



**United States Department of State**

***Washington, D.C. 20520***

November 25, 2016

Case No. F-2015-06322

Segments:   IPS-0023  
                  IPS-0024  
                  IPS-0025  
                  IPS-0026  
                  IPS-0027

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

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I refer to our letter dated October 26, 2016, regarding the release of certain Department of State material under the Freedom of Information Act (the "FOIA"), 5 U.S.C. § 552. The processing of records responsive to your request is ongoing and has yielded an additional 193 documents. After reviewing these documents, we have determined that 24 may be released in full, 151 may be released with excisions, and 18 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 documents withheld in full, we have cited FOIA Exemptions 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, James Bickford, at (202) 305-7632 or [James.Bickford@usdoj.gov](mailto:James.Bickford@usdoj.gov). Please refer to the case number shown above in all correspondence about this case.

Sincerely,

*Susan C. Weimer for*

Eric F. Stein, Acting Director  
Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosure: As stated

The Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552)

FOIA Exemptions

- (b)(1) Information specifically authorized by an executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy. Executive Order 13526 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) 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:
- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| ARMSEXP        | Arms Export Control Act, 50a USC 2411(c)                    |
| CIA PERS/ORG   | Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 50 USC 403(g)      |
| EXPORT CONTROL | Export Administration Act of 1979, 50 USC App. Sec. 2411(c) |
| FS ACT         | Foreign Service Act of 1980, 22 USC 4004                    |
| INA            | Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1202(f), Sec. 222(f) |
| IRAN           | Iran Claims Settlement Act, Public Law 99-99, Sec. 505      |
- (b)(4) Trade secrets and confidential commercial or financial information
- (b)(5) Interagency or intra-agency communications forming part of the deliberative process, attorney-client privilege, or attorney work product
- (b)(6) Personal privacy information
- (b)(7) Law enforcement information whose disclosure 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

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, October 31, 2009 6:43 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Updated Berlin/Asia Notional Schedule  
**Attach:** Draft Sked 7.docx

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

**From:** Moy, Kin W  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Valmore, Lona J; Muscatine, Lissa  
**Sent:** Sat Oct 31 15:58:23 2009  
**Subject:** Updated Berlin/Asia Notional Schedule

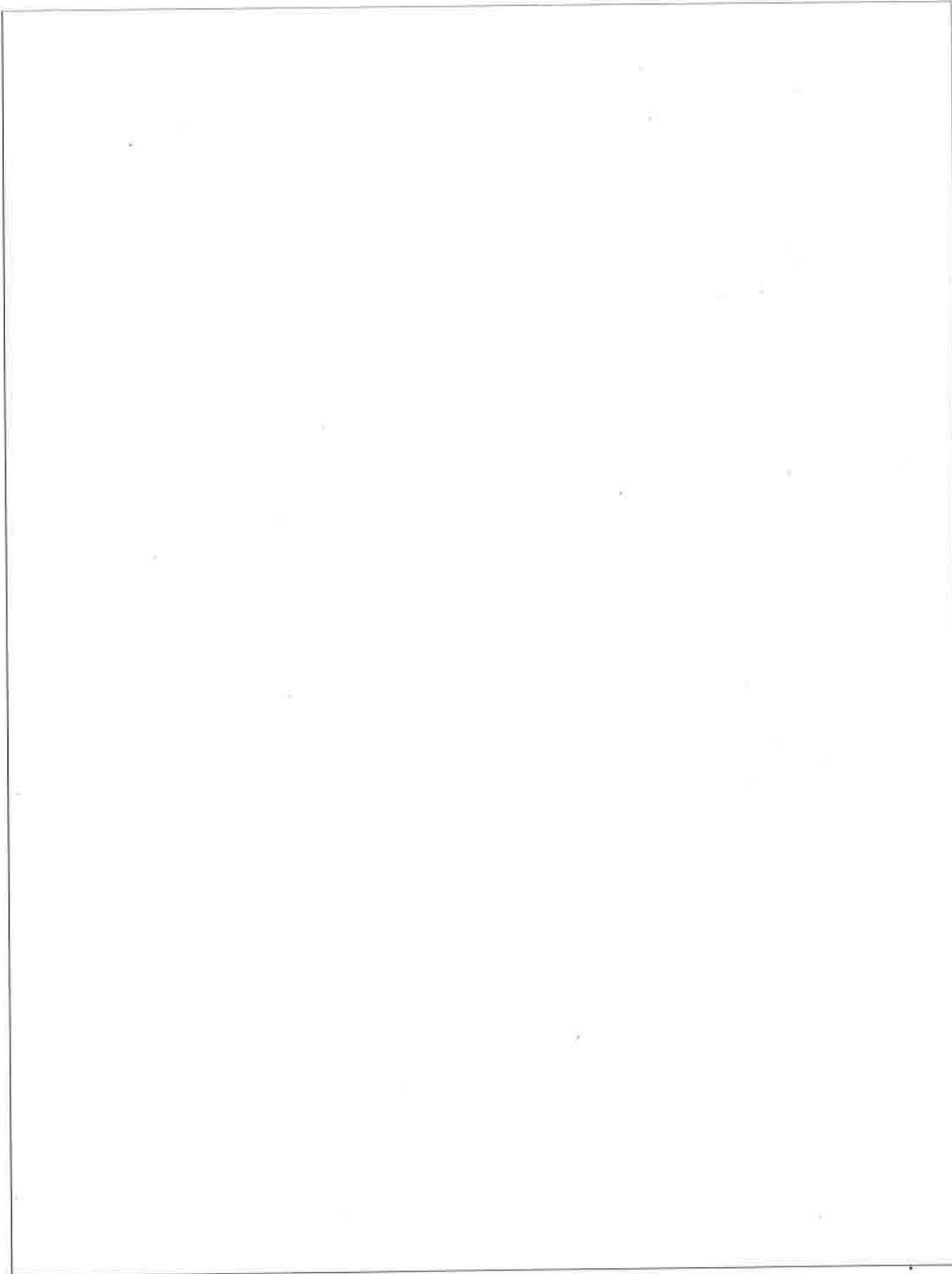
Huma,

This version includes updated flight times...km <<Draft Sked 7.docx>>



RELEASE IN PART B5 10/31/09

**Notional Schedule for the Visit of Secretary Clinton  
to Paris, Berlin, Singapore, Manila, Shanghai, Beijing, and Seoul  
November 7-19, 2009**



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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 1, 2009 1:59 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Groove file you requested  
**Attach:** Nov 3 Marrakesh Summary Schedule.docx

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RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

**From:** Krayman, Igor  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Montgomery, Molly C; Baxter, Shawn; Wohlers, Paul  
**Cc:** SES-O\_SWO-Only; SES-O\_OS  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 01 13:08:02 2009  
**Subject:** Groove file you requested

Attached is the schedule from Groove you requested.

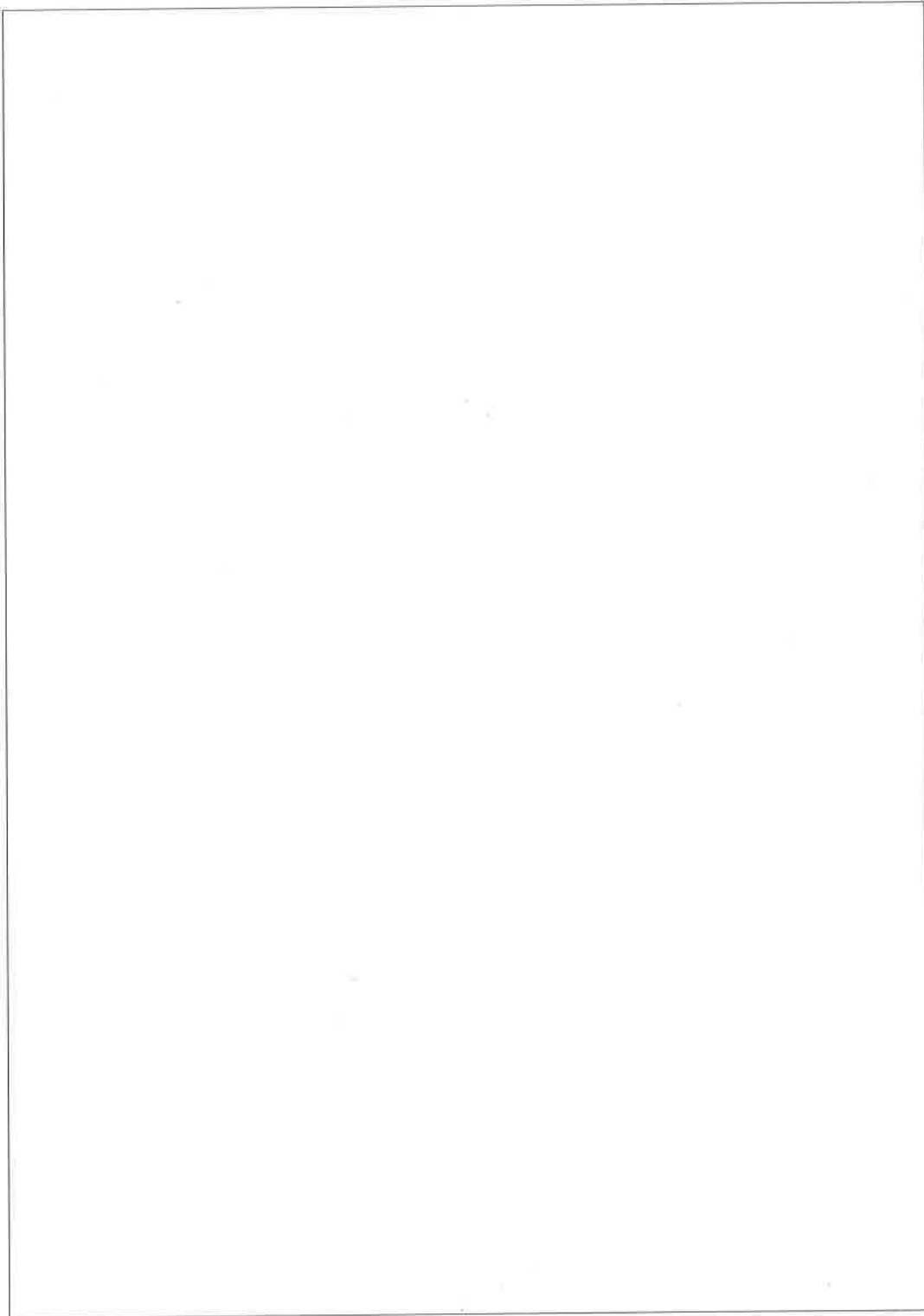
Igor Krayman  
Operations Specialist  
Department of State Operations Center  
202-647-1512

HA 09/01/2015

## DRAFT SUMMARY SCHEDULE

RELEASE IN PART B5

B5





**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 1, 2009 7:50 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: New call grid  
**Attach:** 110109 Grid Scan.pdf

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RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

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**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C  
**To:** Coleman, Claire L  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 01 15:57:58 2009  
**Subject:** New call grid

Hi Claire! Attached is a scanned/updated grid for you. It's 5 pages total, including the cover page. The last page is numbered 4.

-Lauren

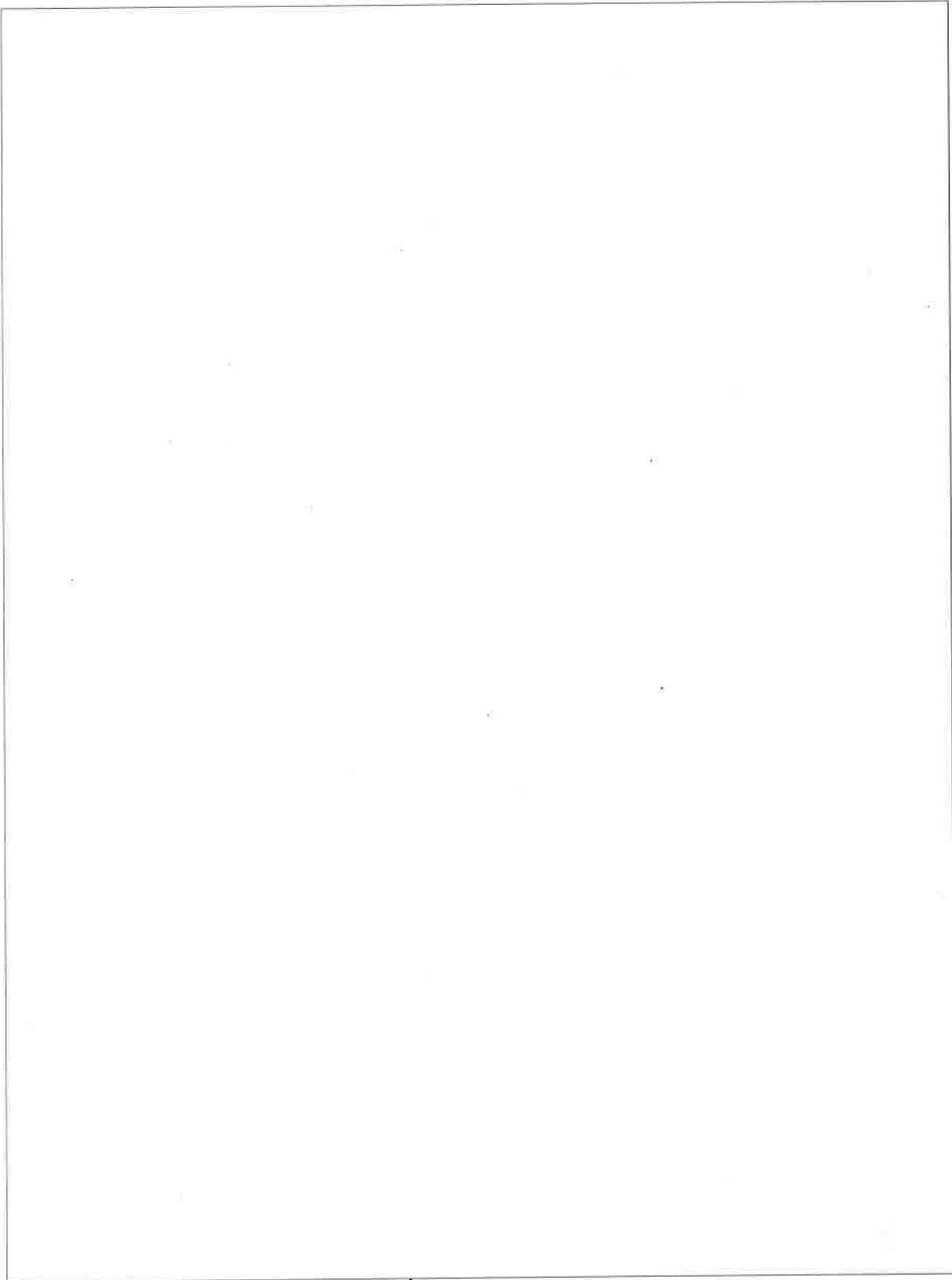
HA 09/01/2015

**CALL LIST**

**Sunday, November 1, 2009: 4:00 PM EST / 9:00 PM Morocco**

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

B5



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 1, 2009 7:51 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: For S re US Institute of Peace

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RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B6

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

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 01 14:56:29 2009  
**Subject:** For S re US Institute of Peace

Asked me [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

AM

B5

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 1, 2009 8:24 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Settlement Chart  
**Attach:** Settlement Activity Chart[1][1].docx

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 01 20:21:13 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Settlement Chart

For you and can you print this for HRC? Let's discuss.

**From:** Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)  
**To:** Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** Rudman, Mara  
**Sent:** Sat Oct 31 19:40:12 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Settlement Chart

This chart as discussed.

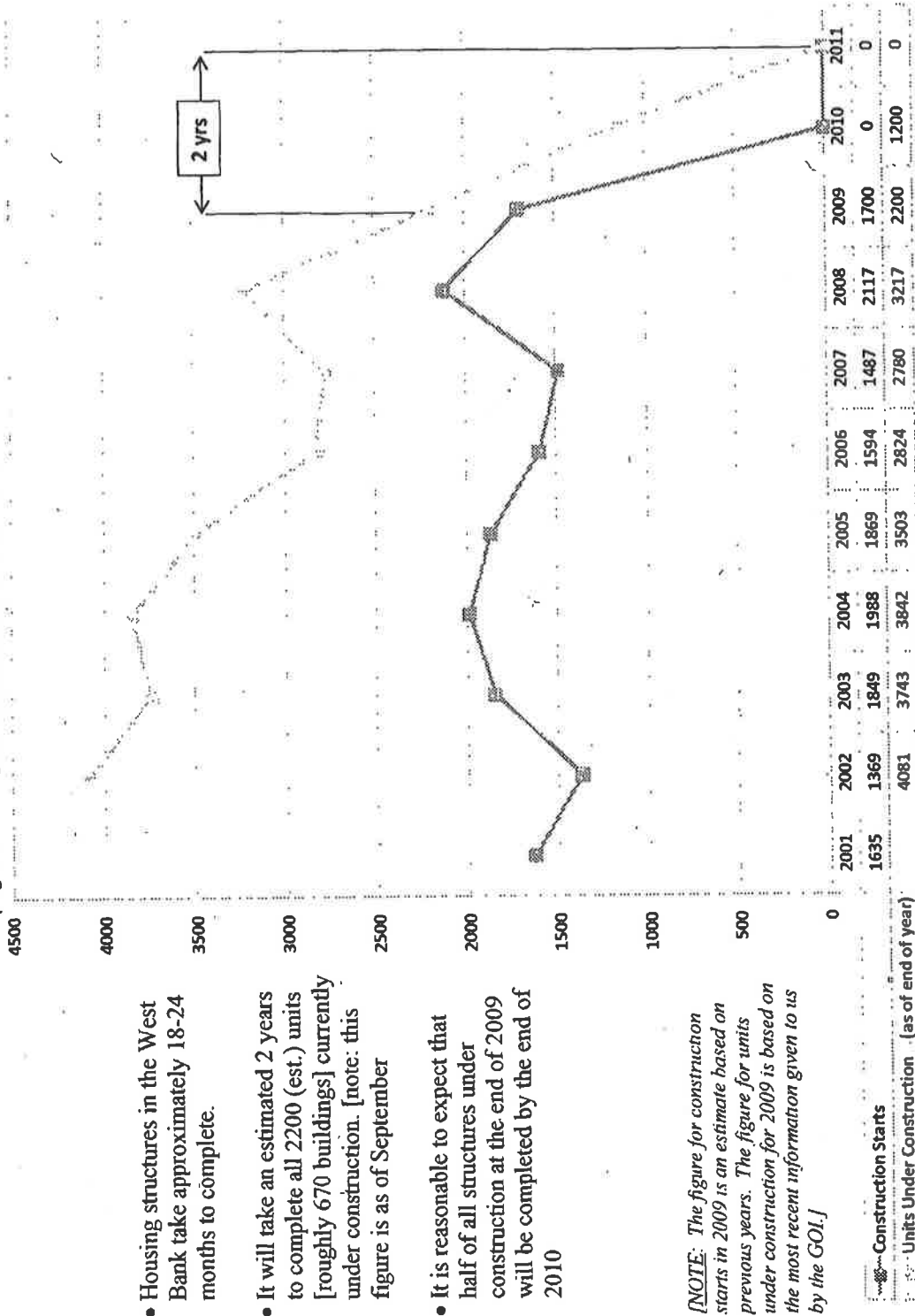
Jake we'll send you the other material on settlements tomorrow

**From:** Alon Sachar [REDACTED]  
**To:** Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)  
**Sent:** Sat Oct 31 20:32:31 2009  
**Subject:** Settlement Chart

B6

## Settlement Activity Chart

(Figures according to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics)



- Housing structures in the West Bank take approximately 18-24 months to complete.
- It will take an estimated 2 years to complete all 2200 (est.) units [roughly 670 buildings] currently under construction. [note: this figure is as of September]
- It is reasonable to expect that half of all structures under construction at the end of 2009 will be completed by the end of 2010

[NOTE: The figure for construction starts in 2009 is an estimate based on previous years. The figure for units under construction for 2009 is based on the most recent information given to us by the GOI.]

HA 09/01/2015

From: H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
Sent: Monday, November 02, 2009 1:07:51 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Fw: [REDACTED]

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

Attachments: [REDACTED]

Pls print.

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

From: Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Oct 31 09:57:53 2009  
Subject: FW: [REDACTED]

From: Busby, Scott W. [mailto:[REDACTED]]  
Sent: Friday, October 30, 2009 8:17 PM  
To: Rowley, Jill C.; Koh, Harold Hongju; Harris, Robert K; Aswad, Evelyn M; Schou, Nina E; Stewart, Karen B (DRL); Cassidy, Joseph P; Brimmer, Esther D; Nossel, Suzanne F; Keshap, Atul; Enav, Cari R; Ostermeier, Amy A; julie.fernandes [REDACTED]; Cuellar, Mariano-Florentino; Prelogar, Brandon; John.Monahan [REDACTED]; Posner, Michael H; Laurence.Rothenberg [REDACTED]; Allison.Danner2 [REDACTED]; Raymond.Peer [REDACTED]; Rob.Wexler [REDACTED]; Quintana.Carlos [REDACTED]; Barrett.Joan [REDACTED]; Irfan.Saeed [REDACTED]; Brian.D.Kelliher [REDACTED]; John.Geraghty [REDACTED]; Pope, David F.; Simon, Jennifer J; Barks-Ruggles, Erica J; Bakshi, Amar; eric.wilson [REDACTED]; mark.abdo [REDACTED]; jenny.presswalla [REDACTED]; irfan.saeed [REDACTED]; Powell, Catherine; Pope, David F.; [REDACTED]; allison.danner2 [REDACTED]; Sullivan, David B; Brancato, Gilda M; west.marybeth [REDACTED]; Camponovo, Christopher N (DRL); Posner, Michael H; Koh, Harold Hongju  
Cc: DL-NSC-Legal Advisor; DL-NSC-Democracy; DL-NSC-Relief Stabilization and Development; Cleveland, Sarah H; Hata, Marianne J; Brancato, Gilda M; Gorove, Katherine M; Schou, Nina E; Sullivan, David B; west.marybeth [REDACTED]; Staten, Vernell; McAuliffe, Marisa S; Powell, Catherine; Irfan.Saeed [REDACTED]; Jenny.Presswalla [REDACTED]; Janelle.Perez@associates [REDACTED]; julie.fernandes [REDACTED]; Monica.Ramirez [REDACTED]; natarsha.wright [REDACTED]  
Subject: [REDACTED]

All -

Please find attached [REDACTED] this past Monday. Apologies for the delay in getting these out.

I am also attaching several of the hand-outs from the meeting, including [REDACTED] and another revised version with edits by our office.

If you would like to review the original Clinton EO, you can find it here:

[REDACTED]

As reflected in the conclusions, we would very much like your feedback [REDACTED] by Monday,

November 9.

Please let me know if you have questions.

Thanks,

Scott

Scott Busby

Director for Human Rights

Office of Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights

National Security Council

The White House

Washington, DC 20504

(202) 456-9141 (general)

(direct)

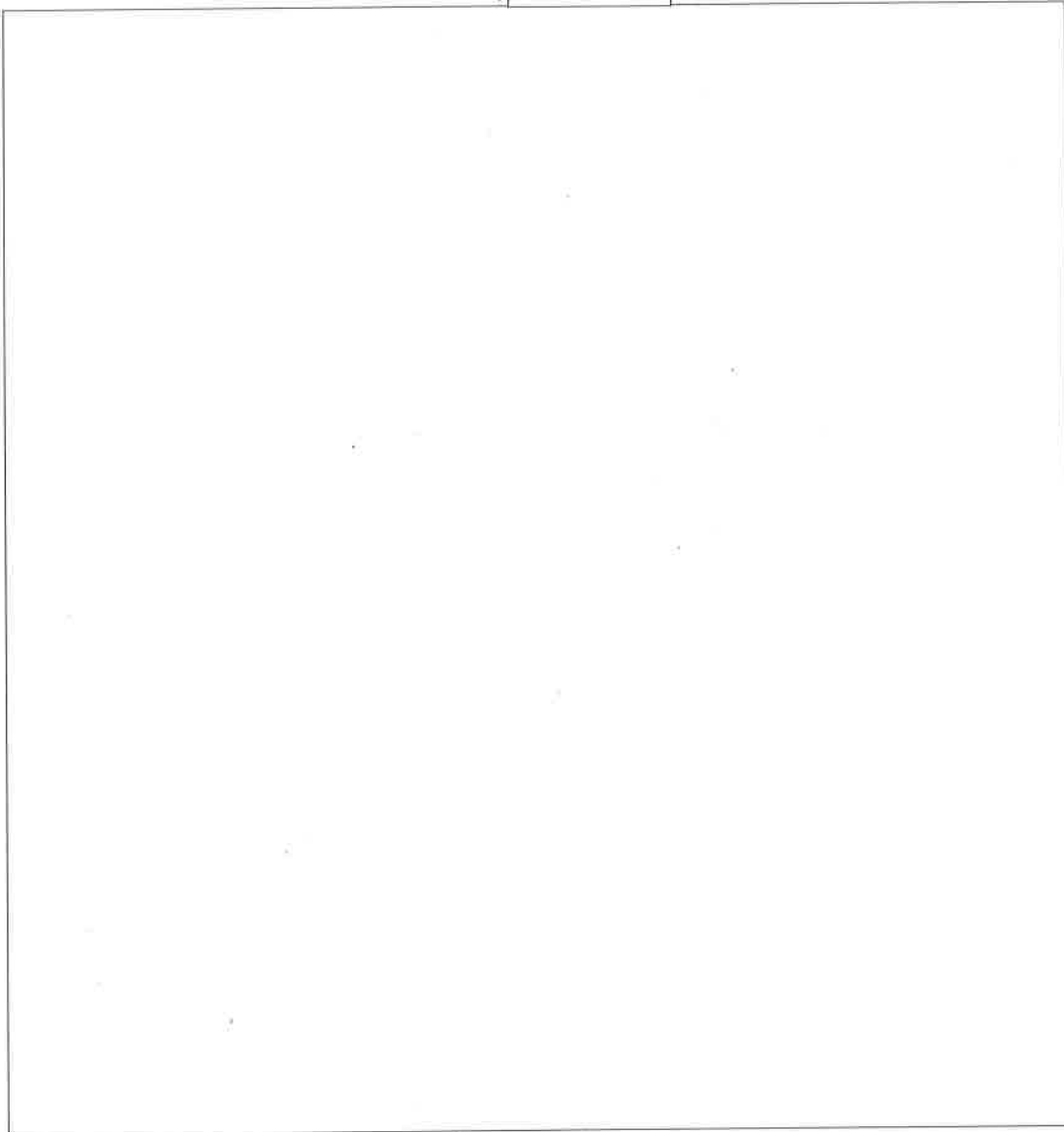
(202) 456-9140 (fax)

B6

Summary

B5

RELEASE IN  
PART B5





RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 2, 2009 3:23 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: S GCC+3 points  
**Attach:** 20091102 late night early morning S points GCC etc.docx

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B6

**From:** Rudman, Mara  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Prince, Jonathan M (PACE); Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 01 21:38:14 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: S GCC+3 points

As discussed?

**From:** Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)  
**To:** Rudman, Mara  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 01 21:28:25 2009  
**Subject:** S GCC+3 points

**From:** Alon Sachar [REDACTED]  
**To:** Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA)  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 01 21:26:36 2009  
**Subject:**

[For generic Middle East peace points, reference press Q's and A's done for the PM Netanyahu meeting 10/31/09]

RELEASE IN PART B5

B5



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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 2, 2009 3:41 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Morocco Avail  
**Attach:** morocco press avail 110209 130am.docx FORMATTED.docx

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RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

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

**From:** Narain, Paul F  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Wohlers, Paul; Baxter, Shawn  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 02 03:38:15 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Morocco Avail

Huma

Here is the formatted for delivery joint press avail with fassi-fihri from Megan. We have hard copies at the office but if you'd like to print on your end, here it is.

Thanks,

Paul

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

**From:** Paul F Narain [REDACTED]  
**To:** Narain, Paul F  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 02 03:35:33 2009  
**Subject:** Morocco Avail

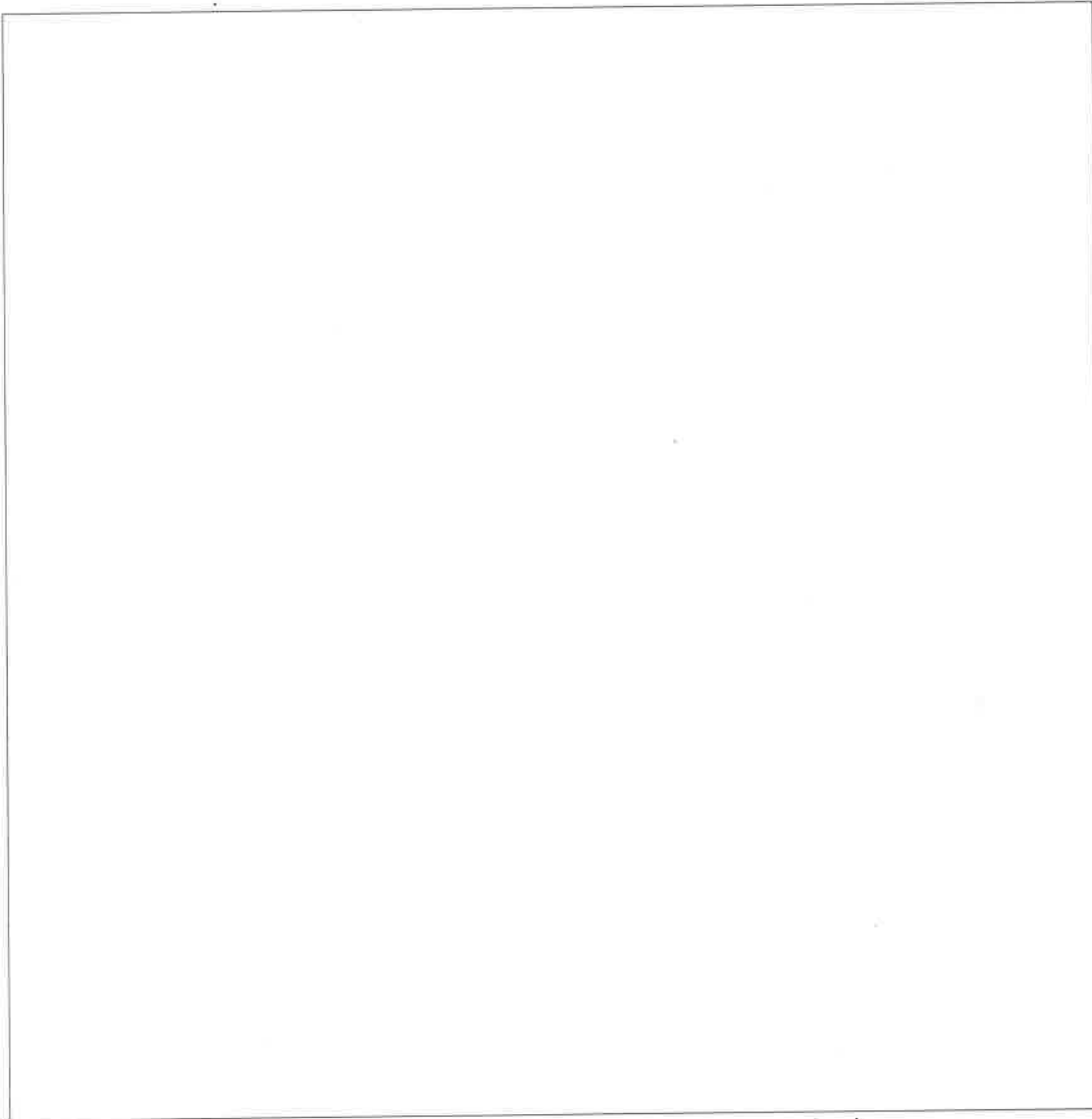
This is the formatted for delivery version.

HA 09/01/2015

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
PRESS AVAILABILITY WITH FOREIGN MINISTER FASSI-FIHRI  
MARRAKECH, MOROCCO  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 2009**

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 2, 2009 4:10 AM  
**To:** humamahedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: draft remarks Forum for the Future  
**Attach:** forum for the future 110209 630am.docx

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RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B6

**From:** Megan Rooney [REDACTED]  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 02 04:09:00 2009  
**Subject:** draft remarks Forum for the Future

B6

Hey Huma --

Here is the current draft of the Forum for the Future remarks. It reflects fairly major surgery Jake and I performed last night and this morning.

B5

[REDACTED]

The main thing we need to know from the Secretary is whether this is the overall message she wants to convey, or if this needs a major overhaul

Thank you very much. I'm at [REDACTED] if you need me, or Paul Narain can come bang on my door (I'm in 2121).

