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CONFIDENTIAL

July 9, 2009

For: Hillary
From SB
Re: Draft speech

I. INTRODUCTION

I welcome this opportunity to speak with you about President Obama's foreign policy and the approach his administration is taking to pursue our national interests, to advance our values, and to exercise American leadership in seizing the opportunities and meeting the challenges of our time. For the past six months, President Obama has been laying the foundation of a foreign policy that meets the demands of the 21st century. Today, I want to offer some thoughts on the strategic architecture we seek to build – our objectives, our priorities, and our ways and means of achieving them.

While I will address several fundamental questions, let me underscore our commitment that the Obama administration will restore a sense of purpose in the use of American influence and power that serves both our national security interests and our promotion of democratic solution with our allies and partners. We will use all of the tools in our national security toolbox: diplomacy, intelligence, economic incentives (and disincentives as necessary), and the political and moral leadership that yielded so many successes in the 65 years since the end of World War II.

We have great opportunities before us if we will seize them as we have done in the past. The world is more closely linked than ever before. This is largely the result of our leadership in the creation of the United Nations and Bretton Woods institutions, stemming from the recognition of our leaders in their time that old institutions no longer met global needs. The spread of technology, the accelerating movement of information, and the interdependence of our economic and social relationships, all of which our economic system has fostered, have created a new world that tests our imagination as a global nation again. We are called once more to lead the way in creating new solutions to the new challenges of our national interest and the broader equilibrium in a potentially fractured global community.

The United States faces complex, varied, and numerous challenges, from military involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq to instability in Pakistan. A tense and fragile status quo in the Middle East. Nuclear threats from North Korea and Iran. An economic crisis that roils global markets, threatens regional stability, and costs jobs here at home. Transnational challenges amplified by global interdependence – failed and failing states, violent extremism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, weapons and narco-trafficking, resource depletion, energy insecurity and climate change. And urgent development demands, from extreme poverty to hunger to pandemic disease to fundamental human rights.

Our strategic goal is once again to position the United States of America to be able to exercise effective global leadership as we enter an era in which the world *needs* global leadership more than ever before. Our common challenges – from violent extremism and climate change to the proliferation of nuclear weapons – call for coordinated international responses. Our interconnected problems require interconnected solutions. No country is better positioned to make those connections than the United States. This is so not just because of the easily quantifiable factors, like our share of global GDP and military might, but also because of the less tangible and arguably more important factors – the resonance of our ideas, the attractiveness of our example, and willingness of our people to stand up for others and not just ourselves.

American credibility is being renewed because our capacity for democracy is being renewed. Our policies are not simply reactive to inherited crises of the recent decade. The new realities of the 21st century will not yield to unilateralism, anger, polemics, or impulse. A split vision view of the modern world produces disorientation.

The clearly structured world of the late 20th century is giving way to a new multi-dimensional global environment. Simple solutions and rigid frameworks are counter-productive because not only do they fail to reflect reality but they also create friction against it. The age of a few great powers settling the fate of the world is long past. As President Obama recently said...

Both gain and risk have now become global. There is nowhere to hide from danger. But there is also no place on earth where progress cannot in time prevail. Just as the challenges are ever-present, our capacity to meet them is expanding. As a nation and people we stand not only on our past successes, but on the beliefs, diversity and visions that have underpinned those successes. We are well prepared for the new era that demands global leadership. And the most important well-spring of our power in the world is the willingness of the American people to embrace change, its hopes as well as its burdens.

President Obama has committed our nation to think outside of old categories. He is ready to talk with adversaries, reduce nuclear arsenals, open dialogues with diverse peoples. He understands that America cannot do this alone. We are already seeking new patterns of cooperation, of partnership to find common ground.

(Cite here, if you wish, recent successes: framework for nuclear arms reduction with Russia, jump starting the Middle East peace process, we are withdrawing US combat forces from Iraq in the confidence that Iraqis can protect their security, etc.)

Our traditional alliances are more valuable than ever. But we are reaching out to forge new partnerships to meeting the challenges ranging from climate change to immigration, from the emergence of renegade non-state actors to food security, narco-trafficking, human trafficking.

