

RELEASE IN PART  
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**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Saturday, February 12, 2011 11:48 AM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma  
**Subject:** The Clinton Doctrine (1.5 pp)  
**Attachments:** CD Memo 2.12.11.docx; CD Memo 2.12.11.docx

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## MEMORANDUM

**To:** S  
**From:** Anne-Marie  
**Re:** The Clinton Doctrine  
**Date:** 2/12/11

**The Clinton Doctrine:** Right now, after Mubarak has stepped down but the protesters are remaining in the square and similar movements are rolling across the Middle East, it is time to put forth a Clinton Doctrine. You should give a short, powerful speech on Monday or Tuesday announcing that **“The United States will support people around the world who seek a transparent, accountable, and participatory government. We will work with governments around the world to meet these demands, even as we learn from other governments in meeting the same demands from our own people.”**

Such support serves our strategic, economic, and moral interests. Lasting liberty and security is grounded in prosperity and opportunity, at home and abroad. Governments that do not protect the rights and ensure the welfare of all their people cannot last. Repression ultimately breeds extremism, violence, and instability. Governments that do not tax their people sufficiently to provide basic infrastructure and services that will allow their people to educate themselves and live healthy and productive lives cannot develop into thriving economies that will anchor regions and contribute to the global economy. And governments that deny their people the basic freedoms of expression, assembly, and representation ignore at their peril the moral equality and dignity of every human being and the ultimate power of the human spirit.

At the same time, however, we are not “siding” with the people against their governments – governments in many cases that we have worked with for years. We will support the demands for this type of a government; we will work with governments to meet these demands; and we will recognize (as when we present an Open Government Charter at UNGA this year and as the Obama Administration has acknowledged in its own efforts to increase transparency at home), that meeting these demands is an ongoing process for any government.

**Comparison with the Truman Doctrine:** Truman stated it would be “the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.” Truman reasoned, because these “totalitarian regimes” coerced “free peoples,” they represented a threat to international peace and the national security of the United States. The

CD is similarly phrased in terms of “supporting” people who seek a particular goal, and similarly justified not only in security, but also in economic and moral terms, just as we have justified our development policy.

**Foundation for the CD:** The best foundation is this Administration’s commitment to development as a foreign policy imperative and the connection you made in your Georgetown speech between development, democracy, and human rights. You insisted that we cannot promote abstract ideals of democracy and civil and political rights without looking at the reality of people's lives, at whether or not they are actually in a position to exercise those rights. This view has deep roots in American history. Its most powerful exponent was Franklin Roosevelt, who understood both at home and abroad the unbreakable link between political liberty and economic security. In his four freedoms, freedom of speech and of worship were married to freedom from want and freedom from fear. That same impulse underlies your Internet freedom speech – to make human rights real in the 21<sup>st</sup> century they must include the freedom to connect.

More recently, as I wrote last week, POTUS has put forward the open government ideal, saying at UNGA: “ history is on the side of liberty; that the strongest foundation for human progress lies in open economies, open societies, and open governments.” You pursued that same line in your Doha speech. Now is the time to broaden it and make it a doctrine, a guiding principle of American foreign policy.

**Concerns re declaring a doctrine:** Obviously you will not present it as a “Clinton Doctrine.” The press can do that. If you craft the speech right, it will follow seamlessly from your Doha speech and will be: 1) a key response to what has happened in Egypt and an establishing of criteria that both the protesters and we can use as a yardstick to measure the military government’s actions, and 2) a roadmap to our position as other countries face their own protest movements.