B6

--Megan

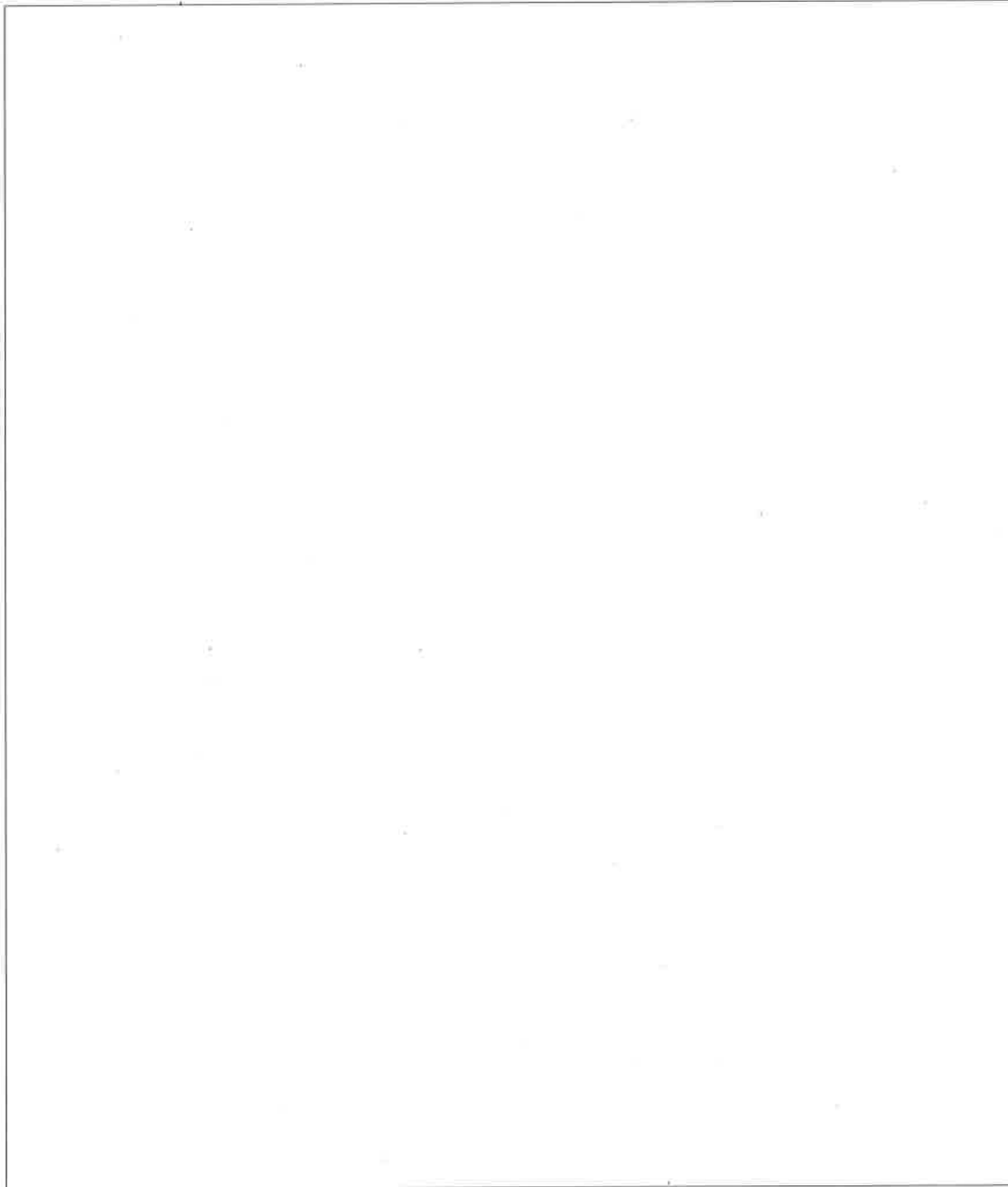
HA 09/01/2015

11/02/2009 630am

Word count: 2,976 (22 minutes)

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
REMARKS AT THE FORUM FOR THE FUTURE  
MARRAKECH, MOROCCO  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 2009**

RELEASE IN PART  
B5



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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 2, 2009 6:18 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: to print  
**Attach:** 20091102\_late\_night\_early\_morning\_S\_points\_GCC\_etc[1].jjs.docx

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RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

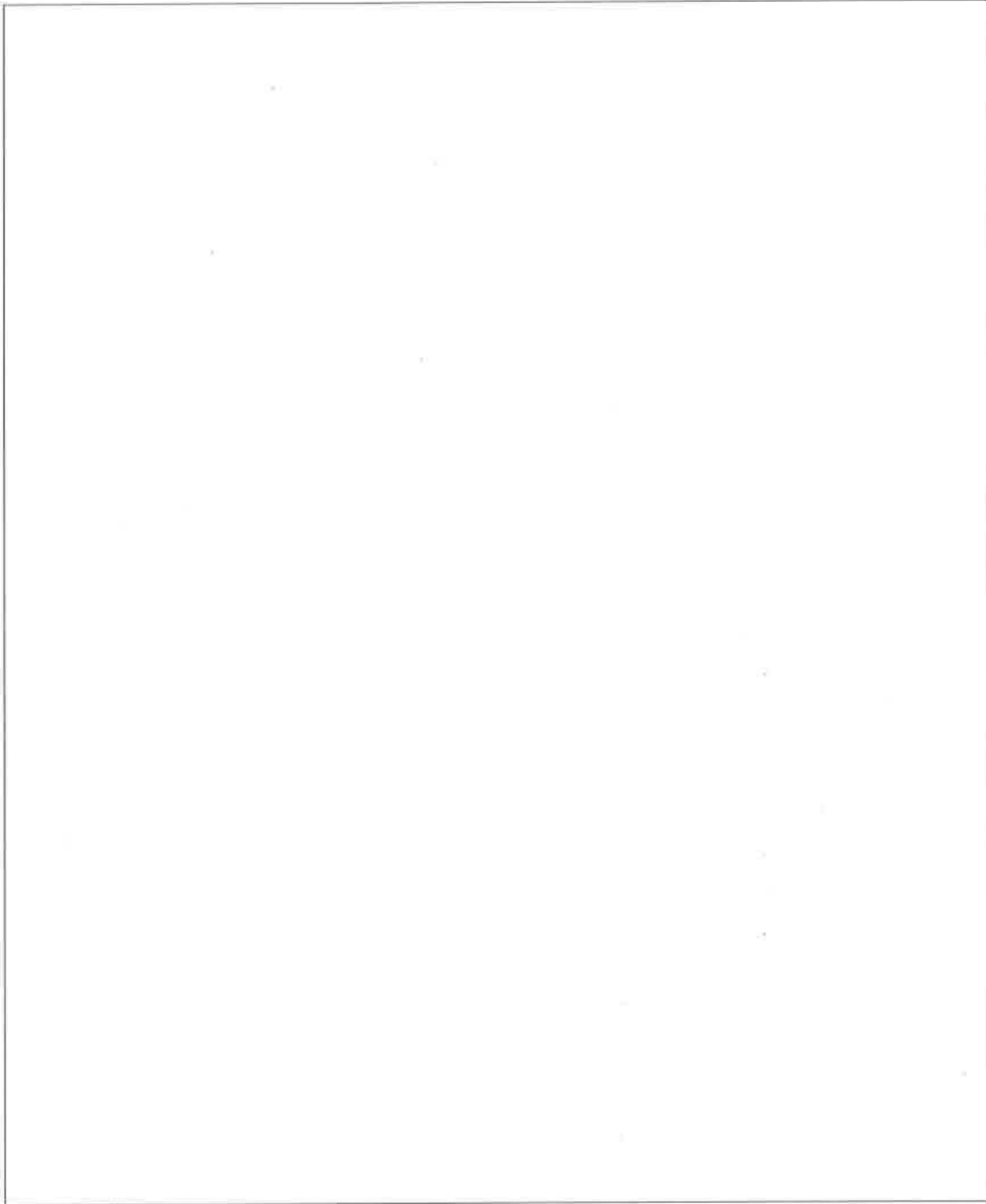
K

**From:** Jake Sullivan <[REDACTED]>  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 02 06:08:23 2009  
**Subject:** to print

HA 09/01/2015

**GCC+3 Points on the peace process**

**RELEASE IN PART B5**



B5

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 2, 2009 11:42 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: 11/2 Senior Staff and Assistant Secretaries Meetings

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B3 INA, B6

B6

**From:** Smith, Daniel B  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 02 11:32:15 2009  
**Subject:** 11/2 Senior Staff and Assistant Secretaries Meetings

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

S Travel

- Cheryl mentioned, close hold, possible addition of another stop on the Secretary's current trip, noting that it might delay her return by a day. There was discussion of what this meant for U.S.-EU Summit events, but Jim seemed to think he could cover for the Secretary.

Somalia

- Cheryl noted that there had been a series of conversations over the weekend on food assistance to Somalia after WFP balked at the conditions for our assistance, indicating that they could not get assistance to those in need without paying Al-Shabaab. There is a DC on this issue tomorrow, but Cheryl stressed that the Secretary's opposition to such payments has been clear from the outset. Question is what the White House thinks.

Afghanistan

- [REDACTED]

B5

Trade Policy

- [REDACTED]

B5

Internet Freedom Speech

- Annemarie raised the Secretary's proposed speech on internet freedom. This led to a broader discussion of the [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Cheryl said she would set up a meeting to discuss this further.

B5

Congressional Issues

- Senators Kyle and Sessions as part of the National Security Working Group would like to go to Geneva for the START negotiations from Nov. 11-13. Thus far, no indications any Democrats would join. [REDACTED]

B5

- On the Australia and UK Defense Trade Treaties, there was supposed to be a hearing this week [REDACTED]

B5

HA 09/01/2015

[redacted] Now looking at November 10, [redacted]  
[redacted]

B5

- The House will overwhelmingly pass a resolution tomorrow condemning the Goldstone Report.
- We have a continuing resolution until December 18. There are 7 appropriations bills left, including ours. Two will likely pass on their own, and State's will be combined with 4 others in a "minibus" bill.
- Cheryl has a briefing on food security tomorrow.
- Senator Kyle has asked that we change our travel advisory for Honduras in light of the settlement. H has asked CA for background, but everyone agreed it had never been changed for political reasons, only in response to conditions on the ground.

#### Public Affairs

- Ian said we would be coordinating closely with the White House on political developments in Afghanistan [redacted]  
[redacted]

B5

- Ian also expects questions about whether our position on Israeli settlements has changed. [redacted]  
[redacted]

B5

#### Legal Issues

- Harold said he would like to talk to the Secretary [redacted]  
[redacted] Cheryl said she wanted to speak with folks to confirm.

B3 INA  
B5

#### Assistant Secretaries Meeting Highlights

##### Afghanistan

- S/SRAP noted that there will not be a second round of voting, but that notwithstanding the fact that the Election Commission has declared Karzai the winner, Abdullah apparently has 72 hours to appeal. Once that is resolved, inauguration will be in 30 days.

##### Pakistan

- S/SRAP also noted that the Secretary's trip to Pakistan is resonating in interesting ways. Many in the press and public are asking why they don't get the sort of frank discussion she provided from their politicians. Meanwhile, Parliamentarians are asking why they don't have an opportunity to speak to their own officials in the way they met with the Secretary.

##### Honduras

- Tom Shannon credited the Secretary's 40 minute telephone call with Micheletti for turning things around in the negotiations last week. He noted that afterwards Micheletti had remarked that he had not known the Secretary had such a limited vocabulary because she kept repeating "restitution" over and over. The critical fact about the deal that was reached, Tom noted, is that it is now rooted in the Honduran Parliament. It will not all be smooth, but whatever happens it will have the blessing of the key democratic institution. Meanwhile, the Verification Commission will consist of two Hondurans, former Chilean President Lagos and U.S. Secretary of Labor Solis,

who will travel to Honduras tomorrow. There are complaints about the agreement from various forces, including Chavez and the Wall Street Journal, but overall it is a real success. We are moving now to release money for monitoring of the November 29 elections and encouraging others to send monitors. The historical significance is that for the first time in Latin America a disruption of government of this sort has been resolved through internal dialogue. It serves as a nice counterpoint to the efforts of Chavez and Ortega to subvert democratic institutions.

#### Bolivia

- Maria Otero said last week's discussion here with the Bolivians on ways to rebuild the bilateral relationship had been productive. There will be a follow-on meeting in La Paz later this month.

#### Africa Issues

- Johnnie Carson noted that a senior-level Ethiopian delegation will be in town Thursday to review bilateral relations.
- In his recent trip, Johnnie stopped in Uganda and met with President Museveni to discuss human rights, the LRA and other issues. He noted that Uganda is poised to be a major oil exporters, with proven reserves in excess of 2 billion barrels.
- In Kenya, Johnnie underscored our support for the Kofi Annan reform agenda and said [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

B3  
INA  
B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 3, 2009 1:18 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: revised FFF remarks  
**Attach:** forum for the future 110309 short version.docx; MEP piece of FFF remarks.docx

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

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**From:** Megan Rooney [REDACTED]  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; pradeep\_ramamurthy [REDACTED] <pradeep\_ramamurthy [REDACTED]>  
 paul.f.narain [REDACTED] <paul.f.narain [REDACTED]>; Narain, Paul F; Baxter, Shawn  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 02 22:21:10 2009  
**Subject:** revised FFF remarks

B6

Hey everyone --

Here are much shorter remarks for the Forum. As per Jake's instructions, [REDACTED]

B5

Jake, once those drafts are final, let's talk about where to place them. I'll wait to format the remarks till then. Just in case, I'm CC-ing Paul and Shawn to this email so they have the drafts as well.

Thanks,  
 Megan  
 [REDACTED]

B6

11/03/2009 3am local  
Word count:

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
REMARKS AT THE FORUM FOR THE FUTURE  
MARRAKECH, MOROCCO  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 2009**



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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 3, 2009 1:18 AM..  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: U.S. Mission Morocco meet and greet remarks  
**Attach:** Morocco Embassy Meet Greet bullets doc

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RELEASE IN  
PART B6

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

**From:** Guy S Baxter <[REDACTED]>  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Narain, Paul F, Baxter, Shawn  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 02 22:47:23 2009  
**Subject:** U.S. Mission Morocco meet and greet remarks

Hi Huma,

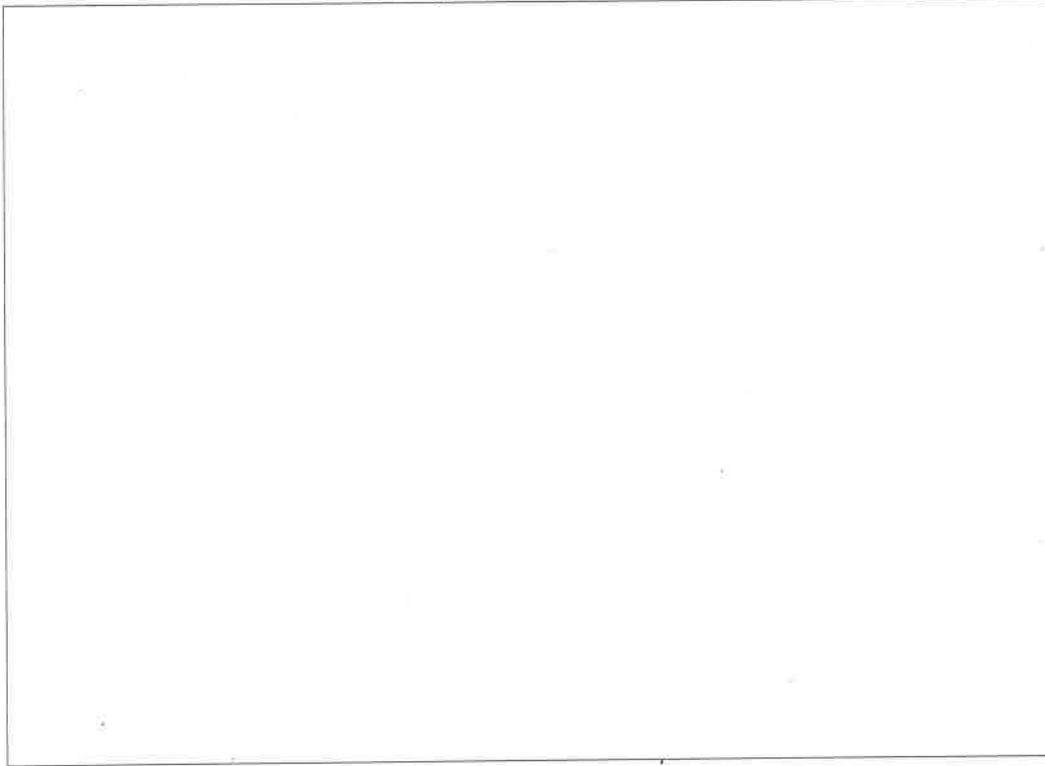
Attached are the remarks for the U.S. Mission meet and greet today, if you want to print them later this morning. We also have them printed here and can give to you upon arrival.

Regards,  
Shawn

AS PREPARED

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**REMARKS AT U.S. MISSION MOROCCO MEET AND GREET  
MARRAKECH, MOROCCO  
NOVEMBER 3, 2009**



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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 3, 2009 2:45 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Updated Berlin/Asia Notional Schedule  
**Attach:** Draft Sked 7.docx

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RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

**From:** Moy, Kin W  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Valmore, Lona J; Muscatine, Lissa  
**Sent:** Sat Oct 31 14:58:23 2009  
**Subject:** Updated Berlin/Asia Notional Schedule

Huma,

This version includes updated flight times...km <<Draft Sked 7.docx>>

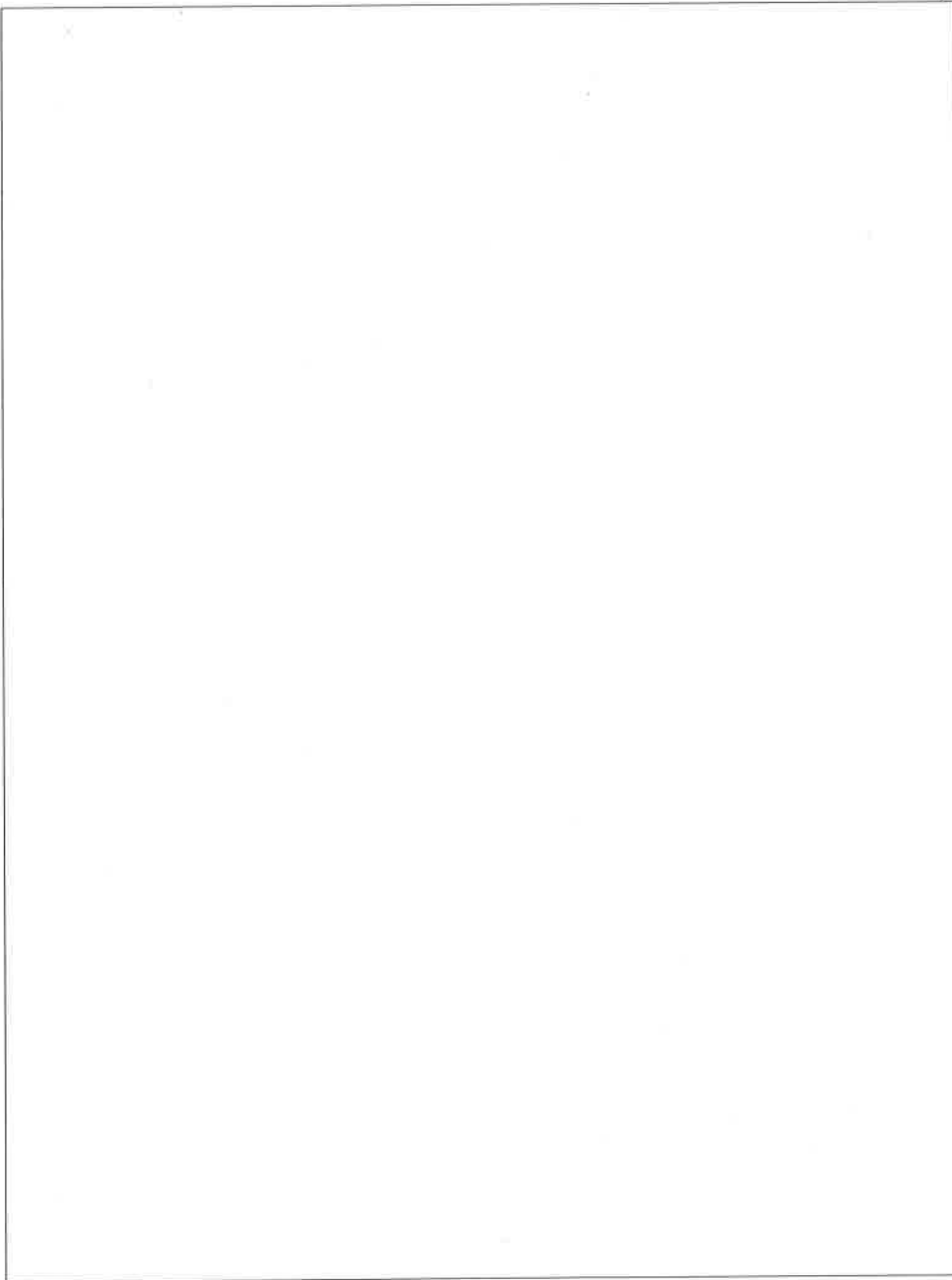
HA 09/01/2015

10/31/09

**Notional Schedule for the Visit of Secretary Clinton**  
**to Paris, Berlin, Singapore, Manila, Shanghai, Beijing, and Seoul**  
**November 7-19, 2009**

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 3, 2009 1:18 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: 11/3 Senior Staff and Deputy Secretaries Meetings

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B3 INA,B6

B6

**From:** Bennett, Virginia L  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** Smith, Daniel B  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 03 13:12:30 2009  
**Subject:** 11/3 Senior Staff and Deputy Secretaries Meetings

Sensitive but Unclassified

Trade Policy

- Jack noted that there was agreement to circulate the materials we had sent in [REDACTED]

B5

Somalia

- [REDACTED]

EU Event

- Jim noted he had tried to get Solana last night; thought maybe the Secretary could call in if we did go forward with the meeting.

[REDACTED] ICC

- Annemarie raised PM's work on irregular warfare [REDACTED]

Partner Vetting

- [REDACTED]



### Congressional Issues

- Rich flagged that the climate bill was supposed to be marked up starting today, but the Republicans were rumored no shows. Health care is stalled in the House because of abortion provisions; they were taking 72 hours to work it and that meant the House discussion may not start this week.
- Senate was looking at more cloture votes for next week (Arturo?). Rich was going to take Tom Shannon up to see DeMint [redacted] [redacted]
- Some discussion of what the strategy was on [redacted] nomination; [redacted]

B5

B6

B5

### Public Affairs

- Ian said he would follow up explaining the programs the Secretary had announced in Marrakesh and thought that Iran should not be such big news, but her statements on Iran were useful.

### Legal Issues

- Harold flagged that Karadzic was showing up now at ICTY; highlighted that the Uighurs are doing well in Palau but we need to wrap up the last two (the brothers) by December when we will have to file our brief otherwise.

### Deputy Secretaries Meeting Highlights

### EU Meetings

- Phil confirmed that yes, the EU was good to go forward with Jim chairing tomorrow's events and a possible Secretary phone call in to the meeting at the top which he said he had run by Huma.

### IO Issues

- Esther said the GA resolution on Goldstone wasn't as drastic as it could have been, though it still crossed our redlines; New York was working it. Austria is the November UNSC chair and their theme for the month will be protection of civilians. She also highlighted discussion in the Security Council about a statement welcoming Afghanistan's elections results; Jim said NY reps seemed disconnected from capitals since most capitals had independently welcomed the results already, so he didn't understand why it would be controversial at all. [redacted]
- Esther said El Baradei's farewell speech was pretty neutral in tone about Iran – he had said they needed to provide clarification.

B5

### GTMO Detainees

- Dan F highlighted the Uighurs, who are going with the Palawan President to his favorite scuba diving spot; said [redacted]  
He is off to Slovakia tonight.

### Sri Lanka

- Bob B flagged that Sri Lankan [redacted]  
[redacted]  
The information could have domestic political implications in Sri Lanka.

B3 INA

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B5

- Jim noted the EU was not shy about explicitly linking Sri Lankan IDPs to EU trade preferences. [REDACTED]

Africa Issues

- Johnnie Carson flagged that a senior-level Ethiopian delegation will be in town Thursday to review bilateral relations; Jim will participate. [REDACTED]
- Johnnie also highlighted [REDACTED] issues. [REDACTED]

WHA Issues

- WHA noted Craig Kelly is en route to Honduras with Labor Secretary Solis, and an OAS / Latin delegation.
- Southcom is hosting a COM conference with our Caribbean and Latin posts to talk regional security.
- The Mexicans are hosting a meeting on Haiti and ways to stabilize further the situation there; we're represented. (NFI – I'm following up with WHA on this.)

Virginia L. Bennett  
Deputy Executive Secretary  
7-5302

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

B6

From: Minyon Moore [redacted]  
 Sent: Tuesday, November 03, 2009 7:15:11 PM  
 To: carpentermv@state.gov, millscd@state.gov  
 CC: balderstonkm@state.gov; Huma Abedin  
 Subject: RE: [redacted] for International Joint Commission (Canada)?

[redacted] Not sure if he is  
 doing any business there. But a huge supporter

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

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
 Sent: Monday, November 02, 2009 12:36 AM  
 To: 'carpentermv@state.gov'; 'millscd@state.gov'  
 Cc: 'balderstonkm@state.gov'; Huma Abedin; Minyon Moore  
 Subject: Re: [redacted] for International Joint Commission (Canada)?

Thanks, Margaret.

I didn't realize these were such demanding positions. I don't want to endanger [redacted] position at [redacted] and I don't want to wait until summer. Also, do you know what other position [redacted] is being considered for by the WH and if [redacted] prefers it to the chair of the Commission?

Also, who are the two current members who want to stay?

I'm copying Huma and Minyon so that they and Kris can think about other names of people we know in the border states who should be considered. What about [redacted] from Watertown? And ask Sarah Nolan about New Hampshire. What about Michigan?

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

From: Carpenter, Margaret V.W. <CarpenterMV@state.gov>  
 To: H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
 Cc: Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>  
 Sent: Sun Nov 01 13:26:34 2009  
 Subject: RE: [redacted] for International Joint Commission (Canada)?

We had been thinking of [redacted] for Chair of the US Delegation (of three Commissioners), since [redacted] has the political heft to do it but may be [redacted]. The Chair is traditionally a full-time job, although much of it can be done by phone and email from somewhere other than Ottawa. The other two Commissioners work "when actually employed," billing for hours served, usually about half-time.

[redacted] is concerned that he couldn't remain [redacted] and serve as an IJC Commissioner, at least for the rest of this [redacted] year. On Monday [redacted] will talk by phone with the FSO who serves as the head of the Washington Information Office for the US Delegation, to get a better sense of the work schedule (which includes many meetings throughout the year and two weeks of hearings along the Canada border in March, etc.). [redacted] might be interested in joining the IJC next summer, in which case we could consider keeping one of the current US Commissioners until the spring -- unless we identify another candidate

Two of the sitting US Commissioners are interested in staying on, and one intends to retire as soon as a replacement is named. Of the two who want to stay on, the more technical person sounds much less political and could provide some useful continuity in the short term.

Margaret

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

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
Sent: Saturday, October 31, 2009 3:24 AM  
To: Mills, Cheryl D  
Cc: Carpenter, Margaret V.W.; Balderston, Kris M  
Subject: Re: [redacted] for International Joint Commission (Canada)?

B6

[redacted] should be given choice. I doubt [redacted] wants anything full time but we need to move on this. If [redacted] doesn't take it, I'm copying Kris B for another idea asap.

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

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Oct 30 19:45:16 2009  
Subject: FW: [redacted] for International Joint Commission (Canada)?

FYI

From: Carpenter, Margaret V.W.  
Sent: Friday, October 30, 2009 6:43 PM  
To: Mills, Cheryl D, [redacted]  
Cc: Toiv, Nora F  
Subject: FW: [redacted] for International Joint Commission (Canada)?

B6

FYI.

From: Mayekar, Samir S. [mailto:[redacted]]  
Sent: Friday, October 30, 2009 6:39 PM  
To: Carpenter, Margaret V.W.  
Subject: RE: [redacted] for International Joint Commission (Canada)?

B6

B6

[redacted]

B5  
B6

From: Carpenter, Margaret V.W. [mailto:CarpenterMV@state.gov]  
Sent: Friday, October 30, 2009 4:24 PM  
To: Mayekar, Samir S.  
Subject: RE: [redacted] for International Joint Commission (Canada)?

B6

Any word on [redacted]?

B6

From: Carpenter, Margaret V.W.  
Sent: Thursday, October 29, 2009 12:53 PM  
To: Mayekar, Samir S.  
Subject: [redacted] for International Joint Commission (Canada)?



B6

Samir,



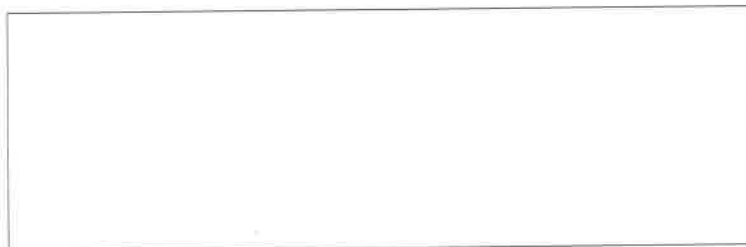
B5  
B6

Margaret

From: Mayekar, Samir S. [mailto:  
Sent: Monday, October 19, 2009 1:36 PM  
To: Carpenter, Margaret V.W.  
Cc: Tibbits, Nathan D.  
Subject: 

B6

B6



B5  
B6

Best,

Samir Mayekar

White House Office | National Security Personnel

Mobile:  | Desk: 



B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma [AbedinH@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 03, 2009 11:46:11 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Fw: Most Recent Scenario/Agenda for U.S.-EU Foreign Ministerial and Energy Council

**Attachments:** Nov 4 Scenario I (Min first) (2) (3).docx

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PART B6

**From:** Bennett, Virginia L  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 03 20:35:38 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Most Recent Scenario/Agenda for U.S.-EU Foreign Ministerial and Energy Council

Just fyi - this has come together  
 Virginia L Bennett  
 Deputy Executive Secretary  
 202-647-5302

**From:** Johnson, Seneca E  
**To:** 'Skeer, Jeff' <[redacted]>; 'Elkind, Jonathan' <[redacted]>; Ellis, Benjamin H; 'David De Falco' <[redacted]>; Scanlon, Amy B; O'Brien, Vincent J; 'McConaha, Erin C.' <[redacted]>; McKnight, Alexandra K; McEldowney, Nancy E; 'MC KAMEY Jana (RELEX-WASHINGTON)' <[redacted]>; 'karin.olofsdottor' <[redacted]>; 'Walsh, Rachel A.' <[redacted]>; RAGHER Luisa (RELEX-WASHINGTON) <[redacted]>; Love, Kimberlin L; Zielke, Jessica D; 'Kvien, Kristina A.' <[redacted]>; Kessler, Jonathan S; Keigher, Connolly J; Lucas, William; Nesheiwat, Julia; Morningstar, Richard L; Greenstein, Alex D; lisette.lindah1 <[redacted]>; mikael.eriksson <[redacted]>; Sullivan, Michael A; Giauque, Jeffrey G; Selinger, Thomas B; Bennett, Virginia L; Wayne, E Anthony; Gordon, Philip H  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 03 20:21:20 2009  
**Subject:** Most Recent Scenario/Agenda for U.S.-EU Foreign Ministerial and Energy Council

B6

I believe this is final. If there are any changes, I'll get an updated version to you in the morning.  
 Looking forward to seeing all of you tomorrow, Seneca

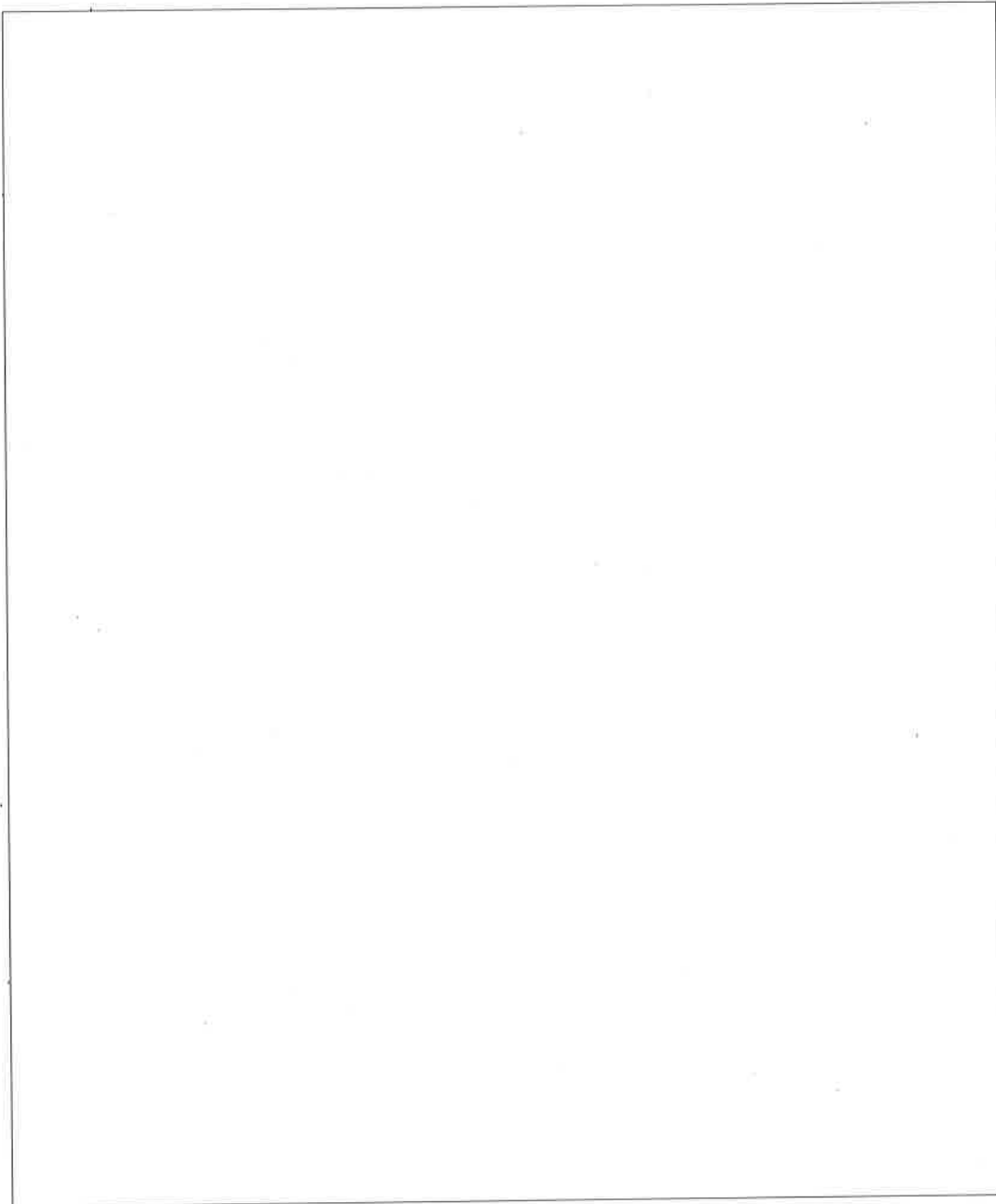
HA 09/01/2015

**November 4, 2009**

**ENERGY COUNCIL & U.S.-EU MINISTERIAL MEETING**

**(11-3-09, 8:00pm)**

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B5**



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**From:** Valmoro, Lona J [ValmoroLJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 04, 2009 5:46:45 AM  
**To:** H; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

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B5

Will do, thank you.

