



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

March 1, 2016

Case No. F-2015-06322

Segment: IPS-0001IC1, IPS-0001IC2

Mr. William F. Marshall
425 Third Street SW, Suite 800
Washington, DC 20024

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I refer to our letter dated January 29, 2015, regarding the release of certain Department of State material under the Freedom of Information Act (the "FOIA"), 5 U.S.C. §552.

We have completed the review of 46 additional documents. We have determined that 5 documents may be released in full, 33 may be released with excisions, and 8 must be withheld in full. All released material is enclosed.

An enclosure explains the FOIA exemptions and other grounds for withholding material. Where we have made excisions, the applicable exemptions are marked on each document. All non-exempt material that is reasonably segregable from the exempt material has been released. For the eight documents withheld in full, all were withheld under FOIA Exemption 5, 5 U.S.C. §552 (b)(5).

We will keep you informed as your case progresses. If you have any questions, your attorney may contact Trial Attorney, Caroline Anderson, at (202) 305-8645 or Caroline.J.Anderson@usdoj.gov. Please refer to the case number shown above in all correspondence about this case.

Sincerely,

Susan C. Weidner for

John F. Hackett, Director
Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosures: As stated.

The Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552)

FOIA Exemptions

- (b)(1) Withholding specifically authorized under an Executive Order in the interest of national defense or foreign policy, and properly classified. E.O. 12958, as amended, includes the following classification categories:
 - 1.4(a) Military plans, systems, or operations
 - 1.4(b) Foreign government information
 - 1.4(c) Intelligence activities, sources or methods, or cryptology
 - 1.4(d) Foreign relations or foreign activities of the US, including confidential sources
 - 1.4(e) Scientific, technological, or economic matters relating to national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
 - 1.4(f) U.S. Government programs for safeguarding nuclear materials or facilities
 - 1.4(g) Vulnerabilities or capabilities of systems, installations, infrastructures, projects, plans, or protection services relating to US national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
 - 1.4(h) Information on weapons of mass destruction
- (b)(2) Related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than 5 USC 552), for example:
 - ARMEX Arms Export Control Act, 22 USC 2778(e)
 - CIA Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 50 USC 403(g)
 - EXPORT Export Administration Act of 1979, 50 App. USC 2411(c)(1)
 - FSA Foreign Service Act of 1980, 22 USC 4003 & 4004
 - INA Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1202(f)
 - IRAN Iran Claims Settlement Act, Sec 505, 50 USC 1701, note
- (b)(4) Privileged/confidential trade secrets, commercial or financial information from a person
- (b)(5) Interagency or intra-agency communications forming part of the deliberative process, attorney-client privilege, or attorney work product
- (b)(6) Information that would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Information compiled for law enforcement purposes that would:
 - (A) interfere with enforcement proceedings
 - (B) deprive a person of a fair trial
 - (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
 - (D) disclose confidential sources
 - (E) disclose investigation techniques
 - (F) endanger life or physical safety of an individual
- (b)(8) Prepared by or for a government agency regulating or supervising financial institutions
- (b)(9) Geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells

Other Grounds for Withholding

- NR Material not responsive to a FOIA request, excised with the agreement of the requester

"Technology is growing higher"

RELEASE IN FULL

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior Reviewer

By: U.S. Department of State Women's Technology Delegation to Liberia and Sierra Leone*

Inside the Annie Walsh Memorial School for Girls in Freetown, Sierra Leone, we visited a small computer lab established with private donations. On the wall was written simply, "Technology is growing higher."



Such was the theme of our journey through Liberia and Sierra Leone last week. We were brought together on a Women's Technology Delegation, or "Tech Del", to explore how technology can empower women and girls as part of Secretary Clinton's 21st Century Statecraft efforts, designed to reach out to a broad audience to help solve global problems. Technology Delegations are one of the first demonstrations of 21st Century Statecraft and have happened in nine countries to date, convening executives from technology corporations, foundations, and NGOs to travel to a specific country and meet with foreign government officials, business leaders, entrepreneurs, civil society groups and other social actors to work together on technological solutions to foreign policy challenges.

We were the first technology delegation of all women, the first group specifically exploring how technology can empower women and girls. The Women's Tech Del was conceived to contribute to Secretary Clinton's strong commitment to women and girls issues and to further her support for mWomen, a public-private partnership to close the mobile phone gender gap. Providing women and girls with the choices and chances for education, economic opportunity, and access to health care we know she will better her family, her community and her society. Focusing on the well-being of women and girls promotes democracy, promotes stability, and creates more opportunity in societies. Technology and tech based tools can provide access to some of these opportunities.

In both countries, we met with women from all walks of life – entrepreneurs, weavers, teachers, nurses, students, government officials - and we were genuinely moved by their perseverance, strength and dedication after years of war tore apart the region. Our meetings with President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Her Excellency First Lady of Sierra Leone Mrs. Sia Koroma demonstrated the inspirational leadership at the top of both countries. Women from the diasporas returning back to their home countries from the U.S. or the U.K. showed us endless courage and love for the betterment of their people.

Josephine George-Francis is one such returnee. Josephine came back to Liberia in 1998 during its civil war and after spending nearly 20 years in the U.S. Together with her daughter, Josephine is managing a farm that produces rice seeds, a mineral water bottling facility and a brick making operation. Josephine's businesses employ several dozen

people and have beneficial impact on farmers in the region who can now gain access to high quality rice seed from a domestic supplier.

Yet, throughout our journey it was also apparent that the challenges in Sierra Leone and Liberia are very real. In Sierra Leone, 1 out of 8 women die during childbirth, giving it the one of the highest maternal mortality rates in the world. In Liberia 85% of the population is unemployed. In both countries literacy rates are low and the national power grid infrastructure and transportation systems are woefully inadequate. When basic human needs like access to clean water, health care, and a reliable power source are not fully addressed, the challenges can feel overwhelming.

Ultimately what we learned is that, despite civil wars devastating both countries less than ten years ago, there is much possibility in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and women are the driving force. Women played a lead role in achieving peace in Liberia, and they continue to lead re-building efforts in both countries, alongside men who are actively supporting women's leadership roles. Still, there is so much more to do. Women are managing their families, farming the land, running small businesses, holding political offices. They are determined to be the positive change they want to see in their world.

Inspired by them throughout our journey last week, we made a series of key commitments, particularly focusing on how technology can enable women and girls to better access information, education, employment and entrepreneurship opportunities.

In Liberia, the Women's Tech Del has committed to explore piloting a center that will train and connect youth, specifically girls, to micro-work via the internet. For female micro-entrepreneurs, we will work with the mobile phone industry to try to expand the number of female retailers of cell phone products, such as pre-paid airtime.

In Sierra Leone, the delegation met with a dynamic group of female entrepreneurs who own small-to-medium enterprises. We will work with this group to explore starting a business incubation center that will help them connect to each other for networking, support and sharing best business practices to help drive economic opportunities for women. Training on using technology, as a key business tool will be a part of the center design.

In both countries, we will explore SMS and voice-based information services for health and civic engagement, as well as share best practices on how mobile phones can be used to help incentivize increased literacy. As appropriate, we will also contribute to efforts already underway to develop an enabling regulatory and market environment to expand access to the internet and mobile phones for the people of Liberia and Sierra Leone; as today, the internet is out of reach for most small and medium sized businesses with rates at USD\$3500 - \$7000 per month, and though mobile phones are more readily available, a women in Liberia is 43% less likely to own a mobile phone, 44% less likely in Sierra Leone.

Technology is not a silver bullet to solve the development challenges we witnessed in Liberia and Sierra Leone, but it can enable change. For the women and girls of both countries, "technology is growing higher" – beyond the physical constraints of day-to-day life and offering a small stepladder to increased opportunities, and we are all committed to help catalyze that change. You too can get involved by signing the mWomen Charter, "Women Deserve the Freedom to Connect."

* U.S. Department of State Women's Technology Delegation to Liberia and Sierra Leone includes:

- Dr. Anne Marie Slaughter, Women's Tech Del Chair, Princeton University, Professor and Former U.S. Department of State Director of Policy Planning 2009-11, [@slaughteram](#)
- Francoise Brougher, Vice President of Global Advertising and Product Operations, Google
- Shannon Cazeau, Deputy Director for Office of Economic Policy for Bureau of African Affairs, U.S. Department of State
- Ann Mei Chang, Senior Engineer Director for Emerging Markets, Google, [@annmei](#)
- Trina DasGupta, mWomen Program Director, GSMA, [@TrinaD](#)
- Katie Dowd, Senior Advisor for Innovation, U.S. Department of State, [@katiewdowd](#)
- Leila Chirayath Janah, CEO & Founder, Samasource, [@leila_c](#)
- Henriette Kolb, CEO, Cherie Blair Foundation for Women, [@CherieBlairFdn](#)
- Marisa McAuliffe, Chief of Staff for Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State, [@MarisaMcA](#)
- Susan McCue, CEO, Message Global, LLC, [@susanmccue](#)
- Maria Thomas, Former CEO, Etsy, Inc. [@pesmou](#)
- Jessica Verrilli, Corporate Development & Strategic Initiatives, Twitter, [@jess](#)

From: H
Sent: Friday, March 11, 2011 1:56 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: The Cable: Anne-Marie Slaughter tweets call for intervention in Libya

RELEASE IN FULL

Pls print.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, February 24, 2011 01:35 PM
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Subject: FW: The Cable: Anne-Marie Slaughter tweets call for intervention in Libya

FYI

REVIEW AUTHORITY:
Barbara Nielsen,
Senior Reviewer

From: Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Thursday, February 24, 2011 1:30 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Fuchs, Michael H
Subject: The Cable: Anne-Marie Slaughter tweets call for intervention in Libya

Anne-Marie Slaughter tweets call for intervention in Libya

from The Cable by Josh Rogin

Former State Department Policy Planning Chief **Anne-Marie Slaughter** used her brand new Twitter account on Thursday to call for international intervention on behalf of the Libyan people.

"The international community cannot stand by and watch the massacre of Libyan protesters. In Rwanda we watched. In Kosovo we acted," Slaughter tweeted, in one of her first ever entries. She confirmed to *The Cable* that the Twitter account is genuine.

Slaughter seems to be enjoying the freedom to express her opinions openly following her exit from government. Her message goes far beyond what President **Barack Obama** and Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton** have said about the Libyan crisis.

Both Clinton and Obama have said that all options are on the table, but no specific decisions have been made on how the international community might respond to the unfolding crisis in Libya. State Department spokesman **P.J. Crowley** said on Wednesday that sanctions and asset freezes are being discussed, but he didn't mention military intervention. By invoking Rwandan, Slaughter is comparing the situation in Libya to the 1994 bloodshed that saw 800,000 Rwandans murdered in about 100 days -- a clear case of genocide. Likewise in 1999, NATO bombed the Serbian capital of Belgrade following that government's genocidal actions in Kosovo, although a U.N. court in 2001 decided the situation did not technically constitute genocide.

Libya's deputy ambassador to the United Nations **Ibrahim Dabbashi**, who resigned this week in protest of the Libyan government's brutal crackdown, contended that Col. **Muammar al-Qaddafi's** massacre of civilians constitutes genocide, but no U.S. officials have made such a statement.

Slaughter's other messages on her first week on Twitter focused on how to use social networks to aid in the Arab uprising spreading throughout the region.

"I am a thinker and writer on foreign affairs who believes that foreign policy must be very different in the networked world," she wrote in her Twitter bio.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: H
Sent: Wednesday, March 16, 2011 6:13 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Fw: World events test 'No Drama Obama'

RELEASE IN FULL

Pls print.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, March 16, 2011 02:26 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: World events test 'No Drama Obama'

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior
Reviewer

From: Toiv, Nora F
Sent: Wednesday, March 16, 2011 10:39 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: World events test 'No Drama Obama'

POLITICO

World events test 'No Drama Obama'

By: Glenn Thrush and Josh Gerstein

March 16, 2011 04:33 AM EDT

A dizzying succession of major world events is bombarding a president who insists on controlling his own time, emotions and political message.

With Japan's nuclear crisis teetering on the verge of catastrophe, with Libya and Bahrain in violent turmoil, and with financial markets crashing in response, President Barack Obama has been adamantly sticking to his own political and policy playbook.

That has meant muscling past the red-siren headlines to hammer away at the jobs-and-education message that will be the centerpiece of his 2012 campaign, the kind of discipline that is a hallmark of his new senior adviser, David Plouffe.

And it also meant refusing to scrap a five-day trip to Latin America on Friday that will take him to sun-dappled Rio de Janeiro, among other places, rather than staying home to focus on the increasingly disastrous international news confronting his crisis-weary White House.

"The president is taking this trip because he is committed to growing the economy [and] rebalancing our national security posture," White House press secretary Jay Carney, shot back on Tuesday when an incredulous reporter asked if he would consider delaying the five-day swing through Brazil, Chile and El Salvador.

"He remains confident he can fully execute his job when he is on the road."

But Obama's critics have a different take. They say he's exhibiting a failure of leadership on a whole range of matters, symbolic and substantive, ranging from his lukewarm support for a Libyan no-fly zone to his willingness to let others, especially Republicans, take the lead on entitlement reform.

A compendium of clips sent to reporters by the Republican National Committee on Tuesday was headlined: "Hiding from Reality: Obama's noticeable lack of leadership illustrates a president looking out for himself above all others."

And Obama may have given opponents another talking point by following through, despite the alarming news from overseas, on a promise to appear in a nine-minute ESPN segment to share his NCAA basketball tournament picks.

"Most people when it comes to Obama, you know what they're anticipating? His NCAA brackets," Rush Limbaugh fumed on his syndicated radio show Tuesday. "Every year at this time people wonder what the president's brackets are going to be, who he's gonna pick?"

"We got the world on fire. We got Libya and the Middle East on fire and the guy's out playing golf," he added, referring to the round Obama played Sunday.

Republicans say one compelling reason for Obama to stay home, is to work on an elusive long-term budget deal – with a confrontation looming on April 8 when the just-completed three-week stopgap funding measure expires.

"How can @BarackObama say he is leading when puts his NCAA bracket over the budget & other pressing issues?" new Republican National Committee chairman Reince Priebus tweeted Tuesday

All of this dovetails with a larger GOP argument against Obama that was underscored by a Washington Post/NBC poll released Tuesday that showed Americans giving Republicans higher scores on leadership than him by a margin of 46 to 39 percent.

Some questions about Obama's leadership are the results of his somewhat detached style.

On Friday Obama made Japan a centerpiece of his news conference, and he has dispatched a massive deployment of U.S. military and nuclear safety personnel to the region. "I believe I heard him use the phrase today — heartbroken by what he sees unfolding in Japan and the effect on the Japanese people," Carney said at his briefing Tuesday.

But to some, the response has seemed muted.

"It's a gap between the kind of personal reaction that I myself received from my American friends and the somewhat ceremonial, rhetorical statements that Mr. Obama makes... I was taken aback. I have yet to feel any personal feeling coming from Mr. Obama himself," said Yoshi Komuri, editor-at-large of Sankei Shimbun, one of Japan's leading

newspapers.

"It seems a bit remote, too official, that's my personal opinion."

Andrew Gordon, director of Harvard's Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, said Obama's handling of the Japan crisis so far was appropriate, but it would be wise now for him to make a greater overture to one of his country's most important allies and trading partners.

"Even compared to what people were thinking Friday or Saturday, by Tuesday this is a considerably graver event, so for Obama to do something - in public and visibly - probably wouldn't be a bad idea, whether that's Obama going to visit the Japanese Embassy or inviting the ambassador to the White House ... to sort of lay out some ongoing commitment," he said.

The White House dismisses criticism that the president hasn't been sufficiently engaged, pointing out that Obama has been immersed in back-to-back meetings all week on the emerging crises, culminating with a Tuesday afternoon gathering of his national security team to discuss a dwindling set of options for Libya.

And they argue that the president's take-it-in stride approach reflects his calm temperament, the demands of a modern, multi-tasking presidency and his refusal to lurch from crisis to crisis.

They also say that breaking routine could, in itself, constitute a breach in leadership by proving he's too willing to let circumstance derail from his objectives.

More important than the optics, Obama has also refused to make any major policy shifts in response to events over the last several weeks.

Despite criticism from conservatives pressing for aggressive action by the United States, hawks, he's waited for NATO and United Nations to approve a no-fly zone for Libya, a plan that seems less likely than ever given the rout of pro-democracy rebels this week.

Nor has he heeded demands by some fellow Democrats, including Reps. Henry Waxman (D-Calif.) and Ed Markey (D-Mass.), that he embrace a moratorium on the construction of new domestic nuclear plants as a result of the Japanese disaster.

"I think it's very important to make sure that we are doing everything we can to ensure the safety and effectiveness of the nuclear facilities that we have," Obama said in an interview with a local TV station in Pittsburgh on Tuesday.

But he refused to shelve expansion of the plants, which are a key part of his energy strategy, pledging instead to increase efforts to ensure that nuclear power is safe.

"I've already instructed our nuclear regulatory agency to make sure that we take lessons learned from what's happened in Japan and that we are constantly upgrading how we approach our nuclear safety in our country," he said.

Carney told reporters that Obama essentially views events in Japan as a crisis afflicting a

foreign country, passing along the views of Nuclear Regulatory Commission officials that even under a worst-case scenario, the Fukushima nuclear plant poses next to no health risks to U.S. citizens on the mainland or in Hawaii.

Given recent events, it's hard to believe that it was barely two months ago that David Axelrod, Plouffe's predecessor, told POLITICO on his way out of the White House that he finally saw a "clear field" for Obama to focus on the sole issue he believed would decide the 2012 election – jobs.

Since that time, Obama has seen a succession of challenges and cataclysms not seen since the financial meltdown he inherited when taking office in January 2009:

A rolling series of bloodless revolutions and bloody civil wars have spread through Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain and Libya; a rebellion by Tea Party Republicans who threaten to scuttle his plans for a big bipartisan budget deal; and then the earthquake, tsunami and nuclear debacle in Japan, a one-of-a-kind chamber of horrors that melds a humanitarian tragedy with a terrifying atomic threat.

In the days ahead, Carney promised, Obama will monitor "all major issues, all the time" wherever he is.



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RELEASE IN FULL

July 18, 2011

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara
Nielsen, Senior Reviewer

Dear Secretary Clinton:

Again, congratulations are in order for Friday's recognition of the Transitional National Council in Istanbul. It is a pleasure to see the State Department again leading the administration on this. Syria, too, but that is a subject for another day.

I suspect that you have been pushing very hard within the administration on Libya. From the outside, the White House doesn't seem like it cares very much. In general, the NSC seems uncomfortable with creative applications of American power and influence. And we all know the military and the Pentagon resist limited military operations, especially airpower-only engagements. So, it must be you and your colleagues at State. Well done.

Some weeks back, when the U.S. first committed to oppose Qaddafi militarily, I wrote a similar message and you suggested we should stay in touch. It has taken me a long time to take you up on your suggestion, for reasons I can explain in person someday.

Hillary, Libya is the right issue for you as Secretary of State to take a leadership role. It may not seem that way on certain days, but I strongly believe it is. (I offer these observations without knowing your thinking or any of the details available to you, so please forgive me if I say the obvious, make technical errors, misread the internal dynamics, or you think this is off-base.)

First and foremost, this is winnable. The killing of Bin Ladin aside, the administration really needs a solid, substantial success. It is only a matter of time before the combination of international airpower and rebel ground forces close in on Qaddafi. Although it may look like a stalemate from time to time, the equation is pretty steady: Qaddafi gets weaker, and the rebels get stronger. When Qaddafi falls or goes into exile, this will be a big success. And the larger the U.S. role, the greater it

will redound to our advantage. (Caveat: It could be very messy when the rebel movement takes over and you should condition people that a civil war like this will be bloody and chaotic when Qaddafi initially falls. As an aside, I think the exile option was killed by the human rights legal community who pushed an ICC process way too early.)

Second, unlike in the Balkans or Afghanistan, Paris and London are fully committed, as are most Europeans, with the exception of Germany, which is a disgrace but not really relevant in the end. The Germans can easily come in to fund and assist in reconstruction and security arrangements for a post-Qaddafi Libya. Of course, the Europeans' military capabilities are limited, as they lack sufficient stocks of the right weaponry. But the Pentagon has and will continue to help. Historically, the harder issue has been their will to win and to reject half-baked compromises. So, in this case, it must be a pleasure to have effective partners in London and Paris.