We will build upon and redefine traditional alliances that have been frayed at the edges. The greatest partnership in the history of the world is the Atlantic alliance. But it is based on institutions created by the alliance immediately after World War II. We are now one democratic community of nearly a billion people reaching from Estonia in the East to Alaska in the West. Democracies now ring the globe from New Delhi to Seoul, from Dar Es Salaam to Santiago. Our affinity with other democracies is based on shared values. We don't see them as resources but as essential partners in global progress. And together we will stand as firmly for progress in the 21st century as we did in the second half of the 20th. We will apply the same imagination and

commitment to designing solutions now as we did in the aftermath of the catastrophic destruction after World War II.

Globalization--technology, trade and finance--did not create a self-perpetuating model. It never has done so. After the collapse of the world order in the Great Depression and World War II, a whole new system of arrangements, laws, rules, and partnerships was constructed to avoid the repetition of disaster and to insure equilibrium for peace and prosperity. We are in a similar moment when the old order has proved inadequate in managing new realities that have fostered new crises—and now new architecture must be built. Once again diplomacy as essential statecraft is required. The world has faced decades of change—and we face new decades of uncertain and unsettling radical change. How we shape the institutions and manage the rules of change now will determine its outcome in the future.

In order to achieve all that we can to protect our long-term security interests, we must have all that we need. At present, our civilian instruments of power—diplomacy and development—are inadequate complements to our military power. Our limited resources and manpower severely constrain our ability to respond to problems and to advance our affirmative foreign policy goals. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates has been at the forefront in recognizing that strengthening our diplomatic forces is necessary for our overall force structure. We must deploy the full diplomatic force that is required to fulfill a strategy for a secure peace.

Let me emphasize before I go on: Foes and would be foes should understand that our focus on diplomacy strengthens our national security arsenal. They should never see it as a sign of weakness to be exploited. We will not hesitate to defend our friends and ourselves vigorously when necessary with the world's strongest and most lethal military. This is not an option we seek, but it is also not a threat—it is a promise.

We have witnessed episodes of both the naivete and the arrogance of power. But American leadership has been most effective when we have practiced the pragmatism of our purposes, the pragmatism of power, our means not undermining our ends, but our methods advancing our interests and ideals.

We propose a strategy to secure peace and rebuild prosperity. We recognize the imperfections of our system, and that recognition is perhaps our greatest asset, because within it is contained the impulse for improvement, for learning from our mistakes, for developing as a wiser nation among nations as a result of our experience. There are some who say that self-correction shows weakness. I suppose they believe that repeating error is a sign of strength, though it's actually the definition of neurosis. We are told by the philosopher Santayana that those who do not learn from history are condemned to repeat it. For nations, as for individuals, learning from the past is the path to wisdom.

So we have our work cut out for us. In pursuing solutions to global problems that advance our interests and promote our values, we are resisting doctrinaire approaches in favor of a calm, principled, pragmatic strategic framework that sets out in clear and simple terms the ends we seek to achieve and the approach we'll use to achieve them.

II. THE ENDS

Our foreign policy, our strategy, seeks to build the world we want and not simply defend against the world we fear. Of course, our first and most fundamental objective must always be to ensure the security of the American people and our allies. We have a basic duty—pledged by every generation—to exercise American leadership wisely and effectively in confronting the great challenges of our time. But we must go further. We must also pursue an affirmative strategy to expand opportunity and prosperity around the globe so that more people in more places can live up to their God-given potential.

This agenda comes from the heart of our values and our interests. Greater opportunity for others means greater prosperity here at home and greater security for all. Giving people the incentives and means to belong to a global community will lead to less conflict and more cooperation. At the same time, our strategy projects the core of what America represents – a land of opportunity, where people are free to pursue their dreams and become capable to do so.

This agenda will be ambitious, responsible, and practical. We will help societies strengthen the building blocks of economic growth. We will expand the number of quality jobs and enhance people's capacity to earn a good living and provide for their families. We will work toward the eradication of preventable diseases, and to make hunger temporary and rare and not endemic. We will seek to create conditions where every child has access to education, housing and health care; and where all citizens have basic universal rights freedoms. On this foundation of human potential, the world can build greater peace, progress, and prosperity.