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

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 04 01:14:23 2009  
**Subject:** Schedule

I will see the Ethiopian FM on Thursday and will go to WH for Botswana.

Re [REDACTED] I'd like Andrew to go w Ellen.

B5

Pls talk w Huma about the travel issues around NY. I think I have to stay later on Friday.

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B5, B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 4, 2009 10:48 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: 11/4 Senior Staff Meeting

B6

**From:** Smith, Daniel B  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 04 09:57:46 2009  
**Subject:** 11/4 Senior Staff Meeting

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

Somalia

[REDACTED]

B5

- On the issue of allowing more USG civilians into Somalia, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Interagency Meetings

- Jack said that two new DCs had been added this week [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- Jim added that there will be another PC [REDACTED]

Congressional Issues

- The SFRC will mark up the Kerry/Lugar Foreign Assistance Bill next Tuesday. We have provided informal comments.
- Jack's meeting with Senator Lugar, when it takes place, will focus on agriculture. S/SRAP is drafting a letter from Jack to Lugar that would help address his concerns in this regard. One of the things we have had to face is a myth circulating on the Hill that the 60 agricultural experts sent to Afghanistan by USDA had been new hires and that USAID could just as easily have gone out and hired the people. Simply not true. They were on USDA's rolls already. It is true, though, that we could have simply detailed them from USDA to USAID, but Jack noted we had taken the "whole of government" approach seriously and had instead sent them directly.
- Senator Feinstein will go with Senators Kyle and Sessions to Geneva for the START talks next week.

Public Affairs

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• [REDACTED]

Legal Issues

- Harold noted that the Supreme Court had granted a writ of certiorari in a case involving an official of the former government in Sudan now resident in Virginia who was allegedly involved in torture. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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**From:** Philippe Reines [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 05, 2009 5:50:54 AM  
**To:** H  
**CC:** CDM; Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Time

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

**Attachments:** Time cover.pdf

I've attached the gorgeous cover as a PDF

### **Hillary's Moment: Clinton Faces the World**

**By Joe Klein**

***Time Magazine***

**Wednesday, Nov. 04, 2009**

It was Halloween night in Jerusalem, and Benjamin Netanyahu came dressed as a peacemaker. "We're prepared to start peace talks immediately," the notoriously reluctant Israeli Prime Minister proclaimed, with U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton standing at his side, poker-faced. "I think we should ... get on it and get with it."

It was a ploy, of course. The Palestinians were tangled up in themselves, yet again. They had elections looming, and their leader, Mahmoud Abbas, had to hang tough: he was demanding a total freeze to Israeli settlement-building on the West Bank — which was precisely what the Obama Administration had previously said it favored. Netanyahu was offering a partial freeze, not including new settlements in East Jerusalem, the desired capital of a future Palestinian state. This was a nonstarter for the Palestinians, but it had the holographic glow of a step forward. It was an "unprecedented" offer, Netanyahu trumpeted, with the joy of a chess master springing a trap. (See photos from 60 years of Israel.)

It was a tough moment for Clinton, playing second fiddle at the Bibi-does-Gandhi show. President Barack Obama had softened his language on the settlements a few weeks earlier: instead of a total freeze, he had talked about Israeli "restraint" in settlement-building. And now Clinton seemed to cement the Administration's retreat, agreeing that Netanyahu's proposal was, indeed, "unprecedented," even though the U.S. still favored a total freeze. The most important thing, she added, was for the parties to get to the table as quickly as possible. The onus was back on the Palestinians — and the Palestinians quickly expressed outrage at the Obama Administration's retreat. Their Arab neighbors soon joined in, causing Clinton to backtrack two days later, telling reporters the Israeli plan "falls far short" of U.S. expectations, although she still insisted on calling it "unprecedented," which was neither diplomatic nor wise.

Suddenly the Obama Administration seemed wobbly on the Middle East; clearly, Clinton had been too bullish on Netanyahu's proposal (which had been negotiated over months with Middle East envoy George Mitchell and was seen, privately, by the Americans as real progress). But the Administration's mission was to get the parties into peace talks without preconditions. The Israelis were now in favor of talks. The Palestinians were setting preconditions. And Clinton had violated an essential rule of her job: boring is almost always better. (See photos from the life and career of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.)

### **Clinton's Three Qualities**

For the past 40 years, the awkward Middle East press conference has helped define the job of Secretary of State. You go to Jerusalem or Ramallah; you stand there "guardedly optimistic" in public; in private, you try to

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move a comma, but the Israelis or Palestinians move a semicolon to block your comma. The result is almost always the same: gridlock. The breakthroughs, when they come, emanate from others. Walter Cronkite asks Anwar Sadat if he'd be willing to go to Jerusalem ... and Sadat, to everyone's surprise, says yes. The Israelis and Palestinians hold secret meetings in Oslo and reach what appears to be a breakthrough — they're talking! — which then becomes another dead end.

The job of Secretary of State is more thankless than glamorous; in some ways, the Department of State, a noble antique, is still trying to come to terms with the invention of the telephone. In an era when Twitter haiku-messaging rules, diplomacy moves at the speed, and requires the nuanced complexity, of literature. Power has drifted from State to the National Security Council and the Pentagon, especially in wartime. Only a few of Clinton's recent predecessors have distinguished themselves. Henry Kissinger, a National Security Adviser who belatedly became Secretary of State, was Richard Nixon's schizophrenic alter ego; George Shultz was a strong policy voice in the Reagan Administration; James Baker had clout because he was George H.W. Bush's best friend and a world-class dealmaker. Most of the others have been frustrated or forgettable. And yet this is Hillary Clinton we're talking about — the second most popular American in the world, an eternally compelling and supremely talented character, the subject of constant speculation, a walking headline. Her very presence in the job makes it crucial once more.

It is a cliché to say that by naming Clinton, Obama brought his most popular potential opponent into the tent. The conventional wisdom, too cynical by half, is that he thereby succeeded in neutering her, a theory bolstered by Clinton's reticence during her first nine months on the job, with special envoys like Mitchell and Richard Holbrooke doing the heavy lifting of diplomacy. But by naming Clinton, Obama also gave her great power, which cuts both ways: if she becomes dissatisfied with her role or the Administration's policies, she can become a torpedo aimed at the Oval Office. Colin Powell had similar power and a real gripe — the Iraq war — but never used it. Clinton has no such gripe, but as the Obama Administration settles in and policy differences begin to emerge among the key players, the Powell conundrum looms: How will Clinton choose to use her power? How will Obama react if and when she does?

Traditionally, the Secretary of State is judged on his or her ability to formulate policy, negotiate deals and manage the striped-pants bureaucracy. Clinton has no history as a global strategist, although her performance in the 2008 campaign indicates that she is a bit more conservative than the President, more the foreign policy realist than the Wilsonian idealist. It is also too early to judge her skill as a manager or negotiator — although her performance in Jerusalem indicates that she needs a few lessons in Middle East Haggling 101.

There are, however, three qualities that could make her a memorable Secretary of State: She brings a vision of departmental reform — the need to elevate foreign aid programs to the same status and rigorous scrutiny as diplomacy — that could change striped pants into chinos in the developing world. She is also the first elected politician to hold the office since Edmund Muskie briefly did during the Carter Administration, which has enabled her to better understand and interact with the politicians who run places like Afghanistan and Pakistan. But most important, she is an international celebrity with a much higher profile than any of her recent predecessors and the ability — second only to the President's — to change negative attitudes about the U.S. abroad.

She has the potential to become the most powerful public diplomat the U.S. has fielded in quite some time, although her performance so far, at home and abroad, has occasionally been perplexing. At home, she has often seemed tentative and deferential. In a conversation with Secretary of Defense Robert Gates aired by CNN in early October, Clinton's cautious formality took a backseat to Gates' brisk, humorous confidence on policy issues. Abroad, she seems far more confident, at times to the point of recklessness, as in Jerusalem. (See photos of the last days of Hillary Clinton's campaign.)

## Independence and Candor

In the last week of October, Secretary Clinton moved squarely to the center of the world stage, attempting, at the behest of her special envoys, to improve the rocky alliance with Pakistan and nudge the Middle East pugilists into talks. In the course of the trip, there were the first stray wisps of a hint that Clinton wanted to begin asserting her independence, as the Administration, facing roadblocks across the world, struggled for a firmer foreign policy tone after an opening nine months that might be called the Rodney King — "Can't we all just get along?" — phase.

During her three days in Pakistan, she ran a gauntlet of town-hall meetings and media interviews that may have been unprecedented, to use the word of the week, for a U.S. Secretary of State. The trip, planned by Holbrooke and Pakistan specialist Vali Nasr, offered an unusually subtle itinerary for a U.S. diplomatic mission. A visit to a Sufi mosque that had been bombed by Sunni extremists, for example, sent a powerful message to Pakistan's moderate Islamic majority. "We saw her praying there," an academic named Shala Aziz told me, "and, for the first time, I'm thinking, The Americans have hearts." (See photos of the suicide bombings in Islamabad.)

The big news was that Clinton allowed herself to be hammered with hostile questions from students, talk-show hosts and Pashtun elders — and that, on occasion, she pushed back, raising incredibly sensitive issues, like why no one in the Pakistani government knew where Osama bin Laden was, even though he had been in the country since 2002. Press accounts either emphasized the embarrassment of a Secretary of State's getting pummeled or fixed on Clinton's undiplomatic bluntness. But they missed the point: her candor, her willingness to listen to and acknowledge criticism, had begun to undermine the prevailing Pakistani image of the U.S. as arrogant and bossy, more interested in having the Pakistani military fight its war against al-Qaeda and the Taliban than in having a true strategic partnership. The contrast was especially sharp after George W. Bush's eight years of unqualified support for the military dictatorship of Pervez Musharraf. "In the past, when the Americans came, they would talk to the generals and go home," said Farahnaz Ispahani, a government spokeswoman and Member of Parliament. "Clinton's willingness to meet with everyone, hostile or not, has made a big impression — and because she's Hillary Clinton, with a real history of affinity for this country, it means so much more."

## Transformative Experience

There are no toasts at state dinners in Pakistan, because there is no alcohol. There are opening statements, though, and Clinton's — delivered impromptu on the first night of her trip after tossing aside her notes — was surprisingly emotional. Earlier in the day, President Asif Ali Zardari, the widower of Benazir Bhutto, had presented the Secretary with an album of photos from her first visit to Pakistan, in 1995, and a framed photo of Bhutto and her two sons with Clinton and daughter Chelsea. "It did bring tears to my eyes," Clinton said at the state dinner in her honor at the presidential palace, "because I so admired your wife. She gave her life ..." She faltered then, choking up, but quickly pulled herself together, talking about the "reasons why we do what we do — to provide opportunities for all."

Clinton's first trip to Pakistan as First Lady in 1995 had been a transformative experience for her — the beginning, I believe, of the process that made her a plausible candidate for Secretary of State. I traveled with her on that trip; when we set off, she seemed depressed and even more private than usual. The Democrats had cratered in the 1994 congressional elections, and she had been trounced in her efforts to enact a universal health care plan. It was a very personal defeat; as Clinton traveled the country trying to sell the plan, crowds shouted her down and cursed her. Privately she admitted she was shocked by the hatred. The trip to South



Asia seemed a bit of a vacation — it was Chelsea's spring break — but also a retreat to a more demure, First Lady-like role after two years as health care policy czar, although it proceeded in a decidedly wonky, Hillarian fashion. Jackie Kennedy had gone to India and famously ridden an elephant; Hillary Clinton traveled to five countries and packed her schedule with visits to NGOs.

"That was the greatest trip, just unbelievable," Clinton says now. We were sitting in her hotel suite the day after her Jerusalem gaffe, the Secretary in an electric-blue shift rather than her usual formal jacket and pants. She was wearing glasses and appeared rather freckly without her makeup. "I guess that trip has animated and informed everything I've done since," she said. She emerged from the trip reinvigorated, with a new mission. By the end of 1995, at the U.N. Conference on Women in Beijing, the First Lady had propounded a new Clinton Doctrine: "Women's rights are human rights." (See photos of Beijing's changing skyline.)

Clinton is not an easy interview. She is preternaturally cautious, a consequence of her Methodist propriety and 20 years of insane public scrutiny. She does not like to talk about herself, but she did tell me one interesting story about Bhutto. When her husband was governor of Arkansas, she and Bill and Chelsea visited London and stood on the sidewalk outside Bhutto's hotel, waiting for the then Pakistani Prime Minister to arrive. "She was wearing a yellow embroidered shalwar kameez with a chiffon scarf. I was just a fan, standing on the sidewalk with everyone else. It was the only time I ever did anything like that," Clinton says.

When Clinton and Bhutto met formally, on the first day of the 1995 trip, they hit it off immediately, in part because Bhutto was also obsessed with the impact the Islamist tide was having on women and children. I remember asking Bhutto that day what the biggest change in her country had been over the past 25 years, and she said, "I used to be able to walk down the street wearing jeans, without a headscarf. Now I can't." When I asked her why, she said — bluntly — "The Saudis," who had been aggressively funding religious schools. Of course, Bhutto's acquiescence to, and participation in, the general corruption of the Pakistani government was part of the reason public schools were so inadequate and madrasahs became popular. (See photos from the aftermath of Benazir Bhutto's assassination in 2007.)

Ironically, the rise of Sunni extremist groups like al-Qaeda has brought Clinton's interests — microfinance, education and health care — to the center of national-security policy for the first time. The impetus came not from the State Department but from the military, where counterinsurgency doctrine demanded that social services in war zones — schools, justice, economic development — reinforce the military's efforts to secure the population. As a result, there was immediate chemistry between Clinton and General David Petraeus, author of the Army's counterinsurgency manual, who became one of her prime military mentors when she served on the Senate Armed Services Committee. At one point, well before Obama made his presidential intentions known, I asked Petraeus if there was any potential Democratic candidate who understood how his mind worked, and he said, "You mean, aside from Hillary?"

It was Clinton who brought together Petraeus and Holbrooke ("my two alpha males," she calls them) for the first time — at her home in Washington on the Friday before the Obama Inauguration. The affection and respect she gained for the military while serving in the Senate has helped make the relationship between State and the Pentagon less fraught than usual — although Defense Secretary Gates' insistence on the need for bigger State Department budgets hasn't hurt. In fact, relations with the Pentagon have gone smoother, at times, than Clinton's relationship with the White House staff. Clinton was particularly irritated by the ridiculously strict vetting process that thwarted her favored candidate for USAID director, Paul Farmer, from getting the job. "It was all sorts of niggling things," says a Clinton adviser, "like, Farmer had at one point brought more than \$10,000 in cash into Haiti. The money was for a needle-exchange program, but the amount was illegal."



Another of Clinton's military mentors, retired General Jack Keane, once told me, "I'm a Republican. I disagree with her about practically everything, but she'd make a hell of a Commander in Chief." There is a palpable toughness to the woman, a hard edge that contrasts with the President's instinctive impulse toward conciliation. One of the sharpest exchanges of the presidential campaign came when Obama accused Clinton of echoing the "bluster" of George W. Bush after she said the U.S. would be able to "obliterate" Iran if it used nuclear weapons against Israel. Clinton's edgier tone has been evident from the start of the Administration: she took a sharper position than the President on an Israeli settlement freeze by claiming, in May, that Obama wanted "to see a stop to settlements. Not some settlements, not outposts, not natural-growth exceptions." And then, in Jerusalem, her use of the word unprecedented seemed a rhetorical leap beyond the No Drama ground rules. (Read "Clinton's Collateral Damage.")

The White House was not entirely thrilled with either statement. But then the White House staff is several steps removed from a negotiating process. The Palestinians are weak and divided. The Israelis have been difficult, as always; whenever Mitchell raises East Jerusalem in talks with the Israeli Foreign Minister, the Israeli stands up and walks out of the room. Despite Netanyahu's momentary, tactical enthusiasm for peace talks, his Likud Party has always favored the de facto incorporation of Palestinian lands into the state of Israel.

### Hillary's Choice

The tensions between the White House and State raise a fascinating question going forward. Obama and Clinton are in substantive agreement on the President's diplomacy-first philosophy and on most policy issues — although neither is willing to disclose the content of their private conversations — but style often predicts substance in foreign policy; neither Obama's gauziness nor Clinton's inconsistent bluntness overseas seems particularly solid. There is a growing perception that the Administration's policies have been thwarted across the board: Afghanistan is a mess, Iran seems ready to scuttle the nuclear negotiations, there's no progress in the Middle East, the Syrians and North Koreans remain recalcitrant, the Russians have been offered a freebie on missile defense, and the Chinese have been given a pass on human rights with no apparent quid pro quos.

The White House argues that some progress has been made: Iran is on the defensive, and North Korea has said it will return to the six-party talks. Clinton argues, correctly, about the need for "strategic patience." But the only thing Obama really has to show for his efforts so far is a Nobel Prize for Potential and — no small thing — the wisdom to have refrained from doing anything so wildly stupid as invading Iraq. The President has been willing to use military force — the Predator drones that have decimated al-Qaeda's leadership testify to his lack of squeamishness — but this Administration is supposed to be about the efficacy of using subtler expressions of U.S. power. That doesn't happen overnight, but for Obama's policies to be considered a success, it has to happen sooner or later, in a way that can be explained to the public.

There is also a growing sense that the President's inexperience is beginning to show — not in his overall policy, which represents the views of a broad, moderate national-security consensus ranging from Brent Scowcroft to John Kerry, but in his execution of the details. The Afghan strategy review has been too public and taken too long; the Middle East peace hunt has become a wild goose chase. A letter to Iran's Supreme Leader is a productive gesture only if it gets a response; if it doesn't, it seems weak and supplicatory. A call for the Israelis to freeze settlements is effective only if it is accompanied by the credible threat of a reduction in aid. "You can't be seen pushing countries around — demanding [that] Israel freeze settlements, demanding that Hamid Karzai reform his government — and not get results," says Leslie H. Gelb, author of *Power Rules*. "The leaders of these countries are tough, successful politicians, and they'll begin to take you less seriously." (See photos from the 1979 revolution in Iran.)

Clinton is unwilling to acknowledge these problems, and her staff is loath to admit her occasional mistakes.

Her praise for the President is fulsome, and aides say the relationship with Obama really — really — is strong. But there are also burlings and emanations from Clinton's staff and friends, Foggy Bottom body language, that suggest there is a need for the Administration to produce a second act after the Rodney King phase. And the White House is perplexed by the uncharacteristic lack of discipline indicated by Clinton's occasional overseas gaffes.

These tensions are well within the boundaries of normal, creative policymaking. There is absolutely no indication that the Secretary is frustrated to the point of jumping ship — or returning to politics as a candidate for governor of New York, as has been rumored. Quite the contrary, she seems intent on making history as Secretary of State. To do that, though, she will have to have the same authority at home as she has abroad. She will have to become the President's primary foreign policy voice. Over the first nine months of the Obama Administration, seven different Obama officials have spoken on the Sunday talk shows about foreign policy. Clinton has been on each of the Sunday shows once. "Either you have one person sending the foreign policy message, with the clear approval of the President," says a former Republican Secretary of State, "or there is no message." (See photos from eight months of Obama's diplomacy.)

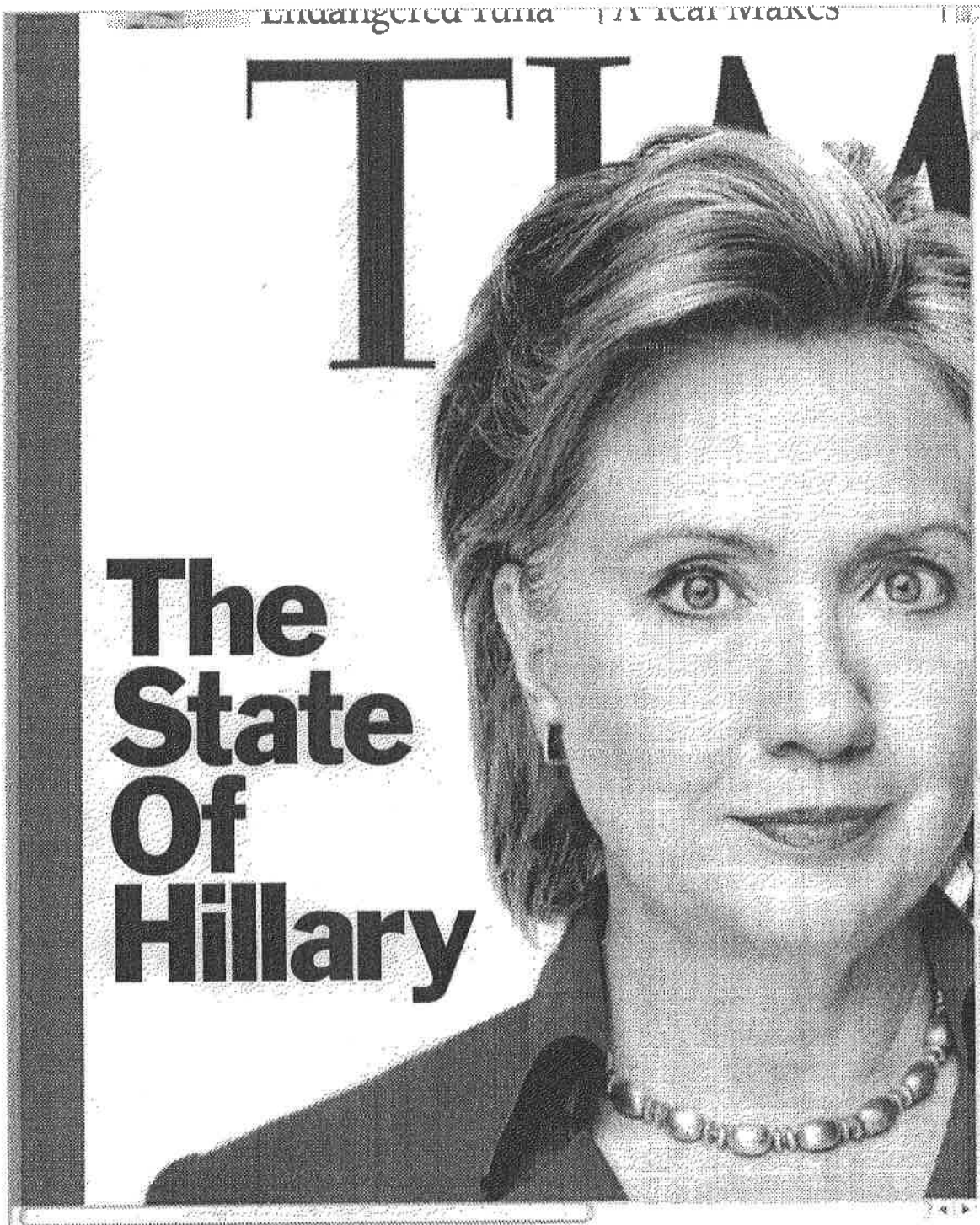
Aides to Obama say they would like to see her on the Sunday shows more often. (Indeed, Clinton's staff acknowledged that she was asked to appear two additional times but was traveling and unable to do so.) Ultimately, though, television is a metaphor for the larger questions that need to be resolved: How much can these former rivals — both extremely guarded and private people — really trust each other; and, if not Clinton, who will emerge as the President's alter ego on foreign policy? At this point, the strongest member of Obama's national-security team is Gates — but he's a Republican and an unlikely spokesman or presidential confidant on anything beyond Pentagon issues. General Jim Jones has settled in as National Security Adviser, but he's not a political animal — and every President needs a close foreign policy adviser who understands the intersection of long-term strategy, politics and diplomatic chess.

Clinton's value to the Administration was clear in Pakistan. She wowed a public so skeptical that it had been questioning the \$7.5 billion in purely economic and humanitarian aid the Administration had promised. "How much damage control have you been able to do on this trip?" asked Meher Bokhari, a television-news-show host, at the end of Clinton's meeting with Pakistani women. The Secretary seemed nonplussed by the bluntness of the question. "I don't know," she said. "I hope some."

Afterward, I asked Bokhari to answer her own question. "Well, this trip was long overdue," she said. "The Pakistani people really needed to talk to an American about our concerns — the strings attached to aid programs, the drone attacks, their history of support for the military dictatorship. And it needs to be followed up. But if you ask me about the damage control" — she paused, thinking it through — "I'd have to say a lot. She accomplished a lot."

In the end, though, Clinton's success will be determined by whether she can expand her rôle beyond public diplomat. She will have to become a more sure-handed negotiator and, most important, a trusted adviser to a President who knows where he wants to go in the world but hasn't quite figured out how to get there.





RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J [ValmoroLJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 07, 2009 6:15:29 AM  
**To:** H; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Holiday lunch Dec 17

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Will do.

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

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sat Nov 07 06:11:37 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Holiday lunch Dec 17

Pls add to schedule from 12:30 to 2:30. Thx.

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

**From:** Caputo, Lisa [redacted]  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 05 14:04:38 2009  
**Subject:** RE: Holiday lunch Dec 17

Great! Will revert with time (likely 12:30pm) and location (a private room in a DC restaurant). Hope you get a little downtime! We'll make sure you laugh plenty at lunch. L

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

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 04, 2009 9:00 PM  
**To:** Caputo, Lisa [NAM-CCC]  
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Re: Holiday lunch Dec 17

Lisa---

I just landed from Cairo and would love to come to lunch and, as of now, I will be in DC. So just let me know time and place!

I'm copying Lona so she can connect w you since I leave again on Sat for two weeks. This travel gig is never ending-- can't wait for Thanksgiving for a few days off.  
Hope you're well, my friend.

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

**From:** Caputo, Lisa [redacted]  
**To:** H2; H  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 03 09:03:22 2009  
**Subject:** Holiday lunch Dec 17

Hillary

[redacted]

Xxoo,  
Lisa

B6

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 07, 2009 9:57:31 AM  
**To:** 'cheryl.mills'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Another perspective

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

The following is from an observer who I think is right about the need for more strategy time which means we have to have a better balance about travel time. I'd like your reactions. Thx.

"When it comes to foreign policy, all see you doing a great job. You must be literally killing yourself – I can see your schedule is bruising. But you probably need more strategy time, less events as the ultimate judgment will be on whether iran, nk get the bomb, progress in Mideast, success in Afghanistan, Iraq. Obama's pause on Afghanistan goes well with elite media and left that is against all wars, but not with swing male voters who are defecting. And I think it is making the rest of your job much tougher because the delay in the decision is looking Carterlike to US adversaries – any decision is better than no decision. But all roads likely lead to Iran and perhaps Pakistan, rest is secondary at this point.

That's my view for what it's worth. Take care.

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 7, 2009 11:11 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: revised schedule  
**Attach:** Draft Sked 11-07 docx

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

B6

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**From:** Moy, Kin W  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Sat Nov 07 10:34:44 2009  
**Subject:** revised schedule

Huma,

Attached is a revised schedule based on our e-mail exchange last night. It's only notional because I haven't seen confirmation of [REDACTED] I shared it with Caroline earlier and she might have edits later...  
km <<Draft Sked 11-07.docx>>

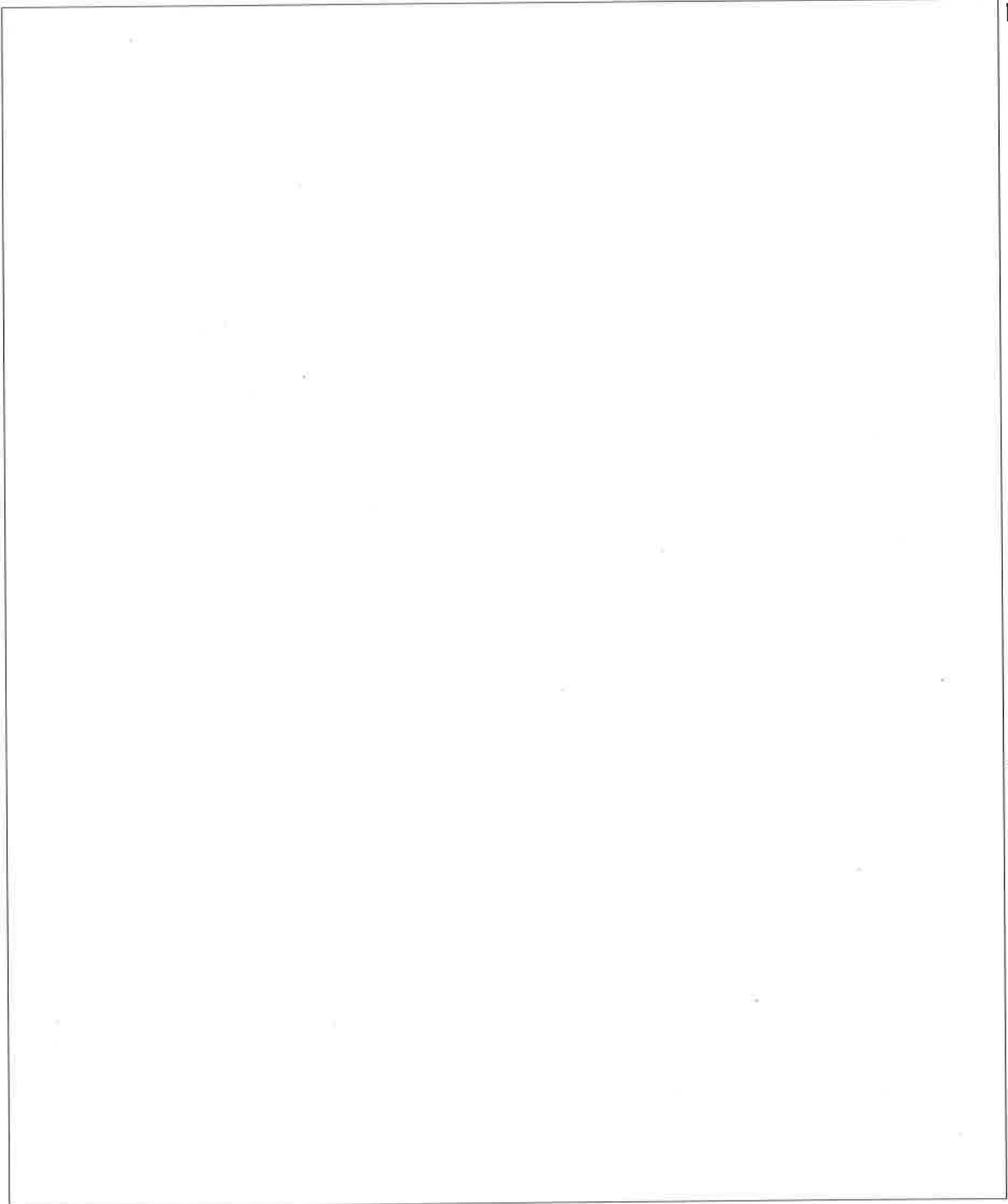
B5



{ DATE \@ "M/d/yy" }

**Notional Schedule for the Visit of Secretary Clinton  
to Berlin, Singapore, Manila, Shanghai, Beijing, and Seoul  
November 8-19, 2009**

RELEASE IN PART  
B6



B5

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**From:** Rodriguez, Miguel E [RodriguezME@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 07, 2009 3:05:14 PM  
**To:** H  
**CC:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Health care calls

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

Madam Secretary,

I just got a call from the [redacted] indicating that they no longer need you to call Congressman Carney. However, they still remain very interested in you calling both Congressmen Berry and Ross.

B5

I understand you received information regarding Ross's position. Below please find additional information on Congressman's Berry's position as well as some talking points [redacted]  
 Congressman Berry Background Points:

[redacted] Congressman Berry is one of the Congressional pro-life Democrats who signed several letters in recent months to Speaker Pelosi asking her to allow a vote on an amendment to strike the abortion funding provision in any legislation. Rules Chairwoman Slaughter has said members will not be permitted to offer amendments to the bill, except for a Republican substitute amendment. Any last-minute changes in the bill will be offered as part of the resolution governing floor debate.

- In addition to abortion funding, Berry takes issue with the claim that the regional disparities language in the bill is done. He does not believe rural hospitals will get a good reimbursement rate under the plan outlined in the bill. This is his main substantive problem.

- Berry also believes the legislation should contain a minimum reimbursement for doctors that is equal to the national average.

- Like many others, Berry is concerned about how the legislation's reforms would be paid for. He has said publicly that wants to see more money taken from the drugmakers and insurance industry. "If they aren't squealing to the high heavens, we haven't hit them hard enough," he has told reporters.

- Berry reportedly understands and appreciates how historic this moment is. He has said that he knows "something needs to get done". For that reason, he has indicated that he is entirely dug in and resigned to voting "no." The White House believes he can be swayed in part by appealing to how close we are to achieving real reform.