Third, beyond the moral component of preventing a slaughter, defeating Qaddafi is one of the few concrete and unique ways the West can contribute to the Arab Spring. With our popularity at an all time low in most of the Arab world, our persuasive power is not what it used to be. But cutting off Qaddafi from financing and supplies, and using airpower against his military forces, these are things that the West and only the West can do.

Fourth, even a small success like the one that is coming in Libya will turn around the steady decline in American influence in the region and around the world. I suspect that you know this, but European elites, Gulf elites, East Europeans and many others regard the Administration as weak. Take for example recent data indicating majorities in Europe believe Chinese economic and political power exceeds or will exceed the United States. That is a disastrous indicator.

You may see where I am going with this analysis. It is time for the U.S. to move from the back seat to the front seat of this operation. I know there is a lot of political and White House reluctance to take on another conflict in the Middle East. But not only is this a completely different situation than Iraq or Afghanistan, but we are already paying the political price at home and around the world, yet we will not get the

credit when success comes, and it will come. So long as this is largely a Euro-led mission, it will take far longer to achieve results than it should. Most important, unlike Iraq or Afghanistan, there is a path to clear-cut success, and it is a short path, not years, but months.

There is a reason that NATO's nickname is "Needs America To Operate." We have the weaponry, the assets, and the arrangements necessary to step up the air campaign to accelerate Qaddafi's fall. We can have the Europeans do all the burden-sharing we want when it comes time to fund and support a post-Qaddafi peacekeeping and stability mission of some kind.

What you need is a rationale for a new strategy and an internal argument for the Pentagon to change its position. If the Pentagon moves and a new rationale alters the politics on Capitol Hill, the White House will have to go along. Again, without knowing all the machinations and mini-coalitions inside the administration, I may be reading this wrong. But I would suggest the following strategy:

First, without acknowledging that it was a mistake to let the British and French lead the operation to begin with, you can simply argue that circumstances have changed to the extent that leaving Qaddafi in power is now a national security risk. A mad "mad dictator" threatening Europe and America is a straightforward case to make. Just the way Qaddafi's threats against Benghazi were used to justify the original intervention, his recent threats to take the war to Europe should be regarded as a clear danger of terrorism against our European allies.

Second, for civilians in the Pentagon and the military, you can simply state that the U.S. and NATO's deterrent power is now at risk. There is nothing the Pentagon hates more than a weakened NATO or weakened U.S. deterrent power. This type of credibility argument is not one that works publicly, because of the Vietnam era argument that Americans shouldn't die for credibility but Pentagon officials believe it matters. NATO cannot and should not fail to topple Qaddafi.

Third, the threat of Qaddafi organizing terrorist threats against Europe and possibly the United States is an argument that most Republicans will be forced to accept. (At a private meeting with Tim Pawlenty, he

put forward the idea that framed as a threat from a former terrorist leader, most Republicans would change their view.) McCain and Lindsey Graham are already there and with this new rationale it should be possible to win political support from Republicans that would not support the moral case alone.

The politics on Capitol Hill are obviously not easy. But if the President decides that U.S. national security interests are now at risk, and he makes the case for U.S. leadership in NATO, it will be much, much harder for Democrats to desert him and Republicans to oppose him. It is the half-hearted effort we are making now that is so easy to pick apart.

There is obviously much more to say, but the bottom line is that the war in Libya is now a bigger problem than just getting Qaddafi out. It will determine, in part, whether the United States is remembered as acting and leading the world's response at a crucial time in Middle East politics. At the same time, if we change our approach, success in Libya will restore diminished American leadership in Europe and the world.

This moment reminds me a lot of when Jacques Chirac stuck the knife in with Washington when he told a group of European leaders early in 1995 that there was no leader of the West. As I recall it, President Clinton perceived that with Bosnia collapsing fundamental attitudes towards the United States were at stake. We acted, we used NATO air power, we led the negotiations at Dayton, and everything about the first term in foreign affairs changed. The analogy is not precise but I think it is food for thought. I know how hard it would be to take the lead now, but I think it is worth the effort, and all the subsequent diplomacy and post-qaddafi planning would be much smoother with the U.S., backed by key U.S. allies, in the driver's seat.

Your friend,

Jamie



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

RELEASE IN FULL

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior Reviewer

March 2, 2011

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bureau Executive Directors and Post Management Counselors

FROM: L/Ethics/FD – Sarah Taylor, Program Manager, *Sarah E. Taylor*

SUBJECT: Incumbent Public Financial Disclosure Reports

1. Most senior employees and political appointees must annually file an “incumbent” Public Financial Disclosure Report (OGE/SF 278). Although the statutory filing deadline is May 15, 2011, the Department is asking each public filer to submit his or her completed SF 278 to you by April 15th to help ensure that the intermediate and final review of forms is accomplished within the timeframes established by law.

2. Your Role. We need your help in making sure that these reports are completed correctly and on time. We request that you:

- Identify all employees assigned to your bureau or post who are filers (see “Who Must File” below);
- Forward the names of all filers to L/Ethics/FD by March 18, 2011.
- Provide to each filer a copy of the Guidance for All Incumbent 278 Filers, a blank OGE/SF-278, and a Checklist to Avoid Common Errors (For Incumbent OGE/SF 278 Filers). These documents are available on the Department of State ethics program website on the intranet, at Ethics and Political Activities, Financial Disclosure, Public Financial Disclosure Reports.
- Employees may also use the OGE-278 Wizard which can be found on the Department’s Intranet Ethics and Political Activities Webpage under Public Financial Disclosure. The guidance and links to the OGE-278 Wizard and User’s Manual can be found here. Employees also may access the OGE-278 from their home computers using the internet (<http://sf278wizard.state.gov>). Even if a

HA 09/01/2015

person uses the Wizard and has completed an electronic version of the report, they are still required to provide a signed and dated copy of the form to L/Ethics/FD.

- Accept, date, and initial receipt of each completed report in the "Agency Use Only" space;
- Ensure "senior review" of each report in accordance with 2 FAM 714.7 (Note: Senior Reviews would sign in the block that says, "Signature of Other Reviewer"); and
- Ensure that you or the senior reviewer transmits each report to L/Ethics/FD by April 15, 2011 (but not later than May 15, 2011). An extension past May 15, 2011 may be obtained from L/Ethics/FD. Guidance for senior reviewers is available on the Department's Intranet Ethics and Political Activities website under "Bureau/Post Responsibilities".

3. **Who Must File.** The term "public filer" means any employee of the Department (including a "special Government employee," individuals serving in a "stretch assignment," or an individual on leave without pay) who held, was detailed or otherwise assigned to, or who served in an "acting" capacity in the following "covered" positions for more than 60 days during calendar year 2010:

(a) An Executive Schedule, Senior Executive Service, or Senior Foreign Service position (or in the case of any individual whose pay is not fixed under the General Schedule and who does not serve in the Foreign Service, in a position for which the rate of basic pay is equal to or greater than \$155,440.50); or

(b) A position not specified above that is excluded from the competitive service because it is of a confidential or policy-making character (all Schedule C employees and any limited non-career appointee in the Foreign Service who is a political appointee.)

Exclusion: Certain employees in confidential or policy-making positions may be excluded from the filing requirement. Individuals qualifying under the exclusion may include chauffeurs, private secretaries, stenographers, and others holding positions of a similar nature. Contact L/Ethics/FD if you believe that an employee should be excused from the filing requirement under this provision. This exclusion does not need to be requested every year; exclusions that may have been recognized in past years are considered current, unless the employee is no longer in the position or has been promoted.

60-day rule: An employee need not file an incumbent SF 278 if he or she worked in a covered position for 60 days or less in calendar year 2010. A full-time employee would not be required to file a report, therefore, if he or she began to serve in a covered position on or after November 2, 2010. This includes any employee who has recently been promoted to the Senior Foreign Service (SFS)

HA 09/01/2015

and was not in a stretch position previously. All SFS promotees who were not in a stretch position have been notified by me informing them of their requirement to submit a New Entrant Report. These employees are not required to submit an incumbent report this year. To determine if a part-time or temporary employee served more than 60 days in calendar year 2010, you should count the days on which the person actually worked, even if that work was performed on a Saturday, Sunday, or holiday.

4. Submitting reports. Filers may submit a report by mail, fax, or email. Reports that are mailed should be sent to: L/Ethics/FD, H-228, 2401 E. Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20522. Reports that are faxed should be sent to (202) 663-3339. Reports that are scanned and emailed should be sent to L-SF-278 Reports, or L-EMP-FD Financial Staff. Do not send any reports to personal emails.

5. Failure to Comply. Any employee who fails to file a report or provide any requested additional information, the Department will consider their failure to do so as required when reviewing proposed recipients for performance bonuses and promotions. In addition, the Ethics Office may elect to forward the name of any employee to the Office of the Inspector General for a possible investigation.

6. For Help. You may direct any questions to the ethics staff in the Financial Disclosure Division, Ethics Office (L/Ethics/FD) by phone at (202) 663-3770 or by e-mail to L-EMP-FD Financial Staff.

HA 09/01/2015

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, March 10, 2011 7:59 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Marina print
Attachments: HACFO for OMB.docx

B6

From: Davis, Timmy T.
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Sent: Thu Mar 10 07:26:08 2011
Subject: HACFO for OMB.docx

RELEASE IN PART B6

Good morning Huma,

Please find attached the Secretary's formatted testimony for this morning.

Please let me know if there are any issues or I can do anything further.

Thanks.

Tim

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior
Reviewer

From: H
Sent: Friday, March 11, 2011 1:25 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Fw: National Council of Libya members

Pls print.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJ@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 07:41 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: National Council of Libya members

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen,
Senior Reviewer**

FYI

B6

From: Tom Malinowski [mailto:]
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 12:09 PM
To: dshapir() spower() Wittes, Tamara C; Posner, Michael H; sbusby
saquirre() apascal() Loren Schulman() gsmith()
dpressman() jweinstein() Fitzpatrick, Kathleen M; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: National Council of Libya members

Dear all,

Here are some more notes on the members of the opposition National Council in Libya, based on our own impressions and speaking to Libyan contacts. Obviously these are the public faces and there is a huge network of well-connected Libyans working behind the scenes including many expats who've returned home.

Mostafa Abdeljalil – former minister of justice, HRW met with him in April and December 2009. Only Libyan official to publicly criticize the Internal Security agency for failing to respect the rule of law and release prisoners acquitted by courts. Former judge in Gabal Akhdar/Baida. Respected and seen as uncorrupt, a good transitional figure, though perceived as naïve politically. Our contacts say he understands that his position in this is temporary.

Fathi Terbil: HRW has known him for the past 3 years. He was the spokesperson of the Abu Salim families committee in Benghazi (his brother was killed in the Abu Salim massacre), a lawyer, very brave – would give interviews to the media and speak to us when all other Libyans were afraid. Was arrested in March 2009 for organizing protests of the families in Benghazi, has become very important symbolically – it was his arrest on February 15 that sparked off the demonstrations in Benghazi.

Abdelhafiz Ghoga – well known human rights lawyer in Benghazi, was the lawyer for the Abu Salim families who took their case to the North Benghazi court in 2007 and active in the Benghazi lawyer's syndicate push for recognition as independent syndicate. His choice as spokesperson highlights role of lawyers and judges in Benghazi and inspires confidence in the Council's desire to push for respect for the rule of law.

Fathi Baja: PhD and MA from the US. Professor of political science in Gar Yunis. Described as a liberal person – some say extremely liberal. Very well liked especially in Benghazi. Openly criticized the regime in article published in early 2009 for which he was summoned to a surreal meeting with Gaddafi which he then told us about.

Mahmud Jebril: We met him in April 2009 when he was running the National Economic Board at the time. Academic who returned to Libya during the period of hope for reform, became frustrated when working with the regime and argued that Seif needed to push his "reform" project forward faster.

Omar Hariri - Was one of the free officers who supported Qaddafi at the outset. Imprisoned for 18 years. Described as Tobruk man, trusted by our dissident contacts, "strong personality."

Ali Essawi - Economist. Former Minister for Economy. Got frustrated working with the regime, and was cast aside and sent as ambassador to India.

Ahmed zoubeir - Imprisoned for at least 35 years, accused of being part of the Fezzan plot against Qaddafi early in his rule. Member of the Senussi family – relatives of deposed king. A poet, and since release seen as part of intellectual crowd, and mainstream opposition.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: H
Sent: Friday, March 11, 2011 1:36 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: my thoughts are with you

Pls print.

B6

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter
Sent: Wednesday, February 23, 2011 10:47 PM
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Subject: my thoughts are with you

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara
Nielsen, Senior Reviewer

You probably know this, but in case you don't, you should know that The Daily Beast has posted the most horrific pictures of what is happening in Libya, including pictures of the bodies of soldiers reportedly burned in their barracks for refusing to fire on their fellow citizens – these are also being sent all over Twitter. With this level of violence, force can only be met by force. If the eastern provinces set up a government and invite the international community in, we have good reason to believe that the army will defect as soon as possible. And the entire world would see, as they saw in Bosnia, NATO forces using force to save Muslims. Remember Rwanda. Even a small deployment could have stopped the killing. People will say that we will then get enmeshed in a civil war, that we cannot go into another Muslim country, that Gaddafi is well armed, there will be a million reasons NOT to act. But all our talk about global responsibility and leadership, not to mention respect for universal values, is completely empty if we stand by and watch this happen with no response but sanctions. Acting together, at the invitation of a legitimate Libyan government rather than waiting for the UN, could save thousands if not tens of thousands of lives and change the image of the United States overnight, particularly with the millions of young people who are watching. Remember the role of the British in Sierra Leone. Remember Kosovo. We could also get the AU to issue an invitation – there is precedent for that with the OAS in the Cuban Missile Crisis.

I feel better knowing that you are leading our response – we need both toughness and a willingness to *act*. But I wish I could help lighten your load.

AM

RELEASE IN PART

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

B5

From: H
Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2011 7:40 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'feltmanjd@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
Cc: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: [REDACTED]

B5

B5

[REDACTED] Do you have any updates--especially from the UAE? What is the situation in Libya post strikes? Any other info?

DUPLICATE OF _7612, this
segment_

From: H
Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2011 8:38 AM
To: 'feltmanjd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin
Cc: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Be sure Olson makes case that many will believe that UAE lost its nerve and gave into threats from Quadaffi, unlike Qatar!

----- Original Message -----

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D [mailto:FeltmanJD@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2011 08:34 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; H; Huma Abedin
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] B5

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara
Nielsen, Senior Reviewer

Rick Olson (amb in UAE) is seeing AbZ now; HbJ hasn't returned my call.
Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2011 08:16 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Feltman, Jeffrey D; 'Huma@clintonemail.com' <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] B5

Bill and Jim are working a plan this am to push the Africans in the right direction.

B5

[REDACTED]

Not much clarity on what is happening inside Libya.

No word on UAE.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2011 07:40 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: [REDACTED] B5

B5

[REDACTED] Do you have any updates--especially from the UAE? What is the situation in Libya post strikes? Any other info?

From: H
Sent: Saturday, March 26, 2011 6:35 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Dinner tonight

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

I didn't know so thx. Also, who's name is reservation under?

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior
Reviewer

----- Original Message -----

From: Huma Abedin
Sent: Saturday, March 26, 2011 06:34 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Dinner tonight

B6

[REDACTED]
And I'm sure you know but they set a secure [REDACTED] call for tomorrow at 1:15pm.

B5

----- Original Message -----

From: H
Sent: Saturday, March 26, 2011 06:32 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Dinner tonight

Thx. Have fun tonight! What are you wearing?

----- Original Message -----

From: Huma Abedin
Sent: Saturday, March 26, 2011 05:58 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Dinner tonight

They are all set.

----- Original Message -----

From: H
Sent: Saturday, March 26, 2011 05:15 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Dinner tonight

Be sure DS knows they aren't.

----- Original Message -----

From: Huma Abedin
Sent: Saturday, March 26, 2011 05:09 PM
To: H; 'monica.hanley' [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: Dinner tonight

B6

[REDACTED]
B5

----- Original Message -----

From: H

B6

Sent: Saturday, March 26, 2011 05:09 PM

To: Huma Abedin; 'monica.hanley' [REDACTED]

Subject: Dinner tonight

B5

[REDACTED]

From: Hammer, Michael A <HammerMA@state.gov> B6
Sent: Thursday, March 31, 2011 7:11 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; HumaMAbedin [REDACTED] Reines, Philippe I; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: S-Brookings Lunch decision?

Kagan asking if S can make it April 6, he needs to know today either way - yes or no go this time. If S has time, timing does seem ripe for a useful Libya exchange. Lunch is an hour, noon to one or 1230-130 at Brookings, off the record.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior
Reviewer

From: H
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:23 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Brits and Libya

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

B5

But, how does HBJ go w the Amir in DC? [REDACTED]

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:19 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Brits and Libya

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior
Reviewer

You're not expected to go, as noted in email. This will be senior officials, only a few ministers.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:09 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: Brits and Libya

B5

I don't know how they do it the 13th since I'm supposed to have breakfast w Amir that morning in DC after the dinner on the 12th and [REDACTED] Could we try to move to the 16th and I could go on my way to Japan?
I'm copying Huma.

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:05 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Brits and Libya

Fyi

----- Original Message -----

From: Burns, William J
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 09:39 AM
To: Gordon, Philip H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; 'dmcdonough [REDACTED]
'mspence [REDACTED] Waller, Robert P (P)
Subject: Brits and Libya

B6

B6

Talked to [REDACTED] this am:

B6

-- Cameron talked to Qatari Amir this morning, and they agreed on Apr 13 in Doha for CG meeting. [redacted] said Brits liked our suggestions on participation, and will invite Greeks. Will do more work on TOR. Understand S will not attend, aiming for senior officials level (although Hague and HBJ will be there).

B6

B6

-- [redacted] agreed that we need to focus urgently on structure for humanit aid/corridors to Benghazi, etc. As discussed in London, UN should play overall coordinating role, with NATO (esp Turkey), EU and Qatar/UAE all contributing. Will follow up with Susan, and UK will also work in NY.

B6

-- Nothing much new from Kusa. Brits handling carefully, v mindful of importance of making him magnet for others. [redacted] said Saif's guy was "unimpressive" in London, still angling for role for Saif and "symbolic" place for dad.

Bill

From: H
Sent: Monday, April 18, 2011 5:42 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Easter

RELEASE IN PART
B5

B5

What are you doing for Passover?

----- Original Message -----

From: Huma Abedin
Sent: Monday, April 18, 2011 05:26 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Easter

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen,
Senior Reviewer

B5

- jeff feltman is back from kuwait tomorrow and wants to catch up in person. I know u missed eachother today.
- looks like next libya mtg could be may 5th. [REDACTED] which I did confirm.
- hillary and henry coming together very well. Talked to charlie rose team and they have been great
- had nice visit with oscar today. And also with jayne at isaacs.

B5

----- Original Message -----

From: H
Sent: Monday, April 18, 2011 05:17 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Easter

Any other news?

Redacted: personal/family

Redacted: personal/family

Redacted: personal/family

Redacted: personal/family

Redacted: personal/family

Redacted: personal/family

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2011 9:43 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Fw: USE THIS ONE: Call Sheet - Foley Family
Attachments: Call Sheet - Foley Family.docx

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

B6

From: Meehan, Bernadette M
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2011 10:56 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: USE THIS ONE: Call Sheet - Foley Family

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara
Nielsen, Senior Reviewer

Huma,
Please find below and attached the call sheet for the family of U.S. journalist James Foley, who returned to the U.S. tonight after being released from Libya. I understand the talking points are pretty meager, but also understand she will likely riff on this one.

The Secretary's Call Sheet for
[REDACTED] James Foley

B6

Purpose of Call: You are calling [REDACTED] to express happiness that their son, U.S. reporter James Foley, was recently released from detention in Libya.

B6

B5

Background: U.S. reporters James Foley and Clare Gillis were released on May 18 after 43 days of detention by Libyan officials. They were scheduled to arrive in the United States the evening of May 20. Unfortunately, their colleague Anton Hammerl, a South African reporter, was killed April 5 during their capture. James and Clare made this information public only after they were across the Libyan border.