Central to this effort is building not just the capacity of people but the capacity of governments. So we will place a special emphasis on fostering and supporting democracy that delivers. We believe that democracy is about more than the ballot box – and that democracy can only succeed in practice if democratic institutions and governments can meet the needs of the people they represent. By the same token, we believe that people can best meet their potential where their governments create conditions for opportunity to thrive. So we will bring all of tools at our disposal to bear in supporting governments that respond to and are accountable to their people; governments that respect the rights of, and deliver results for, their people.

Freedom and democracy are our highest values, but they have in the eyes of some become tainted because they are thought to be hypocritical, mere words used to justify actions the opposite of their real meaning—freedom and democracy imposed by a great power that insists other people must be exactly like us. That distortion has become the essence of anti-Americanism in the world today. But the skewed perception is not the reality. Whether in Latin America or Lebanon, or Iran, people who are inspired by democracy, and adapt them to their own traditions and circumstances, will find that Americans are their friends, not adversaries. America is always the well-wisher of independence, freedom and democracy wherever it emerges, in any corner of the globe.

(If you wish, here is where you can say something concrete on Iran here: release political prisoners, call for ICRC to be allowed to inspect and monitor, etc. Call regime “military government of Iran.” Etc.)

Given the range, complexity, diversity, and above all, the interconnectedness of the challenges we face, we don't have the luxury to focus these efforts narrowly. We cannot succeed on one challenge without making progress on others. So we have to walk and chew gum at the same time. Call it diplomatic multi-tasking – not for lack of focus, but because we intend to confront every significant problem and at the same time ensure that opportunities don't slip by.

That is why I have advocated for the appointment of special envoys. Special envoys can devote full-time energy to a particular region or issue, while the President and I can provide clear guidance and direction across the strategic landscape that encompasses multiple challenges.

Even in a multi-dimensional world in which we must multi-task, we must also set concrete priorities, and fashion a comprehensive strategy to address them all simultaneously. A few major priorities will shape our foreign policy.

First, to counter violent extremism wherever we find it – in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Iraq, the Middle East, and in weak and failed states. Violent extremism poses a direct and deliberate challenge to the global community. It threatens the American people and our allies, undermines regional stability, and thwarts progress in too many societies and for too many people.

For a moment let's revisit 9/11 and rethink what happened and draw lessons from a deeper understanding. The terrorist attacks were the worst ever to take place on American soil—but they were an attack on more than our own country. I know. I was the senator from New York. I stood at Ground Zero in the immediate aftermath. The victims were people from all over the world, of many nationalities, and all religions, including many Muslims. 9/11 was an attack on the idea of a progressive international order--on the rule of law, not arbitrary authority; on economic opportunity, not rigid caste and class distinctions; and on democracy, not absolutism. This was not and is not a clash of civilizations; it was and remains a plot against civilization--and not just Western civilization. Violent extremists in the years since 9/11 have proved their limited appeal. They are not the tide of the future; they are desperate nihilists who want to prevent Muslims from moving into a better, more just and peaceful future.

And so we must work to make violent extremists an increasingly feeble and marginal force in our global community. Among other things, we will cooperate with Muslim communities across the globe to confront these small bands of extremists, to promote opportunities for progress, and to create conditions for peace in unstable regions. In pursuing this cooperation, however, we have to be clear that our common fight against extremists is only part of our shared agenda.

Second, we seek to curb the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and work toward – as the President stated in his speech in Prague – a world without nuclear weapons. There is no greater threat to the American people – or to global peace and progress -- than the spread of nuclear weapons. Along the way to global zero, we will take a number of concrete steps. We will work with Russia to secure meaningful reductions in our nuclear stockpiles through a START II agreement. We will confront the nuclear ambitions of North Korea and Iran, and offer each a reasonable but non-negotiable choice: comply with your obligations and abandon your efforts to build nuclear weapons or face continued international isolation and sanctions. We will seek to strengthen and expand the nuclear non-proliferation regime, create a global nuclear fuel bank, and work with the Senate to ratify the CTBT. Our agenda is ambitious but achievable, and we are already hard at work.

Third, we will combat climate change, pursue greater energy security, and lead the world toward a clean energy future. We will work to reduce the threat of a warming planet and mitigate its harmful effects, which are already being experienced in economic, political, and human terms around the world. We also have a strong security interest in developing stable and affordable energy supplies, and we intend to build more effective partnerships toward that end – with our suppliers, with transit countries, and with those who share our commitment to new clean technologies. In the short-term, our efforts on climate change and energy security will run on parallel tracks, but in the long term they lead to the same place: a clean energy future that protects the planet, enhances regional stability, and creates broad-based economic opportunity.