WH Talking Points:

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
 To: Rodriguez, Miguel E  
 Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
 Sent: Sat Nov 07 14:38:26 2009  
 Subject: Health care calls

Miguel--

I received your info about Mike Ross but I need the info about Berry and Carney before calling them. [redacted]

Thx.

HA 09/01/2015



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 8, 2009 7:37 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [redacted]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: SPIEGEL ONLINE - SPIEGEL ONLINE Interview with Lech Walesa. 'It's Good that Gorbachev Was a Weak Politician'

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

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

From: Imuscatine [redacted] <Imuscatine [redacted]>  
To: Abedin, Huma  
Sent: Sun Nov 08 01:09:47 2009  
Subject: SPIEGEL ONLINE - SPIEGEL ONLINE Interview with Lech Walesa: 'It's Good that Gorbachev Was a Weak Politician'

This article has been sent to you by [redacted] .com with the following personal message:

Can you give this to HRC. I want her to be aware of how Walensa views the fall of the Wall, especially since he'll be there on Sunday night

Please note  
SPIEGEL ONLINE did not verify the identity of the sender

SPIEGEL ONLINE, 11/06/2009

SPIEGEL ONLINE Interview with Lech Walesa: 'It's Good that Gorbachev Was a Weak Politician'

The world is looking to Berlin as the city celebrates 20 years since the fall of the Wall. But in an interview with SPIEGEL ONLINE, Lech Walesa, the man who led Solidarnosc, says that the collapse of communism started in the Polish shipyards -- and that East German "deserters" endangered his ultimate success

You can download the complete article over the Internet at the following URL:  
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,659752,00.html>

More about this issue

Photo Gallery: The Father of Solidarity  
<http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/fotostrecke-48595.html>

Winds of Change from the East How Poland and Hungary Led the Way in 1989  
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/0,1518,657805,00.html>

Germany's Healing Scar. A Photographer's Hike Along the Death Strip  
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,658804,00.html>

Where the Berlin Wall First Fell: Historic Border Crossing Finally Gets a Facelift  
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/0,1518,659274,00.html>

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 9, 2009 3:38 AM  
**To:** humarabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw. Maximalist schedule

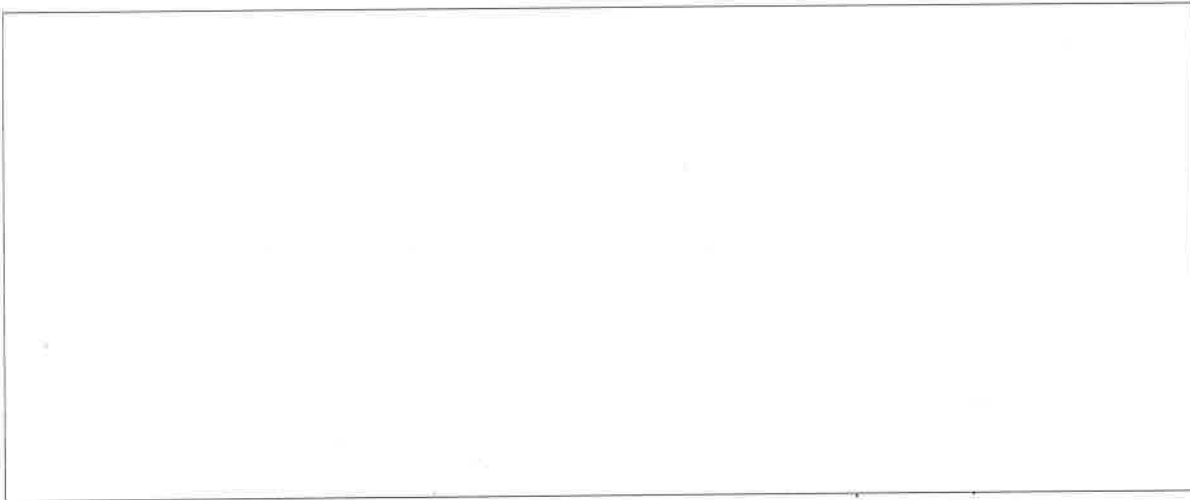
RELEASE IN  
PART B5, B6

B6

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**From:** Moy, Kin W  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Inzerillo, Suzanne M  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 09 03:32:06 2009  
**Subject:** Maximalist schedule

In a best case scenario, we could do the schedule below:



B5

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 9, 2009 9:33 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: revised berlin wall  
**Attach:** berlin wall 110809 11pm.doc

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 09 03:36:02 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: revised berlin wall

**From:** Megan Rooney [REDACTED]  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 08 23:29:00 2009  
**Subject:** revised berlin wall

B6

Hey Jake -- gutentag --

[REDACTED]

B5

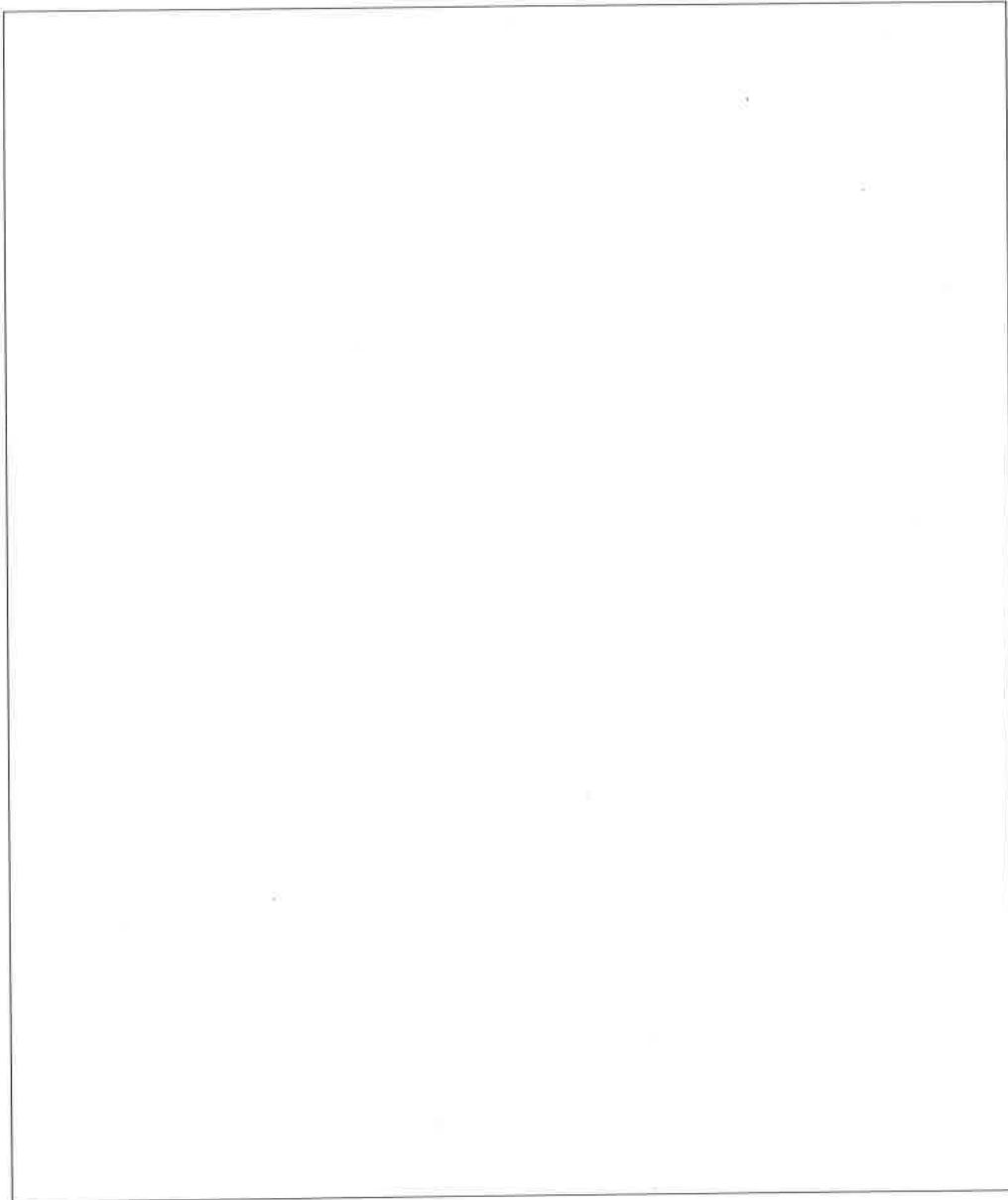
Let me know what you think. I'm awake.

--Megan

Draft 11/08/09 11pm EST  
Word count. 699

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
REMARKS AT THE BERLIN WALL  
BERLIN, GERMANY  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2009**

RELEASE IN PART  
B5



B5

B5



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 9, 2009 11:57 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: 11/9 Senior Staff and Assistant Secretaries Meeting

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B6

**From:** Smith, Daniel B  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 09 11:43:00 2009  
**Subject:** 11/9 Senior Staff and Assistant Secretaries Meeting

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

Somalia

- Jack noted that he will attend the PC on Somalia today. There followed a general discussion of the likely outcome and our press guidance. [REDACTED]

B5

Palau

- [REDACTED]

Honduras

- Jack said that he has found \$1.2 million to support elections in Honduras. In the subsequent meeting, he asked Tom Shannon whether the money will truly be needed in light of the situation on the ground. Tom indicated that it would be, though it might be channeled through NGOs. Tom also reported that the talks had continued over the weekend. One idea being floated is the creation of a national unity government, with Micheletti leaving the country in the interim (likely to Panama). Tom said he planned to send Craig Kelly to Honduras tomorrow to continue our mediation efforts.

Iran

- Bill said he would draft a note to the Secretary with the latest on Iran, but essentially the Russians reported no breakthrough.

Congressional Issues

- Jack said that he meets with Senator Lugar tomorrow on the issue of USAID and USDA roles in Afghanistan, and hopes to convince him to remove holds on our money.
- The House is out this week. The Senate is in for part of the week. SFRC has a business committee meeting

HA 09/01/2015

tomorrow and we hope to have a number of nominees voted out.

- Tom Shannon will meet with Senator LeMieux tomorrow in hopes of having the hold on his nomination lifted.

#### Public Affairs

- PJ noted that 60 Minutes is preparing a story on corruption in Afghanistan, focused especially on the role of President Karzai. Some of Ambassador Holbrooke's staff will brief those involved.

#### Assistant Secretaries Meeting -- Highlights

##### Detainees and Malaysia

- 

B5

##### EAP

- 

##### WHA

- Chavez has ordered 15,000 troops to the border with Colombia to protect against possible aggression by Colombia and/or U.S. Last time he ordered a mobilization of 10,000, only 500 showed up, Tom noted.

##### Global Women's Issues

- Melanne Verveer is in New Delhi to launch the Women's Empowerment Pillar of the U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue.

##### South Central Asia

- The Australian FM is in Sri Lanka today to discuss, among other things, the fate of Internally Displaced Persons. He may try to speak to the Secretary later this week (SCA is preparing some points). SCA noted that approximately 92,000 IDPs have left the camps, a third of the total, and most are returning to their villages.

##### AF

- AF noted that while much of the attention on violence in Eastern Congo has focused on the role of the 213<sup>th</sup> Brigade, the problem is much bigger and involves internal security forces and police as well.
- AF raised the idea of issuing a statement expressing concerns over the Democratic Republic of the Congo taking over the Kimberley diamond process next year. Jim suggested we join forces with others in issuing a joint statement which would have a bigger impact.

HA 09/01/2015

NEA

- Iraqi Parliament approved the draft election law, but the Presidency Council has fifteen days in which to approve or disapprove. Everyone is fairly optimistic it will be approved.

HA 09/01/2015



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 10, 2009 11:30 AM  
**To:** humamabedin  
**Subject:** Fw: 11/10 Senior Staff and Deputies Meetings

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B6

**From:** Smith, Daniel B  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 10 10:34:36 2009  
**Subject:** 11/10 Senior Staff and Deputies Meetings

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

Somalia



B5

Afghanistan Staffing

- Pat noted that he is working with Jack on various civilian staffing models for Afghanistan.

Goldstone

- Anne-Marie said she had attended Goldstone's lecture yesterday where he had largely stayed away from discussion of his report, other than to note that the perpetrators generally "dump on the process." In an interview with Judy Woodruff, Goldstone said that he did not think the Administration had rejected his report entirely, noting that they had in effect embraced his central recommendation – that both sides conduct "credible public inquiries" within six months. Anne-Marie thinks that if there were such inquiries, Goldstone would be prepared to say that the two sides had complied with his recommendation.

Congressional Issues

- The SFRC business committee meeting was postponed until November 17.
- Senators Feinstein and Kyle leave for the START talks in Geneva tonight.

Public Affairs

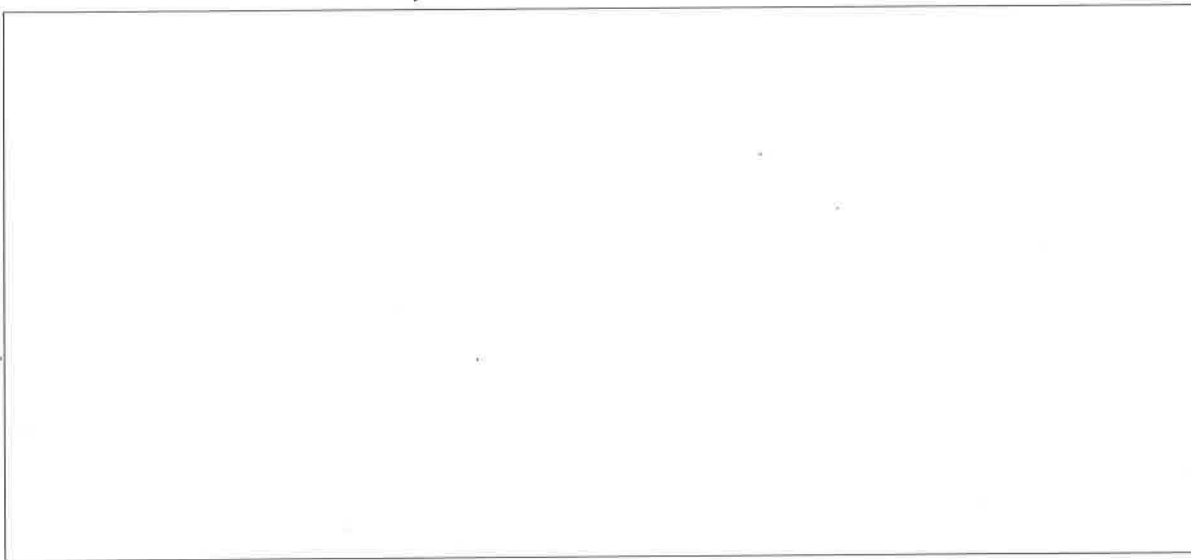
- Expect questions on the incident involving North and South Korean naval vessels, as well as Iran.
- 60 Minutes is moving forward with story on corruption and President Karzai.

Korea

- I noted that public reaction to the naval incident between North and South Korea has thus far been restrained

HA 09/01/2015

on both sides.



B5

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 10, 2009 11:35 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: APEC Attire for Sec Clinton  
**Attach:** APEC Singapore 2009 Leader's Attire Measurement Form - Ladies(1) .pdf

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

**From:** Tong, Kurt W  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Moy, Kin W; Marciel, Scot A; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 10 11:31:57 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: APEC Attire for Sec Clinton

Here is the request from [REDACTED] for funny shirt measurements for S

**From:** Ravi MENON <[REDACTED]>  
**To:** Tong, Kurt W  
**Cc:** chelsea\_lam [REDACTED] <chelsea\_lam [REDACTED]>; Meng Kit HO <HO\_Meng\_Kit [REDACTED]>  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 10 10:23:41 2009  
**Subject:** APEC Attire for Sec Clinton

Kurt,

We spoke about the possibility of getting an APEC attire tailored for Sec Clinton in time for the Singapore Evening on the 14th (Sat). We would very much like to do this for Sec Clinton and will do our best to meet the timeline, but must add that we cannot guarantee that we will be able to pull it off. Be that as it may, to give this our best shot, we need Sec Clinton's measurements as soon as possible.

I have appended below the attire measurement form that we had sent earlier to the women Leaders in APEC. Would be grateful if you could arrange to have Sec Clinton's office fill it up and sent to our Economics Liaison Team, specifically Ms Chelsea Lam, whose email address I have copied above, as soon as possible.

Cheers,  
Ravi

Ravi Menon, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Trade & Industry; [REDACTED]  
 Privileged/Confidential information may be contained in this message. If you are not the intended recipient, please notify the sender and delete it immediately. Do not copy, disclose or disseminate it or its contents in any form.

HA 09/01/2015

Wk Design for

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FULL

## Measurement Form - Blouse for Ladies

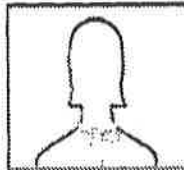
Leader's Name:

### MEASUREMENT INFORMATION

Unit of Measurement

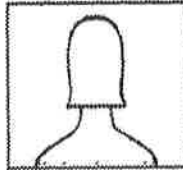
☒ Centimeters

☐ Inches



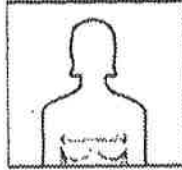
1. Neck

Put one finger under tape snug at the lower neck.



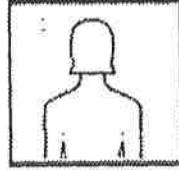
2. Shoulder

Measure across the from shoulder edge to shoulder edge.



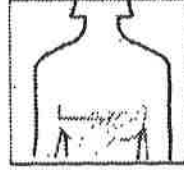
3. Front Width

Measure across the chest from right armpit to left armpit



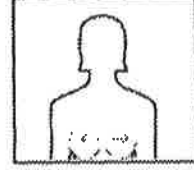
4. Back Width

Measure across the back from right armpit to left armpit.



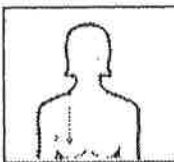
5. Bust

Using two fingers undertape, pull tape snug around the fullest part of the chest.



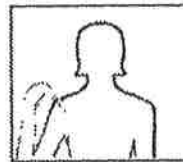
6. Bust Distance

Measure from the left highest point to the right highest point of the bust



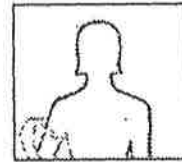
7. Bust Height

Measure from the highest point of the shoulder to the highest point of the bust.



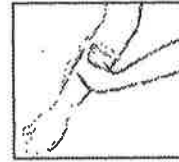
8. Armhole

Measure with two fingers under the tape Snug around the armhole, then loosen till it feel comfortable



9. Upper arm

Measure with two fingers under the tape snug around the widest point of the right arm



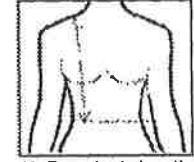
10. Lower arm

Measure with two fingers under the tape snug around the widest point of the lower right arm



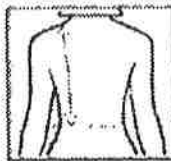
11. Sleeve length

Bend elbow slightly Measure from edge of shoulder around elbow to 3/4 of the arm



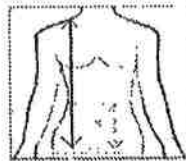
12. Front body length

Measure from the front highest shoulder point to the front waist line



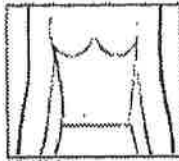
13. Back body

Measure from the back highest shoulder point to the back waist line.



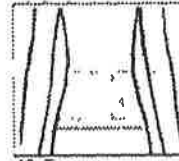
14. Blouse length

Measure from the highest shoulder point over the bust point to length desired. ( 8" from waist)



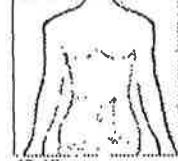
15. Waist

Measure around the waist



16. Tummy

Measure around the tummy. ( 4" from waist)



17. Hips

Using two fingers under the tape. Pull tape snug around at the widest point of hip ( 8" from waist )

### Remarks

Submit Form

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 10, 2009 12:39 PM  
**To:** humanabedin  
**Subject:** Fw: Facebook and Forms of Address for Asia  
**Attach:** S - Facebook and Forms of Address 2.docx

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

**From:** Rubin, Ali M  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 10 12:35:33 2009  
**Subject:** Facebook and Forms of Address for Asia

Attached please find the facebook and forms of address document for Asia. The phonetics are the same as those she has received in other documents (Lauren confirmed for me).

Thanks!

HA 09/01/2015

**MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY CLINTON**

**RELEASE IN  
FULL**

**From:** Capricia Penavic Marshall, Chief of Protocol  
**Date:** November 10, 2009  
**Re:** Facebook and Forms of Address for Asia Trip

---

The Protocol Office prepared the following briefing materials for your Asia trip. The information collected includes the correct way to identify, pronounce and address all of the leaders you are scheduled to meet with.

**HA 09/01/2015**



**FACEBOOK & FORMS OF ADDRESS**  
**Singapore**



His Excellency Alberto "Bert" Romulo  
[ROH-myoo-loh]  
Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic  
of the Philippines  
*Addressed as: Mr. Secretary*



His Excellency Lee Hsien Loong [LEE]  
Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore  
*Addressed as: Your Excellency, thereafter as  
Prime Minister Lee*



Her Excellency Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo  
[Mah-kah-pah-GAHL ah-ROY-oh]  
President of the Republic of the Philippines  
*Addressed as: Madam President*



His Excellency S. R. Nathan [NAHTH-an]  
President of the Republic of Singapore  
*Addressed first as: Your Excellency,  
thereafter as: President Nathan*





His Excellency George YEO [YOH] Yong-Boon  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Singapore  
*Addressed as: Mr. Minister*



His Excellency Dmitriy Medvedev [Med-VED-yeff]  
President of the Russian Federation  
*Addressed as: Mr. President*



His Excellency Dr. Marty Natalegawa  
[Nah-tuh-léh-GAH-wah]  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia  
*Addressed as: Mr. Minister*



His Excellency Dr. Susilo Bambang YUDHOYONO [Yood-hoh-YOH-no]  
President of the Republic of Indonesia  
*Addressed as: Mr. President*



His Excellency YANG [YAHNG] Jiechi  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China  
*Addressed as: Mr. Minister*



Mr. Han Zheng [Hahn Jung]  
Mayor of Shanghai  
*Addressed as: Mayor Han*





His Excellency Hu Jintao [HOO Jint-OW]  
President of the People's Republic of China  
*Addressed as: President Hu*



His Excellency Wen Jiabao [WUHN Jah-bow]  
Premier the People's Republic of China  
*Addressed as: Premier Wen*



His Excellency Lee Myung-bak [LEE]  
President of the Republic of Korea  
*Addressed as: Mr. President*

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 10, 2009 12:40 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw. Request for Singapore Schedule for CODEL Levin  
**Attach:** Levin Visit Agenda.docx

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

**From:** de la Iglesia, Mark J  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Valmoro, Lona J  
**Cc:** Gatz, Karen L; Adams, David S  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 10 12:14:29 2009  
**Subject:** FW: Request for Singapore Schedule for CODEL Levin

Huma, Lona,

I promised to keep you two apprised of the activities of Reps. Levin and Brady, who are traveling on separate CODELS to Singapore for the APEC summit this week. Attached is Rep. Levin's schedule, with one important omission, which is pasted below: a meeting tomorrow (11/11/09) with U/S Hormats. I'm working on getting Rep. Brady's latest schedule and will provide it as soon as I have it.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Thanks,  
Mark

**Addition to Rep. Levin's schedule:**

11 Nov, 1815-1845

Suntec Center, Meeting room 4 A

Participants from State Side: U/S Hormats, Sara Yun (special assistant), Kurt Tong (invited if his schedule permits), notetaker (TBD).

Mark de la Iglesia  
 Director for House Affairs  
 State Dept. Legislative Affairs (H)  
 W: 202-647-9379 | C: [REDACTED]  
[delaliglesiaMJ@state.gov](mailto:delaliglesiaMJ@state.gov)

B6

HA 09/01/2015

**VISIT PROGRAM FOR REPRESENTATIVE SANDER LEVIN,**  
**Chairman of the House Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee**  
**(10 - 12 NOVEMBER 2009)**

**(FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY - NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION)**

**RELEASE IN  
PART B6**

**Delegation**

- 1) Congressman Sander "Sandy" Levin, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee
- 2) Mr. Jason Kearns, Trade Counsel, House Ways & Means Trade Subcommittee
- 3) Mr. Gary Finchum, US Embassy Escort Officer

10 November (Tuesday)		Attire: Business Suit	
Time	Activity	Venue	Remarks
0005	Arrival in Singapore <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Clear immigration and customs</li> <li>Met by Gary Finchum (US Embassy)</li> </ul>	Terminal 2 then VIP Arrival Lounge	From Tokyo via UA-9675/NH-901
0115-0130	Check in Hotel	Fairmont Hotel	80 Bras Basah Road +65 6339 7777
1445-1515	Ambassador Kirk, United States Trade Representative (USTR)	Fairmont Hotel - Clark Room	Contact: Averyl Bailey - [redacted]
1930- 2100	Dinner with Ambassador Kirk and Ambassador Marantis	TBD	Contact: Averyl Bailey - [redacted]

B6

**HA 09/01/2015**

11 November (Wednesday)		Attire: Business suit	
Time	Activity	Venue	Remarks
0830-0930	US Members of APEC Business Advisory Council <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deb Henretta - Proctor Gamble Group President, Asia</li> <li>• Peter L. Scher - JP Morgan Chase Executive VP of Global Government Affairs and Public Policy</li> </ul>	Pan Pacific Hotel  Room-Ocean 1 on Level 2	Contact: Alex Parle <input type="text"/>  7 Raffles Boulevard +65 6336 8111
1315-1430	TBD - APEC Ministerial Meeting Lunch	Suntec Ballroom 3	
1500-1530	Director-General Pascal Lamy - WTO	Mandarin Oriental Hotel - DG Lamy's Suite	Contact: Xiaodong WANG <input type="text"/>  5 Raffles Avenue, Marina Square +65 6338 0066
1630-1700	Minister Tim Grosner, Minister of Trade - New Zealand	Conrad Hotel - Kallang Room 31 <sup>st</sup> Floor	Contact: Alex Smithyman Cell: <input type="text"/>  Two Temasek Boulevard 65-6334-8888
1730-1800	Minister Kim Jong-hoon, Minister for Trade - Republic of Korea	Suntec	Lee Yong Hwan <input type="text"/>
1930-2200	TBD- Ministers Official Dinner	Capella Sentosa	1 The Knolls +65 6377 8888

B6

Day 3 ~ 12 November (Thursday)			
Attire: Casual			
0400	Depart hotel for airport	VIP Departure Area	
0600	Depart for US		NW-320 (Levin) UA-876 (Kearns)

**Weather:**

**Singapore:** Highs in the upper 80's and lows in the upper 70's with very high humidity and frequent thunderstorms.

**Time Zone:** Singapore - 13 Hours Ahead of Washington

**Exchange Rate:** US \$1 equals 1.39 Singapore dollars

**Contact Numbers****Embassy Control Officer:**

Gary Finchum  
 Defense Threat Reduction Agency  
 U.S. Embassy Singapore  
 Tel: (65) 6476-9028  
 Cell:   
 Home:

B6

**US Embassy:**

(65) 6476-9453

**Chargé d'affaires:**

Mr. Dan Shields  
 (65) 6476-9178

**Fairmont Hotel:**

(65) 6339-7777

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 10, 2009 1:54 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Honduras Update

RELEASE IN PART  
 B6

B6

**From:** Shannon, Thomas A  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 10 09:44:19 2009  
**Subject:** FW: Honduras Update

Update on Honduras from Ambassador Llorens. Craig Kelly left this morning for Honduras. He will arrive at midday. He will meet with Micheletti and Zelaya in an effort to bring both back to the table to form a government of national unity.

SBU  
 This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Llorens, Hugo  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 10, 2009 8:59 AM  
**To:** Aquilera, Patricia; Amselem, W Lewis; Brands, William R; Cue, Lourdes C; Doug Fraser [REDACTED]; drestrepo [REDACTED]; Eugene Gray [REDACTED]; Gonzalez, Francisco J; Gonzalez, Juan S; Henshaw, Simon; Jacobson, Roberta S; Kelly, Craig A; Otero, Maria; Paul Trivelli [REDACTED]; SES-O; Shannon, Thomas A; Swisher, Robert W; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Webster, Christopher W; Williams, Bisa; Wolfe, David C; Zambrano, Maria Gabriela  
**Cc:** Task Force Honduras; Polaski, Sandra - ILAB  
**Subject:** Honduras Update

B6

**SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED**

**Restoration of Z:** Since the TSJA Accord was sent to Congress on October 30, the congressional leadership of the Liberal, National and Christian Democratic Parties have insisted that that it was unlikely for the National Congress to vote on President Zelaya's restoration prior to the elections. The reasoning has been that in the midst of the elections campaign the candidates were unlikely to risk a vote (regardless of whether it was in favor or against) that in one way or another would alienate a significant proportion of the electorate. Both major candidates have privately told us that if they win the election they would be reluctant to receive the presidential sash from M and would call on the Congress to vote on restoration. Nevertheless, yesterday, M advisor Vilma Morales, a member of the M negotiating team to both the San Jose and Guaymas Dialogue negotiations, called on the National Congress to take a vote on the restitution question as soon as possible. In response Congress President Saavedra states that Congress would take its responsibilities seriously and would deliberate on the restitution issue, but would await guidance and opinions from the Supreme Court, the Attorney General, and the National Human Rights Ombudsman. All of these institutions have strongly supported or participated in the coup d'etat. It is being reported that the Supreme Court will convene tomorrow to begin to review the congressional request to review Article 5 of the TSJA. Court sources say that the Court cannot issue an opinion on the legality of Article 5 because there is a pending case before the Court filed by private citizens (Raul Valeriano and Leopoldo Romero) arguing that the events of June 28 constituted a coup d'etat. Court sources reports that once the Court rules on that case (which may be imminent) it is better positioned to provide guidance to the Congress. Also, Court officials insist that they have already issued a formal opinion of the entire San Jose Accord, including the Article covering restitution. In that opinion going back to August, the Court ruled that the decision to restore Z was a political one, which could be made by the Congress. However, the Court view at the time was that while Congress could restore

HA 09/01/2015



Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

the deposed President, Z would still face legal and criminal charges unless Congress chose to give him immunity for the political violations, not criminal ones.

**Meeting w Z:** The DCM and I met with Z for 1 hour 45 minutes to urge him to return to the table and implement the TSJA. We found him unyielding in his position. He says that he is unwilling to return to the talks with the M regime since he doesn't believe they are acting in good faith. He insisted that M was not interested in stepping down and would do everything in his power to ensure that he (Z) would never be restored. He stressed that if he was not restored the elections would not be legitimate and those involved in the coup would not be able to free themselves from the stigma of their actions. Z seemed totally out of touch and seemed completely focused on himself and that the future of Honduras and the future of democracy in the entire region hinged on his restoration to power prior to the elections. He predicted that if he was not restored that Honduras faced a bleak future led by a weak and discredited government and with a high probability of violence and civil conflict. I attempted to make him see the obligation he and M had in creating conditions for a workable step-by-step process that would allow for the regime to step down, ensure the holding of free and fair elections, and the smooth transfer of power, hopefully from the legitimate head of state to the newly elected president.

I will report the details on the high side, but at this moment I see no probability that Z will seek to go back to the table under the TSJA framework. He may be gaming it in order to put maximum pressure on M prior to the elections. He did not say whether he would accept or reject restoration if the vote was held after the elections. I assume he is keeping his options open.

**Meeting w Elections Tribunal:** We met with the three Magistrates of the Supreme Elections Tribunal yesterday afternoon in a private meeting in my office. The Magistrates were relatively confident that the technical organization of the event was going well. They discussed some of the novel reforms that they planned to adopt to improve the transparency of the process (we will report the details front channel). They also said that despite the loss of significant international technical assistance, which had strained their budget, they had been able to secure funding (some of it by incurring debt) to cover the loss of the international funding. They were disappointed that at this stage it was unlikely that official international observer missions were likely to oversee the process of November 29. However, they mentioned that counterparts from the Central American Elections Tribunals planned to participate (they mentioned Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Panama). They also noted that they expected significant number of European, Latin American and US observers, including groups of parliamentarians, as well as civil society reps brought in by Rotary Clubs, Chamber of Commerce. They also expressed the hope that some type of accompaniment missions brought in from the OAS (even if not a full delegation), the EU, the Carter Center and others.

**PDAS Kelly Arrives Mid-day:** PDAS Kelly scheduled to arrive today on the mid-day American flight from Miami. He has scheduled meetings with M, Z, OAS officials and several other key political players. It will be a low profile visit.

**NODEL Schakowsky:** Representative Schakowsky (D-Illinois) is scheduled to arrive on the same flight as PDAS Kelly. The purpose of her visit is to review the human rights situations and look at the elections outlook. We will brief her this afternoon.

**Hugo Llorens**  
Ambassador  
U.S. Embassy Tegucigalpa, Honduras  
504 236-9320 ext. 4268

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Stephen Schwartz [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 11, 2009 12:22:13 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**CC:** flemming [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** FW: SV: Enjoy

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

**Importance:** High

**Attachments:** image001.jpg; image002.jpg; image003.jpg; image004.jpg

Huma, I just received this Email, it is an interview request from Denmark

*Enjoy,  
Steve*

---

**From:** flemming [REDACTED]  
**To:** camerarts [REDACTED]  
**CC:** huma\_abedin@clinton.senate.gov  
**Date:** Wed, 11 Nov 2009 17:57:44 +0100  
**Subject:** SV: Enjoy

Hi Stephen Schwartz!

