ignorance of racism.

MR. BRADLEY: The decades go by, do you find your teaching your children about race and then if you take that away and it's the same teaching that your parents taught?

AMB. RICE: I've tried, but so much has changed, my children are interracial children and they have experienced racism in a very different way than their grandparents did or even than I did and they've grown up in a world where race is hardly the defining factor for them or for their peers which is tremendous progress. They, you know, spent 8 years living under the first African-American President. They live in a world where neither race nor sexual orientation or any of the so-called definitions that we impose on one another have the same important meaning to them. So sometimes when I try to explain stuff to them and make sure that they are understanding history or understanding why a particular point is important for me to impart to them, they get a little bit impatient with me and say, come on mom, it's

like why is that important. Now they're here, they could probably speak for themselves and I don't encourage that.

(Laughter)

MR. BRADLEY: We've set aside 45 minutes for the next session with your children.

(Laughter)

MR. BRADLEY: So, my favorite recruiting question is who were you in high school because often who you become is beginning to come out there. You were at National Cathedral School, so who were you in high school, who was your crowd, what were you like?

AMB. RICE: You want me to tell the truth.

(Laughter)

AMB. RICE: I was the ostensibly very well-behaved, very successful child who never got caught.

MR. BRADLEY: Let's go with this ostensibly.

(Laughter)

AMB. RICE: I was --

MR. BRADLEY: Were you a model for the --

AMB. RICE: Okay. So objectively I was valedictorian. I was school government president, I was -- played varsity basketball and tennis.

MR. BRADLEY: Were there any other students in the school?

(Laughter)

AMB. RICE: Very few. No, I had a active social life, but, you know, I worked really hard and I had a lot of fun --

MR. BRADLEY: What would you --

AMB. RICE: -- and I did do everything right, but I didn't get caught.

MR. BRADLEY: What would your peers say about you if they -- hey what was Susan like in high school, what was her wiring, what was distinctive about Susan, could we already see the discipline and the ambition that's driving or is that a later thing?

AMB. RICE: I think you probably could have seen it.

MR. BRADLEY: You could have seen them, might have spotted that.

AMB. RICE: Might have, maybe.

MR. BRADLEY: So I don't want to put you on the defensive as we exit the personal side, but this is probably a good time to explain the story about the birthday cake in the backseat of the car.

AMB. RICE: Oh, come on, here we go. This is my brother's revenge. Did you get this from James or did you do this on your own, this is your own research?

MR. BRADLEY: This is my own reading.

AMB. RICE: Okay. You want me to explain it?

MR. BRADLEY: Please.

AMB. RICE: Okay. So --

MR. BRADLEY: It's not obvious, right?

AMB. RICE: This is sort of, you know, one of the less proud moments of my childhood in retrospect. My younger brother John is 2 years younger than I am and we were quite close, we are quite close, but we also were known to fight on occasion and he would probably argue that we still do and on his birthday, I think it was

roughly his seventh birthday.

MR. BRADLEY: Sixth.

AMB. RICE: Sixth?

(Laughter)

AMB. RICE: I was, I guess, the only way to put this is pissed off that it was his birthday and not mine -
-

(Laughter)

AMB. RICE: -- and so because it was his birthday he got to ride in the front seat of the car, I was in back seat of the car with his birthday cake. And somehow between when the birthday cake was loaded into the car and when we got back home to celebrate the birthday, somebody sat on the box.

MR. BRADLEY: This is going to be uncomfortable for you, but it is the same dress, would you stand and turn around.

(Laughter)

MR. BRADLEY: So you're going to be too modest to do what I am about to do. Stanford Rhodes scholar, DPhil at Oxford, McKinsey, joined the Clinton administration and the National Security Council staff, assistant secretary for African affairs at age 32, the youngest assistant secretary at state in history --

AMB. RICE: Region.

MR. BRADLEY: -- and left the administration as you are required to do when the administration is over and went into those outlaw years. And I'm going to take you to modern history, so it's 2006 and you meet with President as Senator Obama who's just revving up his senatorial campaign. You have -- I assume you knew the Clintons, but you were taken by President Obama, give us a little bit of that chapter, how did you to come decide let

me commit here?