Hungarian Ambassador to Libya Bela Marton was instrumental in securing the release of Clare and James. He negotiated with the Libyans after the Turks (our protecting power) departed Libya. He visited Clare and James in detention, and arranged their transportation to the Tunisian border once they were released.

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2011 9:43 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Fw: Call Sheet - Gillis Family
Attachments: Call Sheet - Gillis Family.docx

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Meehan, Bernadette M
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2011 10:55 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: Call Sheet - Gillis Family

Huma,

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior Reviewer

Please find below and attached the call sheet for the family of U.S. journalist Clare Gillis, who returned to the U.S. tonight after being released from Libya. I understand the talking points are pretty meager, but also understand she will likely riff on this one.

B6

The Secretary's Call Sheet for
call to [REDACTED] and Clare Gillis

B6

Purpose of Call: You are calling [REDACTED] Gillis to express happiness that their daughter, U.S. reporter Clare Gillis, was recently released from detention in Libya.

B5

Background: Clare Gillis and James Foley, two U.S. citizen reporters, were released on May 18 after 43 days of detention by Libyan officials. Unfortunately, their colleague Anton Hammerl, a South African reporter, was killed on April 5th during their capture. Clare and James made this information public only after they were across the Libyan border.

Hungarian Ambassador to Libya Bela Marton was instrumental in securing the release of Clare and James. He negotiated with the Libyans after the Turks (our protecting power) departed

Libya. He visited Clare and James in detention, and arranged their transportation to the Tunisian border once they were released.

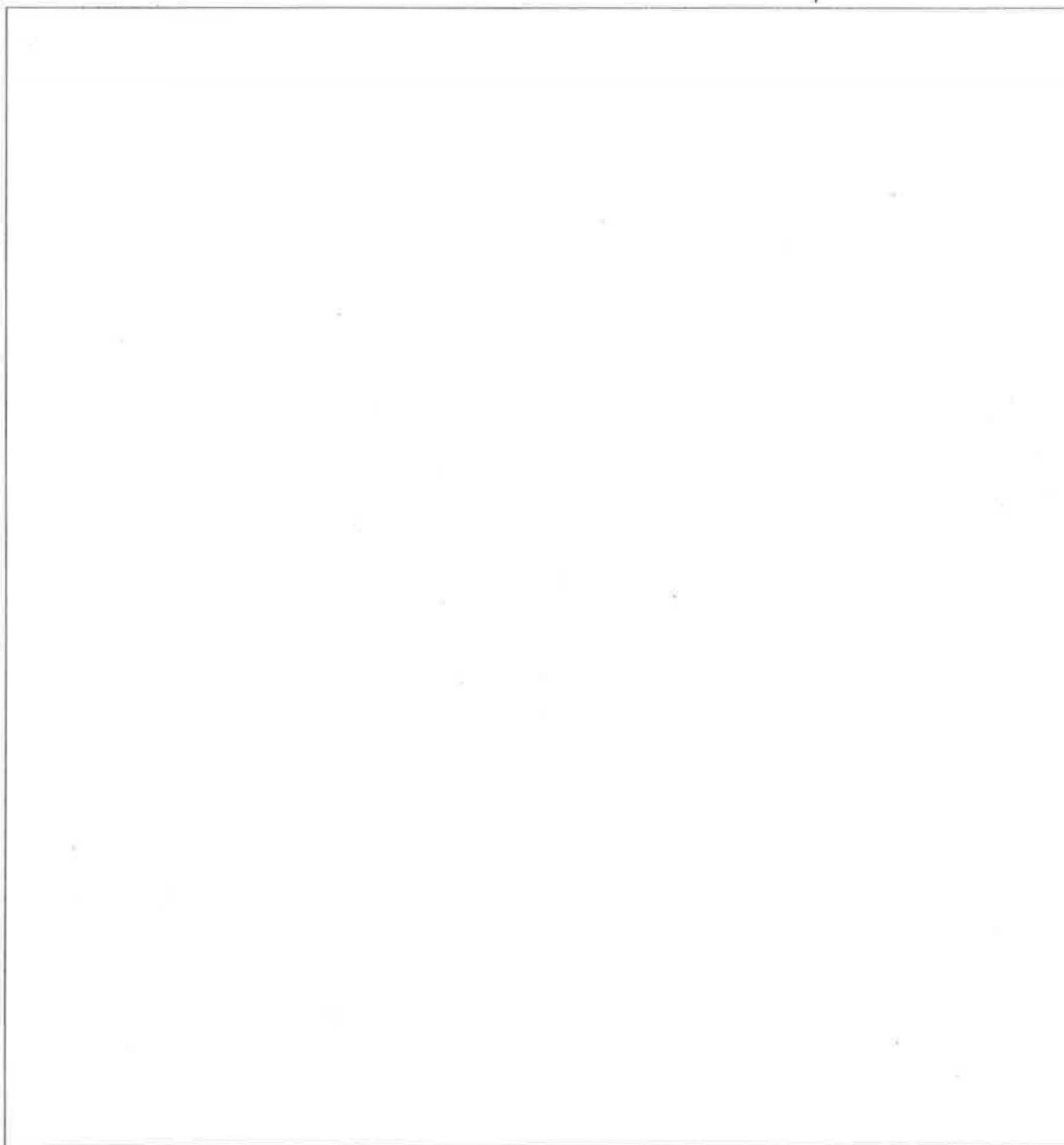
RELEASE IN PART B5

S Q&A on Libya War Powers: 6/23/11

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara
Nielsen, Senior Reviewer**







From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, June 23, 2011 1:50 AM
To: 'humamabedin'
Subject: Marina, print and give her. Important.
Attachments: S Q and A on Libya War Powers.doc

B6

Importance: High

RELEASE IN PART
B6

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior
Reviewer

----- Original Message -----

From: H
Sent: Thursday, June 23, 2011 01:47 AM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Fw: S Q&A on Libya War Powers

Pls ask Marina to print for me in am.

----- Original Message -----

From: Koh, Harold Hongju [mailto:KohHH@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, June 22, 2011 11:36 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Crocker, Bathsheba N <CrockerBN@state.gov>; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; H
Subject: S Q&A on Libya War Powers

Here, as requested, are suggested talking points for S on Libya War Powers.
I will be available for the call at 8:30 am tomw.
Thanks,
Harold

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, June 23, 2011 8:04 AM **B6**
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Marina print
Attachments: Libya TP v6.docx; 062311 Libya QAs for Use with Congress 62311 bnc.docx

[RELEASE IN PART B5,B6]

----- Original Message -----

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thursday, June 23, 2011 08:01 AM
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: FW: Libya Prep Documents - Top Line and Q/A for 8:30am Call with S

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior Reviewer

Huma

For printing for HRC for call in 30 minutes.

Thanks.

cdm

-----Original Message-----

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thursday, June 23, 2011 7:59 AM
To: Adams, David S; Koh, Harold Hongju; Hammer, Michael A; Reines, Philippe I; Nuland, Victoria J; Nides, Thomas R; McDonough, Denis R.
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Mills, Cheryl D; Crocker, Bathsheba N; Wells, Alice G; Abedin, Huma; Valmore, Lona J
Subject: Libya Prep Documents - Top Line and Q/A for 8:30am Call with S

Please review attached for call and per note below, will incorporate any fixes after 8:30am call with S.

Please call into Ops at 8:25am.

Thanks.

cdm

-----Original Message-----

From: Crocker, Bathsheba N
Sent: Thursday, June 23, 2011 7:55 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B
Subject: Libya -- both docs -- latest

All:

Attached is very latest of S statement and QA, attempting to incorporate all additional edits.

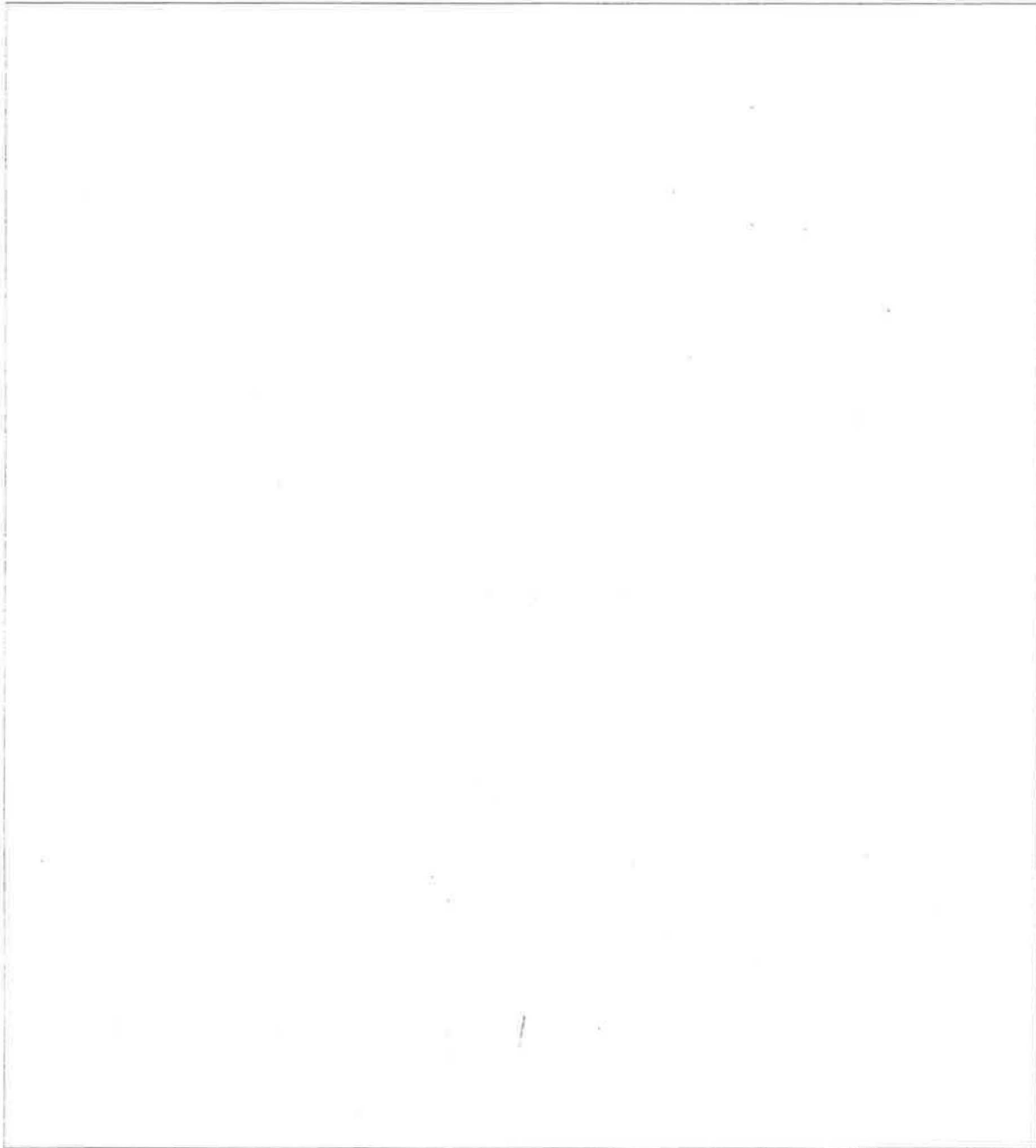
We'll make any additional needed fixes after 830 call.

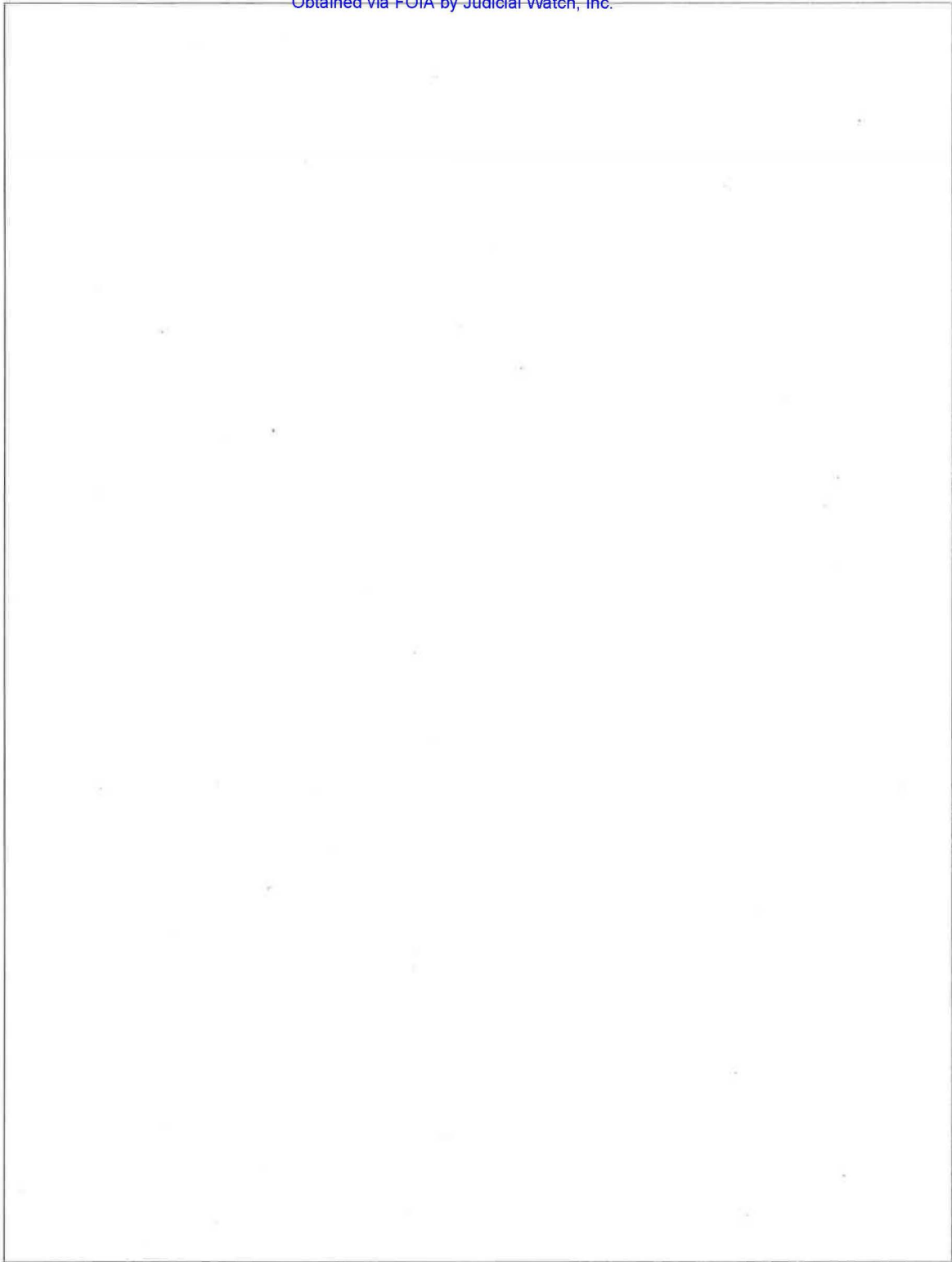
Sheba

DRAFT TALKING POINTS v6
SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
HOUSE DEMOCRATS ON LIBYA RESOLUTION

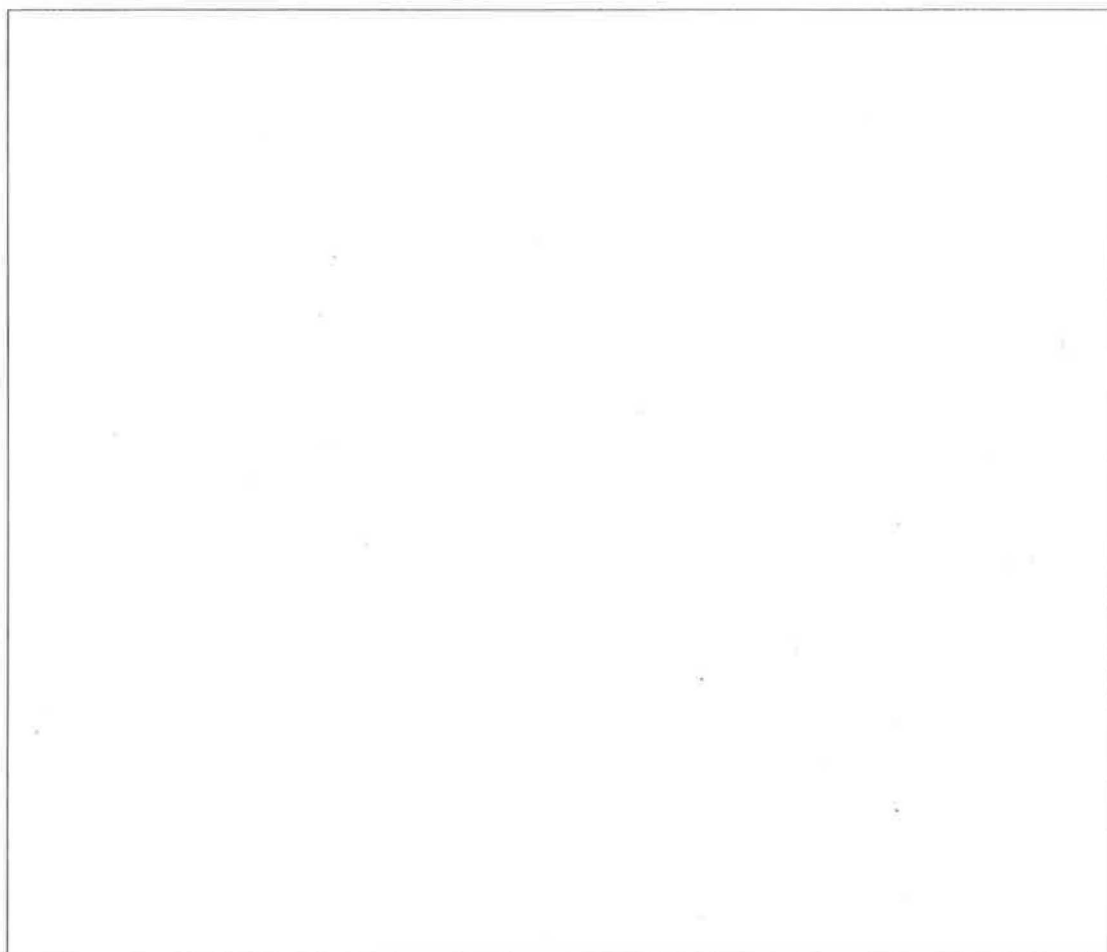
- I want to thank Leader Pelosi for inviting me today. I come to you this morning—as always—in the spirit of consultation and partnership.

B5





B5



From: H
Sent: Thursday, August 25, 2011 9:43 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Random

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

REVIEW AUTHORITY:
Barbara Nielsen,
Senior Reviewer

Pls have Rob do condolence note for [REDACTED] to his family.

B6

[REDACTED]

B5

----- Original Message -----

From: Huma Abedin
Sent: Thursday, August 25, 2011 05:30 PM
To: H
Subject: Random

B6

B6

B5

[REDACTED] passed away.

[REDACTED]

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, August 31, 2011 12:54 PM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Print Fw: Paris Sked
Attachments: Paris (August-September 2011).docx

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Allegra, Theodore X
Sent: Wednesday, August 31, 2011 12:24 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Gordon, Philip H; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Dibble, Elizabeth L; Cretz, Gene A; Mushingi, Tulinabo S; Hanley, Monica R; Miranda, Anthony; Cordell, Jenny; Adler, Caroline E; Yehl, Ashley C; Nuland, Victoria J; Olsson, Kurt; Taplin, Mark A; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Paris Sked

Thank you for your participation in the trip call. Attached is the updated notional schedule. The usual, final schedule with additional details will be produced and distributed on the plane. See you tonight! --txa

Theodore Allegra
Deputy Executive Secretary
U.S. Department of State
Tel: (202) 647-5302
Fax: (202) 647-5620

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior
Reviewer

From: H
Sent: Sunday, October 16, 2011 2:27 PM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: TIME SENSITIVE AND CONFIDENTIAL -- Malta Trip Backgrounder for the Secretary -- Confidential

**RELEASE IN PART 1.4(D),B3 CIA
PERS/ORG,B6**

I need enough time there to meet. Hague is there today and doing all the right meetings. So, I'm copying Huma to reinforce my desire to squeeze more out of a too quick trip.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, October 16, 2011 02:24 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: TIME SENSITIVE AND CONFIDENTIAL -- Malta Trip Backgrounder for the Secretary -- Confidential

Fyi background

B6

From: Kmiec, Douglas [mailto:]
Sent: Sunday, October 16, 2011 5:05 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: TIME SENSITIVE AND CONFIDENTIAL -- Malta Trip Backgrounder for the Secretary -- Confidential
Importance: High

Douglas W. Kmiec

Cheryl

I know from current events that your life must be a whirlwind. I know that if there ever was someone who could tame the whirlwind, it would be you.