Hope you can remember the friendly Vikings from Denmark.

We still have a strong connection to the US, import a lot of products from US, member of AmCham ect.

I think Hillary is coming to Denmark in December, if possible could you ask if a journalist (Woman) from our "Financial Times" could get an interview with Hillary Clinton?? Last week she made a doublet page interview with Jane Lauder in "Financial Times" called Børsen.

If possible we would also like to invite the Hillary Delegation to our Spa in Copenhagen for free beauty treatments with American products like Murad; Ole Henriksen Face/Body, Youngblood, Orly ect.....se [www.hellethorup.dk](http://www.hellethorup.dk)



All the best, hope to se you in Copenhagen one day, please be our guest!

Med venlig hilsen/ Best Regards

Spa Supply A/S

Flemming Pagaard

Co Founder+Frindly Viking

Mobil

**Fra:** Stephen Schwartz [mailto:

**Sendt:** 21. februar 2004 16:46

**Til:** Flemming Pagaard

**Cc:** Huma Abedin

**Emne:** Re: Enjoy

Dear Friendly Vikings,

Thank you for your kind words, I will forward your E-mail to the Senator's assistant, I'm sure that she will contact you.

You might find this link interesting. It is to the Senator's web site, [www.friendsofhillary.com](http://www.friendsofhillary.com) some of the images from the afternoons photography are on the site.

If you are in New York and have a need for photography, please contact me,

Regards,

Stephen Schwartz

**CamerArts EVENTS**

P.O.Box 2336

Westport, Ct 06880-0336

[www.camerarts.com](http://www.camerarts.com)

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

**From:** [Flemming Pagaard](#)

HA 09/01/2015

**To:** Stephen Schwartz

**Sent:** Saturday, February 21, 2004 7:08 AM

**Subject:** SV: Enjoy

Thanks many times for the photo....we are very thankful for that You toke the time to take the photos and ofcourse also thankful that Hillary Clinton allow us to have the photos.

We import from US a lot of Cosmetics, brands like Murad, Laura Mercier, Youngblood, Ole Henriksen Face/Body(Ole Henriksen is a Dane in Hollywood were all the stars come for having beautytreatment and he's having is own brand). We sell the products in Denmark, Norway, Sweeden, Germany, Island, Netherlañd, Spain and more countries are coming this Year. The sales are just going op to the skies!

We would like to sent a small amarican "eksport-cosmetic-present" to You and ofcourse specially to Hillary Clinton. Is that OK? And were do we have to send it so we can be sure Hillary Clinton will get it??

Best regards

The Vikings From Denmark

Flemming Pagaard Jensen

"New Hillary Clinton Ambassador"

-----Oprindeligt meddelelse-----

**Fra:** Stephen Schwartz [mailto:

**Sendt:** 18. februar 2004 06:43

**Til:** Flemming Pagaard

**Emne:** Enjoy

Photo E-mail

[Play slideshow](#) | [Download images](#)

I'm glad that you enjoyed your stay in NYC. Even better that you had an opportunity to meet Senator Clinton. After all she represents the state of New York. I have been working for her since 1998, She is THE BEST! (Even if I say so my self) attached is the image. You should be able to download and print it. If you have any problems in doing so, please let me know. I'm curious as to the types of products that you import.

[http://photos.msn.com/Viewing/Album.aspx?PST=8nK2AN1B%211JmZao%21iR2Cw45E5A7kw\\*F1BdTblwtJTHFg26p\\*MY%218OdZvZXk0YcwKgXLOcKoFIA8juRovYIQINA\\$\\$](http://photos.msn.com/Viewing/Album.aspx?PST=8nK2AN1B%211JmZao%21iR2Cw45E5A7kw*F1BdTblwtJTHFg26p*MY%218OdZvZXk0YcwKgXLOcKoFIA8juRovYIQINA$$)

Please enjoy!

Steve Schwartz  
[www.camerars.com](http://www.camerars.com)

This MSN Photo E-mail slideshow will be available for 30 days.  
To share high quality pictures with your friends and family using MSN Photo E-mail, [join MSN](#).

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MSA



RELEASE IN FULL



RELEASE IN PART  
B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 11, 2009 5:03 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: For Review Backdrop options  
**Attach:** Study 5.tif; Study 4.tif; Study 3.tif; Study 2.tif; Study 1.tif; OPTION-1.jpg; OPTION-2.jpg

B6

**From:** Caroline Adler [REDACTED]  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I; Yehl, Ashley C (PACE); Merrill, Nicholas S; Connell, Ellen K; Mazengia, Wossenyesh (Manila)  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 11 11:15:54 2009  
**Subject:** For Review: Backdrop options

Hi guys -

Here are 7 backdrop options that have 3 consistent characteristics: a sun from the Philippine flag, red/white and blue from the flags of both countries, and the language we discussed: A Dialogue with Hillary Clinton and ABS-CBN/University at the bottom

Files labeled "study" have a lighter palate and those labeled "OPTION" have a darker one. (ignore text for the OPTION files, as these will have corrected text in the finals.)

The giant LED screen will be set against an even larger blue curtain that is uplit

During tomorrow's downtime following the book event, Nick and I will go look at the setup one more time and see these live...so there's some flexibility for making a decision, though I'd love to narrow options to 2.

Let me know your top picks!

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
 Sent: Wednesday, November 11, 2009 6:10 PM  
 To: humamabedin  
 Subject: Fw: Update

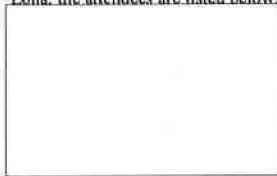
RELEASE IN  
 PART B5,B6

B6

----- Original Message -----  
 From: Valmoro, Lona J  
 To: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma  
 Sent: Wed Nov 11 17:55:39 2009  
 Subject: Re: Update

----- Original Message -----  
 From: Valmoro, Lona J  
 To: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma  
 Sent: Wed Nov 11 11:44:47 2009  
 Subject: Re: Update

OK here is what she just sent to me  
 Lona, the attendees are listed below



B5

----- Original Message -----  
 From: Mills, Cheryl D  
 To: Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma  
 Sent: Wed Nov 11 11:34:37 2009  
 Subject: RE: Update

I may veto some on that list per my discussion with HRC

-----Original Message-----  
 From: Valmoro, Lona J  
 Sent: Wednesday, November 11, 2009 11:06 AM  
 To: Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D  
 Subject: Re: Update

Of course I just asked Nancy for "her" guest list so will pass along.

----- Original Message -----  
 From: Abedin, Huma  
 To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valmoro, Lona J  
 Sent: Wed Nov 11 10:01:12 2009  
 Subject: Re: Update

Ok can u wait to put out invites till tomorrow morning our time?

----- Original Message -----  
 From: Mills, Cheryl D  
 To: Abedin, Huma; Valmoro, Lona J  
 Sent: Wed Nov 11 09:44:57 2009  
 Subject: RE: Update

I made that ask to her directly and told her that given af/pak this was a tight night -- see b/l

edm

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



From: Abedin, Huma  
Sent: Wednesday, November 11, 2009 9:44 AM  
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valmoro, Lona J  
Subject: Re: Update

Need to do that soon? Before afpak and india madness? Can't wait till after thanksgiving?

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

From: Mills, Cheryl D  
To: Abedin, Huma; Valmoro, Lona J  
Sent: Wed Nov 11 09:40:27 2009  
Subject: RE: Update

The nancy parish dinner - lona can you circulate the proposed guest list.

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

From: Abedin, Huma  
Sent: Wednesday, November 11, 2009 9:32 AM  
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Valmoro, Lona J  
Subject: Re: Update

What am I setting up for home?

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

From: Mills, Cheryl D  
To: Valmoro, Lona J  
Cc: Abedin, Huma  
Sent: Wed Nov 11 08:55:46 2009  
Subject: FW: Update

Let's do the invites for it since it is coming up quickly

She wants to do it.

Let's set for her home.

cdm

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

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
Sent: Wednesday, November 11, 2009 7:07 AM  
To: Mills, Cheryl D  
Subject: Re: Update

We should do.

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

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
To: H  
Sent: Wed Nov 11 05:48:44 2009  
Subject: Fw: Update

Do you still want this night (assuming also af/pak is that day?)

---

From: Valmoro, Lona J  
To: Mills, Cheryl D  
Sent: Tue Nov 10 14:34:30 2009  
Subject: FW: Update

Nancy Parrish following up - okay to relay the night of the 23rd yet?

From: Nancy Parrish [mailto: ]  
Sent: Tuesday, November 10, 2009 11:03 AM  
To: Valmoro, Lona J  
Subject: Re: Update

B6

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

From: Nancy Parrish

To: Valinoro, Lona J

Sent: Tue Nov 10 09:23:00 2009

Subject: Update

Hi Lona, are we close to coming up with a date?

Sent from my iPhone

B6

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 11, 2009 6:40 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Dates

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

B6

**From:** Valmore, Lona J  
**To:** Jones, Natalie R  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Marshall, Capricia P; Rubin, Ali M  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 09 14:49:15 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Dates

Not 100 percent unless Huma says otherwise.

**From:** Jones, Natalie R  
**To:** Valmore, Lona J  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Marshall, Capricia P; Rubin, Ali M  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 09 14:48:12 2009  
**Subject:** RE: Dates

Have these dates been signed off on - can we start moving forward with planning?

**From:** Valmore, Lona J  
**Sent:** Friday, November 06, 2009 9:00 AM  
**To:** Jones, Natalie R  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma  
**Subject:** RE: Dates

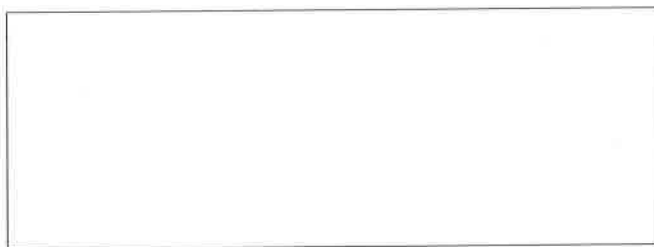
Yes, I am adding those dates to an HRC memo today so she can see and clear as well

Please let me check in with [REDACTED]

B5

**From:** Jones, Natalie R  
**Sent:** Friday, November 06, 2009 8:55 AM  
**To:** Valmore, Lona J  
**Subject:** Dates

Hi Lona! Glad you enjoyed dinner last night. Just want to make sure we are on the same page regarding holiday receptions, please let me know if this what you have down:



B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbcdinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 11, 2009 7:49 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Backdrops  
**Attach:** Study 5.jpg; Study 4.jpg; Study 3.jpg; Study 2.jpg; Study 1.jpg

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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**From:** Caroline Adler [REDACTED]  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I; Merrill, Nicholas S; Connell, Ellen K; Yehl, Ashley C (PACE)  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 11 19:33:08 2009  
**Subject:** Backdrops

Hi guys -

Here's a simpler format for viewing these - and what I think are the top 5 options. If possible, can you please let me know your thoughts before wheels up?

The Ambassador liked #2

thanks!  
caroline

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 12, 2009 8:22 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Staff Retreat  
**Attach:** 2009-11-11 Senior Leadership Retreat - Public.docx; 2009-11-11 Senior Leadership Retreat - Final Draft.docx

---

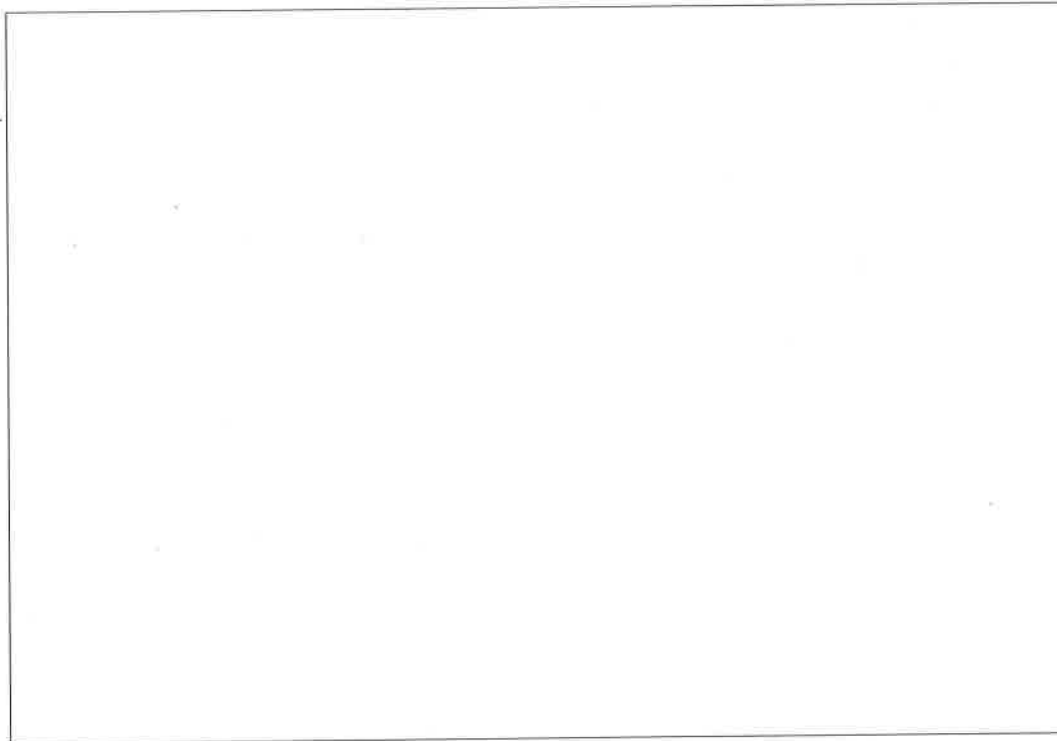
B6

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I  
**Cc:** Marshall, Capricia P; Jones, Natalie R  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 12 07:30:58 2009  
**Subject:** FW: Staff Retreat

Jake/CPM/Huma/Philippe:

Below in text is the proposed public agenda for the Retreat – anyone see any issues or concerns? I want to send to Natalie to distribute and am going to get it to her in final by 10am EST (11PM Manila time):

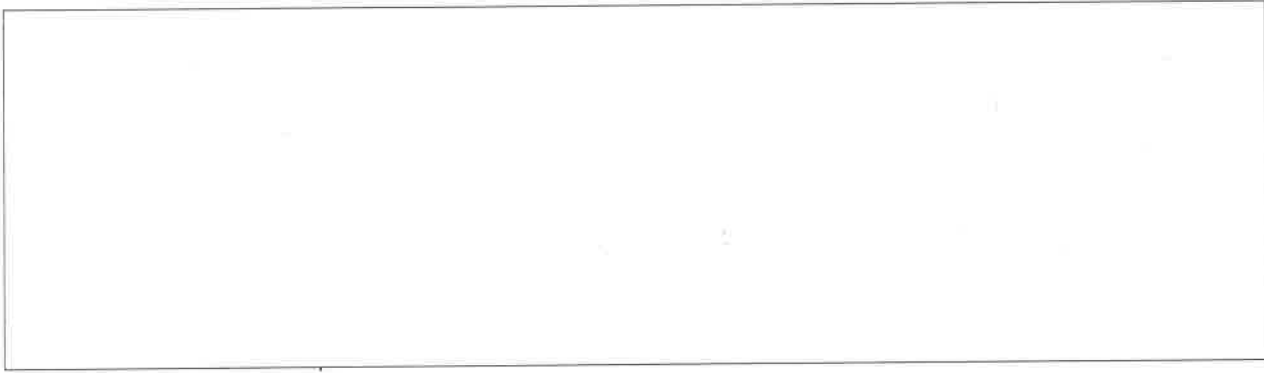
**Leadership Retreat**  
**Department of State**  
**Blair House**  
November 20, 2009



B5

Coffee Break

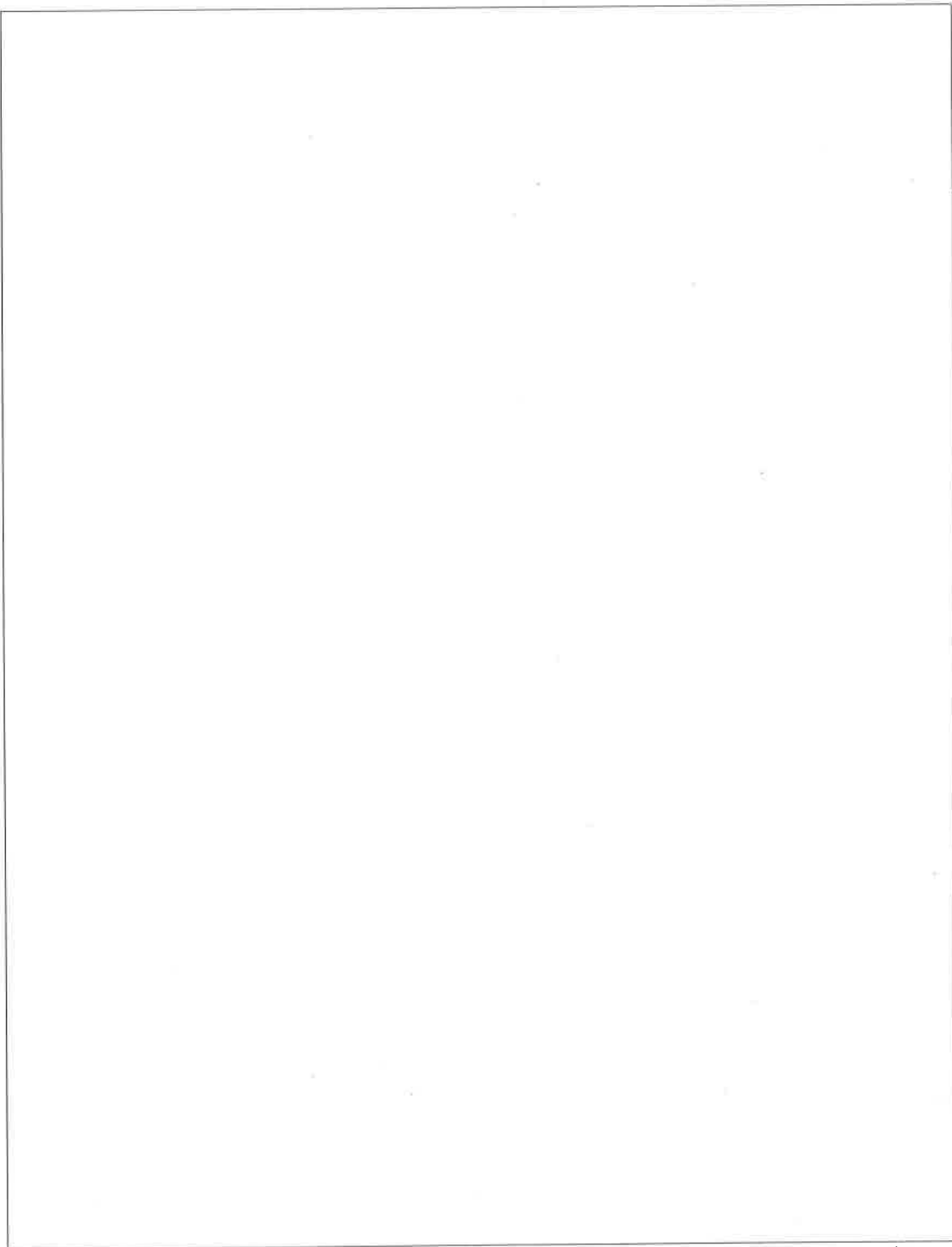
HA 09/01/2015



**DRAFT – Leadership Retreat – DRAFT**  
Department of State  
Blair House  
November 20, 2009

**RELEASE IN PART**  
**B5**

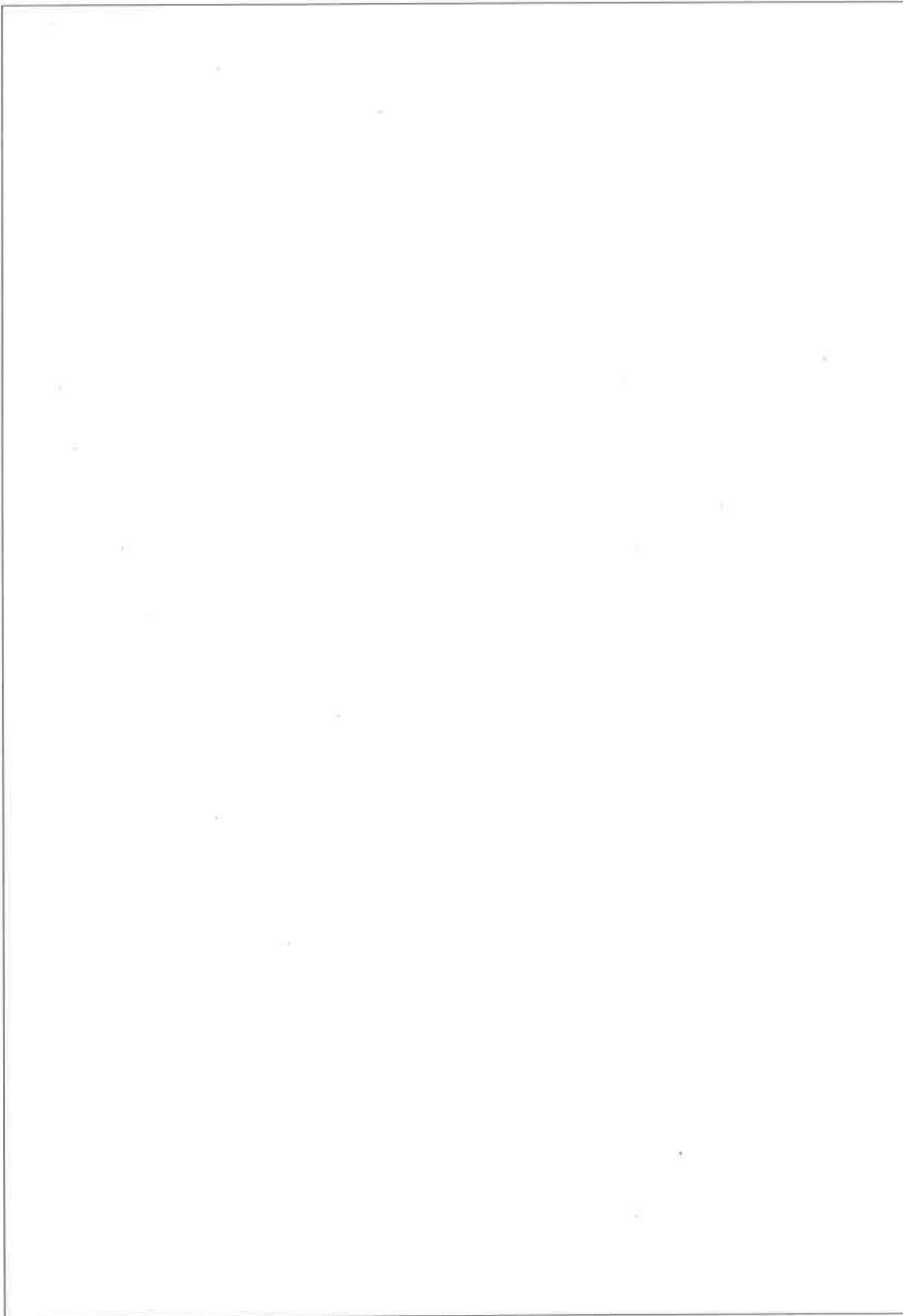
B5



Page | 1

**HA 09/01/2015**

B5



Page | 2

**HA 09/01/2015**



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 12, 2009 12:37 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: New call grid for Thursday, 11/12/09  
**Attach:** Nov 12 09 Grid Scan.pdf

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

---

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R  
**Cc:** Coleman, Claire L  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 12 12:22:21 2009  
**Subject:** New call grid for Thursday; 11/12/09

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 8:53 AM  
**To:** 'humamabedin' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: H: Memo on Afghan. Sid  
**Attach:** hrc memo afghan 111209.docx

RELEASE IN PART  
B3 DIA/NRO/NGA,B6

B6

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 13 06:35:23 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: H: Memo on Afghan. Sid

Pls print.

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

**From:** sbwhoeop [REDACTED] <sbwhoeop [REDACTED]>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 12 19:25:02 2009  
**Subject:** H: Memo on Afghan. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

November 12, 2009

**For:** Hillary  
**From:** Sid  
**Re:** Afghanistan strategy

Below are two documents: One is a memo from [REDACTED] who served in the counter-insurgency program in Vietnam with John Paul Vann. He writes about Bernard Fall, the great French journalist and analyst, whom he studied with. His memo is a critique of COIN proposals and his own recommendations.

The other document consists of notes from my conversation with William Murray, former station chief of CIA in Pakistan. He was one of the members of a small CIA team, including Milt Bearden (whom you probably know and who is close to Richard Holbrooke), that directed the Afghan resistance to the Soviet occupation. Murray also served as station chief elsewhere, including Lebanon. His remarks focus on the lack of a clear mission and message in Afghanistan.

I neither endorse nor dispute [REDACTED]'s and Murray's analyses, but simply present them.

B3 DIA/NRO/NGA  
B6

1. [REDACTED]  
Counterinsurgency – a much failed strategy?

Bernard Fall was one of the most significant theoreticians and practitioner of Counterinsurgency (COIN) in the 20th Century. He was the expert most listened to at the Special Warfare Center at Ft. Bragg when LTG William Yarborough commanded the school there in the Kennedy and Johnson eras.

Fall defined COIN clearly. He said that: Counterinsurgency = political reform + economic development + counter guerrilla

HA 09/01/2015

## operations

This theory of warfare was developed by the colonial powers as a "cure" for the wave on "wars of national liberation" that swept through their overseas possessions after World War Two. Because of these revolts against authority most of the European powers found themselves faced with colonized populations engaged in extended attempts to obtain independence from the metropole. Such rebellions were usually based on ethnic and racial differences with the colonizers and were often led by vanguard Left parties with communist connections. That connection caused an eventual American policy commitment to the COIN struggle. That commitment sometimes occurred as a partner of the colonial power (Vietnam in the late '40s and '50s) and sometimes as a successor to the colonial power after at least partial independence had been achieved. (Vietnam after the French)

COIN theory was seen by both the former colonial officers who taught it at Bragg and their American disciples of the time as the opposite of the methods of the anti-colonial insurgents who were thought to practice something called "revolutionary warfare." (RW)

Revolutionary Warfare + Political subversion (including propaganda) + economic transformation (usually socialist) + guerrilla warfare (to include terrorism)

The central idea behind COIN was seen as competitive reformed government and economic development for the population that was at least potentially supported the insurgents RW movement. It was believed that if this population was "protected" from the RW efforts of the insurgent movement, then the population would choose to side with the counterinsurgents whether the counterinsurgents were the local post-colonial government or an occupying power.

This doctrine was widely applied across the world in the middle and late 20th Century. There were successes and there were failures.

## Successes:

The British suppression of the "Malayan Emergency" was probably the greatest success of the counterinsurgents. In Malaya the British colonial authorities faced a clearly communist guerrilla movement that consisted altogether of overseas Chinese living in the midst of a majority Malay and Muslim population. The area of operations was a peninsula nearly completely surrounded by ocean areas dominated by the British Navy. The British forces suffered from cross department coordination issues early in the campaign, but once those were solved and the "Communist Terrorists" (CTs) isolated in the jungles and rubber plantations all that was needed to defeat them was persistence in small unit patrolling until the CTs were exterminated. There were never more than a few hundred of them. The British succeeded in suppressing this revolt but what did this successful effort cost them. It was enormously expensive and success was followed by British withdrawal from Malaya and the creation of an independent Malaysia completely dominated by the Malay ethnic adversaries of the overseas Chinese.

Kenya and Cyprus were both gripped by revolts by the Kikuyu and Greek populations respectively. In both cases, RW campaigns based on terrorism were fought to a standstill by the British only to be followed by political decisions on the part of the British government to abandon these countries and allow the ascent to power of the former leaders of the insurgencies. Kenyatta and Makarios respectively.

In Latin America, where I participated in several COIN efforts, the Kennedy created "Alliance for Progress" sought to defeat local insurgencies inspired and led by cadres from Castro's Cuba. These countries were particularly good targets for communist inspired RW because the political and economic structures of the Central American and Andean states were so clearly unfair and undemocratic that local populations of underfed Indians and peasants could be easily proselytized. In the process of RW. In many cases in Latin America the low level economic development efforts of the civil and military arms of the US Government met with considerable success. Villagers were protected from the insurgents, local (village economies) were improved. Medical treatment was provided to those who had never known it. Nevertheless, the "Alliance for Progress" can not be considered a strategic success. Why? The local elites in all these countries quickly perceived the COIN campaign as a threat to their political privilege and wealth in land and simply refused to institute the reforms sponsored by the alliance. Much the same thing happened in various parts of Africa and Southwest Asia where it was attempted.

## Failures

The American war in Vietnam is a typical example of failure of the COIN theory. The massive communist led Viet Minh independence movement was a classic example of RW in all its components taken to its ultimate development in the creation of a regular army for the insurgent movement under the sponsorship of its Chinese communist ally. The United States participated in the French COIN effort against the Viet Minh and then became the sponsor of the post-colonial government left behind by the French on their departure. Contrary to popular legend (I served there for two years) the initial approach of the United States to the situation in South Vietnam was pure COIN right out of the Ft. Bragg School. Populations of villagers were protected, the South Vietnamese armed forces were developed, village militias were created for self defense, good government was preached to the Diem government in Saigon. Economic development was fostered. It was only when the government of North Vietnam decided that these methods were a serious bar to their eventual success in RW in the South and brought its regular army into South Vietnam in 1964 that US forces escalated their own deployment to the conventional war level. This was a necessary step if the eradication of the South Vietnamese government and the US COIN effort was to be avoided. There followed three years of conventional warfare between US

HA 09/01/2015



and North Vietnamese forces. This warfare was largely conducted outside populated areas. COIN efforts continued during this period but took second place to the need to defeat or at least seriously weaken North Vietnam's army. In 1967 it was judged that this had been accomplished and COIN was once again made the centerpiece of American efforts in Vietnam. To accomplish this, a fully integrated civil/military COIN structure was created under the combined military command in Vietnam. This was called "Civil Operations, Revolutionary Development Support." (CORDS) I worked in this program for a year. (1968-1969) This effort had virtually unlimited money, ten thousand advisers in every aspect of Vietnamese civil society, business and government function and a massive coalition and south Vietnamese conventional force standing by to protect the population and the counterinsurgents of CORDS while they did their work. This COIN program was largely successful. A handover to the South Vietnamese forces was devised in the form of the "Vietnamization Program" and US forces were withdrawn in "trenches" (slices) over a couple of years. Following the Christmas, 1972 renewed bombing effort over North Vietnam (caused by North Vietnamese intransigence in Geneva) a ceasefire was reached and for two years there was quiet in South Vietnam with the South Vietnamese government holding much of the country. It was only after some minor incident on the world stage caused a revulsion in the American press and public against any further involvement in Vietnam that the US Congress passed a law forbidding any further aid to South Vietnam that the North Vietnamese decided to use their fine army to over run the country in a conventional war Lesson – You can win the COIN war and still be defeated conventionally or politically at home.

The French war in Algeria is another example of COIN success followed by political defeat and withdrawal. After a prolonged struggle, the French security force had largely defeated the Algerian native guerrillas of the Front National de Liberation (FLN). This struggle had been waged with all the aspects of classic COIN doctrine. The revolt had started in 1955. By 1960 the French Army, police and their Algerian allies had largely won the fight. As in Vietnam, two years then passed in relative quiet. In 1962 De Gaulle was elected president of France with a political vision that required independence for Algeria. That negated all the struggle and success of the COIN war. Failure once again at the strategic level.

Our war in Iraq is now cited as an example of the success of the COIN theory and its methods. In fact nothing of the sort occurred in Iraq. Remember – COIN = political reform + economic development + counter-guerrilla operations. We have not brought on political reform in Iraq. What we have done is re-arrange the "players" in such a way that the formerly downtrodden Shia Arabs are now the masters. This has in no way reduced the potential for inter-communal armed struggle. We did not defeat the insurgents in counter guerrilla operations. What we did was bring more troops into the Baghdad area to enforce the separation of the ethno-sectarian communities while at the same time using traditional methods of "divide and conquer" to split off enough insurgents to form an effective force to use against Al-Qa'ida in Iraq and others whom we disapproved of. This is not counterinsurgency!!!

#### Conclusion

COIN is a badly flawed instrument of statecraft. Why?

- The locals ultimately own the country being fought over. If they do not want the "reforms" you desire, they will resist you as we have been resisted in Iraq and Afghanistan. McChrystal's strategy paper severely criticized Karzai's government. Will that disapproval harden into a decision to act to find a better government or will we simply undercut Afghan central government and become the actual government?
- Such COIN wars are expensive, long drawn out affairs that are deeply debilitating for the foreign counterinsurgent power. Reserves of money, soldiers and national will are not endless. Ultimately, the body politic of the counterinsurgent foreign power turns against the war and then all that has occurred has been a waste.
- COIN theory is predicated on the ability of the counterinsurgents to change the mentality of the "protected" (read controlled) population. The sad truth is that most people do not want to be deprived of their ancestral ways and will fight to protect them "Hearts and Minds" is an empty propagandist's phrase.
- In the end the foreign counterinsurgent is embarked on a war that is not his own war. For him, the COIN war will always be a limited war, fought for a limited time with limited resources. For the insurgent, the war is total war. They have no where to escape to after a tour of duty. The psychological difference is massive.
- For the counterinsurgent the commitment of forces must necessarily be much larger than for the insurgents. The counterinsurgent seeks to protect massive areas, hundreds of built up areas and millions of people. The insurgent can pick his targets. The difference in force requirements is crippling to the counterinsurgents.

What should we do?