AMB. RICE: Well, first of all I was very privileged to serve 8 years under President Clinton, first at the National Security Council as a director and then senior director and then I went over to state and was the assistant secretary for Africa. And I worked very closely with President Clinton particularly during my time at the Whitehouse, but also at the state and with Secretary Clinton who back as First Lady took quite an interest in Africa, traveled to Africa, I traveled with her when she went, and so I knew them, liked them, respected them, and obviously still do.

MR. BRADLEY: So this is hard?

AMB. RICE: Yes, it was -- so let me just give you the history. I met President Obama for the first time in 2004 when he was running for senate and I was a senior foreign policy advisor on the John Kerry campaign. And it was in that context he was trying to stay coordinated with the Kerry campaign on major foreign policy issues that I first met him. I got to know him better when he came to Washington having been elected to the senate and it was while he was in his early days on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he reached out to me and others for, you know, bouncing ideas off of us on particular issues from non-proliferation to development that would remain to his work on the foreign relations committee.

And so from more or less 2004 through 2006 I worked informally, but pretty intensively with then Senator Obama. When Senator Obama decided to run for President, he asked me and former National Security Advisor Tony Lake to co-coordinate his national security and foreign policy apparatus and to bring in experts from various different fields of national security and foreign policy. So it was that point that I had to make a decision and frankly I made a decision to support President Obama not because I had any --

MR. BRADLEY: No, of course.

AMB. RICE: -- any issue with the Clintons, quite

the contrary, that I had felt great gratitude to them for the experience that I had and also enormous respect for what President Clinton had done as President. So it was a hard choice, but in some ways it wasn't that hard because for me President Obama represented very -- a great deal of what I believed and you know, we were --

MR. BRADLEY: Do this -- if you will do the human moments, Susan. I assume you called President Clinton or Mrs. Clinton, I've not been in politics, is that an easy thing or is that a hard human thing, is there scar tissue, what happens? What did you do, did you phone call?

AMB. RICE: No, that -- so it's interesting history in context, I haven't thought about this in a while. So when I was at Senator Obama to work on his campaign, that was frankly before Secretary Clinton had started to put together any kind of national security and foreign policy team. I did get a call from my friend and former colleague Sandy Berger, who sadly recently passed, and Sandy was and remains -- remained a very close friend and he called me saying, you know, we haven't set anything up yet, but if we do, would you be interested in joining, and I said to Sandy, well, I might in a different context, but I feel compelled to work with President Obama.

MR. BRADLEY: You decided already. Yeah.

AMB. RICE: And he was understanding of that and you know, for me as I was starting to say, the connection was one of experience, it was generational, it was multifaceted.

MR. BRADLEY: And wasn't hard in the moment.

AMB. RICE: It wasn't hard, for me it was --

MR. BRADLEY: Okay.

AMB. RICE: -- the right choice and I can't speak, you know, for how it was received on the other side, all I can say is that I then subsequently had the privilege of working very closely with Secretary Clinton

when I was UN ambassador and we were colleagues at the principal's table, but she was also in many ways my boss, and so whatever scratchiness my choice may or may not have caused in her view, she was extremely supportive and professional and collaborative from day one through the time that we stopped working together and she has been wonderful ever since.

MR. BRADLEY: Susan, let's do a few minutes on public policy. Your current chapter comes to an end in another 6-1/2 months.

AMB. RICE: (Inaudible).

MR. BRADLEY: You will have been in government for 8 years. You can't be the same person you were when you entered. Presumably your views evolve as you have to do the job. So I want to do just a little bit of the education of Susan Rice and I want to deal with the issue that you have cared about so much, genocide. I'm going to lay the groundwork here. So Susan was in the Clinton administration when Rwanda took place and was part of the group that rethought, gee, did we do enough there, so when she was UN ambassador, she took the lead on taking you on security council to Darfur and getting through a resolution there leading the UN Security Council to do a vote on Gaddafi and stopping genocide, his attack on civilians there. Do Rwanda for a moment; you visited in 1994, 4 months after, what did you see and what were your thoughts?