Just read the news report of the Secretary's stop in Malta next week. Thank you for arranging this. This letter and the accompanying clips I believe will help make the Secretary's visit a highly successful and well received one.

The Maltese are wonderful people and our relations with both the sitting government and the opposition could never be better. Indeed, it may be important for Mrs. Clinton to include both the PN and PL opposition in her stay. Lawrence Gonzi, the current PM, is an excellent leader, but has only a one vote margin in the parliament. His top advisor is a fella named, Edgar Curmi, and you might think to include him in as many meetings as possible, since the PM relies upon him strongly.

Joseph Muscat, the PL opposition leader is much younger, but bright and capable, and the recent beneficiary of a trip we arranged for him to NY and Washington (spring 2011), where he made a uniformly excellent impression, especially on the NSC folks, and that of course, is important given the sensitivities of north Africa. Muscat is a Phd who sees himself in the mold of our President, and does have many excellent progressive ideas. It is a stable, and

highly participatory, democracy, but the parliamentary elections in 2013 could go either way depending on the surrounding conditions.

Neither party has brought women into the ranks of office holders nearly as much as they should. There are some very excellent women's organizations in the country that I made it a point to encourage at every turn, and they would be thrilled with even a few moments of the Secretary's time. Tracy Brown, the consular officer, is the person who I encouraged to take the lead with these groups, and she would readily help you arrange a photo op/drop by. There was recently a very successful breast cancer walk, organized by among others, Betty Lee, a nurse survivor, who is a leader in assisted care on the island – she is on staff at the Holy Family Home in Naxxar. Grace Attard and Dolores Sammut are leaders in the National Association of Maltese Women. The PM also has a top notch thinker in a commission designed to evaluate the gender implications of budgeting as well as to certify private businesses that do innovative gender recruitment and promotion. Tracy can get you the name of the research commission if you need it.

A genuine gem of a person is the President (George Abela); he is a former labor lawyer; he championed the cause of the refugees while in private practice and he never hesitated to help us help those seeking resettlement. He very bravely co-authored an essay with me speaking out against race discrimination, especially race discrimination that was sought to be excused by the inexcusable comment "oh, they are only refugees." This infuriated the soft-spoken president as much as it did me, and don't let the kindly demeanor fool you, he is both a fighter, and he is much beloved. If the Secretary wants to break the ice with him, she could compliment him on his dedicated roll year after year in the major fundraiser, called l'istrina.

Malta is making progress on trafficking, but it is largely because we convinced the police chief (Rizzo) to take a personal interest. His subordinates uniformly could not see past the "streetwalker," not realizing there is often a corrupt trafficker in the shadow. The Chief has now fully accepted the concern and with the help of the Catholic organization, Caritas, is treating these women as prima facie victims, so that the best sociology is being used to allow women to speak without intimidation. There is a good long way to go, but with the PM appointing Alan Caruana, a high ranking utility player for the PM, as chair of the task force on the issue, there is much progress. Tom Yeager who I brought to the embassy from his naval career has this topic very well in hand.

The one issue that was still fluid was SOFA. It is a real bugaboo; in part, because the Bush people tried to overreach. They frankly sent in a team thinking they could just push a small country around, and they created a political firestorm. On my watch, we did a number of things: first, we went public and asked what the neutrality provision in their constitution meant. We did this since we could never get a straight answer, and we could make no progress until we got both sides (and this is unfortunately a political football between the two major parties). While it took a little while to get through all the smoke, ultimately we discovered there was reasonable agreement between the parties on what neutrality means (i.e., no mutual defense alliance in advance; wariness about military engagement altogether – remember this nation's history being bombed 154 consecutive days by the Nazi's and having resources only for a small, but proud maritime force, the AFM, under the leadership now of Matthew Xuereb, but also under Brigadeer Vasallo, who is just retired, but had been thought very highly of by Secretary Gates, who personally signed his award of the highest Pentagon honor given to a foreign national) – but

willingness to both supply humanitarian assistance (as they did generously in our evacuation of the embassy Tripoli staff and the two hundred or so other foreign nationals we helped get out. Edgar, the PM's assistant, wanted had me start the ball rolling with the hospital ship months ago, and I assume it finally got a boost from McCain. Beyond that, I had pretty much secured Tonio Borg, the FM's concurrence, that as soon as the politics were right, Malta would sign up to the NATO Pfp SOFA with such reservations as might be needed to respect Maltese neutrality. Muscat and the labor people, George Vella, don't have much objection to that, but they still carry an old grudge against the PM and his party for re-activating membership in NATO Pfp without going back to Parliament (a previous PL majority having withdrawn Malta from NATO). Dr. Vella (he is an MD) probably has the better of the formalism on this, but again, its old news, and the point needs to be made clearly that Malta loses out year after year to the small defense and state funds available to them for Maritime training and the like because they have dragged out this SOFA discussion way out of proportion. If Muscat the PL leader is brought into meetings, he needs to hear this as well.

That said, we of course are somewhat the source of our own problem. The Navy Captains would like a SOFA, but with flexibility from their NATO commander, they will bring ships into port on a waiver basis and if we allowed that to happen, it would be in everybody's best interest, since it would generate economic activity and demonstrate the good citizens our service people generally are.

And

Economic activity from us – be it from port visits or ship repair – is a helpful conduit for greater or continued cooperation on Iranian sanctions. You will remember that IRISL had a large presence in Malta, and it took some real hard negotiation with Tonio Borg, the foreign minister to get Malta's full cooperation. Understandable, given the significance of the "free" port to them, but nevertheless with the help of my friend and teacher, Ambassador Bill Wood we made real progress, and ultimately Malta was helpful to us to bring Cyprus and Greece more closely into the effort. Malta also negotiated a ship boarding agreement which is in place; accepted training and equipment in their customs port (it is generous on our part, but it also slows trade), and helped us interdict a shipment which became a pivotal part of the last sanctions effort. Malta is no fan of sanctions, and rightly, they are skeptical and surmise all the wrong people escape their impact. Nevertheless, Malta respects our judgment on the risk, so long as we level with them, and do not overstate.

There is probably more, and I am willing to fill in gaps if it can be useful. The Maltese are justifiably proud of their ancient, Arabic-based language, so if the Secretary can it would be great if a portion of her remarks could be given by her in Maltese. I can help with that if you get me a paragraph, or alternatively, I can put you in touch with former Malta Ambassador to Egypt, George Doublesine, who would be delighted to do a translation for her, and who is also quite an expert on Egypt which could prove useful in the months ahead. Seeing the shortness of time, I have done a short statement at end of this letter.

I suspect the full diplomatic corps will come out, as they should. There are some very good friends of America in the group: most notably, Tomaso Caputo, the archbishop and papal nuncio; Anne Quinane, the high commissioner of Australia; Jean-Francois Delahaut of Belgium; Caroline Gudenhaus of Austria. The Egyptian ambassador, Abdel Mawgoud Elabashy, is a good friend, and Mrs. Clinton again could find his advice useful in the

months ahead. He has two very talented daughters, Hannah who did her undergrad at Harvard and Farrida who just started at Grinnell. Of special note is Gabriel or Gabi Taweel of the Palestinian Authority; he is sharp, witty, a good friend of the U.S., anxious to get a genuine two state solution in place, and he is also the brother of Suha Arafat, the widow of Yasser, who is in residence in Malta.

The new building: is of course magnificent, and the construction delays were all US in origin; when I got there, the project had slipped because of the absence of a confirmed ambassador, because there was a nepotism problem with the project manager, who in turn had problems keeping engineers. I quite frankly made a nag of myself at OBO until they helped me put people in place that could finish the project to the quality and specification of high standard both because I conceive of Malta as an important regional north-south facilitator of important security and trade information, and because Malta allowed us to build – on 10 acres no less – in the heart of their national park which is very popular. We compensated in part by building well (the quality of the construction will be obvious) and several Maltese business men (Winston Zhara and James Satariano) helped me solve the so-called labor shortage (which really was just a product of the prior bad management). If there is a luncheon to include pro-American business types, they should be thought of.

At the embassy, Mrs. Clinton will remember that while the mechanicals won a LEEDS award designation for efficiency; we had expected, and to some degree, made known our plan to build a sun shade over the parking lot which would serve as a platform for solar cell technology which could pick up as much as 30 percent of the power need. I again nagged poor Deputy Secretary Kennedy to get the funding, which we got for the cells, but not the sun shade platform. I hope my Charge has kept up the encouragement of this funding, since if there is a place on earth that should not be dependent on carbon fuel, since it has none, and dependent on wind and solar – since it has this in abundance^{1.4(D)} Malta.

B3 CIA PERS/ORG

The largest part of our US team in the embassy is the navy/coast guard/ ncis contingent that has established a Maritime training program with the AFM to good success. The defense attaché there now is new

1.4(D) B3 CIA PERS/ORG
Goved and hardworking – and to good effect, patrolling the waters and the ports for drugs, traffickers, and terror related figures.

Our biggest LES component is the local guard. They take great pride in working for the US embassy, and they deserve special praise; Joe Cordina and Ray (sorry forgot the last name) are the chief and deputy. There are a number of women guards who we hired again as a matter of gender outreach (Jo Micallef; Sandra; Evelyn; Dorianne; Mary Grace) – if there is a photo op with personnel, they deserve notice.

Well, Cheryl, I hope you find this helpful. As you can see, I took great pride in my work for President Obama and the Secretary, and even greater pride in how well our country had come to be regarded under President Obama's leadership. I never anticipated that I would not be there on the tarmac at Luqua when the Secretary arrived, but my happiness is great knowing that it is going to happen. I am a bit surprised, of course, that the President accepted my offer to resign when I was simply carrying forward what Josh Dubois in the White House called the "special presidential logic" of my assignment, but I fear there was just some very unfortunate miscommunication which gave the Secretary the sense that we were swimming in a direction that would have raised constitutional issues. I know that wasn't the case, and for the last weeks had anticipated returning to duty when the

President and/or the Secretary had time to see that what we were doing -- as the intimate knowledge of this letter written by memory I think reveals -- was the full complement of work for Embassy Valletta, plus. The plus is still well worth undertaking, since the ideas that will need to be explored to promote inter-religious harmony in the Arab democracies still need great attention. We can rest assured that those who would provoke difficulty by fostering religious division will do so.

Forgive me for having a Mr. Smith goes to Valletta moment, but I believe deep down Mrs. Clinton and myself having emerged from the same Edgewater beach cradle, walked the same WPA sidewalks in Park Ridge, and had similar parental perspectives -- though my Dad was a Kennedy Democrat through and through, and I got the sense that Mr. Rodham was of a different mind -- we nevertheless with similar origin, and cultural formation, feel about the same love of country.

All this is likely surplusage to the fine advance work and briefing supplied by the highly capable Rick Mills and his excellent assistant, Rebecca.

Do let me know if I can help by returning to post or in any other way.

Very respectfully,
Doug

PS not knowing the Secretary's remarks, here is a short Maltese passage; wherever possible I have chosen words that with a little study can be pronounced easily and look somewhat like our own vocabulary:

The following which includes some endearing self-deprecating humor may fill the bill nicely:

Malta is a good friend of the United States because it is a good friend of peace. Malta knows the price of war and the price is always too high. Malta's influence as a highly stable democratic Republic, as a knowledgeable trading partner, and as a geographic link to better north-south and interfaith understanding (did my good friend Doug Kmiec help with this translation?). I am very pleased to see this excellently completed new embassy. It is a sign of our confidence in Malta and our gratitude for helping Ambassador Kmiec and Charge Mills come to the aid of our Tripoli staff caught in the crossfire in Libya and the role it has played in giving humanitarian relief.

Malta huwa habib i-istati uniti minhabba ilhuwa habib ta paci. Malta jaf il-prezz tal-gwerra u ;-prezz huwa dejje, gholi wisq. Influwenza Malta bhala repubblika demokratika hafna stabbli, bhala msiehba kummercjali infurmati u bhala rabata geografika ghall-fehim tramutan a-nofsinhar ur-religionijie t ahjar (ma habib tieghi Doug Kmiec taghmel din it-traduzzjoni ?). (I am) kuntent hafna li tara dan ambaxxata gdida eccellenti tlestew huja sinjal ta fiducja taghna f'Malta u gratitudni taghna ghall-ghajnuna ambaxxat ur Kmiec waslet ghall-ghajnuna tal-persunal Tripoli taghna maqbuda fil-crossfire fil-Libja ur-rwolo li kellha taghtighajnuna umanitarja.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: H
Sent: Sunday, October 30, 2011 9:02 PM
To: 'preines([REDACTED]) B6
Cc: 'cheryl.mill([REDACTED]) 'jake.sullivan([REDACTED]) Huma Abedin B6
Subject: Re: WaPo

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Can you review for other issues? [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] B5

----- Original Message -----

B6

From: PIR [mailto:preines([REDACTED])]
Sent: Sunday, October 30, 2011 08:27 PM
To: H
Cc: CDM <cheryl.mill([REDACTED])> Jake Sullivan ([REDACTED]) Huma Abedin B6
Subject: WaPo

Below is the front page of tomorrow's Washington Post. [REDACTED]

B5
B6

Clinton's key role in Libya conflict
By Joby Warrick
Washington Post
Sunday, Oct 30, 2011

TRIPOLI, Libya — At 5:45 p.m. on March 19, three hours before the official start of the air campaign over Libya, four French Rafale jet fighters streaked across the Mediterranean coastline to attack a column of tanks heading toward the rebel city of Benghazi. The jets quickly obliterated their targets—and in doing so nearly upended the international alliance coming to Benghazi's rescue.

France's head start on the air war infuriated Italy's prime minister, who accused Paris of upstaging NATO. Silvio Berlusconi warned darkly of cutting access to Italian air bases vital to the alliance's warplanes.

"It nearly broke up the coalition," said a European diplomat who had a front-row seat to the events and who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive matters between allies. Yet, the rift was quickly patched, thanks to a frenzied but largely unseen lobbying effort that kept the coalition from unraveling in its opening hours.

"That," the diplomat said, "was Hillary."

Seven months later, with longtime American nemesis Moammar Gaddafi dead and Libya's onetime rebels now in charge, the coalition air campaign has emerged as a foreign policy success for the Obama administration and its most famous Cabinet member, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Some Republicans derided the effort as "leading from behind" while many others questioned why President Obama was entangling the nation in another overseas military campaign that had little strategic urgency and scant public support. But with NATO operations likely ending this week, U.S. officials and key allies are offering a detailed new defense of the

approach and Clinton's pivotal role — both within a divided Cabinet and a fragile, assembled-on-the-fly international alliance.

What emerges from these accounts is a picture of Clinton using her mixture of political pragmatism and tenacity to referee spats among NATO partners, secure crucial backing from Arab countries and tutor rebels on the fine points of message-management.

Clinton, in an interview, acknowledged "periods of anguish and buyer's remorse" during the seven months of the campaign. But she said, "We set into motion a policy that was on the right side of history, on the right side of our values, on the right side of our strategic interests in the region."

From skeptic to advocate

During the initial weeks of unrest in Libya, Clinton was among the White House officials clinging to fading hopes that Gaddafi might fall without any help from the West.

From the first armed resistance on Feb. 18 until March 9, the disorganized opposition movement appeared to be on a roll, taking control of Libyan cities from Benghazi to Brega and Misurata on the Mediterranean coast. But in a single, bloody week, Gaddafi loyalists turned rebel gains into a rout, crushing resistance in towns across Libya before marshaling forces for a final drive against Benghazi, the last opposition stronghold.

With Gaddafi threatening to slaughter Benghazi's population "like rats," the rebel leaders pleaded for Western intervention, including a no-fly zone. The appeal garnered support in Europe, particularly among French and British officials who began working on the text of a U.N. Security Council resolution that would authorize the use of military against the Libyan autocrat.

But the idea of a no-fly zone drew skepticism from within the Obama White House. Some officials, most notably then-Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates, opposed military intervention. And Clinton, during two trips to Europe in early March, made clear that Washington was not eager to lead a politically risky military campaign against yet another Muslim country.

She was loath to see Gaddafi trouncing aspiring democrats in his country and menacing fledgling governments in neighboring Egypt and Tunisia. But Clinton told aides, who later described the administration's inner workings on the condition of anonymity, that the hard reality was that a no-fly zone, by itself, might make things worse.

"We were opposed to doing something symbolic — that was the worst of both worlds," said one of the aides. "We would have crossed the threshold [of intervention] without accomplishing anything."

Clinton had drawn up a list of conditions that included a formal request by Arab states for intervention. On March 12, the 22-nation Arab League did exactly that, voting to ask for U.N. approval of a military no-fly zone over Libya.

The next day, on March 13, Clinton traveled to Paris for a meeting with foreign ministers from the Group of 8 countries. In the marbled conference rooms of Paris's Westin Hotel, she sat down for the first time with Mahmoud Jibril, the interim leader of Libya's fledgling Transitional National Council. She also met privately with Gulf diplomats to gauge Arab willingness to send warplanes to enforce a possible no-fly zone. And she huddled with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, whose country's veto potentially could block any intervention effort at the United Nations.

"When she went to Paris, there were no instructions from the White House on whether to support strong action in Libya," said a senior State Department official. Yet, within three days, the official said, Clinton began to see a way forward.

"This was an opportunity for the United States to respond to an Arab request for help," the official said. "It would increase U.S. standing in the Arab world, and it would send an important signal for the Arab Spring movement."

By March 15, when Clinton spoke with President Obama by phone to brief him on the meetings, she had become a "strong advocate" for U.S. intervention, one administration official said. The president, who had been weighing arguments from a sharply divided Cabinet for several days, sided with his secretary of state.

Clinton was halfway across the Atlantic on March 17 when a resolution went before the U.N. Security Council authorizing a Libyan intervention with "all necessary means" — U.N. code for military force. From the plane, Clinton worked the phones while the administration's ambassador to the United Nations, Susan Rice, met with counterparts to line up votes and to ensure that both Russia and China would withhold their vetoes.

The resolution passed, 10 to 0, with five countries abstaining.

Keeping alliance together

The French air attack that so angered the Italians two days later grew from French President Nicolas Sarkozy's desire to launch an early, symbolic strike before the official start of the campaign. The White House did not object — Sarkozy had been a key advocate of military intervention, and French leadership on Libya had boosted the president's popularity at home.

But the other allies were wary. France had floated the idea of a command structure distinct from NATO, that would include some Arabs while excluding Germany and other opponents of intervention. Italy and Turkey, meanwhile, insisted on NATO control and threatened to boycott any other arrangement. The early French attack deepened suspicions by the two countries that Sarkozy harbored "hidden agendas and different agendas," as Turkish President Abdullah Gul would later say.

With the alliance threatening to unravel, Clinton focused on damage control. She spent hours on the phone and in person with Berlusconi and Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini, who eventually played crucial roles in providing air bases as staging grounds for attacks.

The details of the military command were ultimately decided in a four-way conference call between Clinton and Sarkozy, British Foreign Secretary William Hague and Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu.

Yet even as that conflict cooled, another one was erupting.

Several Arab states, including Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Jordan, had agreed to supply warplanes and pilots to the coalition in a symbolic show of support by Muslim countries for military action against Libya.

But three days into the bombing campaign, the Arabs appeared to be backing away, concerned by the possibility of a backlash in their own countries and angered by U.S. criticism of the Saudi-led military intervention in Bahrain to put down an uprising there. By March 24, Qatar's four promised jets still had not yet made an appearance over Libya, and the United Arab Emirates and Jordan had announced that they would provide only humanitarian assistance.

In a bid to woo the Arabs back into the alliance, Clinton spoke for 90 minutes by phone with Sheik Hamad bin Jassim Al-Thani, the Qatari foreign minister, while also making repeated calls to the UAE's Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan and to Jordan's King Abdullah II.