And fourth, we will enhance human security by reducing poverty and hunger, and promoting health, education, fundamental human rights, and empowerment, particularly for women and girls who so often serve as drivers of economic growth as well as social stabilizers. Poverty, hunger, poor health, inadequate education and limited freedoms contribute to political instability and undermine economic progress. They give rise to ungoverned spaces too easily filled by violent extremists. We will focus on improving the material conditions of people's lives, providing them opportunities to secure good jobs and a better future for their families, and enhancing their governments' capacity to deliver for them and holding their governments accountable to them. To this end, we will undertake a comprehensive reform of our foreign assistance and development policies, programs, and structures, and we will make the advancement of basic human rights a basic element of our foreign policy.

III. THE WAYS

These priorities – especially combating violent extremism, ending nuclear proliferation, addressing climate change and energy insecurity, enhancing human security – are the focus of our foreign policy. But good intentions are not enough; we must have the means to achieve them.

Our fundamental approach will be to build – or in some cases help others build – coalitions of partners and lead them – or support others in leading them – against shared challenges and in service of shared objectives. We will aggressively enlist our historic allies, but we will not stop there. This will require three-dimensional diplomacy. We will build partnerships with a wide range of nations, non-state actors, and citizens. All will be offered the opportunity to participate in a new global network of partnerships, and all will be called upon to shoulder their fair share of the burden.

This is obviously a different approach from what we have pursued in the past. In the 19th century, many advocated a concert of powers, in which a few powerful states dictated terms to the rest. For much of the 20th Century, especially during the Cold War, during the bipolar contest, American leaders and strategists embraced a foreign policy strategy rooted in the “balance of power.” Then in the years after the fall of the Berlin Wall we faced a strategic crossroads. With a unique combination of economic, political, and military superiority, it was tempting to pursue a strategy of primacy, in which some thought the U.S. could fulfill its goals unilaterally. Some others believed that with the Cold War over, international institutions would somehow step up to solve our problems for us and America’s global responsibilities could recede.

Global politics is no longer characterized by the two-dimensional chessboard of a global balance of power. Nor can it be defined by American primacy maintained by unilateralism, nor by unbridled optimism about one-world unity.

Power still matters in our 21st century world – as much as ever – and the times call for a new strategy to build and use our power. The threats we face are more numerous and more unpredictable than at any time in our history. Some have the potential to kill millions of Americans and fundamentally change our way of life. No one nation, no matter how powerful, can address all those challenges at once; no one nation can defeat those threats alone. Indeed, in many cases, even groups of nations will need help from non-governmental organizations and citizens to achieve our common goals.

At the same time, no major global problem can be solved with the absence of the United States of America. So the question is, how best to lead toward solutions? I believe that the most effective way to exercise American leadership is not by retreating from the clamor of a multi-polar world, but by leveraging power to build a multi-partner community. By cultivating a world of strong, diverse and capable partners, we will improve our capacity to advance and secure our national interests and objectives. We will strengthen the networks of governments, non-governmental organizations and citizens that will join us in solving common problems. And we will make it far more difficult for other states to shirk their global responsibilities. In sum, a leveraging approach, built on three-dimensional diplomacy, empowers those who want to cooperate with us and constrains those who want to compete with us.

This kind of strategy will also best enhance the role of our leadership because it plays to America’s strengths. We are the most diverse, globally connected, and versatile power in the world. We have extraordinary and unique convening power. It takes the United States to convene a group of affected nations to decide on and implement action against pirates in the Indian Ocean and nuclear suppliers everywhere. As a dispute resolver as well, the United States has long played a trusted and vital role, bringing parties together and providing services as an honest broker and peacemaker.

Throughout our history, many partnerships have evolved naturally to meet the circumstances we face. We must now pursue a world of partners much more systematically as a strategy, as the 21st century alternative to containment, isolationism, or power balancing. In doing so, we have to remember that one size does not fit all – our partner coalitions will be sized and shaped according to the specific challenge at hand. Some coalitions will be global; some regional. Some are permanent; some time-bound. Some are institutionalized; some not. Some are with states; some with non-state actors. We see many different coalitions of partners for many different purposes and we affirmatively reject a vision in which the world is run by a G-2, a G-8, or even a G-20. [This is the essence of three-dimensional diplomacy.]