- Hold the cities as bases to prevent a recognized Taliban government until some satisfactory (to us) deal is made among the Afghans.
- Participate in international economic development projects for Afghanistan.
- Conduct effective clandestine HUMINT out of the city bases against international jihadi elements.

- Turn the tribes against the jihadi elements.
- Continue to hunt and kill/capture dangerous jihadis,

How long might you have to follow this program? It might be a long time but that would be sustainable. A full-blown COIN campaign in Afghanistan is not politically sustainable



B3 DIA/NRO/NGA  
B6

2.  
Bill Murray  
11/12/09

There was a small group of us (CIA) who ran the war against the Soviets, about five of us. I was station chief in Pakistan from 1991-94. We were criticized by State for supporting the extremists. We always said we are only there to support those who fight. Our logic was that we had no political goal, just get the Soviets out. We should have demobilized the Afghans, but we didn't.

Our goals were understood by the Afghans. We stuck to the message.

The Afghans hated the Arabs, hated them during the war against the Soviets. It's mythology they liked them, built by the press. You can't get the press to get off the blowback theory. Bin Laden, I doubt if he ever fired a gun in anger. He was there when I was there. He was engineering projects, roads, bridges and medical teams. But there was no big Arab fighting force.

Milt Bearden and I met with Pakistani generals who contacted us in 2007 at their request, met with the key general from ISI who created the Taliban. The message to us was that the Brits shouldn't go into Helmand. They had thrown them out in 1880 and they would never accept them back. No one listened. I'm in contact with those people all the time. So is Milt. They don't believe us anymore. The US military has its own objective. They think we are fighting against Islam. The Afghans will never perceive we are a secular society.

The military reinforces the same things over and over again. We're literally fighting the people. The problem is not the number of troops. It's a failed mission. The Afghans believe we are there to stay. That is the thing they will never accept. They will allow armies to go through and even stay for a few years, but not stay forever. I pity the president on his choices. He's torn by the military, with their typical just-give-us-the-troops. I don't see how to make this work.

We need a clear mission, internationalize the message and set an attainable goal. The message should be: No place should be a sanctuary for a group that threatens the peace of the international community. There needs to be a clearly defined goal. We went there to get al Qaeda and get Bin Laden. We didn't go there to get the Taliban. We've shifted goals and we're trying to build a government in Afghanistan with a person who represents a small portion of the people and is corrupt.

To me the message would be, we came to get AQ, this place can never a launch pad for terrorism against the West. Say we'll be out four months after we get Bin Laden. The Taliban are telling people we are there to stay forever. We talk about democracy, etc. They don't care. They care about the way of life. It's as simplistic as it gets. We can't afford to restructure that society.

McChrystal is a military commander. He is going to solve the problem with more troops. We are exactly where the Soviets were in '86. We are hunkered down in large encampments, we sweep down, they lure us into ambushes.

The problem is not the number of troops. It's a failed mission. We don't talk about Bin Laden anymore. We've never declared our objectives in a way the Afghan people understand. Too much talk about democracy and nation building. Obama should say we're here to get the people who disturb the international peace. I'd internationalize it. This is the whole world's problem. The AQ is a plague. What we want to achieve is the destruction of AQ and then we'll withdraw. You can make a deal they won't support AQ figures in the future.

In Pakistan, it's hopeless. I sat in on every discussion on the decision that led to cutting off aid in 1990. There was no doubt of what they were doing. Never once did a single Pakistani official deviate from saying that they were not making nuclear weapons. Every discussion began with a lie.

I would close every Indian consulate all over Afghanistan. The Pakistanis believe they are funding the Taliban.

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 8:53 AM  
**To:** 'humamabedin' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Quick on David Crane. Copenhagen...

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 13 06:35:39 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Quick on David Crane. . Copenhagen...

Pls print

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

**From:** Burns Strider <bstrider@eleisongroup.com>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 12 16:51 51 2009  
**Subject:** Quick on David Crane .. Copenhagen...

Hey boss. . David Crane has something tentatively coming together for Copenhagen around businesses and climate change -- a business to business dialogue... but only wants to proceed based on your (or States) interests/okay... and he also wants to find out if you're going to Copenhagen as he is basing his going there on your level of interests.. He wants you to know he's not pushing for this but is interested in making something happen if you find it worthy...

Many of the corporate members of USCAP, including Alcoa, Dow, DuPont, Siemens Westinghouse, ConocoPhillips and, of course, General Electric, have extensive international operations including in India and particularly in China. While USCAP to date has been focused exclusively on securing passage of U.S. legislation, if it were the view of you and your climate change team that a business-to-business dialogue between major American corporations and their Chinese and Indian equivalents would be helpful, particularly one carried out with the blessing of the State Department and your foreign counterparts, I am sure that USCAP members would be willing to lend a hand.

September 22, 2009

The Honorable Hillary Clinton  
Secretary of State  
U.S. Department of State  
2201 C Street NW  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Madam Secretary:

Congratulations on a very successful beginning to your tenure at the State Department. For most Americans, particularly for your ardent supporters like Isabella and me, it is very comforting to know that as difficult a place as the world is at this point in time, you are in charge at State. As I write, I sit here in New York attending the CGI noting that both President Clinton and President Obama mentioned how you were hard at work cross town at the United Nations.

I write you today on global warming, the most important and one of the most intractable of those issues. As you may know, on behalf of NRG Energy, which is primarily a coal-burning power generation company, I have been speaking out for several years about the urgent necessity of federal climate change legislation. Moreover, NRG is moving aggressively to do something about it with our industry leadership in new nuclear power and our plans, announced since you and I last spoke, to build a series of large solar plants across California and New Mexico.

HA 09/01/2015



In recent months, aligned with many other progressive-thinking major American corporations and environmental groups in the U.S. Climate Action Partnership (USCAP), we have worked to pass the Waxman-Markey bill out of the U.S. House of Representatives in a form that would garner support from public policy makers from both parties and all regions of the Country. Now that the bill has taken the major step of being passed by the House, it moves on to the Senate where its fate remains uncertain among your former colleagues obviously, in part, due to the focus on healthcare, but also because of the difference of opinions on the merits of federal climate change legislation.

While you would know better than I, it is my strong impression that international considerations are going to weigh much more heavily on the Senate than they seem to have done in the House. As such, it will become critical what the Senate believes can be accomplished on the climate change front through your good offices with China and India. I know that you are well aware of this and that you have a high level and very capable team at State working this issue. I wanted to offer you our humble assistance in this regard.

Many of the corporate members of USCAP, including Alcoa, Dow, DuPont, Siemens Westinghouse, ConocoPhillips and, of course, General Electric, have extensive international operations including in India and particularly in China. While USCAP to date has been focused exclusively on securing passage of U.S. legislation, if it were the view of you and your climate change team that a business-to-business dialogue between major American corporations and their Chinese and Indian equivalents would be helpful, particularly one carried out with the blessing of the State Department and your foreign counterparts, I am sure that USCAP members would be willing to lend a hand.

Please let me know if we can help.

B6

Sincerely,

David Crane

President & Chief Executive Officer

HA 09/01/2015

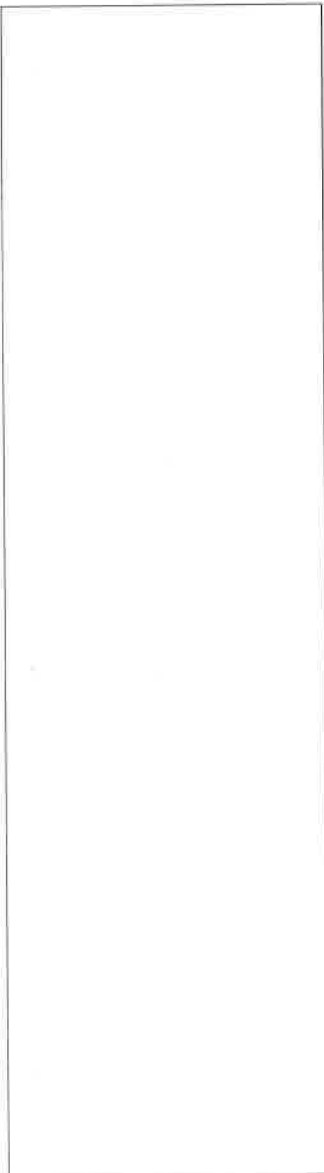
**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 12:16 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Additional Lunch Guests

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B6

**From:** Jones, Natalie R  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Marshall, Capricia P; Cheng, Dennis W  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 13 12:12:00 2009  
**Subject:** Additional Lunch Guests

Huma – We've compiled a list of recommendations for the 30 additional guests to be invited for the India Luncheon. The starred ones indicate that they should be invited with spouse. Can you please let us know which of these should be invited to lunch? There are approximately 50 people on the list below.



B5

HA 09/01/2015



B5



ALSO ATTENDING DINNER, TO CONSIDER



QUESTION 5 FOR HUMA



HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 1:33 PM  
**To:** humamabedin  
**Subject:** Print Fw: rough sched for Athens/ Brussels  
**Attach:** OSCE-NATO trip sked 12-09.doc

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RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

**From:** Wohlers, Paul  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D; Laszczych, Joanne; Tolv, Nora F  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 13 10:12:09 2009  
**Subject:** rough sched for Athens/ Brussels

Rough schedule for our trip call, which is now being rescheduled.

You will see two alternate schedules for Dec 3 in Brussels; first schedule is the original NATO plan, and the second is a new schedule being considered since some FMs cannot attend events in the morning due to schedule conflicts.

Brussels is asking for our view on that.

(Also, still working out some formatting issues with this document, but wanted to get it out asap.)

Paul D. Wohlers  
Deputy Executive Secretary  
S/ES-S, Rm. 7224  
202-647-5302

HA 09/01/2015

11/13/09

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

The Secretary's Visit to Athens, Greece and Brussels,  
Belgium, Dec. 1-4, 2009



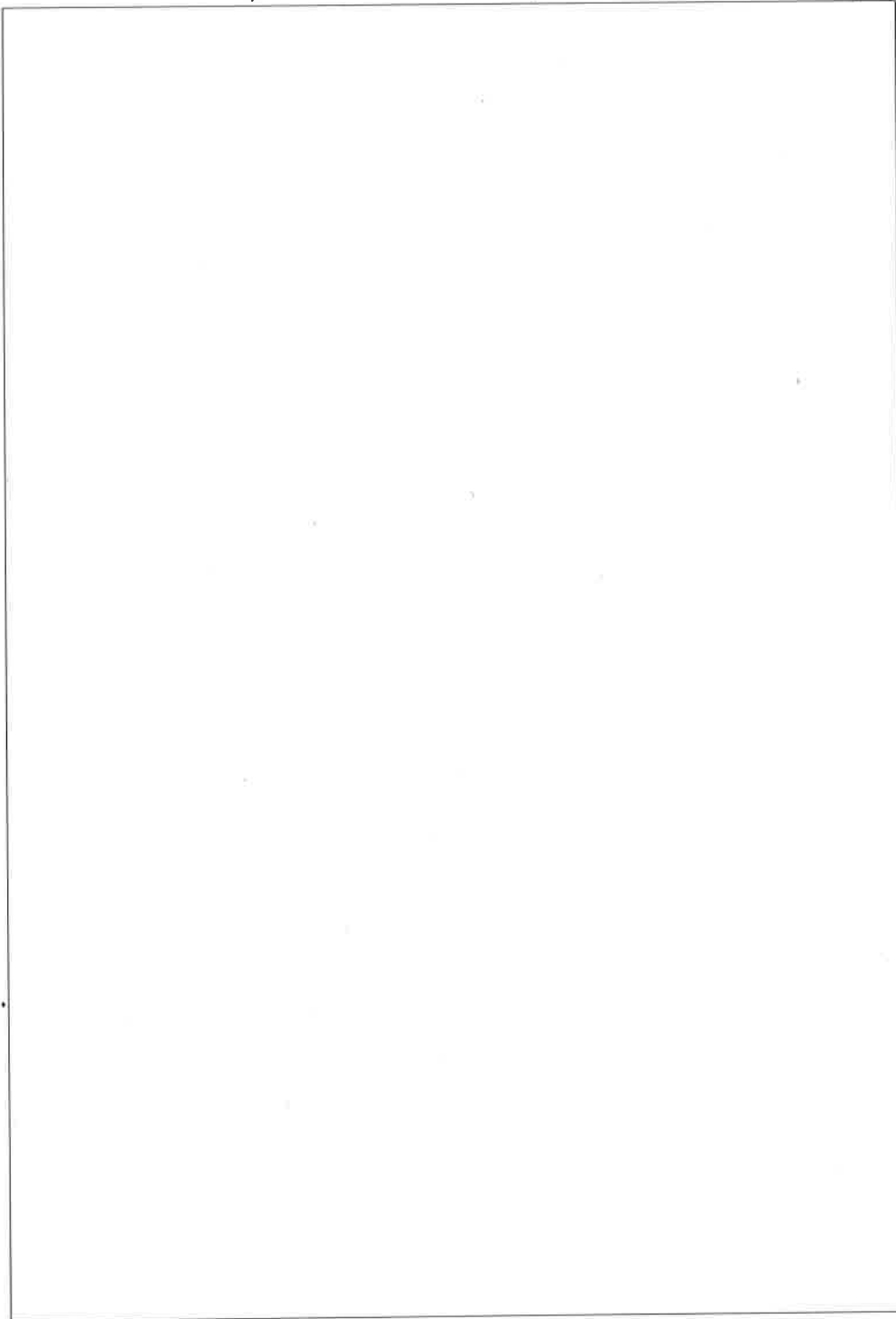
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{ DATE \@ "HH.mm" } { DATE \@ "d MMMM yyyy" }

HA 09/01/2015

B5

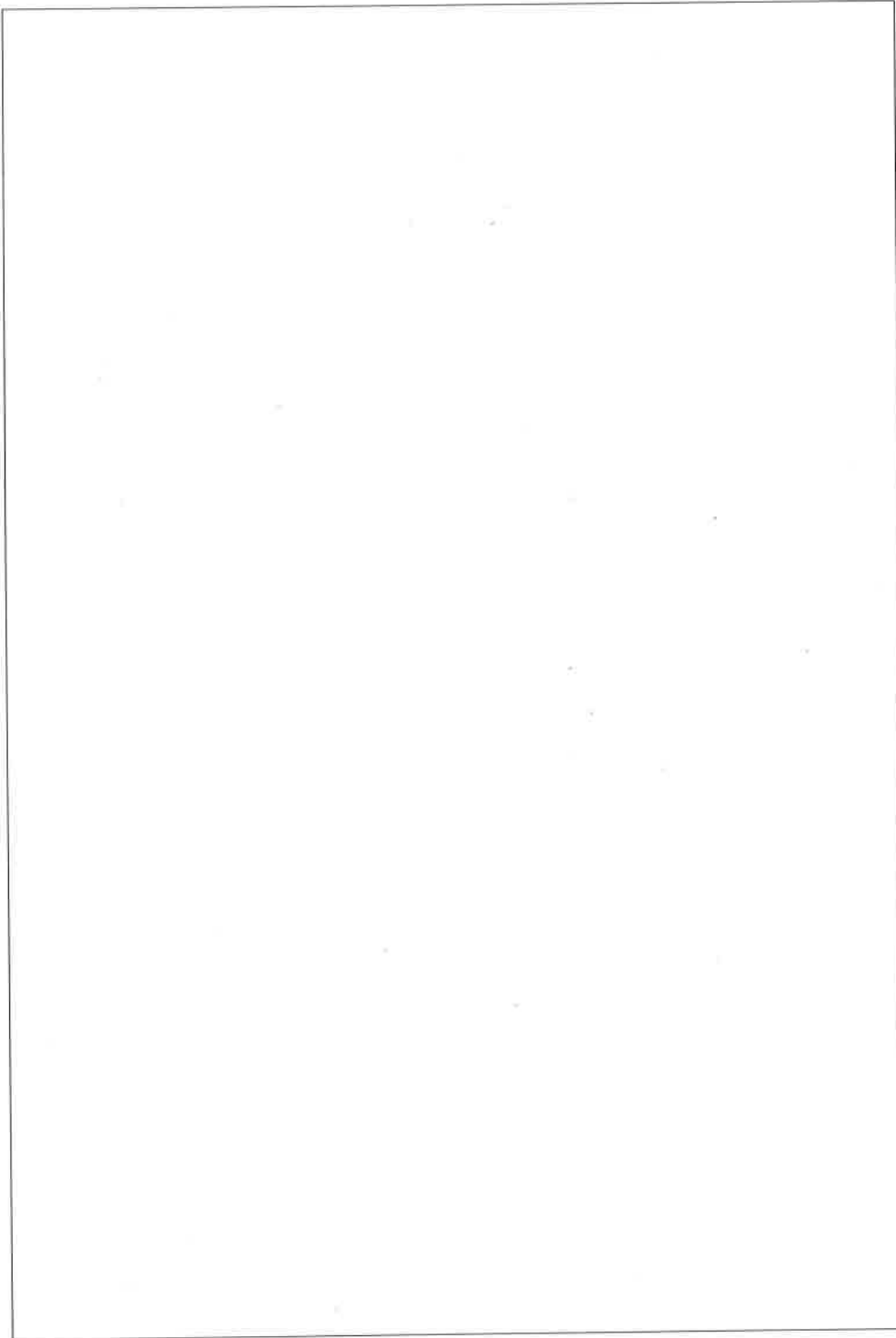


SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

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HA 09/01/2015

B5

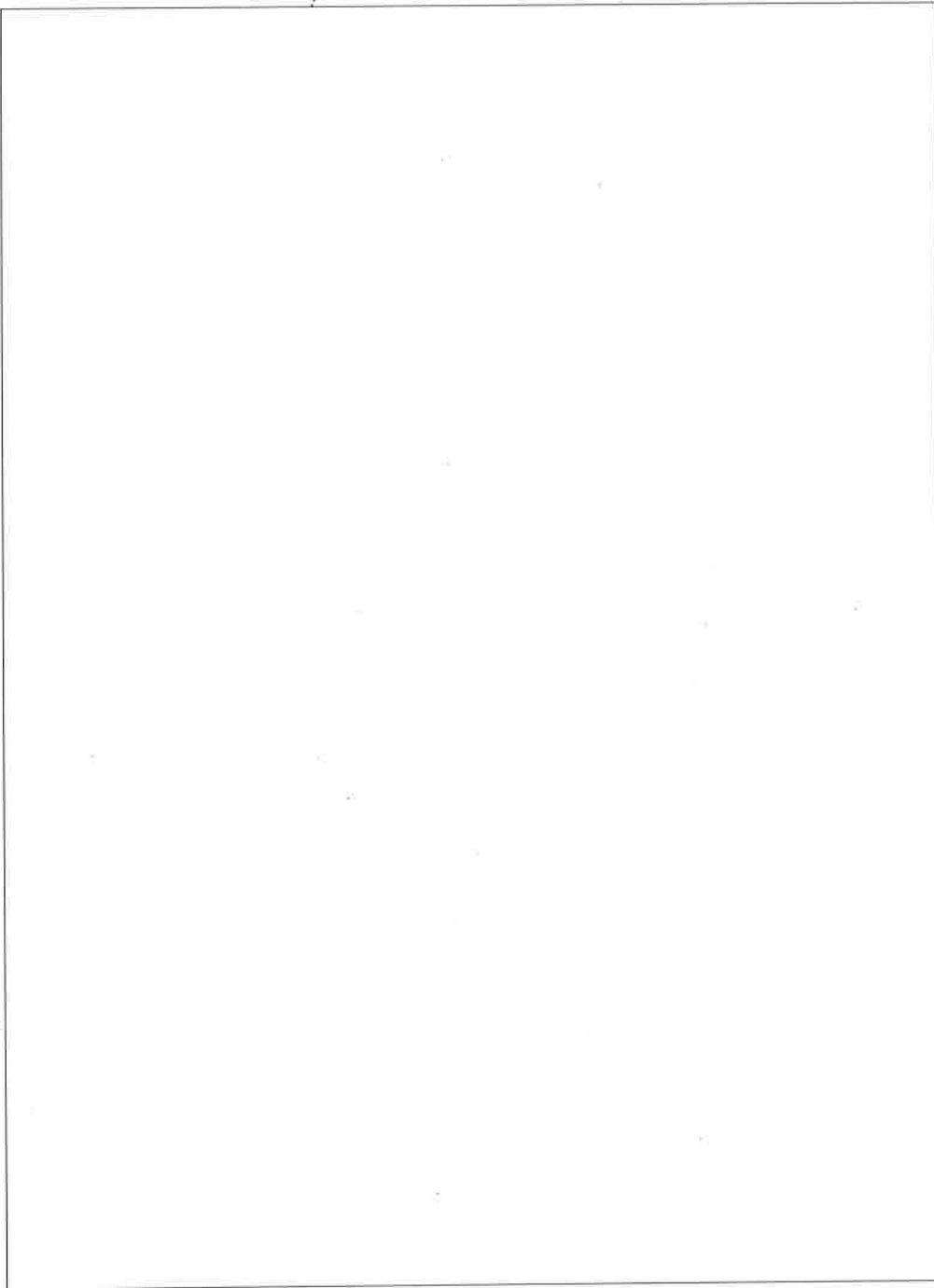


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HA 09/01/2015

B5



SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

{ DATE \@ "HH:mm" } { DATE \@ "d MMMM yyyy" }

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 1:34 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: 11/13 Senior Staff Meeting

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

B6

**From:** Smith, Daniel B  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 13 10:02:29 2009  
**Subject:** 11/13 Senior Staff Meeting

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

Somalia

- Jack reported briefly on results of meeting with OFAC on Somalia humanitarian assistance. He expressed concern that no definite limits were being discussed for amounts that could be paid.

Afghanistan

- [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Not much input expected from State for this.

B5

Secretary's Meetings with Russians and Chinese

- Bill said he had been in touch with Jake and would send updated points on START and Iran for the Secretary's meetings with Lavrov and Yang tomorrow. (Note: I have forwarded these to Jake via the Line Team on the high side.)

Legal Issues

- [REDACTED]
- Harold also flagged an action memo coming to the Secretary recommending that [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

B5

B5

Public Affairs

- Anticipate questions on Afghanistan and Honduras.

Congressional Issues

- Rich noted that preparations are proceeding for Raj Shah's confirmation. He will start a round of Hill calls next Tuesday, and there will be a couple murder boards before his tentative hearing date on December 1.

HA 09/01/2015

- Today is in essence the drop dead date for getting nominations to the Hill in time for possible confirmation this year.
- Jack will send another letter to Senator Lugar that should result in his lifting the hold on agricultural assistance to Afghanistan.
- The timing of the Afghanistan/Pakistan rollout and hearings remains in flux.
- H is still waiting for the QFRs from Senator LeMieux with respect to Tom Shannon's nomination.

Afghanistan and Pakistan Bombings

- I noted that we still do not know the nationality of the 11 KBR contractors wounded along with 6 U.S. military in a suicide attack near Camp Phoenix (near Kabul) today. One foreign national was killed in the attack.
- Meanwhile, there were no reported U.S. casualties in the bombing of the ISI building in Peshawar, though the U.S. Consulate did sustain minor damage.

HA 09/01/2015



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 1:55 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw. Roy ask for APEC

RELEASE IN PART  
 B5, B6

B6

**From:** Toiv, Nora F  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Hanley, Monica R  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 13 13:40:02 2009  
**Subject:** RE: Roy ask for APEC

## Biography

Tim Love is Vice Chairman of Omnicom Group, the leading marketing and communications services company in the world. He is responsible for helping Omnicom and its clients be more collaborative and effective at global brand-building. Tim's brand-building experience is diverse and extensive providing him with an unusual perspective as a true citizen of the world.

An active member of the advertising and international business community, Tim serves on several boards and advisory committees including The Advertising Council, The American Advertising Federation (AAF), The Heart of America Foundation, The Yale School of Management's Center for Customer Insight, the Underground Railroad Freedom Center and The Organization of Women in International Trade (OWIT). He also has been a member of the 4A's Government Relations Council and served on self-regulatory panels for the National Advertising Review Council.

Tim was also a founding member and first chairman of the 4A's Minority Advertising Internship program, and he is a founding member and current advisor for Business for Diplomatic Action (BDA), an industry volunteer organization focused on improving international business cooperation.

He has had numerous articles published from his insights, papers and speeches on globalization, consumer and cultural understanding. He has been a guest lecturer at many venues worldwide-- including Oxford, Harvard, Yale, Columbia Universities, The Institute for Public Diplomacy and Security at Ohio State, the United Nations Business Council and the Tokyo Foreign Correspondence Club. He has been keynote speaker at ESOMAR in Berlin where he delivered "Ecologism: the Evolution of Consumerism in the Age of Ecology", Brazil's 2007 "MaxiMidia" Conference, AAF's 100th Anniversary Conference, the Yahoo Creative Summit at the Museum of Television and Radio in Hollywood and at numerous global client gatherings.

Two of his key themes: "Think Like The Sun" and "The Race For Ideas" have been published. He was also invited by the U.S. State Department to write a white paper on the issue of rising anti-Americanism following 9/11. This paper, titled "Walk the Talk: Think Like the Sun", was published as an article by Advertising Age in 2003. A book, "Think Like The Sun: The Secret to Building Global Lovemark Brands" was published in 2001. Many of his works, including his most recent lecture at Oxford's SAID School of Business, titled "Y2K84," can be found on [www.timlovesworld.com](http://www.timlovesworld.com)

Over the course of his 35-year career, Tim has held senior client relationship positions in the US and abroad. Prior to becoming vice-chairman of Omnicom, Tim was president, global clients at Omnicom's TBWA Worldwide. He was responsible for the agency's largest global client, Nissan Motor Company's Nissan and Infiniti automobiles and was based in Tokyo.

Before joining TBWA in May, 2004, Tim was Vice-Chairman—International, at Saatchi & Saatchi, serving as relationship manager for the Publicis Groupe's global portfolio of Procter & Gamble business (124 brands) across four agency networks. During that time, he also supervised the UBS Wealth Management account and served on the worldwide board of directors for Saatchi & Saatchi.

Tim began his career in advertising after graduating with a master's degree in communication from the University of Illinois, where he was a James Webb Young Scholar and was named "Most Outstanding Graduate" by the school in 1972. His undergraduate work was performed at Miami University in Ohio, where he had a dual major, in marketing and in fine arts design.

In 1992, while with D'Arcy Worldwide, Tim moved to Brussels, Belgium and assumed overall leadership for that agency's P&G business worldwide. He was instrumental in helping P&G globally extend their spectrum of brands. During this time, he led important expansions into Central and Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America from, from launching Crest in China to introducing the Always feminine hygiene brand globally, including culturally-challenging markets like Saudi Arabia, Kenya, Russia, India and China. He oversaw the agency's Pampers business winning an award from the United Nations Environmental Program for responsible marketing in 1992.

Prior to joining DMB&B, Tim headed his own agency, named Tim Love Advertising. The agency netted billings of \$6million in its first year and created successful national advertising for Lenscrafters, British Knights, Zena Jeans and the National Committee for Adoption. His creative work on behalf of the National Committee for Adoption won recognitions from the EFFIE, Telly and the International Broadcast Awards.

His first assignment in advertising was for the Ad Councils' public service campaign for the Peace Corps. Mr. Love remarked of his early beginnings "working with the Ad Council on the Peace Corps campaign imprinted me that advertising is a noble career, which can help improve lives."

**From:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 1:35 PM  
**To:** Toiv, Nora F  
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Hanley, Monica R  
**Subject:** Re: Roy ask for APEC

You got a bio or any background on him you can pull?

**From:** Toiv, Nora F  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Hanley, Monica R  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 13 09:44:22 2009  
**Subject:** RE: Roy ask for APEC

Good news, John Wren is back in the states, only need to reach out to Tim Love. Thanks, again!

Mobile:

**From:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 12, 2009 8:52 PM

B6

HA 09/01/2015

**To:** Toiv, Nora F  
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Hanley, Monica R  
**Subject:** Re: Roy ask for APEC

[REDACTED] We can do a quick pull aside in singapore on sat or sun. We'll get in touch.

B5

**From:** Toiv, Nora F  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Hanley, Monica R  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 12 13:49:10 2009  
**Subject:** RE: Roy ask for APEC

Yep. [REDACTED] -he thinks he could be very useful to S—has a lot of Asia knowledge...

B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 12, 2009 1:15 PM  
**To:** Toiv, Nora F  
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Hanley, Monica R  
**Subject:** Re: Roy ask for APEC

[REDACTED]  
Happy to do a meet in greet  
They in singapore?

B5

**From:** Toiv, Nora F  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J; Hanley, Monica R  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 12 12:00:46 2009  
**Subject:** Roy ask for APEC

Hi Huma. Roy was hoping S could do a very quick M&G w/2 people at APEC (you all head back to Singapore after Manila, right?). [REDACTED] They are:

B5

John Wren: CEO of Omnicom

[REDACTED]  
Mobile: [REDACTED]

B6

Tim Love: Vice Chairman of Omnicom and based in Asia

[REDACTED]  
Mobile: [REDACTED]

B6

Nora Toiv  
Office of the Secretary  
202-647-8633

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 4:51 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: New Call Grid 11/13/09 Friday  
**Attach:** Nov 13 09 Grid Scan.pdf

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Hanley, Monica R; Coleman, Claire L  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 13 15:46:54 2009  
**Subject:** New Call Grid 11/13/09 Friday

Huma, attached is a new call grid dated for today. As I mentioned before, there have been no updates since yesterday, but I updated the date on the cover page.

Lauren

HA 09/01/2015

From: 'Sant S. Chatwal' [redacted]  
Sent: Friday, November 13, 2009 5:09:34 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: RE: State Dinner

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

Thank you Huma. This is great!! I truly appreciate it. Look forward to seeing you and Secretary Clinton at the State lunch on the 24th! I know you are often busy but I do miss us getting together for lunch or dinner. Please let me know whenever you are available in New York. By the way, [redacted]

[redacted] You know I am available and just a call away  
Best wishes,  
Sant Chatwal

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

From: Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]  
Sent: Friday, November 13, 2009 3:13 PM  
To: 'santchatwal' [redacted]  
Subject: Re: State Dinner

So nice to hear from you!

Was going to send you an email myself. We have no control over the White House state dinner. But Hillary is hosting the state lunch for the prime minister with vice president Biden at the State Department and you should be receiving your invitation to that soon. Will be same day, Nov 24th. Hope all is well.

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

From: Deena Howard [redacted]  
To: Huma Abedin, abedinh@state.gov <abedinh@state.gov>  
Sent: Thu Nov 12 17:41:21 2009  
Subject: State Dinner

Dear Huma,

Long time no hear. I've been watching your travels on the news. Hope all is going well.

As you know, Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh and President Obama are having a State Dinner. Any possibilities to include me and my wife for this dinner? If so, that would be really great! But if not, that's ok too! I totally understand.