"This is important to the United States, it's important to the president and it's important to me, personally," Clinton told Arab leaders, according to one of the State Department official.

On March 25, Qatari-flagged Mirage 2000 jets flew their first sorties over Libya. All three countries eventually would supply military aircraft and experienced pilots to the Libyan campaign.

Getting past stalemate

The NATO-led air campaign quickly pushed Gaddafi's forces from Benghazi. But by May, the alliance's planes were patrolling front lines that barely moved.

In Washington and in Europe, the word "stalemate" began to creep into opinion columns as lawmakers, skeptical of U.S. policy in Libya, began threatening to block funds for military operations there. Meanwhile, a cash crunch also loomed for the rebels, who were unable to sell oil and were legally blocked from tapping into Gaddafi's overseas bank accounts. By early July, they had run out of money for weapons, food and other critical supplies:

Clinton, ignoring the advice of the State Department's lawyers, convinced Obama to grant full diplomatic recognition to the rebels, a move that allowed the Libyans access to billions of dollars from Gaddafi's frozen accounts. At a meeting in Istanbul on July 15, she pressed 30 other Western and Arab governments to make the same declaration.

"She brought everyone over at once," said a Western diplomat who attended the Istanbul meeting.

Tripoli fell five weeks later, after a relatively small U.S. expenditure of \$1 billion, and with no regular U.S. troops on the ground. In the air campaign, U.S. jets flew less than a third of the missions but supplied critical support in air refueling, surveillance and logistics for sorties flown by more than a dozen other nations.

Still, no hero's welcome

The political benefits to Clinton and Obama remain far from clear. To many Libyans and others in the Muslim world, the lasting impression from the campaign is that of a reluctant America, slow to intervene and happy to let others take the lead. While Sarkozy and British Prime Minister David Cameron were given heroes' welcomes during victory laps through Libya last month, Clinton was confronted during her recent Tripoli visit with questions about why the United States had not done more.

"Many people feel that the United States has taken a back seat," one student told her.

U.S. critics of the administration's policy say the administration's Libya policy, while ultimately successful, is emblematic of a slow and haphazard response to the Arab Spring uprisings.

"Earlier intervention might have prevented the conflict from ever reaching that dangerous precipice," said Michael Singh, a former senior director for Middle East affairs at the National Security Council under President George W. Bush. "There is a difference between building an international consensus and following one."

Clinton acknowledged that history's verdict on the Libyan intervention was far from assured and said that NATO's formula for aiding a popular uprising against a dictatorship may not be easily applied elsewhere.

"We need to assess where we are, what we accomplished together, what the costs were," Clinton said. Meanwhile, she said, "we do have to be more agile and flexible in dealing with a lot of the challenges we face, and we should be unembarrassed about that."

RELEASE UNDER FOIA
 B5, B6
 Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: H
Sent: Sunday, October 30, 2011 10:09 PM
To: 'jake.sullivan'; 'preines'
Cc: 'cheryl.mills'; Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: WaPo

B6

I'm sure I spoke w HBJ just not for 90 minutes.

----- Original Message -----

From: Jake Sullivan [mailto:];
Sent: Sunday, October 30, 2011 09:34 PM
To: preines;
Cc: H; CDM <cheryl.mills>; Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: WaPo

B6

B6

It says Juppe in the piece now, so it must have been fixed.

I don't know where he got the 90-minute call with HBJ from. PIR, you might ask him.

On 10/30/11, PIR <preines> wrote:

> Jake and I will review, and flag for Joby

B6

>

>

> -----Original Message-----

> From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>

B6

> Date: Sun, 30 Oct 2011 21:01:35

> To: 'preines';

> Cc: 'cheryl.mills';

> 'jake.sullivan';

Huma

> Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>

> Subject: Re: WaPo

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> Washington Post
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- > intervention, and French leadership on Libya had boosted the president's popularity at home.
- >
- > But the other allies were wary. France had floated the idea of a
- > command structure distinct from NATO, that would include some Arabs
- > while excluding Germany and other opponents of intervention. Italy and
- > Turkey, meanwhile, insisted on NATO control and threatened to boycott any other arrangement.
- > The early French attack deepened suspicions by the two countries that
- > Sarkozy harbored "hidden agendas and different agendas," as Turkish
- > President Abdullah Gul would later say.
- >
- > With the alliance threatening to unravel, Clinton focused on damage control.
- > She spent hours on the phone and in person with Berlusconi and Italian
- > Foreign Minister Franco Frattini, who eventually played crucial roles
- > in providing air bases as staging grounds for attacks.
- >
- > The details of the military command were ultimately decided in a
- > four-way conference call between Clinton and Sarkozy, British Foreign
- > Secretary William Hague and Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu.
- >
- > Yet even as that conflict cooled, another one was erupting.
- >
- > Several Arab states, including Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and
- > Jordan, had agreed to supply warplanes and pilots to the coalition in
- > a symbolic show of support by Muslim countries for military action against Libya.
- >
- > But three days into the bombing campaign, the Arabs appeared to be
- > backing away, concerned by the possibility of a backlash in their own

- > countries and angered by U.S. criticism of the Saudi-led military
- > intervention in Bahrain to put down an uprising there. By March 24,
- > Qatar's four promised jets still had not yet made an appearance over
- > Libya, and the United Arab Emirates and Jordan had announced that they would provide only humanitarian assistance.
- >
- > In a bid to woo the Arabs back into the alliance, Clinton spoke for 90
- > minutes by phone with Sheik Hamad bin Jassim Al-Thani, the Qatari
- > foreign minister, while also making repeated calls to the UAE's Sheikh
- > Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan and to Jordan's King Abdullah II.
- >
- > "This is important to the United States, it's important to the
- > president and it's important to me, personally," Clinton told Arab
- > leaders, according to one of the State Department official.
- >
- > On March 25, Qatari-flagged Mirage 2000 jets flew their first sorties
- > over Libya. All three countries eventually would supply military
- > aircraft and experienced pilots to the Libyan campaign.
- >
- > Getting past stalemate
- >
- > The NATO-led air campaign quickly pushed Gaddafi's forces from
- > Benghazi. But by May, the alliance's planes were patrolling front lines that barely moved.
- >
- > In Washington and in Europe, the word "stalemate" began to creep into
- > opinion columns as lawmakers, skeptical of U.S. policy in Libya, began
- > threatening to block funds for military operations there. Meanwhile, a
- > cash crunch also loomed for the rebels, who were unable to sell oil
- > and were legally blocked from tapping into Gaddafi's overseas bank
- > accounts. By early July, they had run out of money for weapons, food
- > and other critical supplies.
- >
- > Clinton, ignoring the advice of the State Department's lawyers,
- > convinced Obama to grant full diplomatic recognition to the rebels, a
- > move that allowed the Libyans access to billions of dollars from
- > Gaddafi's frozen accounts. At a meeting in Istanbul on July 15, she
- > pressed 30 other Western and Arab governments to make the same declaration.
- >
- > "She brought everyone over at once," said a Western diplomat who
- > attended the Istanbul meeting.
- >
- > Tripoli fell five weeks later, after a relatively small U.S.
- > expenditure of
- > \$1 billion, and with no regular U.S. troops on the ground. In the air
- > campaign, U.S. jets flew less than a third of the missions but
- > supplied critical support in air refueling, surveillance and logistics
- > for sorties flown by more than a dozen other nations.
- >
- > Still, no hero's welcome
- >
- > The political benefits to Clinton and Obama remain far from clear. To
- > many Libyans and others in the Muslim world, the lasting impression
- > from the campaign is that of a reluctant America, slow to intervene

> and happy to let others take the lead. While Sarkozy and British Prime
> Minister David Cameron were given heroes' welcomes during victory laps
> through Libya last month, Clinton was confronted during her recent
> Tripoli visit with questions about why the United States had not done more.
>
> "Many people feel that the United States has taken a back seat," one
> student told her.
>
> U.S. critics of the administration's policy say the administration's
> Libya policy, while ultimately successful, is emblematic of a slow and
> haphazard response to the Arab Spring uprisings.
>
> "Earlier intervention might have prevented the conflict from ever
> reaching that dangerous precipice," said Michael Singh, a former
> senior director for Middle East affairs at the National Security
> Council under President George W. Bush. "There is a difference between
> building an international consensus and following one."
>
> Clinton acknowledged that history's verdict on the Libyan intervention
> was far from assured and said that NATO's formula for aiding a popular
> uprising against a dictatorship may not be easily applied elsewhere.
>
> "We need to assess where we are, what we accomplished together, what
> the costs were," Clinton said. Meanwhile, she said, "we do have to be
> more agile and flexible in dealing with a lot of the challenges we
> face, and we should be unembarrassed about that."

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, November 04, 2011 11:24 PM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Marina print
Attachments: NDI for S review.docx

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Benaim, Daniel
Sent: Friday, November 04, 2011 09:21 PM
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: NDI for S review

Huma, here it is. Many thanks.

DB

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior
Reviewer

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, November 05, 2011 2:09 PM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Print Fw: NDI
Attachments: NDIv2 for S review.docx

RELEASE IN
PART B6

B6

From: Benaim, Daniel
Sent: Saturday, November 05, 2011 01:34 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Fw: NDI

My latest for S to read-- thanks for your help.

From: Daniel Benaim [REDACTED]
Sent: Saturday, November 05, 2011 01:32 PM
To: Benaim, Daniel
Subject: NDI

B6

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior
Reviewer

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, December 03, 2011 9:09 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED] B6
Subject: Marina print
Attachments: 120211 Panetta Remarks to Saban Forum.docx

RELEASE IN PART
B6

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara
Nielsen, Senior Reviewer

From: Abbaszadeh, Nima
Sent: Saturday, December 03, 2011 09:02 AM
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Hanley, Monica R; S_SpecialAssistants; Wells, Alice G; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Transcript of Panetta Remarks at Saban Forum

Huma: Attached and below is the transcript of Secretary Panetta's remarks last night at the opening session of the Saban Forum. His comments about Israel's growing isolation and his urging to "just get to the damn table" for peace talks have garnered some attention in today's press.

Thanks,
Nima

Remarks by Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta at the Saban Center December 2, 2011

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE LEON PANETTA: Thank you. Thank you very much for that kind introduction and thank you to my fellow Californian. Haim, Haim is someone who I think has really served his country by bringing the cause of the United States and Israel together. He has served that cause with tremendous distinction. He's provided vision and support for this very important conference.

But more broadly I'd like to thank you, Haim, for your commitment to strengthening the bond between the United States and Israel – a cause that is a key priority for me as secretary of defense. For that reason, it is truly an honor to be here tonight and to join all of you and so many distinguished guests in helping to open this year's Saban Forum.

My personal connection to Israel dates back to my days as a member of Congress. For more than 10 years I shared a house with a group of fellow congressmen right here in the District of Columbia. If you've seen the movie "Animal House," you'll have some idea of what this was like. (Laughter.)

One of the members of that exclusive fraternity was Chuck Schumer, someone that many of you know and that many of you understand has a tremendous passion for Israel that is

deep and infectious. We slept on the bottom of this house – the living room area – and every night before we went to sleep, he made me say the Shema. (Laughter.) I made him say the Hail Mary. (Laughter.) He learned from my passion as an Italian, and I learned from his passion for Israel, particularly when I think it was a little over 20 years ago he and I and some of our dearest friends had a chance to travel to Israel together.

That visit – I believe it was in August of '91 – left a very deep and lasting impression on me. At a time when hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Soviet Union were making Aliyah and fulfilling a dream to live a free and more prosperous life in their historic homeland, that trip gave me an even stronger appreciation for Israel's promise as a Jewish and democratic state. And coming just once after Saddam Hussein's SCUD missiles had attacked Tel Aviv and Haifa, the visit also underscored the complex array of security threats facing Israel by virtue of geography, by virtue of politics, and by virtue of history.

As chairman of the House Budget Committee and OMB director, I had the opportunity to work on budget issues regarding military assistance to Israel. And as a member of President Clinton's cabinet, as chief of staff, I had the opportunity to be present at that historic moment on the South Lawn when Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin shook hands in the effort to advance the peace process. And then, tragically, after Rabin's death I had the opportunity as President Clinton's chief of staff to fly with him so that he could pay tribute to the memory and to the dedication to peace of Rabin.

In the years since, as director of the CIA and now as the secretary of defense, I've worked closely with a number of Israeli leaders – the prime minister, many intelligence and military leaders, one of whom I understand is here this evening. Mayor Golan (ph), who I often work with at Mossad and I understand is participating in this forum. Ehud Barak is also a friend that I've known for years, and we've already had the opportunity to meet a number of times in our capacities and to discuss our shared efforts to strengthen Israel's security.

I was pleased to make my first trip to Israel as secretary of defense just a few weeks ago, and meet with Israeli leaders including my friend, Prime Minister Netanyahu. Over the course of my career, I have witnessed periods of great progress in these efforts, and periods of great challenge and uncertainty for Israel and our shared security interests in the region.

Yet nothing I have seen compares to the dramatic events of the past year – one of change, one of promise, one of uncertainty, one of turmoil; a year we hope of Arab awakening, a year of setback for al Qaeda, and a year we believe of frustration for Iran. Entrenched leaders were overthrown by peaceful protests in Tunisia and Egypt, and by force in Libya. In Yemen, President Saleh has agreed to step down. We believe it is a very positive development. And yet the terrorist threats from Yemen still persist, and extremists are seeking to gain a foothold across the region.

In Egypt, the country has held its first elections on the road to democratic transition – another positive step. But as we all know, Egypt will require great leadership in the weeks and

months ahead if it is to successfully transition to a fully civilian-controlled government that respects democratic principles and maintains all of its international commitments, including the treaty of peace with Israel.

On terrorism, repeated operations have decimated al Qaeda's leadership. Bin Laden, Awlaki, and many others have been successfully targeted by military and intelligence operations. Al Qaeda remains dangerous, make no mistake about it, but the world is safer as a result of these successes.

These largely positive trends were also accompanied by some dark ones. A discredited regime is still violently clinging to power in Syria, though the pressure against it is increasing dramatically each day. I want to condemn in the strongest possible terms the Bashar al-Assad regime's murder and torture of children that the U.N. reported this week in Geneva. Assad's conduct has deservedly brought scorn and pressure and punishing sanctions not just by the United States and Europe, but now by the Arab League and Turkey as well.

In addition, Iran's continued drive to develop nuclear capabilities, including troubling enrichment activities and past work on weaponization that has now been documented by the IAEA, and its continued support to groups like Hezbollah, Hamas, and other terrorist organizations make clear that the regime in Tehran remains a very grave threat to all of us.

All this upheaval – all of this upheaval is posing new challenges for Israel regarding its security position in the region. But in this time of understandable anxiety, I would like to underscore one thing that has stayed constant over the past three years of this administration: The determination of the United States to safeguard Israel's security. And that commitment will not change.

I want to be clear that Israel can count on three enduring pillars in U.S. policy in the region, all of which contribute directly to the safety and prosperity of the Israeli people. First, our unshakable commitment to Israel's security. Second, our broader commitment to regional stability. And third, our determination to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. (Applause.)

These are not merely rhetorical assurances. These are firm principles – principles that are backed up by tangible action, a commitment of resources, and demonstrable resolve. Let me explain what I mean in each of the areas I've just defined.

First, this administration has pursued and achieved unprecedented levels of defense cooperation with Israel to back up our unshakable commitment to Israel's security. Next year, the U.S. armed forces and the IDF will conduct the largest joint exercises in the history of that partnership, enhancing the ability of our militaries to operate together and also testing our new ballistic missile and rocket defense capabilities. Those new capabilities are themselves a product of this unprecedented defense cooperation.

We are especially proud that above and beyond the annual foreign military financing that we provide to Israel, the Obama administration has provided more than \$200 million for the Iron Dome rocket defense system – support that recently enabled the fielding of a third battery. This system – this system has already saved the lives of Israeli civilians facing rocket barrages from Gaza.

Our work together on these defense capabilities represents only one part of our core commitment to maintaining Israel's qualitative military edge – an advantage that we are determined to expand even further as we continue to enhance our defense cooperation.

As just one example, the United States will ensure that Israel continues to enjoy unquestioned air superiority by delivering to Israel the advanced fifth-generation fighter aircraft, the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter.

Yet we recognize that Israel's security cannot be achieved by its military arsenal alone. It also depends on the security and stability of the region, which is the second key pillar of U.S. policy. The success of our efforts in Iran permits us to redouble the long-term commitment of the United States to the security and stability of the Middle East. The Middle East is a vital interest to the United States, and we will not let our commitment to its security and stability waver. That is why we maintain a significant military presence throughout the region to defend our partners, to counter aggression, and to maintain the free flow of resources and commerce that are so vital to the fragile global economy.

The United States will continue to have some 40,000 troops in the region to support these goals. We are also implementing our long-term strategic partnership with Iraq, including security ties between our two militaries, facilitated by a robust Office of Security Cooperation that will start on January 1, 2012. And we are building a wider regional security architecture in the Gulf, forging bilateral and multilateral cooperation to confront the common challenges of terrorism, proliferation, ballistic missiles, maritime security, and threats to critical infrastructure.

No greater threat exists to the security and prosperity of the Middle East than a nuclear-armed Iran. And that's why the third pillar of our approach to this region – this critical region is our determination to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, and more broadly to deter its destabilizing activities, particularly those that could threaten the free flow of commerce throughout this vital region. That is a redline for the United States.

Our approach to countering the threat posed by Iran is focused on diplomacy, including organizing unprecedented sanctions and strengthening our security partnerships with key partners in the Gulf and in the broader Middle East.

Last September I met in New York with members of the Gulf Cooperation Council to underscore the importance of those partnerships. Iran must ultimately realize that its quest for nuclear weapons will make it less, not more, secure. These efforts are increasing Tehran's

isolation and I continue to believe that pressure – economic pressure, diplomatic pressure – and strengthened collective defenses are the right approach. Still, it is my department's responsibility to plan for all contingencies and to provide the president with a wide range of military options should they become necessary.

That is a responsibility I take very seriously because when it comes to the threat posed by Iran, the president has made it very clear that we have not taken any options off the table.

Our deliberate and focused approach to Iran, our efforts to enhance regional security and stability, and our unshakable commitment to Israel's security make clear that even at this time of great change, our determination to safeguard Israel's security is steady and sure. Indeed, it is stronger than ever.

But in every strong relationship built on trust, built on friendship, built on mutual security, it demands that both sides work towards the same common goals. And Israel, too, has responsibility to pursue our shared goals to build regional support for Israel and the United States' security objectives.

I believe security is dependent on a strong military, but it is also dependent on strong diplomacy. And unfortunately, over the past year we have seen Israel's isolation from its traditional security partners in the region grow, and the pursuit of a comprehensive Middle East peace has effectively been put on hold. I want to be clear: This isolation is due to a number of factors. Indeed, there is an international campaign underway to isolate Israel. President Obama has stood steadfastly in the way of that effort, especially in the United Nations. But I have never known an Israeli government, or an Israeli for that matter, to be passive about anything, let alone this troubling trend. And so I've been working with the leaders there, Minister Barak and others, to find ways to help Israel take steps which are profoundly in its interests.

For example, Israel can reach out and mend fences with those who share an interest in regional stability – countries like Turkey and Egypt, as well as Jordan. This is an important time to be able to develop and restore those key relationships in this crucial area. This is not impossible. If gestures are rebuked, the world will see those rebukes for what they are. That is exactly why Israel should pursue them.

Like all of you, I've been deeply troubled by the direction of the Turkish-Israeli relationship. Turkey is a key NATO ally and has proven to be a real partner in our effort to support democratic change and stand against authoritarian regimes that use violence against their own people. It is in Israel's interest, Turkey's interest, and U.S. interest, for Israel to reconcile with Turkey. And both Turkey and Israel need to do more to put their relationship back on the right track. That's a message I've taken to Jerusalem, and it's a message I'll be taking to Ankara later this month.

Meanwhile, even as turmoil continues to rock the region, Egypt's current leaders, along with Jordan, have made very clear to me privately and publicly that they are committed to their

peace treaties with Israel. We have been clear to all parties in Egypt that sustaining a peace treaty with Israel is in the critical interests of the United States. While we share Israel's legitimate concerns about instability in the Sinai Peninsula and the attack on the Israeli embassy in Cairo, the best way to address these concerns is through increasing communication and cooperation – increasing communication and cooperation with Egyptian authorities, not by stepping away from it.