Building the partnerships that form the foundation of this strategy takes steady patience and relentless diplomatic spadework – and it is at the heart of our daily foreign policy efforts. It starts with our *enduring partnerships* with core allies in Europe and Asia and North America. In recent years, many of our ties with these partners have been tested, and in some cases strained. We are working to reinforce, re-invigorate, and where necessary, repair these relationships.

We are also placing special emphasis on a set of *evolving partnerships* taking on a new shape in the 21st century. Here I speak of our relationships with growing global powers India and Brazil, and pivotal regional powers including Turkey, Indonesia, Mexico, and South Africa. More than ever before, these strong and capable states share common interests and values with us and we should encourage them to play greater roles in solving global problems.

At the same time, we are taking great care to manage and improve our *emerging partnerships* with China and Russia. With both, we will seek to cooperate to advance common interests – and to expand areas of cooperation – while standing firm on our principles and speaking candidly about our differences. It is imperative that we strive for a future of cooperation, without illusion that it can be done quickly or without bumps in the road.

Harnessing the major global powers – China, Russia, Brazil, and India – to be full partners in meeting the new global challenges will be a key priority – and a focus of my tenure. We will work to integrate them into the international system, and to expand our areas of common interest and common values.

And finally, but no less important, our partnership strategy must reach beyond governments – finding new and innovative ways to engage with non-governmental institutions, including the private sector, as well as citizens around the world. To do so, we must harness the power of new technologies and new means of connecting and communicating. Twitter and Facebook will become as much a part of the diplomatic lexicon as cables and demarches. President Obama and I have emphasized the need to engage people-to-people to foster greater understanding through cultural and educational exchanges and outreach. We will work with businesses to combine the efforts of the public and private sectors. And we will engage diaspora communities in the United States to engender political stability, economic ties, and cultural understanding across borders. By reaching out to and building partnerships with the people themselves, we will make our partnerships with the governments that serve them stronger and more durable. We will foster greater understanding and less mistrust. And we will also create networks to solve problems that governments cannot solve on their own.

Of course, not all states will be willing to participate in this world, at least not at first. Some will insist on defining their 21st century role in 19th and 20th century terms of amassing power to intimidate their neighbors, or to restore what they regard as their rightful historical empires. In such cases, we must work with partners to contain these strategies or to change their pursuers' calculus of costs and benefits.

To successfully lead the world in this way, we must restore America's credibility. As President Obama has made clear in both his words and actions, we will not ignore past mistakes. We will be honest about them. But we also will not be paralyzed by them. By ending torture and beginning to close the Guantanamo Bay detention facility, we already have acted to reverse policies that did not live up to our own values and damaged American credibility. We will also be straightforward about our shared responsibility for common problems – like drug trafficking in Mexico and our contribution to climate change. Some have equated an open accounting of our recent history – and an open acceptance of responsibility – with an apology. They are missing the point. When we hold ourselves accountable, we can hold others accountable as well. And our ability to hold ourselves and others accountable is a fundamental strategic imperative in forging the effective coalitions we need to manage the problems of the future.

IV. THE MEANS

Our approach incorporates a number of concrete strategies. The first is to lead with diplomacy, and cautiously engage our adversaries. We will pursue dialogue with countries with which we have differences— not as a reward, but as a method to solve problems, advance our national interests and secure peace. We cannot be afraid or unwilling to engage these nations, particularly if such engagement can advance our national interests. Dialogue creates the possibility for adversaries to respond, may lead to negotiations for acceptable resolutions and can develop information and insight about a regime. And by having reached out we are better positioned to build a coalition to bring pressure to bear. It is much harder for our partners to say no to tougher actions if we have exhausted the diplomatic route. For these reasons, we will continue to seek opportunities to engage when and where it is in our interests to do so, just as we did with the Soviet Union at the height of the Cold War.

One of my highest priorities as Secretary is to make development a strong pillar of American power. To achieve this, we have to think imaginatively to be effective, efficient and successful. Last week, I announced that we are undertaking a first-ever Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, to explore how to design, fund, and implement development and foreign assistance.