With Best Regards,

Sant Chatwal

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 7:13 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Draft SecState Statement on Death of Jim Lilley

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B6

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

From: Schwerin, Daniel B

To: Crowley, Philip J; Shear, David B; McKellogg, Kelly E; Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma

Cc: Campbell, Kurt M; Tesone, Mark; 'Jeffrey\_A\_Bader' [REDACTED]; 'Jeffrey\_A\_Bader' [REDACTED]; 'jbadcr' [REDACTED]

<jbadcr [REDACTED]>

Sent: Fri Nov 13 17:55:38 2009

Subject: Re: Draft SecState Statement on Death of Jim Lilley

My suggested revisions:

STATEMENT OF SECRETARY CLINTON ON JAMES LILLEY

B6

B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 7:14 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Draft OSCE/NATO schedule  
**Attach:** OSCE-NATO trip sched 12-09.docx

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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**From:** Wohlers, Paul  
**To:** Bitner, Steven R; Turner, Bruce I; Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I  
**Cc:** Thompson, Dean R; Mesquita, Mario M; Smith, Daniel B; Lukens, Lewis A; Laszczyc, Joanne  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 13 18:54:00 2009  
**Subject:** Draft OSCE/NATO schedule

Here is current draft schedule for Athens and Brussels. We'll work from this and develop it as we go along. Departure time from US is still somewhat TBD.

pw

Paul D. Wohlers  
Deputy Executive Secretary  
S/ES-S, Rm. 7224  
202-647-5302

HA 09/01/2015



*Current as of: 11/13/2009 6:00 PM*

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

**The Secretary's Trip to Athens, Greece**  
**and Brussels, Belgium,**  
**December 1-4, 2009**



B5

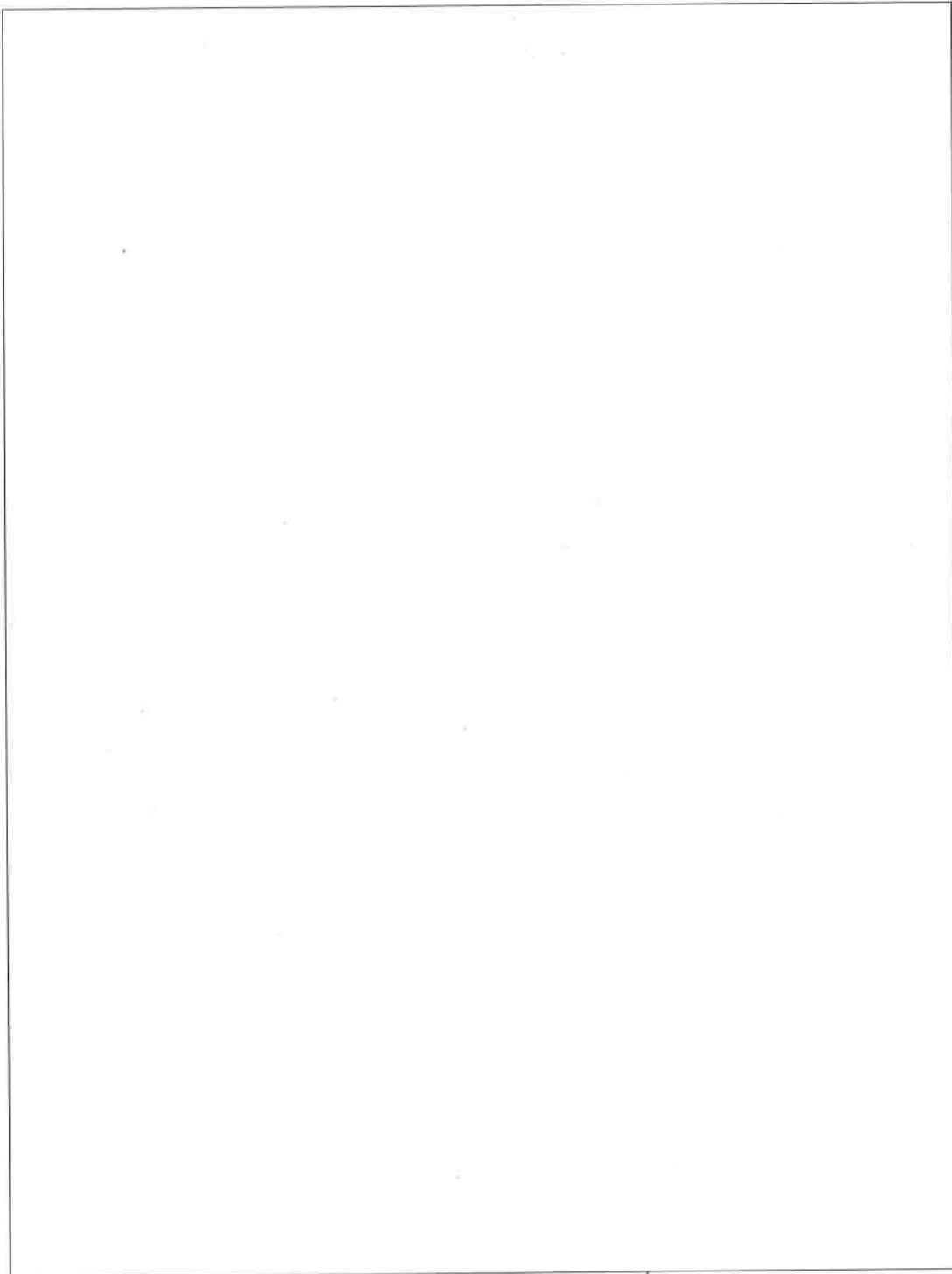
**SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED**

11/13/2009 4:33 PM

**HA 09/01/2015**



*Current as of: 11/13/2009 6:00 PM*



B5

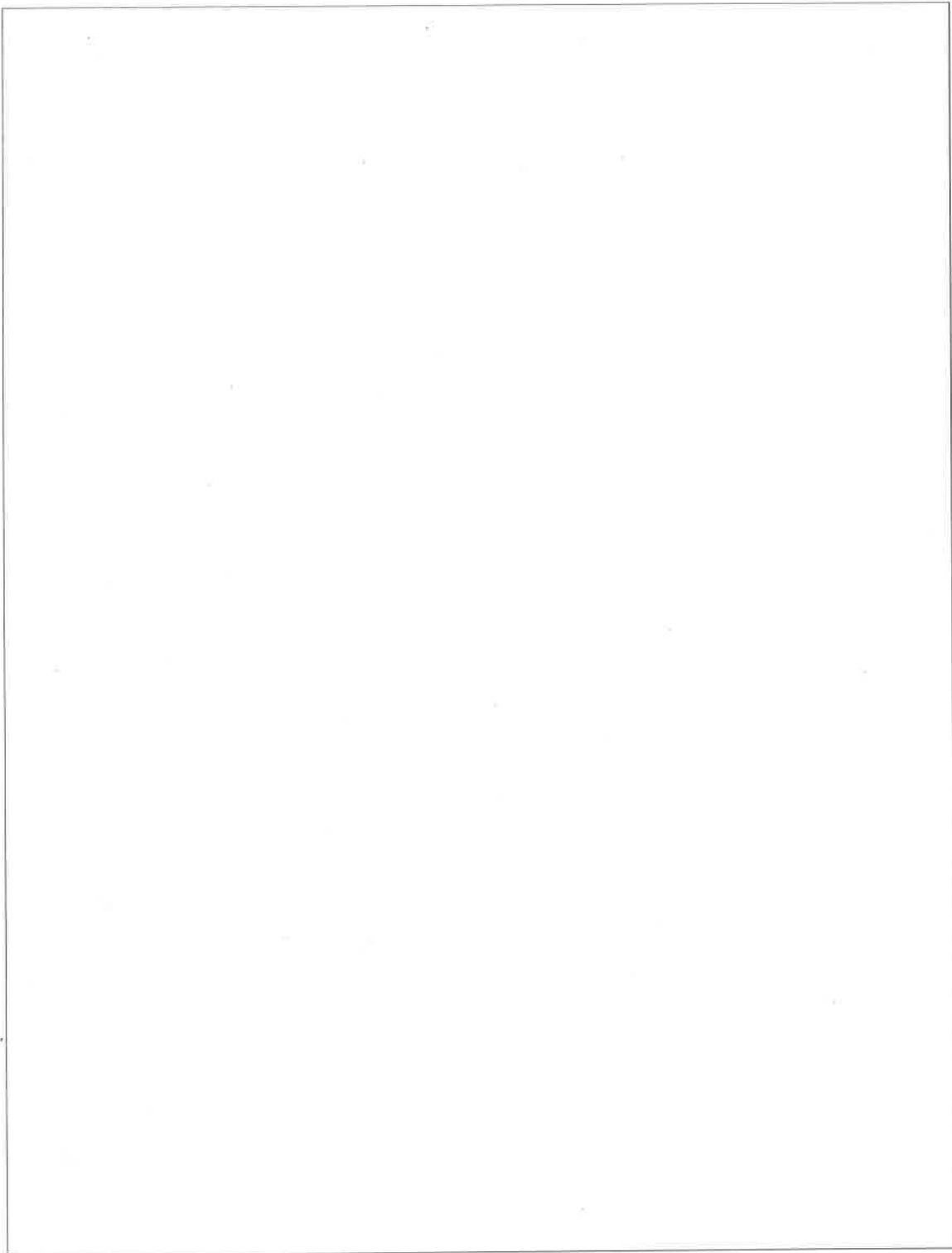
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11/13/2009 4:33 PM

**HA 09/01/2015**

*Current as of: 11/13/2009 6:00 PM*

B5

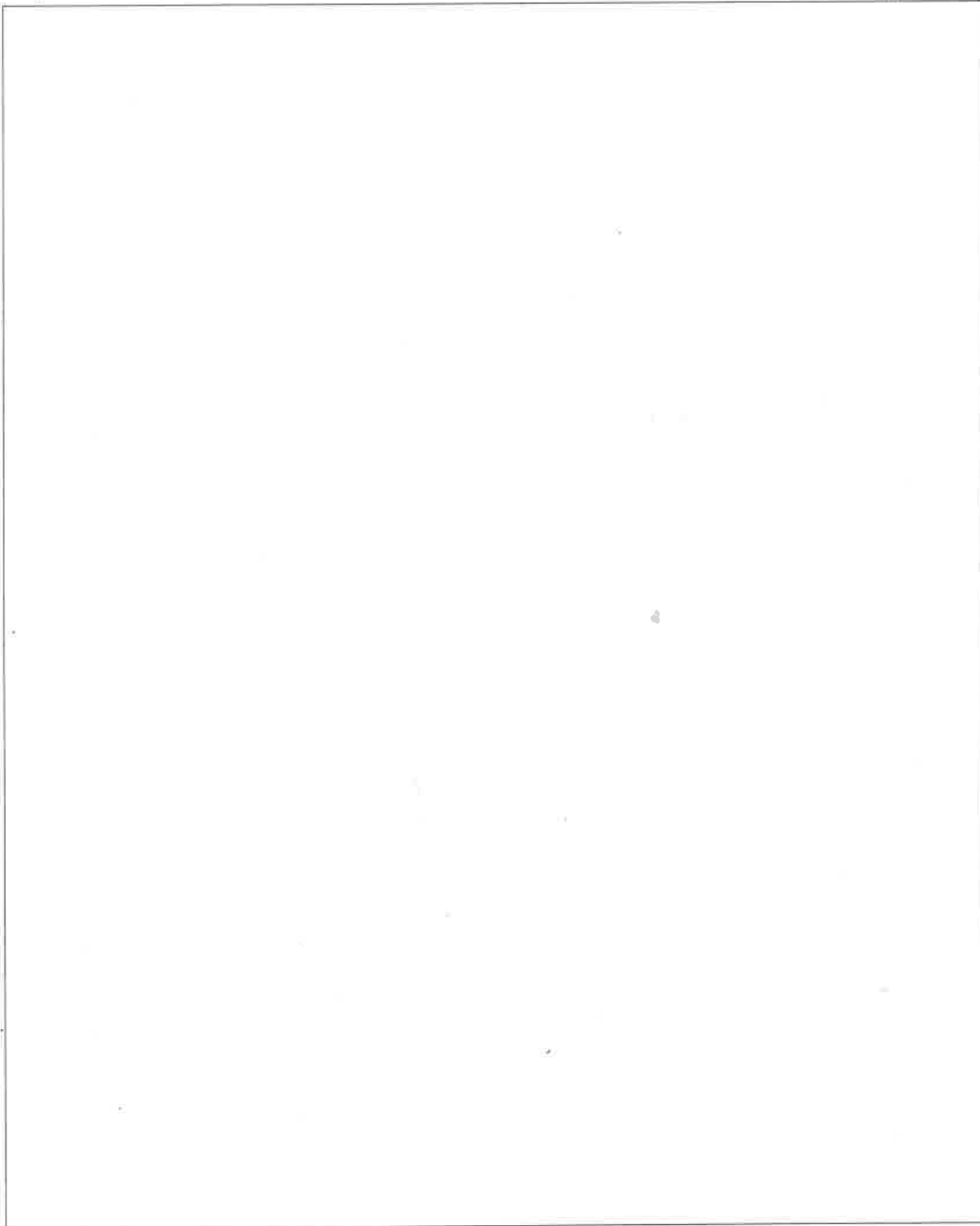


SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

11/13/2009 4:33 PM

**HA 09/01/2015**

*Current as of: 11/13/2009 6:00 PM*



B5

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

11/13/2009 4:33 PM

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** 'Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 14, 2009 3:23 AM  
**To:** humamabedin  
**Subject:** Fw: Guest List  
**Attach:** Guest List ao 111309.docx

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

**From:** Jones, Natalie R  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Sat Nov 14 02:47:46 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Guest List

Updated guest list attached

**From:** Townsend, Kimberly B  
**To:** Jones, Natalie R  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 13 18:47:33 2009  
**Subject:** Guest List

<<Guest List ao 111309.docx>>

HA 09/01/2015

{ DATE 1 }

accepted 43  
pending 192  
regretted 12  
Delegation 14  
Additional Del 10  
invited 271

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

**Luncheon by  
The Vice President and Dr. Jill Biden  
and The Secretary of State  
in honor of  
His Excellency Dr. Manmohan Singh  
Prime Minister of the Republic of India  
and Mrs. Gursharan Kaur**

Tuesday, November 24, 2009  
from 12:45 to 3:00 o'clock  
Benjamin Franklin Room

**GUEST LIST**

**HOSTS**

accept The Honorable Joseph R. Biden, Jr.  
Vice President  
and Dr. Jill Biden

accept The Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton  
Secretary of State

**WHITE HOUSE**

accept Mr. Carlos Elizondo  
Social Secretary and Residence Manager for the Vice President

accept Mr. Anish Goel  
Acting Senior Director, South Asia, National Security Council

accept Mr. Alan Hoffman  
Deputy Chief of Staff to the Vice President

accept The Honorable Jim Jones  
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

accept Mr. Ron Klain  
Chief of Staff to the Vice President

accept The Honorable Dennis B. Ross  
Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for the Central Region,  
National Security Council

accept Mr. Stuart Seldowitz  
Acting Director for South Asia, National Security Council

{ DATE V }

accept Ms. Susan Sher  
Chief of Staff to the First Lady

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

accept Mr. John Ashworth  
India Desk Officer

accept The Honorable Robert O. Blake, Jr.  
Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs  
Department of State

accept The Honorable William J. Burns  
Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

accept Mr. Derek Chollet  
Deputy Director, Office of Policy Planning

accept The Honorable Robert D. Hormats  
Under Secretary of State for Economic, Energy and Agricultural Affairs

accept Ms. Patricia Mahoney  
Acting Director, Office of India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Maldives Island and Bhutan  
Affairs, Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs

accept The Honorable Capricia Penavic Marshall  
Chief of Protocol

accept Mr. Patrick Moon  
Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs

accept Mr. Michael Owen  
Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs

accept Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter  
Director, Office of Policy Planning

accept The Honorable Richard R. Verma  
Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs

**OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS**

accept Ms. Margot Ellis  
Acting Assistant Administrator for Asia, U.S. Agency for International  
Development

accept Mr. Vivek Kundra  
Federal Chief Information Officer of the United States

**NGOS**

accept Mr. Pritpal Singh Kochhar  
Founding Member, India Advisory Council, Sierra Club

{ DATE V }

accept Dr. Rajwant Singh  
National Chairman, Sikh Council on Religion and Education

accept Mr. Joachim Von Braun  
Director General, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

#### **MEDIA**

accept Mr. Marcus Brauchli  
Executive Editor, The Washington Post

accept Mr. Nicholas D. Kristof  
Columnist, New York Times

accept Ms. Martha Raddatz  
Correspondent, ABC News

#### **OTHERS**

accept Mr. David Adler

accept Mr. Wayne Rogers  
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

accept Ms. Sujata Tejwana  
Managing Director of Unity '09

#### **BUSINESS**

accept Dr. Alyssa Ayres  
Director for India and South Asia, McLarty Associates

accept Mr. Louis Chenevert  
President and CEO, United Technologies Corp.

accept Mr. Richard J. Davis  
Partner, Weil, Gotshal & Manges LLP

accept Dr. A.S. Ganguly  
Chairman, ICICI One Source

accept Mr. Senapathy Gopalakrishnan  
CEO and Managing Director, Infosys Technologies

accept Mrs. Chanda Kochhar  
Managing Director and CEO, ICICI Bank, Ltd.

accept Ms. Preetha Reddy  
Managing Director, Apollo Hospitals

{ DATE V }

**OFFICIAL DELEGATION**

accept

His Excellency Dr. Manmohan Singh  
Prime Minister of the Republic of India  
and Mrs. Gursharan Kaur

Plus 12

Page 4 of 17

**HA 09/01/2015**



{ DATE V }

**SUPREME COURT**

pending Associate Justice Sonia Sotomayor  
The Supreme Court

**CABINET**

pending The Honorable Shaun L.S. Donovan  
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

pending The Honorable Janet A. Napolitano  
Secretary of Homeland Security

pending The Honorable Peter R. Orszag  
Director, Office of Management and Budget

pending The Honorable Susan E. Rice  
Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations

pending The Honorable Christina Romer  
Chair, Council of Economic Advisors

pending The Honorable Kenneth L. Salazar  
Secretary of the Interior

pending The Honorable Kathleen Sebelius  
Secretary of Health and Human Services

pending The Honorable Eric K. Shinseki  
Secretary of Veterans Affairs

pending The Honorable Hilda L. Solis  
Secretary of Labor

pending The Honorable Thomas J. Vilsack  
Secretary of Agriculture

**WHITE HOUSE**

pending The Honorable Antony Blinken  
Deputy Assistant to the President and National Security Advisor

pending Mr. James Carney  
Communications Director for the Vice President

pending The Honorable Tom Donilon  
Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor

pending The Honorable Rahm I. Emanuel  
Chief of Staff and Assistant to the President

{ DATE M }

pending	The Honorable Michael Froman Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for International Economic Affairs
pending	Mr. Aditya Kumar Director of Special Projects, Office of the Chief of Staff
pending	The Honorable Denis McDonough Deputy Assistant to the President and the Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communications
pending	Mr. Brian McKeon Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
pending	Mr. Herro Mustafa Special Advisor to the Vice President for Middle East, Afghanistan and Pakistan
pending	Mr. Pradeep Ramamurthy National Security Council
pending	Ms. Cathy Russell Chief of Staff to Dr. Jill Biden

#### CONGRESS

pending	The Honorable Evan Bayh Senator (D-IN)
pending	The Honorable Maria Cantwell Senator (D-WA)
pending	The Honorable John Cornyn Senator (R-TX)
pending	The Honorable Joseph Crowley Representative (D-NY)
pending	The Honorable Christopher J. Dodd Senator (D-CT)
pending	The Honorable Dianne Feinstein Senator (D-CA)
pending	The Honorable Kay Granger Representative (R-TX)
pending	The Honorable Michael M. Honda Representative (D-CA)
pending	The Honorable Patrick J. Leahy Senator (D-VT)
pending	The Honorable John Lewis Representative (D-GA)
pending	The Honorable Joseph I. Lieberman Senator (I-CT)

{ DATE V }

pending	The Honorable Richard G. Lugar Senator (R-IN)
pending	The Honorable John McCain Senator (R-AZ)
pending	The Honorable Jim McDermott Representative (D-WA)
pending	The Honorable Barbara Mikulski Senator (D-MD)
pending	The Honorable Lisa Murkowski Senator (R-AK)
pending	The Honorable Frank Pallone Representative (D-NJ)
pending	The Honorable Nancy Pelosi Speaker of the House Representative (D-CA)
pending	The Honorable Harry Reid Senator (D-NV)
pending	The Honorable James E. Risch Senator (R-ID)
pending	The Honorable Edward R. Royce Representative (R-CA)
pending	The Honorable Charles E. Schumer Senator (D-NY)
pending	The Honorable Arlen Specter Senator (D-PA)
pending	The Honorable Debbie Stabenow Senator (D-MI)
pending	The Honorable Sheldon Whitehouse Senator (D-RI)

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

pending	Ms. Huma Abedin Deputy Chief of Staff to the Secretary of State
pending	The Honorable Elizabeth Frawley Bagley Special Representative for Global Partnerships
pending	Ms. Christine Fair Deputy Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs
pending	The Honorable Richard C. Holbrooke United States Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan

{ DATE V }

pending	The Honorable Patrick F. Kennedy Under Secretary for Management
pending	The Honorable Judith A. McHale Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy
pending	Ms. Cheryl D. Mills Counselor and Chief of Staff to the Secretary of State
pending	The Honorable Maria Otero Under Secretary for Democracy and Global Affairs
pending	Ms. Farah Pandith Special Representative to Muslim Communities
pending	Mr. Gautam Rana D(S) Staff
pending	The Honorable Tim Roemer American Ambassador to India
pending	Mr. Vikram Singh Office of the United States Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan
pending	The Honorable James B. Steinberg Deputy Secretary of State
pending	The Honorable Ellen O. Tauscher Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security
pending	The Honorable Melanne Verveer Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues
pending	The Honorable Philip L. Verveer Deputy Assistant Secretary of State and U.S. Coordinator for International Communications

**OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS**

pending	The Honorable Thomas L. Ambro Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit
pending	The Honorable Dennis C. Blair Director of National Intelligence
pending	The Honorable Lael Brainard Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs
pending	Mr. Alonzo Fulgham Acting Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development
pending	Dr. Neil Joeck National Intelligence Officer, South Asia National Intelligence Council
pending	The Honorable Demetrios Marantis Deputy U.S. Trade Representative

{ DATE 11 }

pending The Honorable David Sandalow  
Assistant Secretary of Energy for Policy and International Affairs

pending The Honorable Raj Shah  
Under Secretary of Agriculture for Research, Education and Economics

pending Captain Sunita L. Williams  
Astronaut (USN)

#### NGOS

pending Mr. Swadwesh Chatterjee  
President, Indian American Forum for Political Education

pending Dr. Helene D. Gayle  
President and CEO, CARE USA

pending Dr. Leslie H. Gelb  
Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

pending Ms. Geeta Rao Gupta  
President, International Center for Research on Women (ICRW)

pending Dr. Richard N. Haas  
President, Council on Foreign Relations

pending The Honorable Thomas R. Pickering  
Vice Chairman, Hills & Company  
Former American Ambassador to India

pending The Honorable Strobe Talbott  
President, Brookings Institution

pending Mr. Luis A. Ubinas  
President, Ford Foundation

pending The Honorable Frank Wisner  
Foreign Affairs Advisor, Patton Boggs LLP

#### MEDIA

pending Ms. Rita Braver  
Senior Correspondent, CBS News

pending Ms. Pamela Constable  
Deputy Foreign Editor, The Washington Post

pending Mr. Thomas L. Friedman  
Columnist, The New York Times

pending Ms. Andrea Mitchell  
NBC News

pending Mr. C. Raja Mohan  
Professor and Journalist, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang  
Technological University

{ DATE M }

pending Mr. James Traub  
The New York Times

pending Mr. Charles Wolfson  
CBS News

pending Dr. Fareed Zakaria  
Editor, Newsweek International

**OTHERS**

pending Mr. Steve Bing

pending Mr. Mark Buell and Mrs. Susie Buell

pending The Honorable Richard Celeste  
President, Colorado College (Former American Ambassador to India)

pending Mr. Sant Singh Chatwal  
President, Hampshire Hotels and Resorts  
and Mrs. Pardaman Chatwal

pending Mr. Bal Das and Ms. Valerie Demont

pending Ami Desai

pending Mr. Raj Fernando

pending Mr. Vin Gupta  
CO and Chairman, InfoUSA

pending Mr. Magic Johnson

pending Mr. Quincy Jones  
and Guest

pending Reverend Bernice King

pending Ms. Sunita Leeds

pending Mr. Terry McAuliffe and Mrs. Dorothy McAuliffe

pending The Honorable Ruth Ann M. Minner  
Former Governor of Delaware

pending The Honorable Gavin Newsom  
Mayor of the City of San Francisco

pending Mr. Nandan Nilekani  
Chairman, Unique Identification Authority of India

pending Ms. Jacqueline Novogratz  
Acumen Funds

pending The Honorable Michael Nutter  
Mayor of the City of Philadelphia

{ DATE V }

pending The Honorable Martin O'Malley  
Governor of the State of Maryland

pending The Honorable Douglas H. Palmer  
Mayor of the City of Trenton

pending Mr. Alan Patricof and Mrs. Susan Patricof

pending Ms. Frieda Pinto

pending Mr. J.B. Pritzker

pending Mr. Arvind Raghurathan and Mrs. Sribala Subramanian

pending Mr. Rob Reiner  
Actor and Director, The Reiner Foundation

pending Mrs. Elaine Schuster and Mr. Gerald Schuster

pending Mr. Stan Shuman and Mrs. Shuman

pending Mr. Bren Simon

pending The Honorable Ted Strickland  
Governor of the State of Ohio

pending Dr. Mahinder Tak

pending The Honorable Antonio Villaraigosa  
Mayor of the City of Los Angeles

pending Mr. Mark Weiner and Mrs. Susan Weiner

pending Ms. Maureen White and Mr. Steve Rattner

**BUSINESS**

pending Mr. Charles Allen  
Former President, Allen Family Foods

pending Mr. Mukesh D. Ambani  
Chairman and Managing Director, Reliance Industries Limited

pending Mr. Sunil Bharti Mittal  
Chairman and Group CEO, Bharti Enterprises

pending Mr. Sabeer Bhatia  
President and CEO, Arzoo Corporation and Co-Founder, Hotmail

pending Mr. O.P. Bhatt  
Chairman, State Bank of India

pending Mr. Ahmed C. Bozer  
President, Eurasia and Africa Group, The Coca-Cola Company

pending Dr. Aris Candris  
President and CEO, Westinghouse Electric Company

{ DATE V }

pending	Mr. David M. Cote Chairman and CEO, Honeywell
pending	The Honorable William Daley J.P. Morgan Chase Former Secretary of Commerce
pending	Mr. Jamie Dimon Chairman and CEO, JPMorgan Chase and Co
pending	The Honorable Susan G. Esserman Partner, Steptoe and Johnson, LLP
pending	Ms. Jamie Gorelick Partner, WilmerHale
pending	Mr. Paul T. Hanrahan President and CEO, AES Corporation
pending	Dr. Paul E. Jacobs Chairman and CEO, Qualcomm
pending	Dr. Sanjay K. Jha Co-CEO, Motorola, Inc., and CEO, Mobile Devices
pending	Mr. Wayne Kimmel Managing Director, Eastern Technology Fund Venture Funds
pending	Ms. Ellen J. Kullman Chief Executive Officer, Dupont
pending	Mr. Andrew N. Liveris President and CEO, The Dow Chemical Company
pending	Mr. John Martilla The Martilla Communications Group
pending	Ms. Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw Chairman and Managing Director, Biocon India Group
pending	Mr. Harold (Terry) W. McGraw, III Chairman, President and CEO, McGraw-Hill Companies
pending	Mr. Sonny Mehta President, Random House, Knopf, Inc.
pending	Dr. Amit Mitra Secretary General, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
pending	Mr. Set Momjian Ford Motor Company (Retired)
pending	Mr. Lakshmi Narayanan Vice Chairman, Cognizant Technology Solutions
pending	Ms. Indra K. Nooyi Chairman and CEO, PepsiCo
pending	Mr. Vikram Pandit CEO, Citigroup, Inc.



{ DATE 1 }

pending Mr. Deepak Parekh  
Chairman and CEO, Housing Development Financial Corp Ltd.

pending Mr. Bernard Schwartz  
Chairman and CEO, BLS Investments, LLC  
and Mrs. Irene Schwartz

pending Mr. Analjit Singh  
Chairman and Managing Director, Max India Limited

pending Mr. Venu Srinivasan  
Chairman and Managing Director, TVS Motor Company

pending Mr. Ratan N. Tata  
Chairman, Tata Sons

#### ACADEMIA

pending Dr. Muzaffar Alam  
Professor in South Asian Languages and Civilization, University of Chicago

pending Dr. Graham Allison  
Director, The Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

pending Mr. Walter Anderson  
Associate Director, South Asian Studies Program, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University

pending Dr. Sugata Bose  
Gardiner Professor of Oceanic History, Harvard University

pending Dr. Sanjay Gupta  
Russell E. Palmer Endowed Professor in Accounting, Chairperson, Accounting and Information Systems, Michigan State University

pending Dr. Patrick Harker  
President, University of Delaware

pending Dr. Paul Krugman  
Professor of Economics and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University (Nobel Prize winning economist)

pending Dr. Rattan Lal  
Agronomist, Professor (winner of Borlaug Award and Swaminathan Award), Ohio State University

pending Dr. Richard Levin  
President, Yale University

pending The Honorable M. Peter McPherson  
President, Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities

pending Dr. Joseph Nye, Jr.  
Distinguished Service Professor & former Dean of the Kennedy School  
John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

{ DATE V }

pending	Dr. Julian Raby Director, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery
pending	The Honorable Howard Schaffer Director of Studies, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University
pending	Dr. Gurinder Singh Mann Professor, Religious Studies, University of California

**CULTURAL**

pending	Mr. Aziz Ansari Comedian and Actor
pending	Mr. Ashok Bajaj Washington Restaurateur
pending	Ms. Noureen De Wulf Actress
pending	Ms. Norah Jones Singer
pending	Mr. Shah Rukh Khan Bollywood Actor
pending	Mr. Aasif Mandvi Comedian and Actor
pending	Ms. Sania Mirza Tennis Player
pending	Ms. Parminder Nagra Actress
pending	Mr. Leander Paes Tennis Player
pending	Ms. Aishwarya Rai Bollywood Actress
pending	Mr. Navneet Singh Narula Director, United Sikhs

{ DATE V }

**DECLINED INVITATIONS**

**CABINET**

regret The Honorable Arne Duncan  
Secretary of Education

**CONGRESS**

regret The Honorable Judd Gregg  
Senator (R-NH)

regret The Honorable John F. Kerry  
Senator (D-MA)

regret The Honorable Nita M. Lowey  
Representative (D-NY)

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

regret The Honorable Jacob J. Lew  
Deputy Secretary of State for Management and Resources

**OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS**

regret The Honorable Wallace Gregson  
Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security

**MEDIA**

regret Mr. Jim Yardley  
Delhi Bureau Chief, New York Times

**BUSINESS**

regret Mr. Sam R. Allen  
President and CEO, John Deere & Company

regret Mr. Richard T. Clark  
Chairman, President and CEO, Merck & Co., Inc.

{ DATE V }

**ACADEMIA**

regret

The Honorable J. Brian Atwood  
Dean, Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota

regret

Dr. Arvind Panagariya  
Professor of Economics, Columbia University (author of India--Emerging Giant)

regret

Dr. Abraham Verghese  
Professor and Senior Associate Chair for the Theory and Practice of Medicine,  
Stanford University School of Medicine (author)

{ DATE V }

**ALTERNATES**

pending

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 14, 2009 4:54 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Draft of Human Rights Speech  
**Attach:** Athens 1 DB LM 11.14.09 11 am.docx; ATT740406.txt

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B6

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

**From:** Muscatine Lissa <[REDACTED]>  
**To:** Abedin, Huma, S. Special Assistants  
**Sent:** Sat Nov 14 16:44:37 2009  
**Subject:** Draft of Human Rights Speech

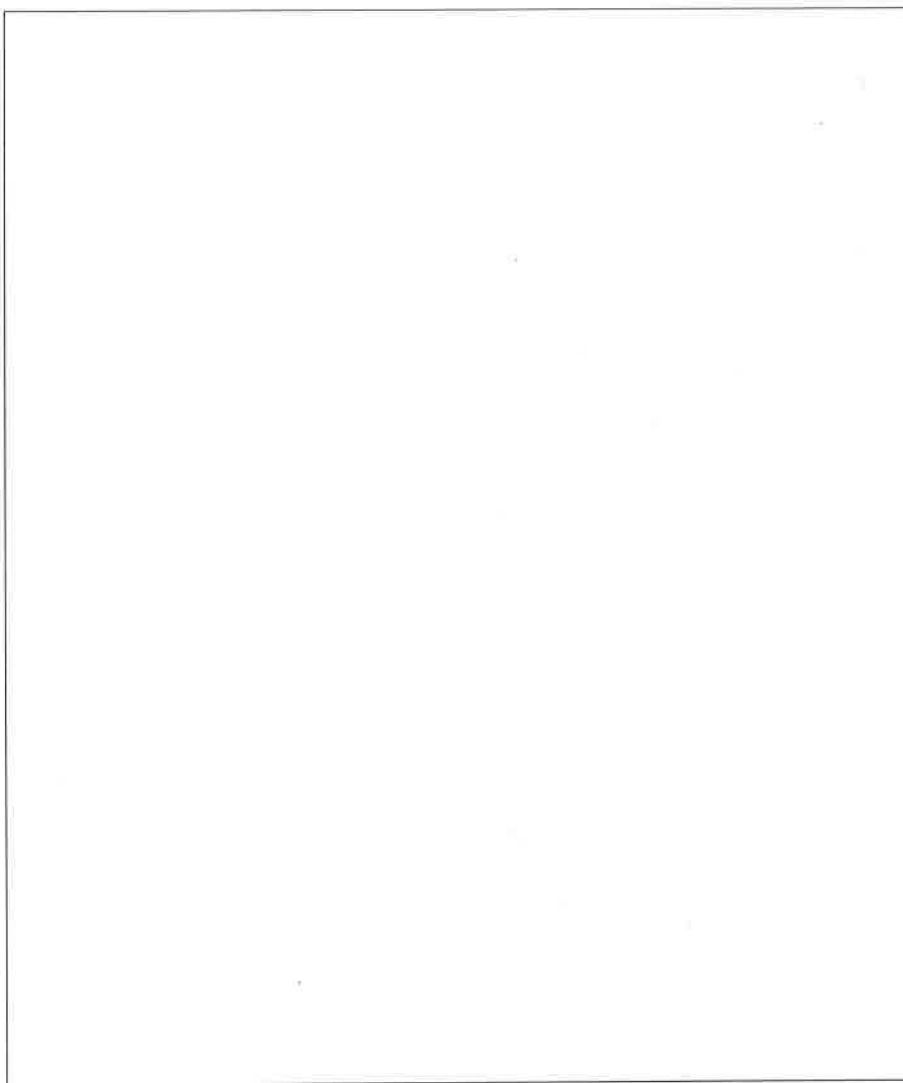
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Lissa