Diplomacy – the real essence of diplomacy is not that you have to love one another. The essence of diplomacy is that you respect each other so that you can talk to each other when you must.

I also remain firm in the belief that it is profoundly in Israel's long-term security interest to lean forward on efforts to achieve peace with the Palestinians. I was pleased to see the Israeli government announce that it will release the tax revenues to the Palestinian Authority, averting a situation that would have undermined Israel's security and damaged the important institution-building work of Prime Minister Fayyad and strengthened the hands of extremist Palestinian factions.

Rather than undermining the Palestinian Authority, it is in Israel's interest to strengthen it by contributing and continuing to transfer Palestinian tax revenues and pursuing other avenues of cooperation. For example, the security cooperation between Israel, the Palestinians, the U.S. security forces led by United States security coordinator Lieutenant General Mike Muller, has paid real dividends. Israel should look for ways to bolster this cooperation. And President Abbas must take the difficult steps to do exactly the same thing.

Ultimately, the dream of a secure, prosperous, Jewish and democratic Israel can only be achieved with two states living side by side in peace and in security with full confidence that the United States is willing and capable of ensuring that Israel can safeguard its security as it takes the risks needed to pursue peace. Now is the time for Israel to take bold action and to move towards a negotiated two-state solution.

I recognize that there is a view that this is not the time to pursue peace and that the Arab awakening further imperils the dream of a safe and secure, Jewish and democratic Israel. But I disagree with that view. I believe Israel will ultimately be safer when other Middle Eastern states adopt governments that respond to their people, promote equal rights, promote free and fair elections, uphold their international commitments, and join the community of free and democratic nations.

I believe it is the only real long-term path to security and prosperity and to realize the vision of Yitzhak Rabin for a sustainable peace in the Middle East.

Peace requires some difficult steps. And, yes, it will involve risks. But my Italian father used to say that you cannot achieve anything worthwhile without taking risks. All Israelis

should know that the United States will always stand behind their country, providing a secure safety net as it takes those necessary risks.

I would close by noting that last year, speaking at this forum, my friend Ehud Barak recalled the famous statement by Winston Churchill, who said, and I quote, "A pessimist sees the difficulty in every opportunity. An optimist sees opportunity in every difficulty," unquote.

There are risks. There are risks in the changes taking place across this critical region, but we will work with Israel to reduce and to mitigate those risks in the effort to achieve something worthwhile in that region. But even as we have seen the challenges across the region grow in this past year, I would urge my Israeli and American friends to remember these words, to see these changes as an opportunity and to take the steps needed to secure our shared interests for peace in the long term. To secure that peace, Israel will always have the unshakable backing of the United States. And the United States must always have the unshakable trust of Israel.

That bond – that bond is the fundamental key to stability and hope in the Middle East, and it is a bond that must never be broken.

Thank you. (Applause.)

KENNETH POLLACK: Thank you very much, Secretary Panetta. We've already collected a number of questions. Please feel free to continue to provide some.

Mr. Secretary, you probably won't be surprised to hear that a great many questions I already have are all related to the same topic. That said, you probably would be surprised that most of those are about the personal life of Chuck Schumer. (Laughter.) I'll see if I can find something else to do here other than Chuck Schumer's personal life.

Iran. Iran is growing more and more aggressive, encouraging attacks on U.S. forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, threatening Israel, thumbing their noses at sanctions in the U.N., backing Syria, and now trying to kill the Saudi ambassador to the U.S. here in the U.S.

What level of Iranian aggressiveness should make us pick up the military option from off the table?

SEC. PANETTA: Well, as I said, we have to approach this – as the president said, with all options on the table. But at this point we believe that the combination of economic and diplomatic sanctions that have been placed upon Iran have had a serious impact. That Iran is isolating itself from the rest of the world. It is truly becoming, particularly as a result of the attack on the British Embassy, a pariah in that region. Their own government is off balance in terms of really trying to establish any kind of stability even within Iran.

The combination of that and efforts to make sure that they do not develop a nuclear capability – all of those efforts are having an impact. We have a common goal here. Let's understand we have a common goal. The common goal is an Iran that does not develop a

nuclear weapon. And working together, working with Israel, working with our allies in the region, working with the international community to continue to isolate, to continue to put pressure on, is an effort that we must continue. That's the best way to put pressure on them. It's the best way to, I believe, ultimately weaken this nation so that ultimately they have to make a decision about whether they continue to be a pariah or whether they decide to join the international community.

We always – as Prime Minister Netanyahu said, force should be only a last resort, and if that is truly the case, then I believe it is incumbent on us to implement all of our diplomatic and economic pressure as possible to try to continue this effort to make clear to the world that we are dealing with an international pariah in Iran.

MR. POLLACK: Mr. Secretary, Egypt is undergoing an historic change, but there is no guarantee it will be a positive one. How can America use its strong relationship with Egypt's military to ensure a good outcome there?

SEC. PANETTA: I think it is important to continue to work closely with the Israeli leadership at this time in order to ensure that they do move forward with the democratic reforms that they have promised their people. They have in fact now implemented elections. Those elections have taken place. We have rolling elections and they will go on for the next few months. At some point they will establish a constitutional change and at some point this next year they will have a presidential election.

What we should be about is to ensure that they stay on course and that they continue the efforts to move forward to implement these democratic reforms. In many ways – look, the Egyptians have to decide their future, and they have to try to implement this in a way that fulfills the promise of the revolution that took place at the time that Mubarak was brought down.

Our best course is to continue to put pressure on them to make sure that they stand by the promises that they made to the Egyptian people that they will implement these changes and convert to civilian control. That's something we'll do and when they do form a government, we have an obligation to stay with them to make sure that they abide by the commitment to respect the treaty that was signed with Israel and that they abide by the other redlines that we've established with regards to Egypt.

MR. POLLACK: Mr. Secretary, the U.S. backed – intervened in Libya to stop the regime from killing its people. Why not in Syria?

SEC. PANETTA: You know, I think I've been asked this question a number of times, as do others. You can't simply take a cookie-cutter approach to that region and decide that – I mean, apply force in one area, you know, makes sense in another area. I think right now my sense is that, by virtue, again, of the economic and diplomatic sanctions the international

community has imposed, the fact that the Arab League has imposed sanctions, the fact that Turkey is imposing sanctions – all of this I think is, again, isolate the government in Syria.

And, you know, I can't tell you when, but clearly it's a matter of time before Assad is taken off of his position of leadership in Syria.

We are – I mean, it is tragic, obviously, that there are people who are dying, but the key right now is to continue to put pressure on him, to continue the international unity that is continuing to make the effort to replace Assad. That, I think, is working. It's working effectively. Let's give that some time and we will always join the international community if it's felt that further steps are necessary.

MR. POLLACK: Because of America's disastrous economic situation, a lot of people and a lot of presidential candidates are talking about cutting off all U.S. foreign aid. As secretary of defense, how do you think this would affect American and Israeli security?

SEC. PANETTA: Well, you're coming into a town right now in which my greatest concern is with regards to leadership on Capitol Hill and its ability to deal with the issues that confront this country. You know, I served in the Congress and I've served in administrations. I – my time in the Congress – I always felt that while there were always political differences, that when it came to national issues, both parties would work together to try to compromise and find solutions, particularly to the crises that face this country. \

We are at a time now when for whatever reason there seems to be an inability to be able find those essential compromises in order to govern this country. If I had men and women who were putting their lives on the line, who were fighting and dying for this country in battle and they had the courage to do that, then surely our elected leaders on Capitol Hill ought to be able to find just a little bit of courage to find the solutions to help solve the problems in this country. (Applause.)

Now, when it comes to – I've indicated my concerns about this approach on sequestration where because of the failure of the committee of 12 to be able to find the necessary deficit reduction that they were required to do, they've now implemented this automatic trigger that will take effect not now but in January of 2013. I've indicated, obviously, that if it's put into effect, it would decimate our national defense and tear a seam in our ability to effectively defend this country.

But at the same time, I'm also concerned about what it does on the domestic side of the question. National security is not just dependent on military power. It's dependent on diplomatic power. It's dependent on the State Department being able to provide foreign aid, being able to work with countries, being able to provide development money, being able to provide education money. It's also dependent, frankly, on the quality of life in this country – to educate our kids, to provide health care. All of that is part of our national security. And it's for that reason that I think it's essential that the leadership of the country find the solutions to

dealing with the deficit without having America have to pay a price that it will regret in the future. (Applause.)

MR. POLLACK: Mr. Secretary, how long do you believe a military attack on Iran would postpone it from getting a bomb?

SEC. PANETTA: Part of the problem here is the concern that at best, I think – talking to my friends – the indication is that at best it might postpone it maybe one, possibly two years. It depends on the ability to truly get the targets that they're after. Frankly, some of those targets are very difficult to get at.

That kind of, that kind of shot would only, I think, ultimately not destroy their ability to produce an atomic weapon, but simply delay it – number one. Of greater concern to me are the unintended consequences, which would be that ultimately it would have a backlash and the regime that is weak now, a regime that is isolated would suddenly be able to reestablish itself, suddenly be able to get support in the region, and suddenly instead of being isolated would get the greater support in a region that right now views it as a pariah.

Thirdly, the United States would obviously be blamed and we could possibly be the target of retaliation from Iran, striking our ships, striking our military bases. Fourthly – there are economic consequences to that attack – severe economic consequences that could impact a very fragile economy in Europe and a fragile economy here in the United States.

And lastly I think that the consequence could be that we would have an escalation that would take place that would not only involve many lives, but I think could consume the Middle East in a confrontation and a conflict that we would regret.

So we have to be careful about the unintended consequences of that kind of an attack.

MR. POLLACK: Mr. Secretary, a quick follow-up on this comment. Obviously – capable American policy towards an Iranian nuclear weapon – (inaudible) – also be consequences of Iran firing a nuclear weapon. What do you think the consequences of Iran's acquisition of a nuclear weapon would be and why do you – (inaudible)?

SEC. PANETTA: Well, you know, again, as I made clear, this is a common goal. This is something that the United States, Israel, the international community does not want Iran to obtain a nuclear weapon. Why? Because obviously Iran's entire effort of using the IRGC, supplying terrorists in the world, underlining governments throughout the world, clearly supporting terrorists in part of the world – a nuclear weapon would be devastating if they had that capability.

In addition, once Iran gets a nuclear weapon, then they're not – you will have an arms race in the Middle East. What's to stop Saudi Arabia from getting a nuclear weapon? What's to stop other countries from getting nuclear weapons in that part of the world? Suddenly we

have an escalation of these horrible weapons that, you know, I think create even greater devastation in the Middle East.

So a key for all of us – for all of us is to work together – together – to ensure that that does not happen. We have made good progress in these efforts. We continue to make good progress in these efforts. That's where we ought to continue to put our pressures, our efforts, our diplomatic, our economic, experts working together to make sure that that does not happen.

You always have as a last resort – as the prime minister said – the last resort of military action, but it must be the last resort, not the first.

MR. POLLACK: Mr. Panetta, is the chief priority of U.S. policy toward Iran to moderate the nuclear ambitions of the Iranian regime, or to change the Iranian regime? Will this regime be willing to change its behavior?

SEC. PANETTA: I think the effort that we're concerned about is to make sure that Iran does not obtain a nuclear weapon, first. Secondly, we would like to have an Iran that becomes part of the international community and that it decides that it is going to engage with the rest of the world, as opposed to isolating itself, as opposed to supporting terrorists, as opposed to trying to influence and support those that attack our country and attack others in that region.

That is our fundamental goal – to try to ensure that we have an Iran that becomes part of the international community and that understands its obligations as part of the international community. But most importantly – most importantly – we have to do everything we can to make sure that they never obtain a nuclear weapon.

MR. POLLACK: Back to Egypt, Egypt just had elections, as you discussed, obviously Islamists and particularly Salafist parties did very well in that election. Do you believe this was – this unexpected rise of the extreme religious right in Egypt is a threat to regional security? What would U.S. policy towards an Egypt which is controlled – (inaudible)?

SEC. PANETTA: Well, I guess we can all jump to conclusions, right now, but I think we need to let this play out a little bit. This is the first part of a rolling election. Clearly we need to see what the results are of this first part of the election. They haven't been announced yet. We'll probably get a formal announcement tomorrow. And then they have additional elections that will take place in the parliament that will occur throughout the rest of Egypt. We then will have an election for the upper body that will take place. We then will have, you know, as a consequence of that, a constitution will come together and then we'll have a presidential election.

I mean, all of that will take place. All of that occurs. This is a democracy. In democracies, we have to allow the Egyptian people to express themselves in that process, and ultimately the pressures within a democracy will have some impact as to its direction. For our purposes, when they come to the conclusion of this process, the United States has to engage

with whatever government is established in Egypt and ensure that they abide by their obligations, ensure that they abide by the treaty with Israel, ensure that they abide by international standards, ensure that they continue to be a partner to us in that part of the world.

That's what democracy is all about. Let's give it a chance because they are at the beginning of this process, not at the end.

MR. POLLACK: And this will have to be your last question. Mr. Secretary, you made a strong statement about Israel's responsibility towards peace. What steps should it take now? Withdraw the Israeli army from the Palestinian territories? It's a suggestion and a question. It's a suggestion in the form of a question.

SEC. PANETTA: Just get to the damn table. Just get to the table. (Applause.) The problem right now is we can't get them to the damn table to at least sit down and begin to discuss their differences – you know, we all know what the pieces are here for a potential agreement. We've talked it out, worked through, we understand the concerns, we understand the concerns of Israel, understand the concerns of the Palestinians. If they sit at a table and work through those concerns, and the United States can be of assistance in that process, then I think you have the beginning of what could be a process that would lead to a peace agreement.

But if they aren't there – if they aren't at the table, this will never happen. So first and foremost, get to the damn table. (Applause.)

MR. POLLACK: Mr. Secretary, thank you so much. (Inaudible.)

From: H
Sent: **RELEASE IN PART B5, B6** Wednesday, April 04, 2012 7:21 AM B6
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin; 'preines'
Cc: 'Valmorolj@state.gov'; 'monica.hanley'; 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Libya B5

Does [] have copy of Warrick article? Pls be sure he does before I see him.

----- Original Message -----

From: H B6
Sent: Wednesday, April 04, 2012 07:18 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; Huma Abedin; 'preines'
Cc: 'Valmorolj@state.gov' <Valmorolj@state.gov>; 'monica.hanley';
'Russorv@state.gov' <Russorv@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Libya

We also need phone records and meetings w Arabs and work on Arab League resolution. The Joby Warrick piece from 10/30/11 includes more detail than our own timeline.

----- Original Message -----

From: H B6
Sent: Wednesday, April 04, 2012 07:16 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; Huma Abedin; 'preines'
Cc: 'Valmorolj@state.gov' <Valmorolj@state.gov>; 'monica.hanley';
'Russorv@state.gov' <Russorv@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Libya

Adding Lona, Monica and Rob who have my scheduling records. What bothers me is that S/P prepared the timeline but it doesn't include much of what I did. So where did they get info? This is example of my continuing concern that we don't have our records ready.

----- Original Message -----

From: H B6
Sent: Wednesday, April 04, 2012 07:12 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; Huma Abedin; 'preines'
Subject: Re: Libya

This timeline is totally inadequate (which bothers me about our recordkeeping). For example, I was in Paris on 3/19 when attack started. That's not on timeline. What else is missing? Pls go over it asap.

----- Original Message -----

From: H B6
Sent: Wednesday, April 04, 2012 07:09 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; Huma Abedin; 'preines'
Subject: Libya

Did I meet in Paris w Jabril (brought to hotel by BHL) on 3/14? It's not on timeline.

REVIEW
AUTHORITY:
Barbara
Nielsen,
Senior
Reviewer

From: H
Sent: Monday, May 28, 2012 2:19 PM
To: 'ValmoroLj@state.gov'
Cc: Huma Abedin; 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Schedule

RELEASE IN PART
 B5,B6

B5

I'd like to do the [] sometime btw 12:40-1:40 in case I want to stay longer at WH.

Are we set w Barbara at 7 and Isabelle at 7:30?

REVIEW AUTHORITY:
 Barbara Nielsen,
 Senior Reviewer

From: Valmoro, Lona J [mailto:ValmoroLJ@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, May 28, 2012 02:08 PM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Subject: Schedule

MS, please find a final draft for tomorrow. Thank you!

7:30 am **PHONE CALL w/JORDANIAN FM NASSER JUDEH**
 Private Residence

Note: Ops will connect the call to the residence.

8:25 am **DEPART Private Residence**
 En route State Department
 [drive time: 10 minutes]

8:35 am **ARRIVE State Department**

8:35 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
 8:40 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
 9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **"MONDAY" MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
 10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:00 am **FLAG CEREMONY FOR NEA ASSISTANT SECRETARY JEFF**
 10:15 am **FELTMAN**
 Deputy Secretary's Outer Office
 Contact: Julie Sawyer Office 202-647-8690
 Staff: Claire
 Call Time: 10:00am-10:15am
CLOSED PRESS (State Department photographer)

Note: Approximately 10 persons expected including Feltman Family.

- HRC to present Distinguished Service Award and Medal.

10:15 am **GROUP PHOTO w/VISITING MIDDLE EAST DEMOCRACY**

10:20 am

ACTIVISTS

Treaty Room

Contact: Charles Kiamie (NEA) Tel. 6-8841,

Staff: Claire

CAMERA SPRAY

B6

Note: No interpretation; NEA Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary Thomas Vajda, DRL Deputy Assistant Secretary Kathleen Fitzpatrick, and NEA Charles Kiamie to attend.

Syracuse University Participants:

Ibrahim Yousif Shebani (Libya)
Nivin Safwat AbdelMeguid (Egypt)
Ayman Abusamra (Gaza)
Raghda Abushahla (Gaza)
Muna Abbas Ali AlBuloushi (Kuwait)
Shadin Hamaideh (Jordan)
Reem Yousuf AlHarami (Qatar)
Shadha Hussein Al-Harazi (Yemen)
Abdullah M. Al-Riyami (Oman)
Rida Anabosi (Israel)
Syrine Ayadi (Tunisia)
Emna Ben Yedder (Tunisia)
Samah Elmeri (Libya)
Dala Misbah Ghandour (Lebanon)
Hachelaf AbdelHakim (Algeria)
Mirelle Karam Halim (Egypt)
Mohammed Masbah (Morocco)
Hussein Jasim Mohamed (Iraq)
Salma Nazzal (West Bank)
Joumana Seif (Syria)

10:25 am

PRE-BRIEF FOR TAPED INTERVIEWS

10:30 am

Secretary's Outer Office

10:30 am

TAPED ON-CAMERA INTERVIEW w/DONNA ZACCARO ULLMAN

11:00 am

FOR "PAVING THE WAY: THE LIFE AND IMPACT OF GERALDINE FERRARO"

James Madison Room, 8th Floor

Contact/Staff: Philippe Reines

Note: Interview expected to be 15-20 minutes in length.

11:00 am

**TAPED ON-CAMERA INTERVIEW w/BRETT LOTREIT FOR THE
HISTORY CHANNEL'S DOCUMENTARY ON NELSON MANDELA,
"MIRACE UNDER AFRICAN SKIES"**

11:30 am

James Monroe Room, 8th Floor

Contact/Staff: Philippe Reines

Note: Interview expected to be 20 minutes in length.

11:30 am

**TAPED ON-CAMERA INTERVIEW w/SUE SUMMERS FOR HBO/BBC'S
DOCUMENTARY ON AUNG SAN SUU KYI**

12:00 pm

Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

Contact/Staff: Philippe Reines

Note: Interview expected to be 20 minutes in length.

12:00 pm

TAPE ON-CAMERA INTERVIEW w/GREG BARKER FOR HBO'S

12:30 pm

DOCUMENTARY ON PETER BERGEN'S "MANHUNT"

Jefferson Room, 8th Floor

Thomas

Contact/Staff: Philippe Reines

Note: Interview expected to be 20 minutes in length.