Our goal is more agile, responsive and creative institutions of development. We will build broader partnerships with non-governmental organizations, multilateral institutions, the private sector, and other governments. We will focus on country-driven solutions, such as those at work with Haiti and on food security issues in Africa.

In Afghanistan, we're pursuing a civilian-led effort to promote alternative livelihoods, chiefly through agriculture. In Pakistan, we've responded decisively to the refugee crisis, and we're focused on increasing economic opportunity and delivering non-military assistance. In Iraq, the Strategic Framework Agreement – which sets out our non-military cooperation – is a central part of our strategy for ensuring a stable, sovereign, self-reliant Iraq. In the Middle East, we are focused on boosting the Palestinian Authority and we ask Israel to adhere to its commitments on settlements and improve conditions on the ground in the West Bank. In all of these places, development policy is crucial to transitions from conflict to peace, from instability to sustainable progress. In order to modernize the global strategic architecture, we will pursue the flexible, creative and cost-effective approaches to international and regional institutions. Too often they are encumbered by outdated protocols. We will reform multilateral institutions to reflect the emerging realities of the 21st century so they can quickly respond to immediate crises as well as long-term problems. We will pay particular attention to updating regional security architecture in Asia and Europe and elsewhere – a task we have too long neglected.

We will also emphasize the importance of a strong economy at home to our strength and leadership abroad, especially at this time of economic turmoil. This is not a traditional priority for a Secretary of State, but I will pursue recovery and growth as a basic pillar of our global leadership. Our economic power must be restored as a vital instrument of our strategy around the world. We will work to ensure that economic statecraft – trade and investment, debt forgiveness, loan guarantees, technical assistance – augments our policy objectives.

Finally, I am determined as one of my highest priorities as Secretary of State is to insure that the men and women of our Foreign and Civil Service have the resources they need to implement this ambitious agenda effectively and safely. Just as we would never deny ammunition to American troops headed into battle, we cannot send our diplomats into the field in today's world with all of the threats they face, 24/7, without the tools they need. If we don't invest in diplomacy and development, we will end up paying more for conflict and chaos. Diplomacy is indispensable as an instrument of U.S. national security interest—and always has been since Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams secured support for our nation's independence.

V. THE CONCLUSION

Here at the dawn of a new millennium, we are both witness to and makers of momentous change.

But in the midst of tumult, we are not passive observers. We aspire to a world free of violent extremism, nuclear weapons, global warming, scarce energy, hunger, poverty, and disease.

We desire economic stability and prosperity. Clean and affordable energy. Health care, housing and education for our children. A flourishing of fundamental rights around the world.

The architecture of our foreign policy will enable us to advance all these goals. The new global network of diverse partnerships that we seek to create will be rooted in the belief that America will rise alongside other nations as allies and partners, demonstrating respect and winning respect.

We do not choose the fantasy of an Isolated America, even if it were possible. Nor do we choose the fantasy of an Imperial America, a dangerous nation, a rugged individualist going it alone in the Wild West or Wild East. An Isolated America cannot preserve our values, including our sovereignty. The lesson of the 20th century, in which we fought three world wars, including the Cold War, the long twilight struggle, is that we prevailed because our leadership was able to organize the preponderant power of the world behind our purposes. An Imperial America could not dominate the world or long control it. Its arrogance would only arouse hostility, resistance and resentment, becoming a source of alienation among our friends and grist for our enemies. America is now a modern global nation. And America is called again to global leadership. There have been global nations before us. The British Empire was global in scope. But America was the first non-imperial, non-colonial global nation, and after World War II, we had credibility because we had no colonial legacy and supported the independence and freedom of nations, sometimes putting us at odds with our allies. We were and are a revolutionary nation. Who we are matters in the world. It has mattered since the beginning. It will always matter. Our ideals, born in the 18th century, give us credibility as a global nation in the 21st. It is the secret of our power of renewal, the energy source of our credibility in the world today. "We have it within our power to start the world over again," said Thomas Paine. And that is as true now as it was then.

This is the purpose of our foreign policy – the pursuit of national security and international progress, of our ideals and interests. We have the strategy. We have the power. We have the leadership. And today we again enjoy credibility in the community of nations.

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