AMB. RICE: Well, David, this occurred when I was in my first job in government at the National Security Council staff, I was the director responsible for UN issues and peacekeeping, I wasn't at that time working on Africa. So I was looking at it from the vantage point of the UN, of the peacekeeping mission that was there that had so many failures and frustrations. And my first visit to Rwanda came in December, so it was 7 months really after the genocide, 7-8 months after the genocide and I accompanied the national security advisor then Tony Lake on this trip to Rwanda and several other countries and 8 months may seem like a long time, but what was so profoundly disturbing about that trip was that the

genocide was still on full display.

MR. BRADLEY: The bodies were still there.

AMB. RICE: The bodies were still everywhere and we visited a church yard which had a school right next to it and all through the church and all through the yard and all through the school there were still bodies decomposing and we couldn't walk through that site without stepping over and around these bodies and I couldn't speak for some hours after that. And frankly I don't think I've ever personally seen something more horrific before or since.

MR. BRADLEY: Seven years later you told *The Atlantic*, I'm going to quote here, "There is a huge disconnect between the logic of the decisions we took along the way during the genocide and the moral consequence of the decisions taken collectively. I swore to myself that I ever faced such a crisis again, I would come down in the side of dramatic action, going down in flames if that was required." So this is the center of Susan Rice, and then we hit Syria and there 500,000 people have died, 1.9 million wounded, 11 million in a country of 23 million who have been displaced and I know every aching cell in you wanted to do something. What did you learn, is there nothing we can do from a humanitarian basis for those people?

AMB. RICE: Well, first of all I wouldn't say there is -- I would say we're doing a lot more than nothing, but let me describe what I think is an interesting difference. In the months between April 7th when the genocide began in Rwanda, 1994, and when it ended some 3 months later, there was never a policy discussion about whether or not the United States should or any other country for that matter should intervene to stop the genocide. There were not editorials being written recommending that, there were not debates in Congress suggesting that the United States or the United States rallying others should intervene, there was nothing until it was over and then there were issues of what do we do that peacekeeping force, do we support the French going into, you know, enable the Hutu army to leave et cetera.

So what was so striking about that was that it didn't register sufficiently for those questions even to be asked and there are many reasons for that, I think if people have a good historical memory, they'll recall that on March 31st, 7 days before the genocide, the last American troops pulled out of Somalia following the Black Hawk Down experience that had happened 6 months prior. So America was focused in the first instance on ending what had been a painful and tragic experience of humanitarian intervention.

MR. BRADLEY: If you don't -- do Syria for a moment if you will.

AMB. RICE: I will. But the contrast is from the beginning of Syria which as you recall began like many of the other Arab spring experiences as in the first instance a popular uprising which had been preceded by Libya and others where we did intervene, the debate was in the first instance about how we do support the popular uprising consistent with what we had done in other parts of the Arab uprising, then how do we end the civil war, and then in the context of the civil war with its atrocities and its humanitarian consequences, what do we do?

And we have wrestled if not weekly, almost, you know, sometimes daily with the what do we do question and so what have we done? Well, in the first instance we have tried very hard to broker an end to the conflict which we continue to believe can only happen through a diplomatic solution. We are the largest provider of humanitarian support and assistance to the Syrian people having contributed almost now \$5 billion over this period, so without that the suffering would be much greater. We have intervened with partners to try to deal with ISIL which is itself a perpetrator of genocide. In Iraq, you know, we intervened on Sinjar Mountain in August of 2014 to literally save the Yazidi people who were trapped on that mountain and in imminent risk of facing genocide and we succeeded in that.

But we have not injected the United States directly in the war, the civil war to topple Assad. We've

done a lot of other things and supported the opposition and the like, but our judgment has been and the President's judgment has been that as horrific as what is happening in Syria is it would be a greater mistake that would do greater damage to our interests for the United States to have intervened militarily in the civil conflict to topple Azad.

MR. BRADLEY: And is this the wiser Susan now, would she tell the younger Susan, hey, handling genocide turns out to be a lot more difficult than we thought?

AMB. RICE: Well, first of all, not -- let's distinguish between genocide and mass atrocities which is --

MR. BRADLEY: Okay.