12:30 pm
12:40 pm

VIDEOS

Marshall Room, 7th Floor

Contact/Staff: Case Button (S/P) Tel. 7-9943

- Vital Voices's Annual Dinner
- 9/11 Video Honoring the Workers of Ground Zero

12:40 pm
1:40 pm

OFFICE TIME

Secretary's Office

1:40 pm
2:00 pm

MEETING w/SPEECH TEAM

Secretary's Outer Office

2:00 pm
2:20 pm

MEETING w/MRS. JUDY GROSS

Secretary's Outer Office

Contacts: Cari Enav (WHA) Tel. 7-7480

Veronica Scarborough (WHA) Tel. 7-7050

George Ward (WHA) Tel. 7-8764; Cell [REDACTED]

B6

CLOSED PRESS

Note: WHA to greet and escort.

Staff:

S Staff Cheryl Mills

P Under Secretary Wendy Sherman

WHA Assistant Secretary Roberta Jacobson

WHA Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary Peter Brennan

CA Deputy Assistant Secretary Jim Pettit

Participants:

Mrs. Judy Gross

Peter Kahn, Attorney

2:35 pm

DEPART State Department

En route White House

[drive time: 5 minutes]

2:40 pm

ARRIVE White House

2:45 pm
3:15 pm

WEEKLY MEETING w/POTUS

Oval Office

Contact: Jessica Wright Office [REDACTED]

B6

CLOSED PRESS

3:20 pm
4:20 pm

POTUS PRESENTATION OF PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM

East Room

Contact: Claudia McNamara (WH Social Office) Tel. [REDACTED]

B6

Call Time: 3:00pm-4:20pm

OPEN PRESS

Note: Approximately 200 guests; reception to follow at approximately 4:20pm in the Grand Foyer and State Dining Room.

4:25 pm

DEPART White House

En route State Department

[drive time: 5 minutes]

4:30 pm

ARRIVE State Department

5:00 pm

[REDACTED]

B5

5:30 pm

Secretary's Outer Office

5:35 pm

DEPART State Department
En route White House
[drive time: 5 minutes]

5:40 pm

ARRIVE White House

B5

5:45 pm

[REDACTED]

7:15 pm

[REDACTED]

Contact: Joan Perkins (S/ES) Tel. 7-9936
CLOSED PRESS

7:20 pm

DEPART White House
En route Private Residence
[drive time: 15 minutes]

7:35 pm

ARRIVE Private Residence

HRC RON

Washington, DC

WJC RON

Chappaqua, NY

Weather:

Washington, DC: Thundershowers, 86/73.

Lona Valmoro

Special Assistant to Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton

(202) 647-9071 (direct)

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 7:15 AM
To: 'Humamabedir' [redacted]
Subject: Fw: HRC @ CSIS - v8
Attachments: HRC @ CSIS - v8.doc

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Pls print.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [<mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov>]
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 07:12 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: HRC @ CSIS - v8

Here you go

From: Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 01:30 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: HRC @ CSIS - v8

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen, Senior
Reviewer

RELEASE IN PART B5

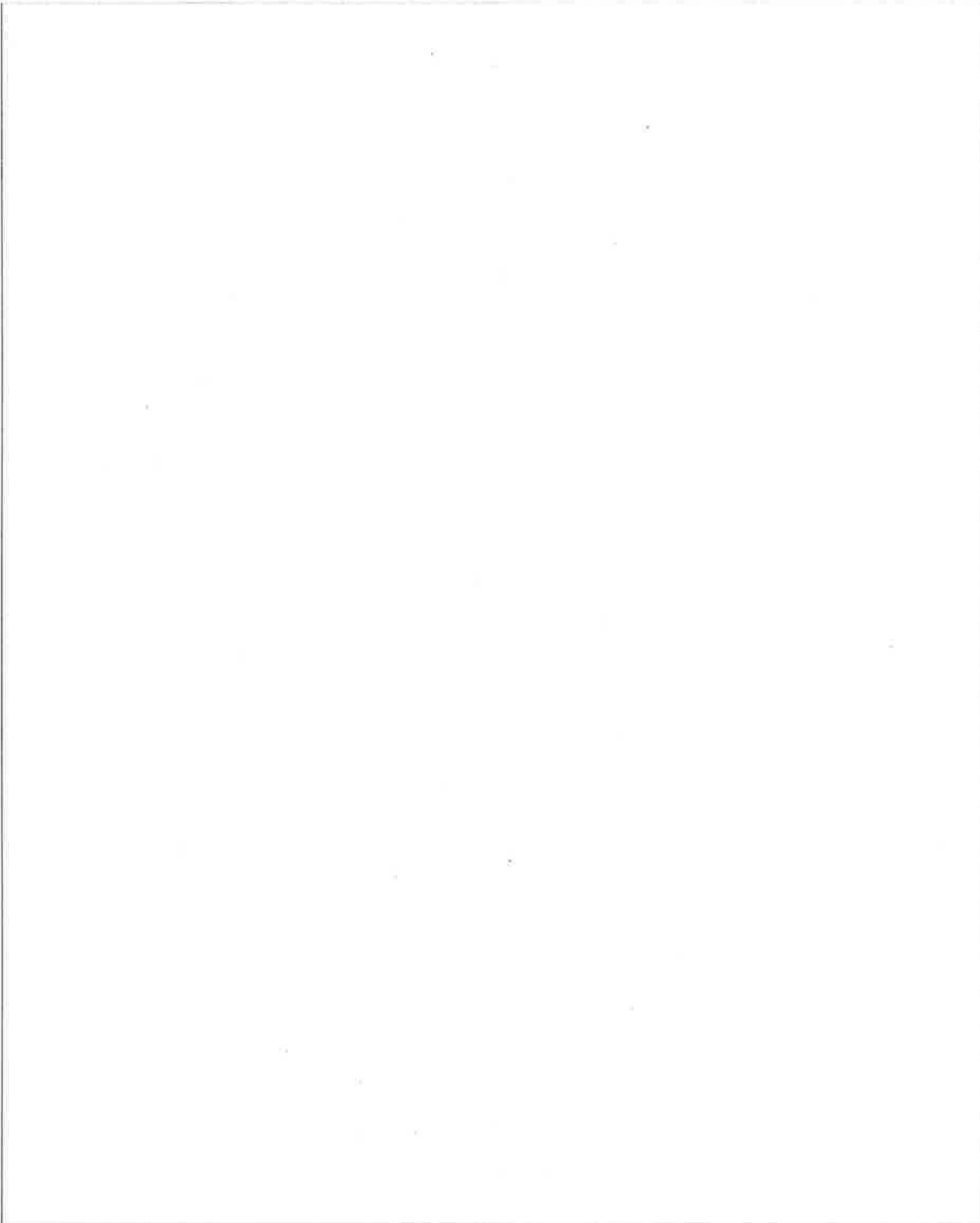
REVIEW AUTHORITY:
Barbara Nielsen,
Senior Reviewer

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS ON THE MAGHREB IN TRANSITION
AT THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
WASHINGTON, DC
OCTOBER 12, 2012

