

RELEASE IN FULL

This is a town in which doing is rewarded more than thinking. As President Clinton said about Richard Holbrooke at his memorial service, Richard was a *doer*. And Secretary Clinton is known above all for **getting things done**, which is one reason so many of us are so committed to working for her.

Doers go to the meetings and make decisions; thinkers write the memos that shape the decisions they make – or at least that's what we tell ourselves :-). But academics have long comforted themselves with the belief that in the end, **ideas drive action**. In good academic fashion, we hark back to Max Weber – the father of bureaucratic rationality – who said that although material and ideological interests govern human conduct, ideas, and the images of the world they create, act like a switchman in a rail yard, determining the "the **tracks** along which **action is pushed by the dynamic of interest**." It has been my great honor and privilege to work with Secretary Clinton and terrific colleagues on the 7th floor and throughout this building and USAID to help develop the ideas that underpin a distinctive 21st century vision of the world and America's role in that world.

To give you **some** of the ideas that I think are most important, I thought I would do a dramatic reading of the QDDR – all 210 pages. No? Then perhaps the short version.

First, and most important, the **elevation of development**. Development is not peripheral to "real" foreign policy. It is an essential discipline, objective and set of tools for advancing both national and global security, prosperity, and values.

Second, **empowering women and girls**.

Third, **Internet freedom** – the freedom to connect and communicate on line.

Fourth, **21st century statecraft**: using 21st century technologies not only to communicate to people around the world, but to connect them to governments, to knowledge, and to each other in ways that help them solve their own problems and contribute to solving national and global problems.

Fifth, **public-private partnerships and larger collaborative networks of governments**, corporations, foundations, NGOs, universities, think tanks, and groups of all kinds to align and focus **more assets on more issues** than any government ever could.

When you take those ideas together, they add up to a major turning point in American foreign policy. We are slowly beginning to focus on **societies** as much as on **states**. The world of states is the world of geopolitics and geoeconomics, great power competition, **deadly threats, and great opportunities**. The world of societies is the world of global networks, global corporations that no longer identify themselves as coming from any one country, global movements, **deadly threats, and great**

opportunities. The 21st century will see those two worlds become increasingly intertwined.

Unfortunately, the people who focus on those two worlds here in Washington are still often very different groups.

The world of states is still the world of high politics, hard power, realpolitik, and, largely, men.

The world of societies is still too often the world of low politics, soft power, human rights, democracy, and development, and, largely, women. One of the best parts of my two years here has been the opportunity to work with so many amazing and talented women – truly extraordinary people. But Washington still has a ways to go before their voices are fully heard and respected. We are all the poorer for their absence.

I have learned an enormous amount over the past two years and my life has been enriched by all of you in this room whom I have met or gotten to know better, and many others in this building, at USAID, in Washington, and around the world. S/P – the policy planning staff -- has been a surrogate family. As so many of us comment, coming into S/P is a kind of haven from the meetings and tussles and frustrations we so often encounter in the normal work of bureaucracy. Our Friday donuts – and sugar as often as we can find it through the rest of week; our happy hours; honoring each other for work well done; hanging our heads through Ed's security lectures; teasing Dick; true confessions with Marisa; being connected to every person in Washington through Derek; endless writing marathons with Bill, without whom I could not have done this job; late night pizza with the QDDR team and whichever speechwriter happened to be pulling an all-nighter; handing out our new S/P coins. The greatest compliment the Secretary ever gave me was to describe me as an “orchestrator of talent.” My favorite part of this job has been orchestrating the talent of all of you.

And to the denizens of Mahogany Row, I learned quickly that this is no place for approval junkies. The mission is what matters. But I have had the great privilege of working with Jack Lew, who miraculously makes all of us check the pettier sides of our natures at the door when we come into his office; with Jim Steinberg, who has the courage of his convictions even when the going is very rough indeed; with Bill Burns and Pat Kennedy and all the comrades of the 8:45 meeting; with Jake Sullivan, who has been a full partner in developing many of the most important ideas and initiatives we have launched; with Raj Shah, who is a natural and committed leader; with Alec Ross, my brilliant co-conspirator; with Huma Abedin, who is as brainy as she is beautiful; with the indispensable Lona Valmoro; ; and with the indefatigable and incomparable Cheryl Mills and the group of remarkable women who would follow her

anywhere, and have. The makers of True Grit had nothing on Cheryl. There is no one I would rather have in my corner.

And because all of us depend on all of the dedicated staff who make this building work, from the drivers to the cleaners to the guards, a shout-out to Kenny Mathews, who lights up my day every morning just by saying hi.

To the rest of this building, the missions around the world, and the men and women of USAID, you are the true faces of civilian power. You serve for long hours and low pay, often in dangerous conditions. I leave with respect and gratitude for all that you do.

But it is time to go home. Once in Beijing last June, an interviewer asked the Secretary about Chelsea's wedding. She said immediately and spontaneously: "that's my real life." I could not have said it better. No matter how important the issues we work on here, my life in Princeton, my life with my family, is my real life. My family is my anchor. They are all here today – my parents Ned and Anne, my brother Hoke, sister-in-law Laurie, nieces Lilly and Gwen, who flew in all the way from Hong Kong – and then drove 10 hours through the Thunder Snow from New York – to be here; my brother Bryan, sister-in-law Jen, nieces Jane and Libby, Jen's mother Georgean; my uncle Alec; my aunts Mary Hoke and Mary Peeples; my cousins David and Jodie; my indispensable housekeeper Diane Spiegel. Above all, my sons Edward and Alexander, whom I love so much and am so very proud of and who given every bit as much as I have. And my husband Andrew Moravcsik, who has, **quite simply**, made it possible for me to be here. I could not have a better or more beloved life partner to come home to.

In this town, where "leaving to spend time with your family" is generally a euphemism for being forced out, we would be a far healthier, more productive, and better place if we believed it.

In conclusion, I have to thank the Secretary. Not only for giving me the opportunity to work with her, but also the chance to learn from her. I will admit that I came to town as an academic with perhaps just a wee bit of hubris, brimming with ideas and hoping to share them. I leave with the way I think about the world more shaped and changed by Hillary Clinton's ideas than hers could ever be by mine. From a professor, that is the highest tribute I could possibly pay.

My thanks to you, Madame Secretary, and to all of you. Instead of saying goodbye, let me say, as so many languages do, "until we meet again," and fare well until then. Thank you.