

RELEASE IN FULL

Madam Secretary,

The text below is a blueprint for both a speech and a Foreign Affairs article. For the speech, we will have to shorten it and add more examples, as well as put it more in your distinctive voice. You will see lots of places where I have indicated in footnote that we need examples from what you have done over the past four months. We also need to flesh out the smart power toolbox section – this is a chance to roll out a lot of the innovative techniques/ideas that Alec Ross, Jared Cohen and I have been working on with others in the building. I have asked Alec and Jared to start working on that section already.

There are enough big ideas here to power several speeches, and perhaps too many for one speech. You could, for instance, make this speech primarily about power and purpose – discussing the world we are in, the strategy for expanding and using our power, and the final section on purpose, and then give a second speech that would focus on a new opportunity for American leadership using all the tools of smart power (with again a particular emphasis on how we can innovate with mobile information technology). In addition, however you decide you want to deliver the ideas contained here, I propose that this big speech, or two big general speeches, then drive a series of major policy addresses over the next six months on 1) development, 2) human rights and democracy (you could give that one at the Community of Democracies meeting in Lisbon and July and outline your distinctive approach to using democracy as tool to improve people's lives through more accountable government), 3) global governance/making multilateralism work (you could give that one at the UN), and then several on more specific policies such as a strategy for failing and failed states, climate change/energy security, creating global economic opportunity, a global educational initiative, etc. This would all build up to an idea that PJ has proposed of giving a "State of the World Address" in December before the President's State of the Union address in January.

You will see here that I describe the overall grand strategy (our broad plan for employing the various instruments of national power to advance the U.S. national interest and other national goals) as partnership, which I then qualify in terms of pragmatic and principled partnership. I do that because lots of conversations have convinced me that the strategy itself has to be summed up in one or two words w/o adjectives – e.g. containment, engagement, power-balancing, isolationism, liberal internationalism. That's the difference b/w a strategy and a slogan. The principled and pragmatic parts are critical, but they should come in the elaboration of the strategy if this is too have legs.

I have road-tested this in roughly 8-10 different presentations, largely in house to our new ambassadors and lots of different classes of FSOs and folks from the rest of government over at the Foreign Service Institute, but also at closed presentations at think tanks. The response has been very positive in terms of the way this frame brings a lot of different things together. Various other ideas here have also been previewed in your speeches and testimony already.

I am leaving for Asia on Wednesday for policy planning talks w/ my Chinese counterpart, for a trilat policy planning talk w/ my Japanese and Korean counterparts (these are all established before me), and then w/ my G-8 counterparts and also the other 6 countries invited to L'Aquila. I will have lots of time on planes to revise and incorporate comments from you and the rest of the team, as well as working w/ Lissa. We will then still have a full week when I get back before the earliest day you might give this speech. I have loved working on this; if we get it right you will stand w/ Marshall and Kissinger as a Secretary of State who took American foreign policy in a new and bold direction in response to changing historical circumstance.