

RELEASE IN FULL**MEMORANDUM****TO: S****FROM: ANNE-MARIE****RE: LEGACY SPEECHES AND SUBSEQUENT BOOK**

As you enter the home stretch of your time in office, you have an opportunity to crystallize some of the most important dimensions of your new and distinctive approach to foreign policy in a way that will have resonance long beyond your tenure (in addition to the QDDR, of course!). Many of the perceptions, concepts, and habits of mind that come naturally to you as you look at the world, and that you have done so much to try to institutionalize within the State Department, are still quite a reach for the foreign policy establishment.

If you were to give three speeches over the next year on a new generation of global problems, a new set of solutions, and a new understanding of power and leadership, it would allow you both to sum up and reflect on much of what you have accomplished that is often out of the public eye and would provide the foundation for a short book that could be published in the year after you step down. It would not take the place of your memoirs, should you want to write those as well, but would be more like a credo that would help cement your place in American foreign policy not only as one of its most successful practitioners, but also as a thinker and visionary.

- 1) **A NEW GENERATION OF GLOBAL PROBLEMS:** This is already part of your mantra in many speeches, beginning with your first major policy speech when you declared that the majority of 21st century problems are *global* problems, problems that all nations worry about (non-proliferation, counter-terrorism, disease, climate change, resource scarcity, the state of the global economy) and that no nation can solve alone. By focusing on that basic point again now you could point to all the things you have done to address those problems (new energy and CT bureaus, water and food security initiatives, global health, economic statecraft, etc)
- 2) **A NEW SET OF SOLUTIONS:** Here is where you emphasize all the solutions that go beyond the state as part of government to society and society to society diplomacy. You have brought new players into foreign policy through PPPs and outreach to state and local governments. You have developed solutions and strategies that focus on different segments of society (women, youth, entrepreneurs, civil society, diasporas). You have integrated technology into both diplomacy and development as a game-changer (all the ways mobile technology is helping women, farmers, teachers, etc; Mwomen, Tech at State, etc). *All* of this can be rolled into 21st century statecraft.
- 3) **A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF POWER:** This speech would be the most conceptual, but I think you could bring it down to earth with countless great examples. Essentially you would

be articulating the distinction between “power over” others and “power with” others and explaining how important “power with” is in diplomacy of many different kinds. You would start by making clear that it is often necessary to exercise traditional coercive power (sanctions v. Iran, for instance), but even there it is impossible for the U.S. to do alone unless we can mobilize others to join a coalition. Moving to the individual level, you can focus on all the ways that the US can empower others by creating the conditions/providing the technology/convening and connecting so that *they* can exercise power with other members of their community, their gender, their demographic, their profession – whatever groups they participate in. Unlocking that power takes a special kind of leadership, one that you have helped the U.S. develop alongside more traditional leadership roles. You have looked down the road, seen the way the world is changing, and changed both U.S. foreign policy thinking and tools to meet those challenges.

I would suggest that you give these speeches at 3 universities around the world: one in the U.S. (Princeton???:-)); one in Asia (could be anywhere from India to Korea); and the last one on power in Africa (the concept of *Ubuntu*, of Southern African origin, speaks to the ideas that human beings cannot exist in isolation). At the very least all three could be published together in a pamphlet by State, but they could also be easily elaborated (and illustrated) to make a short, accessible, but serious book.