AMB. RICE: -- I think an important distinction and thankfully we have not seen a genocide on the scale of something like Rwanda or Darfur in recent years and Darfur was not on the scale of Rwanda. But what we have seen is a horrific civil war with tremendous mass atrocities and enormous displacement. So what would I say? I would say something very similar to what the President said when he explained to the American people the decision to go into Libya and he said then and it's what I believe, just because we can't intervene everywhere doesn't mean we shouldn't intervene anywhere. And so frankly we have to look at each of these instances case by case. I believe we have a special and higher obligation when the crimes rise to the level of genocide, but even in the context of genocide it may not be possible to -- or may not be wise to intervene in every instance. But what I have learned if nothing else is we have to have the discussion and the debate. It has to be something that is on the agenda of the cabinet level policy committee that I now chair in my current role, we can't do what we did in 1994 which is to not even feel the need to have the discussion or the debate and not have the Congress and the press or anybody else call the question.

MR. BRADLEY: Two personal short answer questions if I may to wrap this up. The first is all of

us have good times and bad times, but when you are in public life the bad times are so public. What -- you've had good hours, bad hours. In the bad hour what did you learn, is Washington rougher than you thought, what did you learn about your own toughness, just two moment of personal learning?

AMB. RICE: I was reminded of what I've always known, but that thankfully I've never forgotten which is that family and friends are what matter most and I have always felt the strength to deal with the tough times because I've had the extraordinary backstopping of my parents, my husband, my kids, and some extraordinary friends that I have had from my earliest days to the present. And you know, there -- it's never fun to be the target and I hope for many who have the privilege and the joy of being a public servant, and it is a privilege and it is a joy, that, you know, they don't have those extreme moments of being in the barrel. But even when that is the case, none of us I think serve in government at senior levels without recognizing the risk of that --

MR. BRADLEY: But you have.

AMB. RICE: -- and accepting that risk because we believe in the value of serving and so I don't regret making the choices I've made, I don't regret assuming the risks of service.

MR. BRADLEY: Closing question if I may. We all recognize that Ian has got a very taxing job as a network producer and though from the outside yours looks like a cushier job --

(Laughter)

MR. BRADLEY: -- I'm sure it has got its own pressures. So is Anne-Marie Slaughter right then a woman can't have it all, are there tradeoffs or how have you dealt with that issue?

AMB. RICE: Okay. Well, first of all the one set of facts that you've gotten wrong in your excellent preparation is that my husband is no longer a network

producer. He stopped -- he retired from ABC -- what year honey?

MR. CAMERON: 2011.

AMB. RICE: 2011. So at the -- when I was at the UN, my family stayed in Washington, he was an executive producer at ABC News. I was, you know, working during the week in New York and when possible trying to get home on the weekends to be with my family and he was an executive producer of a weekend -- a Sunday show, which meant that our schedules were absolutely opposite. So when I came back home for the weekend was when he was working hardest. And so for a variety of reasons that aren't entirely due to my crazy job, but also somewhat due to his views of where network television has evolved to, he decided to stop working in network television and to be the principal parent and he's stayed very busy doing a bunch of --

MR. BRADLEY: So God bless him.

AMB. RICE: -- nonprofit work, but that was a choice that he made and that we made together and it made my work at the UN and subsequently my work as national security advisor --

(Applause)

AMB. RICE: So I really do have the greatest husband in the world.

(Applause)

MR. BRADLEY: So now that --

AMB. RICE: But so the -- so to Anne-Marie's point, I have a very strong view on this topic which is women should just shut up and let everybody live their own lives and not tell anybody else how to do it because --

(Applause)

AMB. RICE: -- everybody's experience is

different and whether you lean in or lean out --

(Laughter)

AMB. RICE: -- or stay at home or, you know, give up your career and come back to, that is in my view the most personal of decisions and there's no cookie cutter answer to this. Everybody has got their own circumstances, their own husband or no husband or partner or no partner, kids or no kids, sick, healthy and we just have to respect each other's choices. There are no wrong choices in this enterprise.

MR. BRADLEY: And now that Ian stepped out of media --

(Applause)

MR. BRADLEY: Now that Ian stepped out of media, do you think --

AMB. RICE: -- he'd be gullible enough to do that.

(Applause)

AMB. RICE: Thank you.

MR. BRADLEY: Thank you.

AMB. RICE: That was fun.

MR. BRADLEY: That was fun.

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