B5

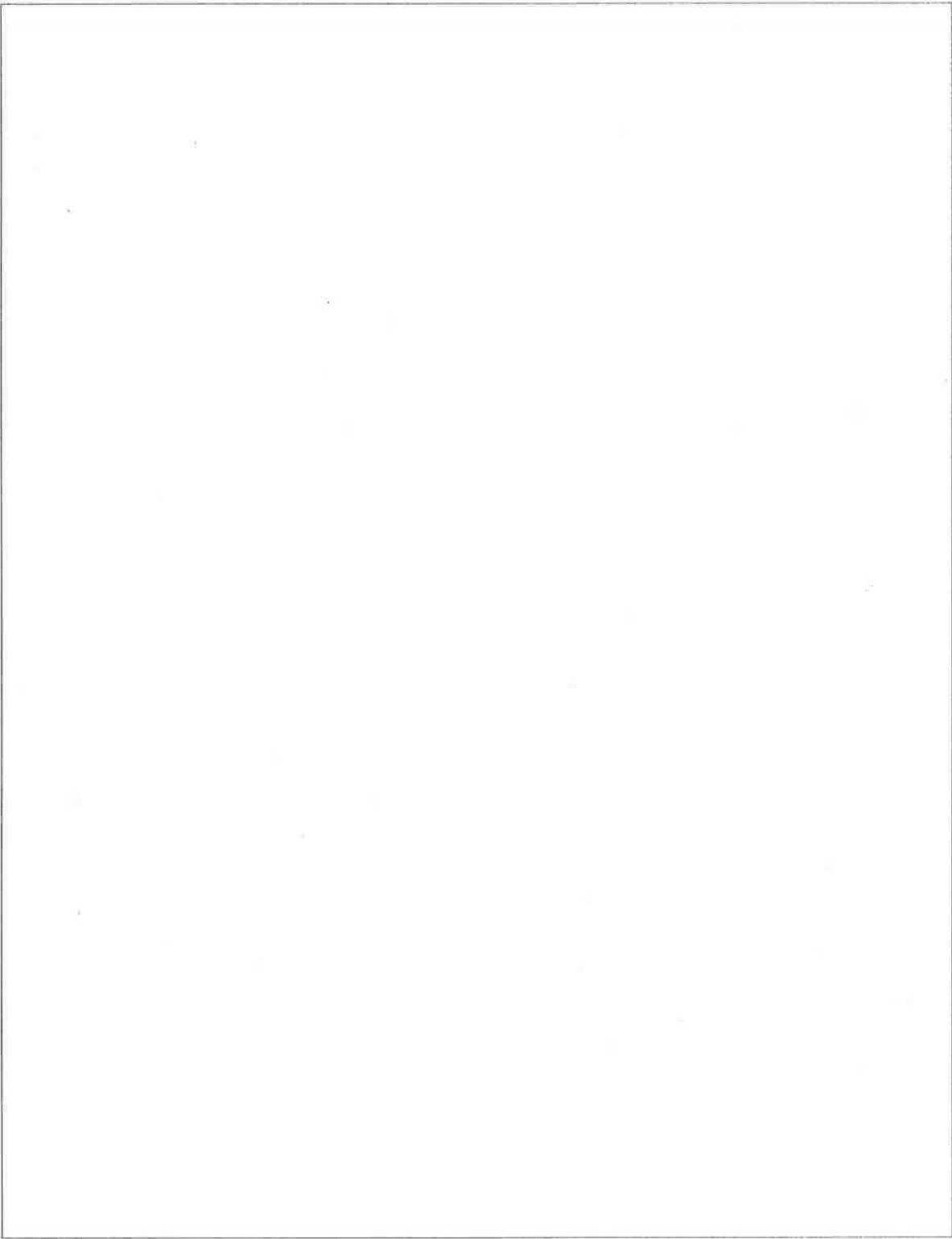


B5



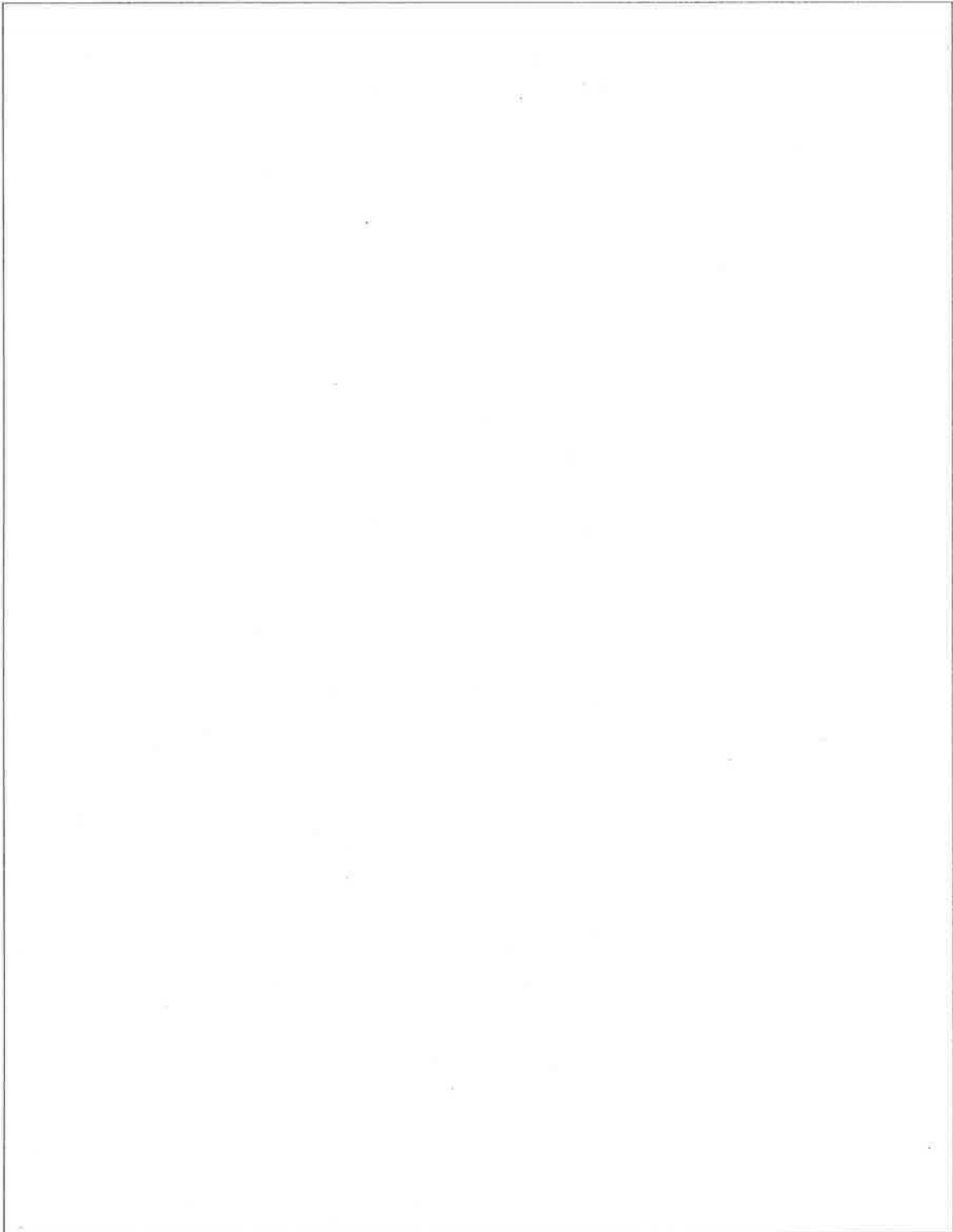


B5



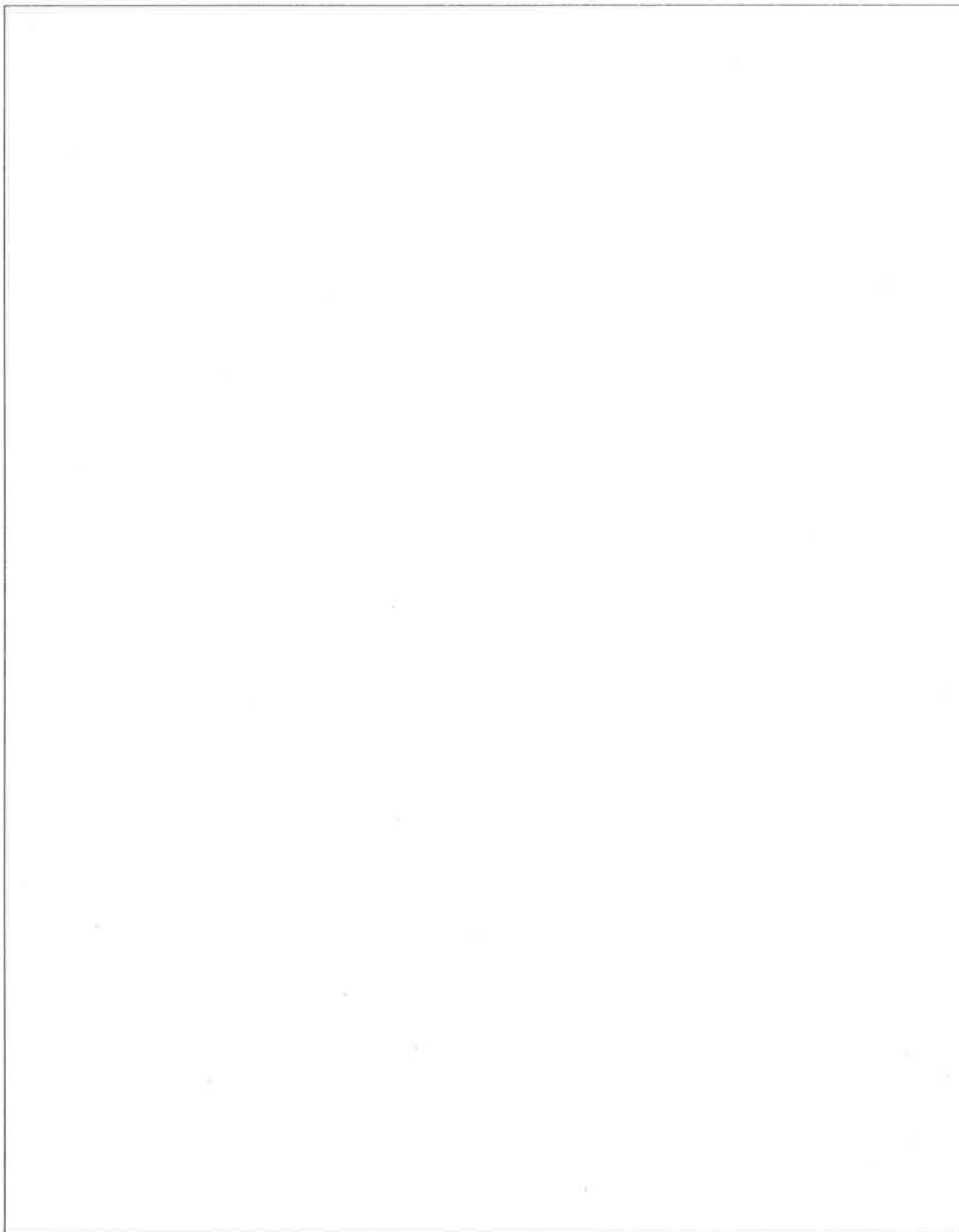


B5





B5



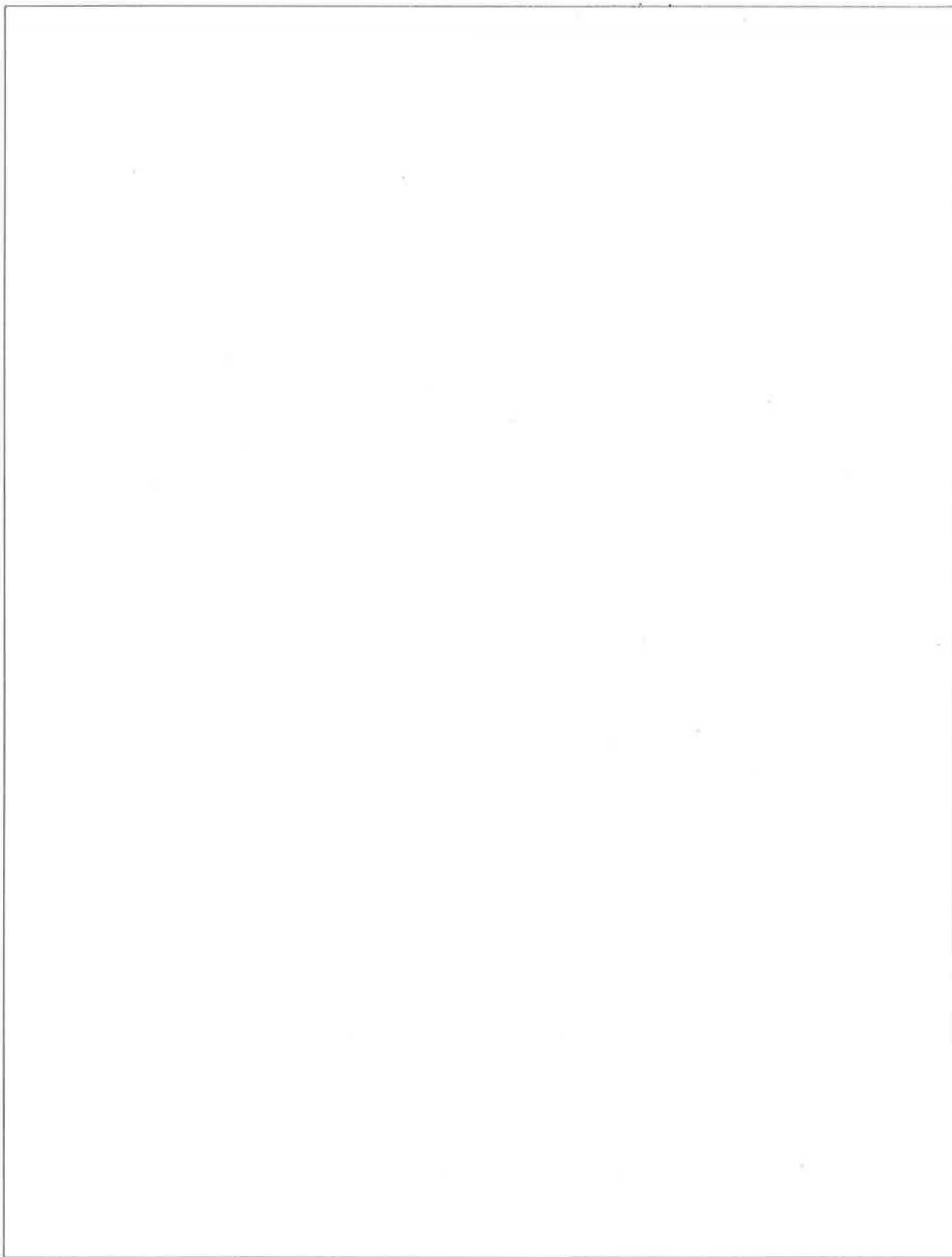


B5





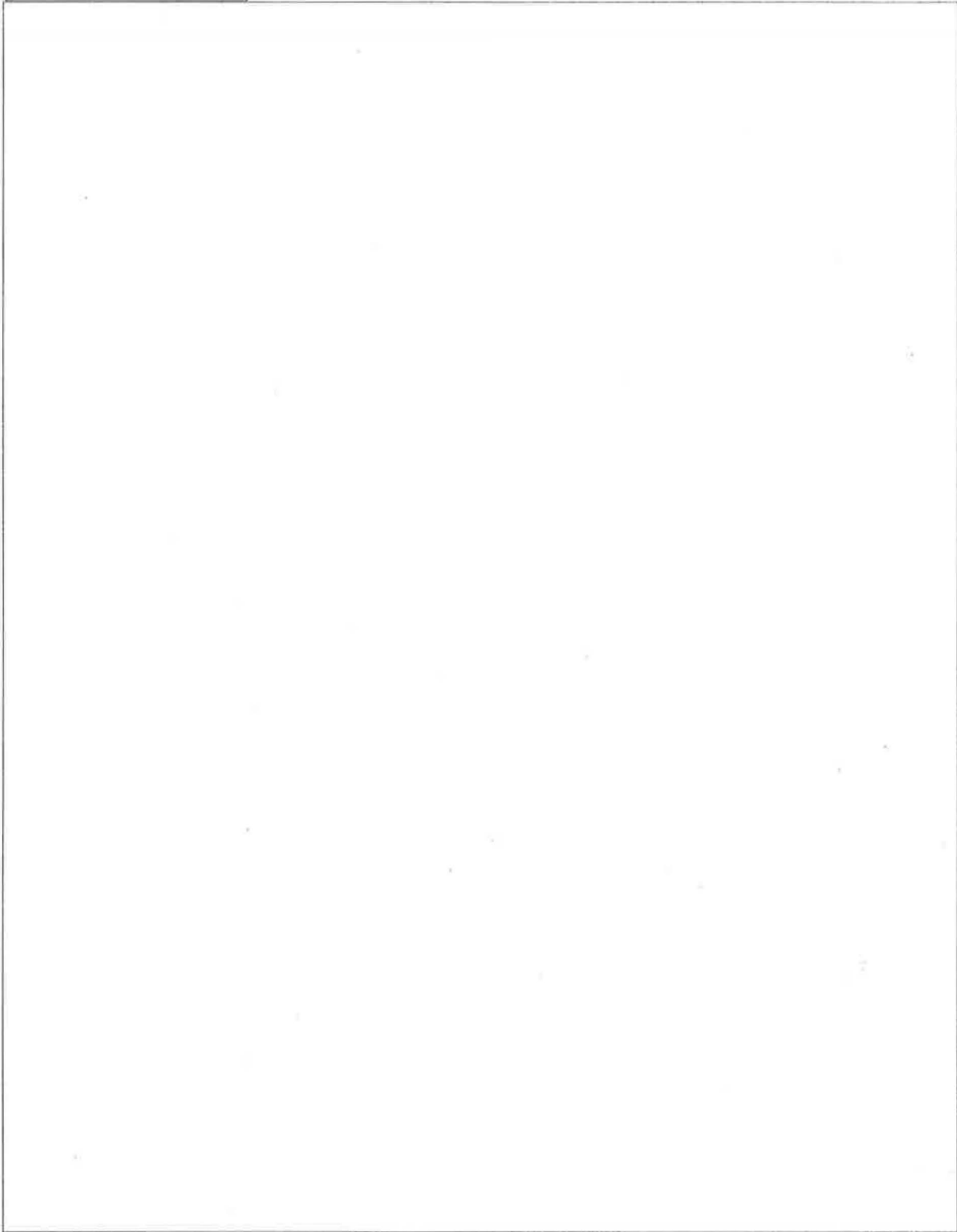
B5



B5



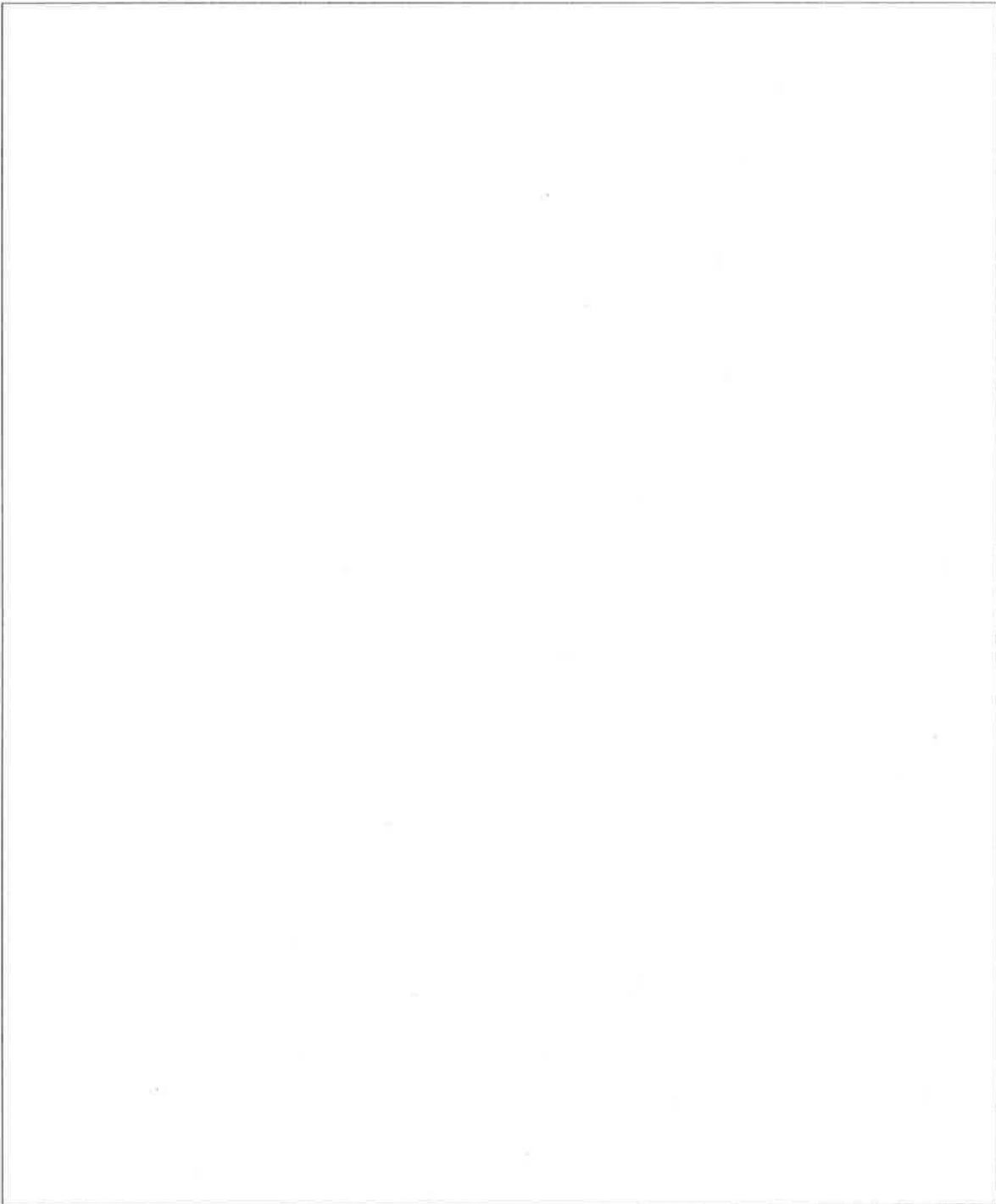
B5



B5



B5



B5



From: H
Sent: Saturday, October 20, 2012 10:35 AM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: <no subject>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Pls thank him for me.

----- Original Message -----

From: Huma Abedin
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2012 04:52 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: <no subject>

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Barbara Nielsen,
Senior Reviewer

A few people have said this to me today. Am sure you are hearing it a lot.

----- Original Message -----

From: Rick Jasculca [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2012 04:48 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: <no subject>

B6

Huma, I think you know how much I, and our entire family, loves Hillary as a friend. She has long been both a hero and role model in our world.

But, it took some special kind of courage to step to the plate and take responsibility for what happened in Benghazi.

At a time when there is literally no moral or political courage being demonstrated anywhere, it seems somehow appropriate that, in the same week, both Malala and Hillary stood tall.

I have never been more proud to call Hillary a friend, and I'd appreciate it if you could share that with her.

Much love,

Grandpa Rick

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 4:00 PM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Fw: ARB letter - v7
Attachments: 2012-12-18 ARB letter - v7 - cdm.docx

B6

REVIEW
AUTHORITY:
Barbara Nielsen,
Senior Reviewer

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 03:49 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: FW: ARB letter - v7

Clean version

From: Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 3:03 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Johnson, Brock A
Subject: RE: ARB letter - v7

Fixed. Here's a clean version with all changes accepted.

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 3:02 PM
To: Schwerin, Daniel B; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Johnson, Brock A
Subject: RE: ARB letter - v7

yes

From: Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 2:55 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Johnson, Brock A
Subject: RE: ARB letter - v7

B5

The final point is garbled. Should it read: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

B5

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 2:52 PM
To: Schwerin, Daniel B; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Johnson, Brock A
Subject: RE: ARB letter - v7

My final comments – Pat also has blessed the edits [REDACTED]

B5

Am sharing with S.

Can we put in final?

cdm

From: Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 2:39 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Johnson, Brock A
Subject: ARB letter - v7

B5

With CDM's latest edits. Have removed [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] B5

TO: Senator Clinton
FROM: Jim Wilkinson
RE: Transition Planning

RELEASE IN PART B5

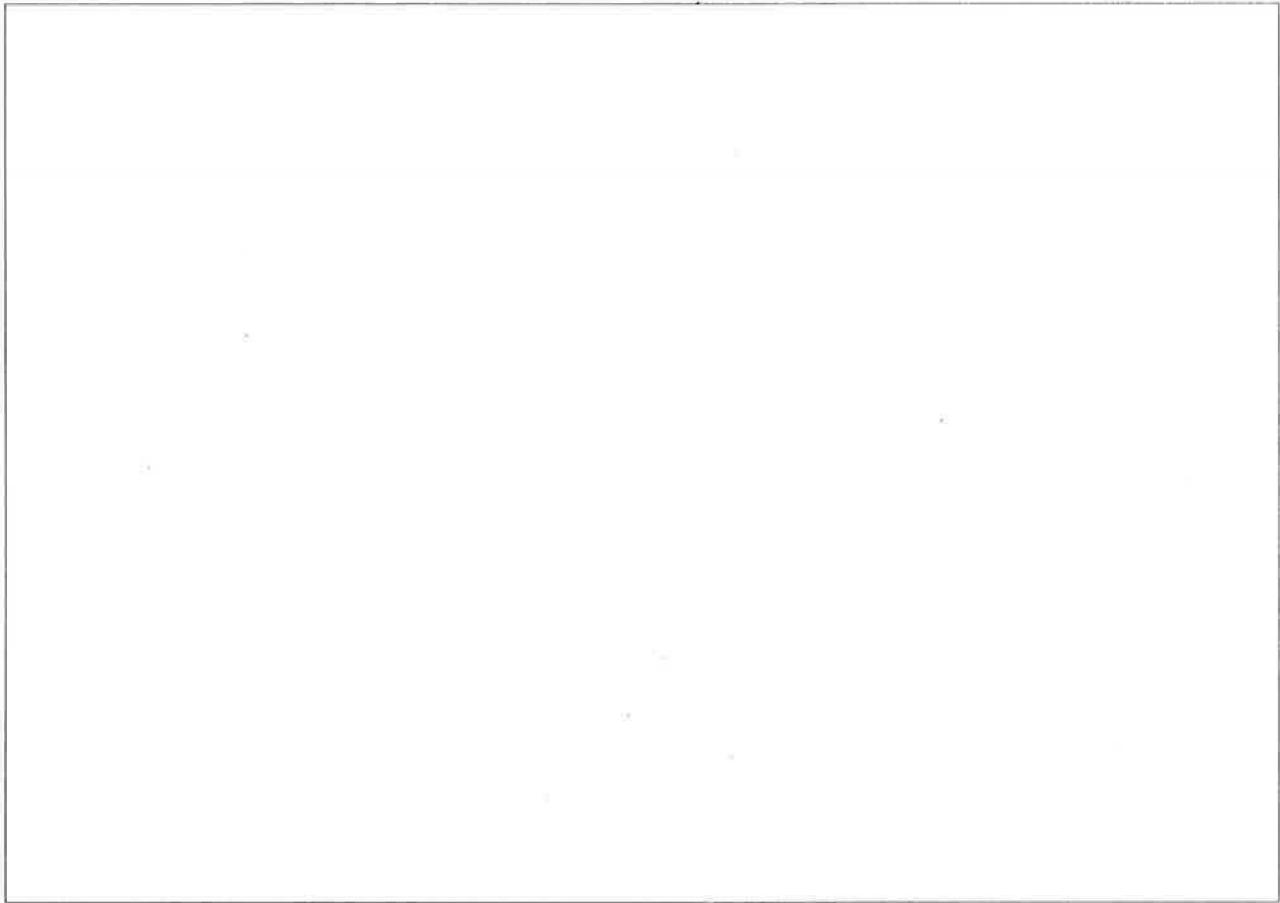
A few random thoughts for you as requested. I am available to talk about this or anything else if you need me, including my recommendations on how you set up your front office.

B5

REVIEW
AUTHORITY:
Barbara
Nielsen,
Senior
Reviewer

HA 09/01/2015

Page Denied



-end-

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: H
Sent: Thursday, March 31, 2011 7:52 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Few things

REVIEW
AUTHORITY:
Barbara Nielsen,
Senior Reviewer

[REDACTED]

B6

----- Original Message -----

From: Huma Abedin
Sent: Thursday, March 31, 2011 07:05 PM
To: H
Subject: Few things

B5

[REDACTED]

So tomorrow is:
- margo: is this happening?
- 8am natalegawa
- 8:15am paraguay
- 8:30am colombia
- 10am Isabelle

B5

[REDACTED]

B6

- 12pm depart house

California notes:

- weather gorgeous, [REDACTED] there's a pool too.

B6

Meeting was good, robust discussion. we are re-grouping again in 2 weeks so we can present you with concrete plan.

From: H
Sent: Sunday, May 29, 2011 7:45 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Calls

RELEASE IN
PART B5

I can do 9 for Donilon and I will try Stoere around 8 if I get up early enough.

----- Original Message -----

From: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sunday, May 29, 2011 07:00 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Calls

B5

[Redacted]

Will offer times to stoere as well.

Redacted: personal/family

----- Original Message -----

From: H
Sent: Sunday, May 29, 2011 05:12 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Calls

I will be at the parade at 11 and then I have plans for rest of the day so that won't work. Really the only times are early but we can talk on Tuesday. [Redacted]

B5

And I can try Stoere tomorrow am.

Redacted: personal/family

----- Original Message -----

From: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sunday, May 29, 2011 05:03 PM
To: H
Subject: Calls

B5

[Redacted]

Also, jonas stoere called to talk about libya. We can get a call sheet for that.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: H
Sent: Thursday, August 18, 2011 7:44 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Mashabane

Ok.

B6

----- Original Message -----

From: Humá Abedin
Sent: Thursday, August 18, 2011 07:40 PM
To: H
Subject: Mashabane

Here is plan

- you logged call, she wasn't free.
- the decision on libya assets issues is at 5pm tomorrow.
- johnnie will call dep fm early tomorrow. - if he fails, bill burns will follow up.
- if its a disaster, we may need to bother you.

From: H
Sent: Thursday, March 08, 2012 8:36 AM
To: 'RussoRV@state.gov'
Cc: Huma Abedin; 'abedinH@state.gov'; 'hanleymr@state.gov'; 'ColemanCL@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Mini for Today - Thursday, March 8, 2012

RELEASE IN
PART B5

Pls ask the speechwriter for the women's event to meet me when I get in.

From: Russo, Robert V [<mailto:RussoRV@state.gov>]
Sent: Thursday, March 08, 2012 07:28 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>; Coleman, Claire L <ColemanCL@state.gov>
Subject: Mini for Today - Thursday, March 8, 2012

7 30 am **PHONE CALL w/AFGHAN PRESIDENT HAMID KARZAI**

8:30 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:40 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:45 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**

8:55 am Secretary's Office

9:00 am **BILATERAL w/LIBYAN PM ABDURRAHIM ELKEIB**

9 30 am Secretary's Conference Room

Official Photo in East Hall preceding the bilat, Staff: Joe Macmanus

Note: whisper interpretation to be provided for one Libyan participant

9:30 am **PRESS PRE-BRIEF**

9:35 am Secretary's Outer Office

9 35 am **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/LIBYAN PM EIKEIB**

9 50 am Treaty Room

Brief remarks, one question for each side, no interpretation

9:55 am **OFFICE TIME**

10:30 am Secretary's Office

10 30 am **MEET AND GREET w/INTERNATIONAL WOMEN OF COURAGE VIPs**

11:00 am Madison Room/Delegates Lounge

Staff: Jessica

-Madison Room: greet Mrs. Obama

-Outside Delegates Lounge photo w/Holy Trinity School students

-Delegates Lounge: 7 photos

11 00 am **2012 INTERNATIONAL WOMEN OF COURAGE (IWOC)**

12 00 pm **AWARDS CEREMONY**

Dean Acheson Auditorium, First Floor

Open Press, Staff: Jessica

Note: approximately 700 people attending

-introduction by Melanne

-8-10 minutes of remarks from YOU

-YOU introduce First Lady

-First Lady remarks followed by remarks by Nobel Laureates

-YOU present awards

-YOU introduce Burmese honoree Zin Mar Aung to speak on behalf of all honorees

-closing remarks from Melanne, class photo with YOU, departure

12:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**

2:00 pm Secretary's Office

2:00 pm **MEETING w/MELINDA GATES**

2 30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

Closed Press, Staff. Cheryl, Melanne, Jen Klein

2 30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
3 15 pm Secretary's Office

3:15 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route White House

3 20 pm **ARRIVE** White House

B5

3:25 pm [REDACTED]
3:30 pm Oval Office, Closed Press

3 30 pm **POTUS BILATERAL w/GHANA PRESIDENT JOHN ATTA MILLS**
4:00 pm Oval Office, Camera Spray at the bottom of the meeting

4:05 pm **DEPART** White House *En route State Department

4 10 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

4:15 pm **OFFICE TIME**
4:45 pm Secretary's Office

B5

4:50 pm **DEPART** State Department [REDACTED]

4 55 pm **ARRIVE** White House

B5

5 00 pm [REDACTED]
6:00 pm [REDACTED]

6:05 pm [REDACTED]

6 20 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

7:00 pm **DINNER**
Tbd Private Residence
Closed Press, Note: 40-50 people attending

####