HA 09/01/2015

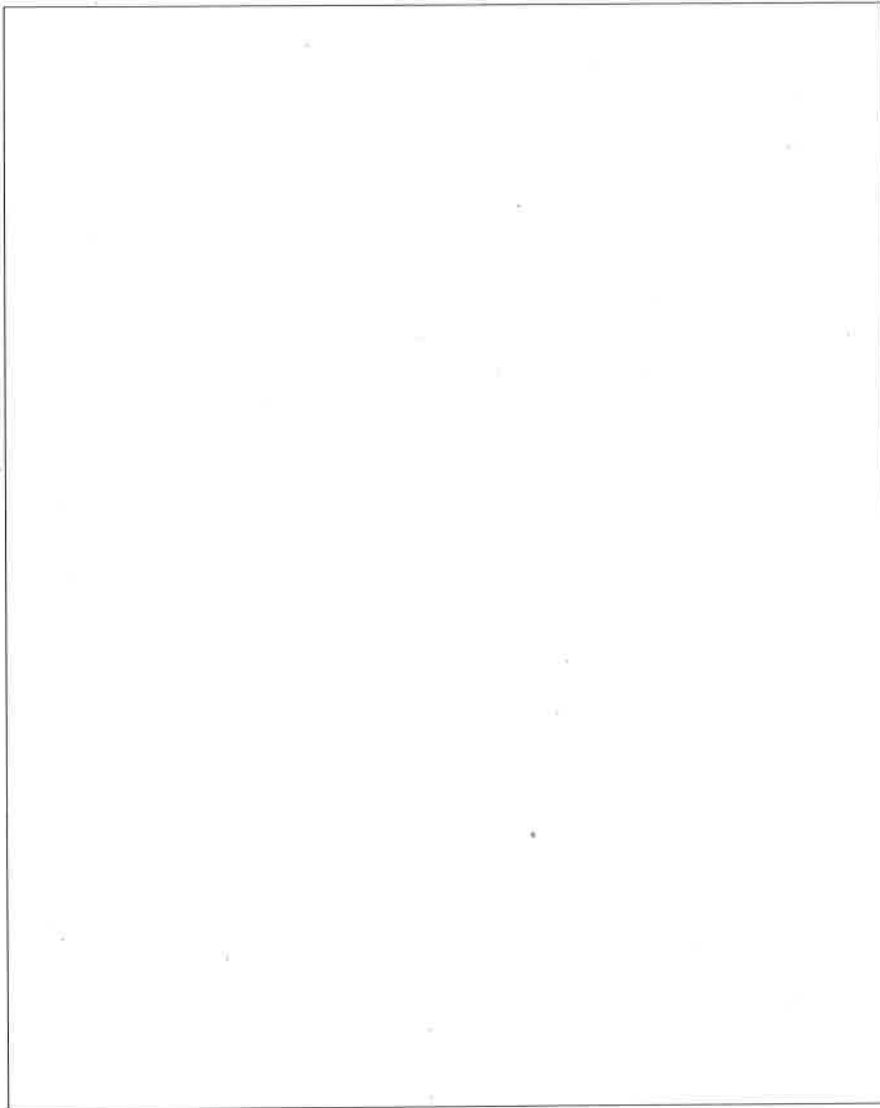
Draft  
LM/DB  
11.14.09  
11 am

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
HUMAN RIGHTS / DEMOCRACY**



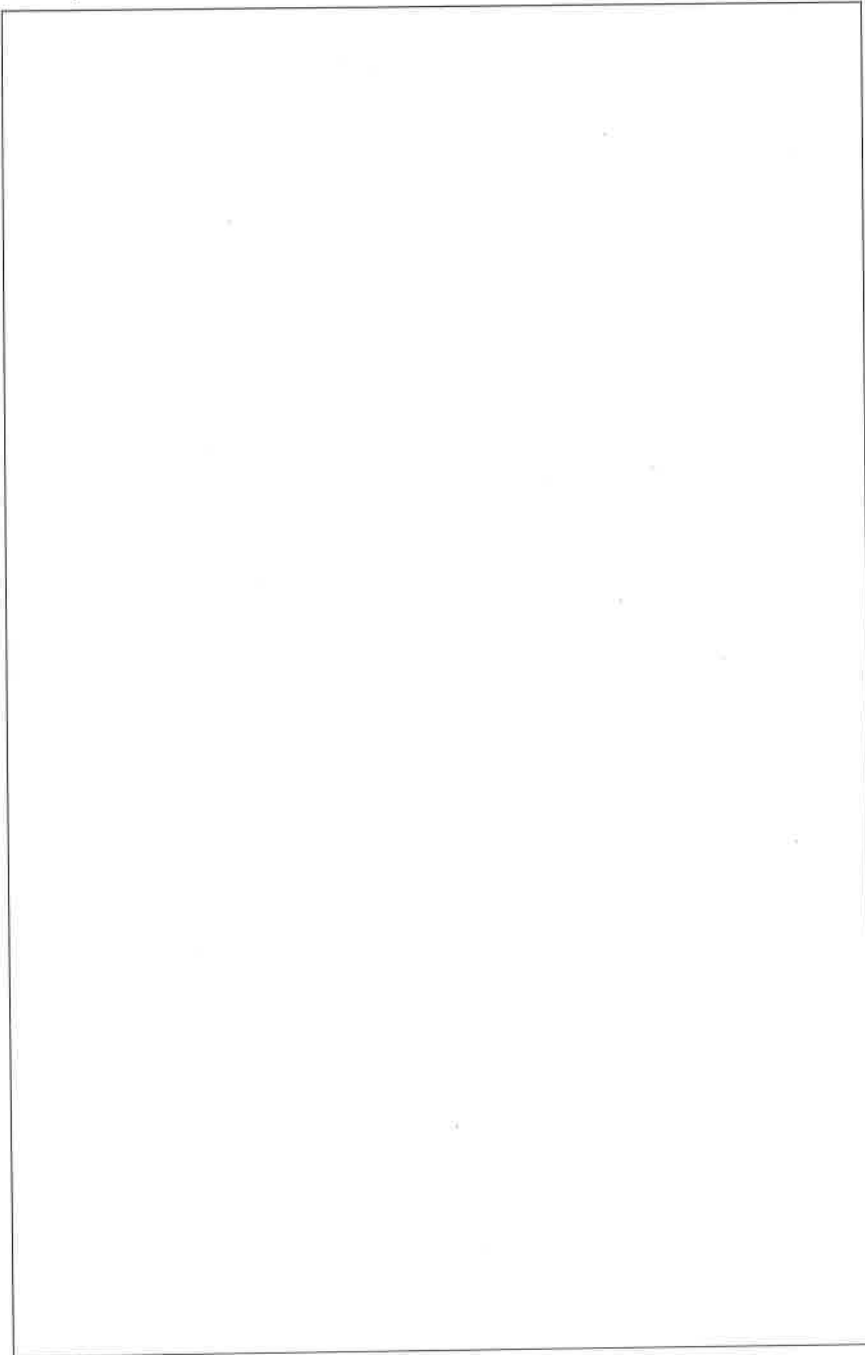
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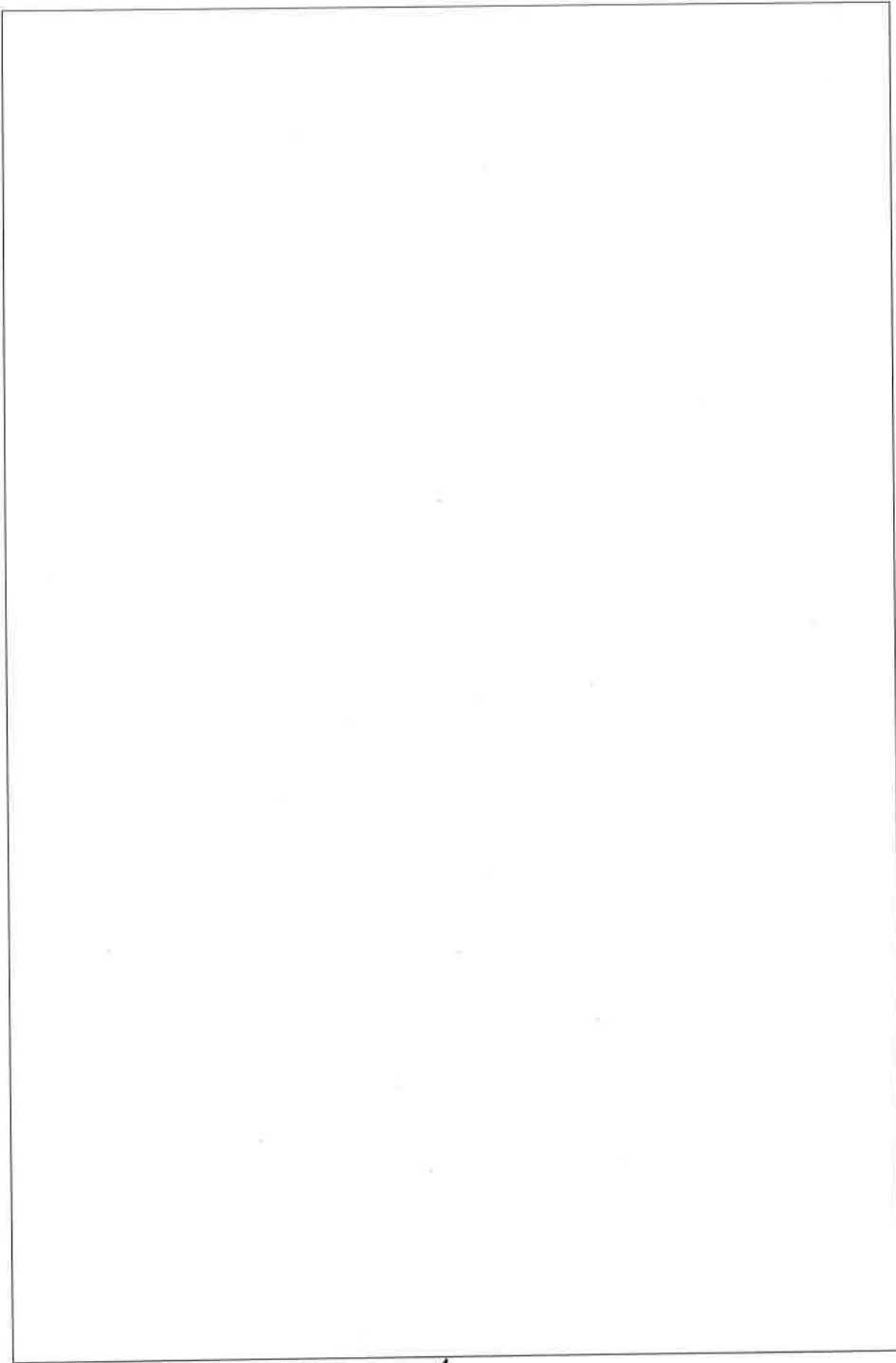
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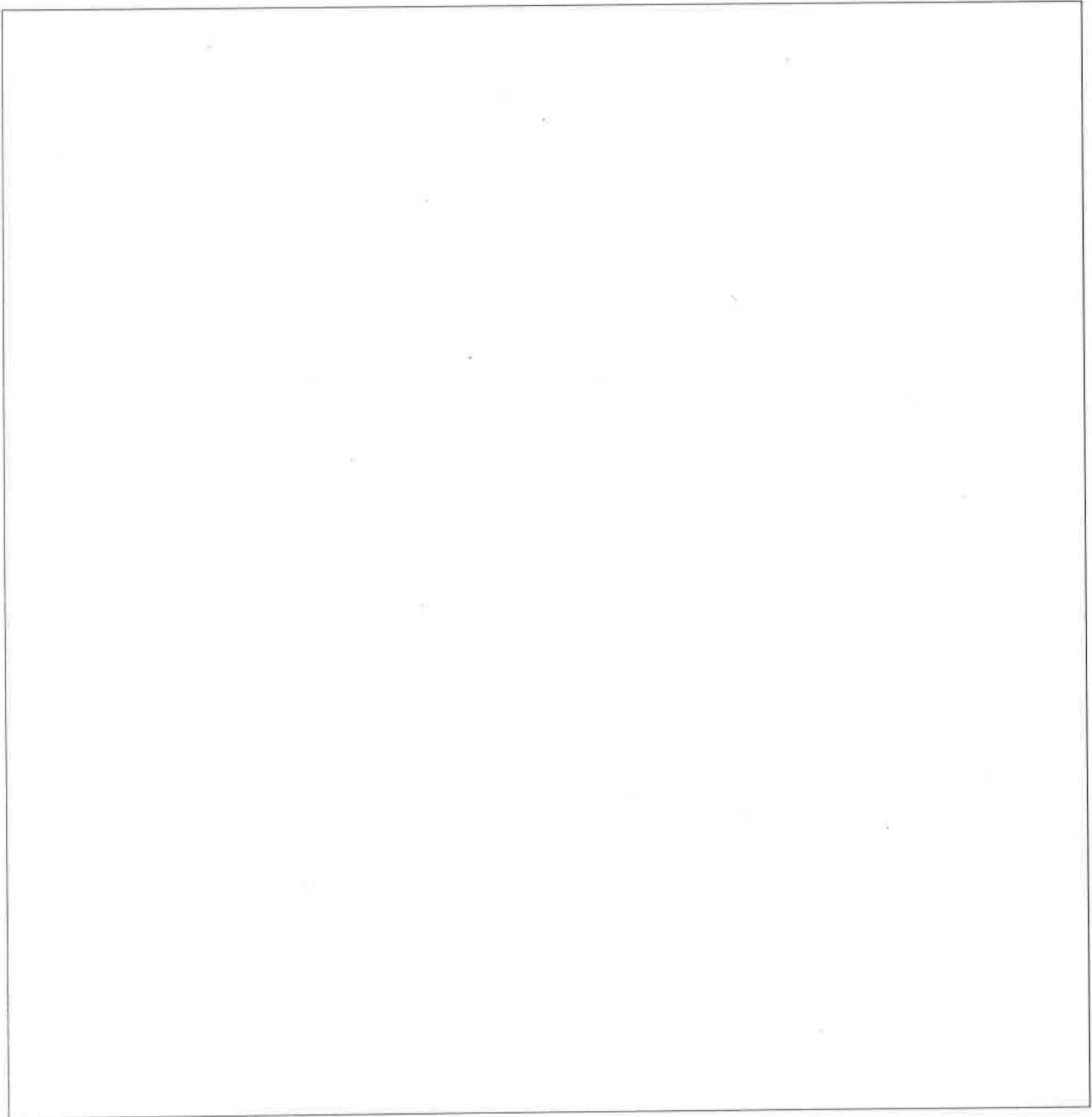
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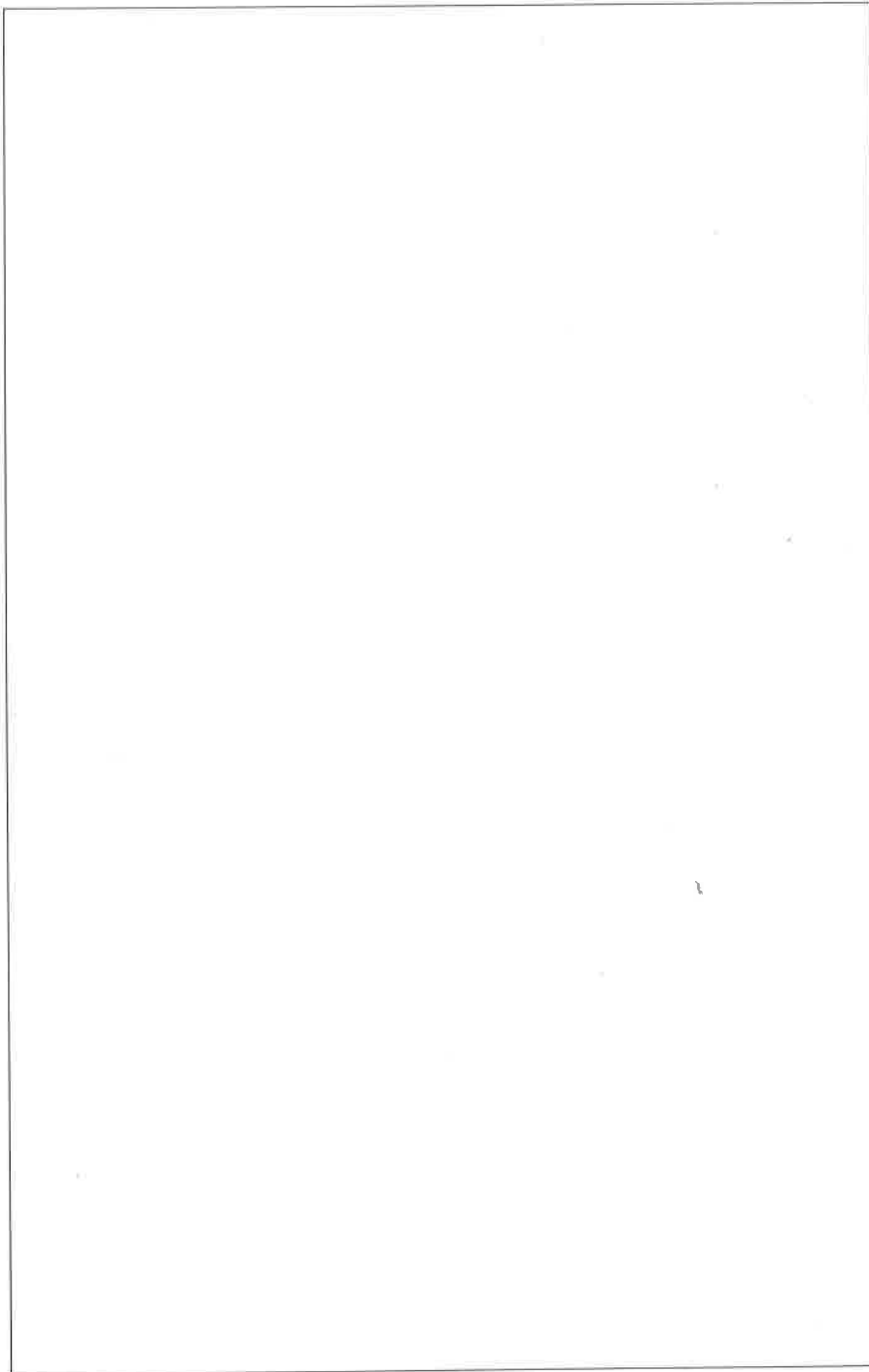
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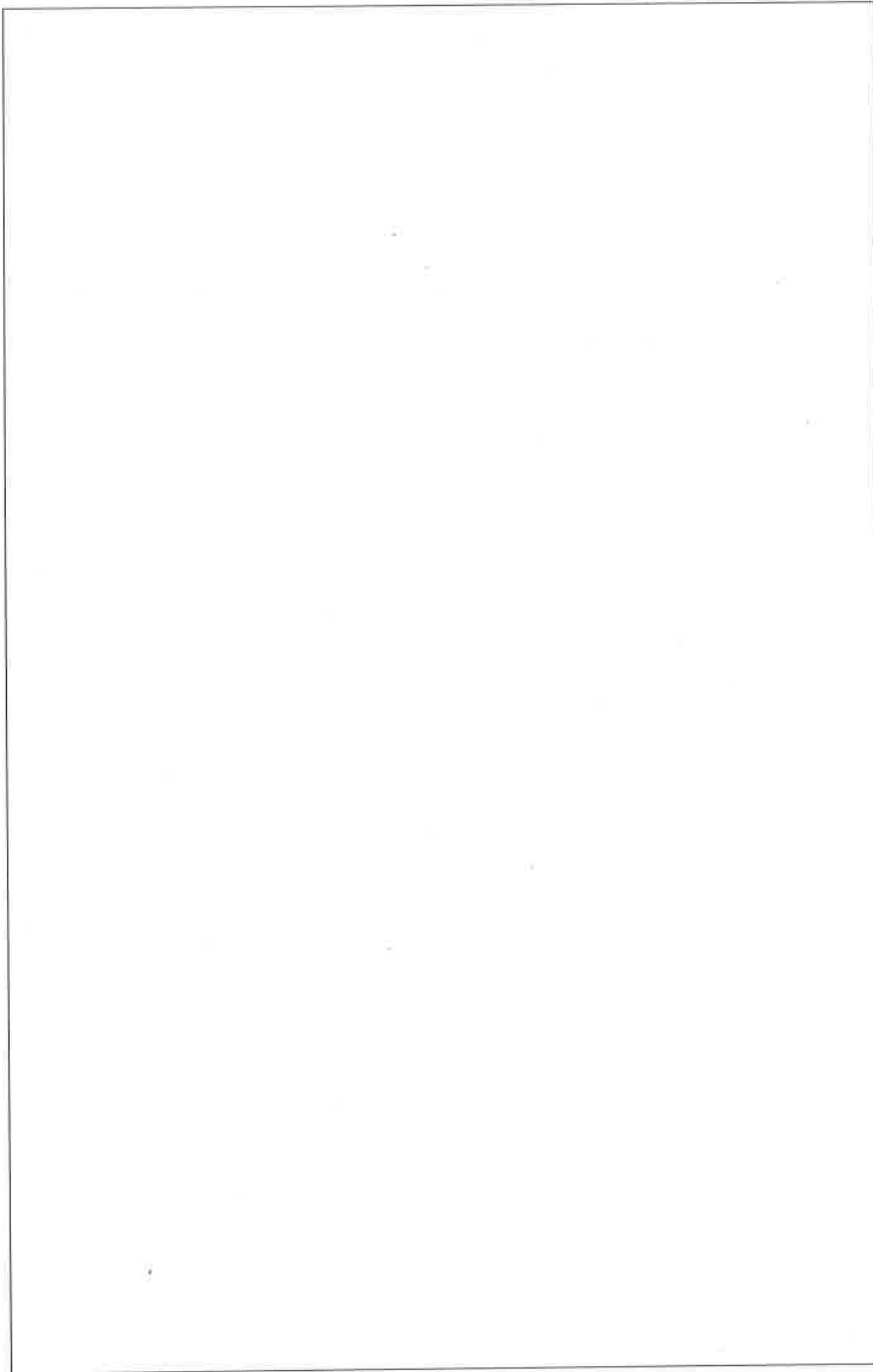




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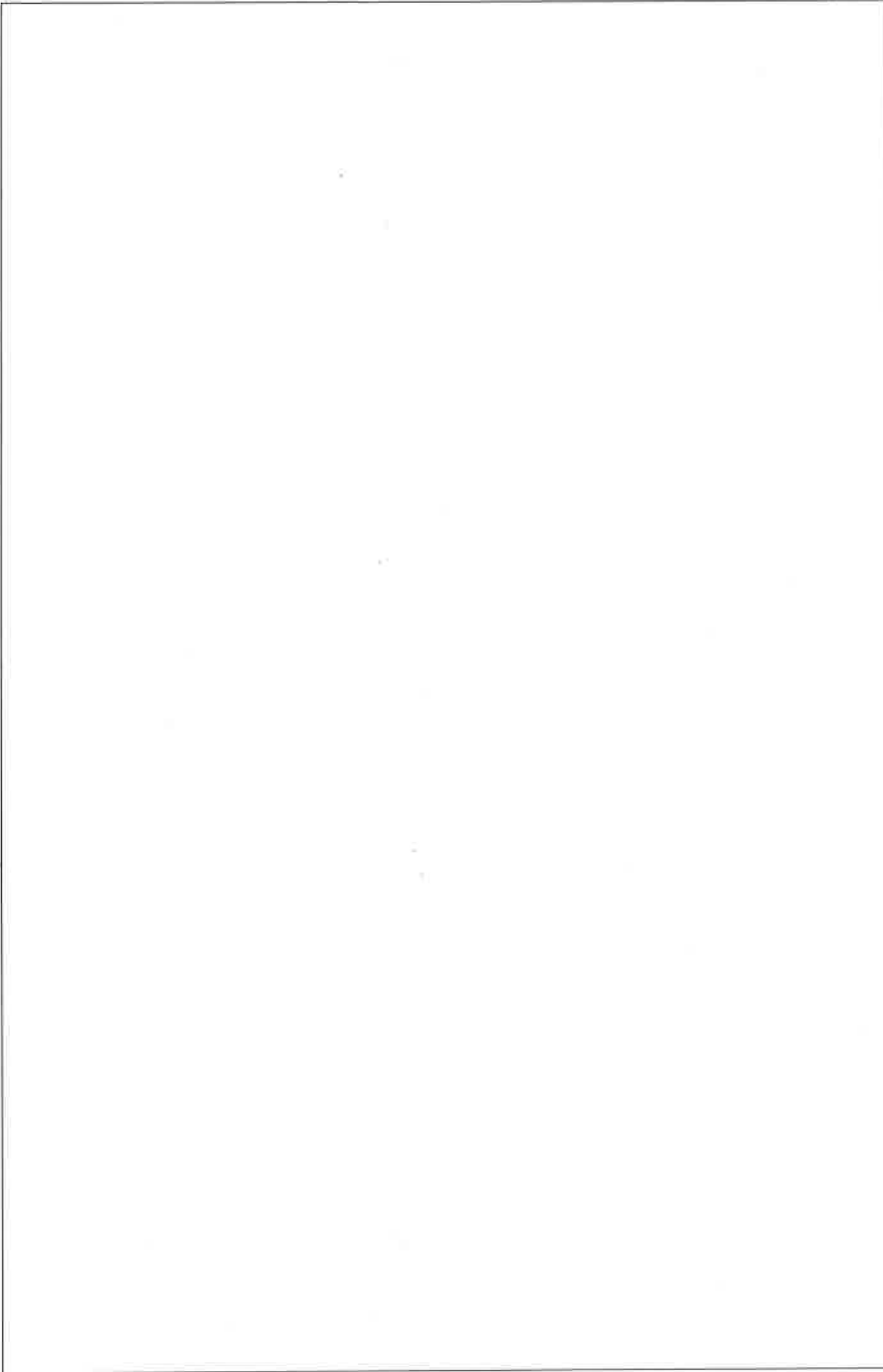
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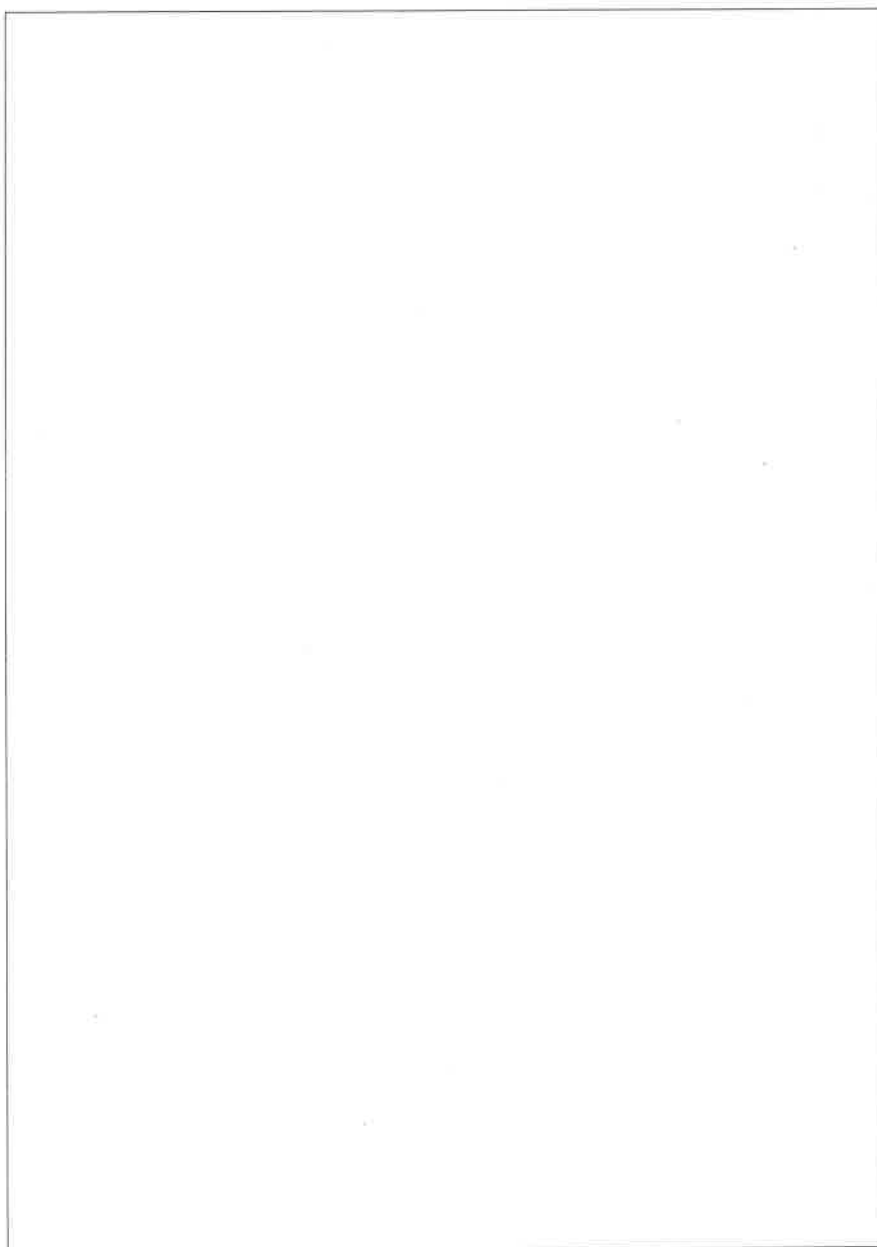
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HA 09/01/2015



**From:** Abcdin. Huma <AbcdinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 15, 2009 1:21 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Final APEC Documents  
**Attach:** AELM Standalone.pdf; AELM Declaration.pdf

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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**From:** Tong, Kurt W  
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M; Marciel, Scot A; Tesone, Mark; Hormats, Robert D; Yun, Sara S; EAP-EP-Office-DL; Bahl, Lane D  
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Moy, Kin W  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 15 01:14:12 2009  
**Subject:** Final APEC Documents

Attached. Safe travels, everyone. KT

HA 09/01/2015

**Statement by APEC Leaders on A New Growth Paradigm For a Connected Asia-Pacific in the 21st Century**

RELEASE IN FULL

**A NEW GROWTH PARADIGM  
FOR A CONNECTED ASIA-PACIFIC IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

**Statement by APEC Leaders  
Singapore, 14-15 November 2009**

We, the Leaders of APEC, gathered in Singapore to chart a new growth paradigm for the Asia-Pacific region that meets the needs of the 21st century global economy.

The global economy has begun to recover, with the Asia-Pacific region taking the lead. But we cannot go back to "growth as usual" or "trade as usual". The post-crisis landscape will be different. We need a new growth paradigm. We need a fresh model of economic integration.

We will pursue growth which is balanced, inclusive, and sustainable, supported by innovation and a knowledge-based economy, to ensure a durable recovery that will create jobs and benefit our people.

We will take a more comprehensive approach to regional economic integration, to meet the needs of our businesses and to keep up with new trends in cross-border trade and investment.

We will seek to conclude the Doha Round in 2010 and reject all forms of protectionism.

**New Growth Paradigm**

We endorse the goals of the G-20 Framework for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth. Representing the economically most dynamic region in the world and accounting for half of global trade and output, APEC is well placed to provide the momentum necessary to achieve these goals.

*Balanced Growth.* Strong and sustained economic growth will require structural reforms to gradually unwind global imbalances and raise the potential output of our economies.

We will ensure that our fiscal, monetary, trade, and structural policies are consistent with a more sustainable and balanced trajectory of growth, both within and across our economies.

We will strengthen the environment for private enterprise, investment, and innovation.

We will develop our financial markets to better serve the real economy.

We will work closely with International Financial Institutions and Multilateral Development Banks to help achieve these objectives.

**Statement by APEC Leaders on A New Growth Paradigm For a Connected Asia-Pacific in the 21st Century**

*Inclusive Growth.* To achieve inclusive growth, we must broaden access to economic opportunities and build the resilience of the most vulnerable against economic shocks. Inclusive growth will strengthen the consensus for free trade and open markets, which are key for continued prosperity.

We will help small and medium enterprises and women entrepreneurs gain better access to global markets and finance.

We will facilitate worker retraining, skills upgrading, and domestic labour mobility.

We will invest in education as a basis for enhancing individuals' ability to secure good jobs.

We will design social safety nets that provide short-term support but avoid long-term dependency.

*Sustainable Growth.* Future growth must be compatible with global efforts to protect the environment and mitigate climate change. At the same time, efforts to address climate change must be consistent with our international trade obligations.

We welcome the Declaration of the Leaders of the Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate in L'Aquila and the Leaders' Statement at the G-20 Pittsburgh Summit, and reaffirm our commitment to tackle the threat of climate change and work towards an ambitious outcome in Copenhagen, within the objective, provisions and principles of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

We will explore ways to reduce barriers to trade and investment in environmental goods and services (EGS) and will refrain from introducing new barriers to trade in EGS.

We will rationalise and phase out over the medium-term fossil fuel subsidies while providing those in need with essential energy services.

We will share best practices in energy efficiency, deploy cleaner and more energy-efficient technologies, and welcome the APEC Peer Review on Energy Efficiency.

**A Connected Asia-Pacific in the 21st Century**

We will take a comprehensive approach to build a 21st century model of economic integration that will combine trade liberalisation "*at the border*", improve the business environment "*behind the border*", and enhance supply chain connectivity "*across the border*".

*"At the Border" Liberalisation.* We will continue to explore building blocks towards a possible Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific in the future.

**Statement by APEC Leaders on A New Growth Paradigm For a Connected Asia-Pacific in the 21st Century**

We launched a pathfinder initiative led by Australia, Canada, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Singapore, and the United States to practice self-certification of origin so that businesses can better take advantage of free trade agreements in the region.

We will take forward the APEC Services Initiative having agreed to an action plan as well as principles to promote cross-border trade in services.

*"Behind the Border" Structural Reforms.* A key component of our structural reform efforts to reduce regulatory impediments is the Ease of Doing Business Action Plan.

We will strive to achieve by 2015 a collective 25% reduction in the cost, time, and number of procedures that our businesses face when starting a business, getting credit, enforcing contracts, dealing with permits, and trading across borders.

We will reduce business transaction costs by 5% by 2010, having already achieved a cost reduction of 3.2% between 2006 and 2008 through the Trade Facilitation Action Plan II.

*"Across the Border" Connectivity.* APEC's Supply Chain Connectivity Initiative has identified eight key chokepoints in regional supply chains and actions to address them.

We will explore how to enhance multi-modal connectivity by air, sea, and land, to facilitate a more seamless flow of goods and services, and business travellers throughout the Asia-Pacific.

**Top Attachments** Title A New Growth Paradigm For A Connected Asia-Pacific In The 21st Century - Statement by APEC Leaders [.DOC\(344 kB\)](#)

**A New Growth Paradigm**

**For a Connected Asia-Pacific in the 21st Century**

**Statement by APEC Leaders**

**Singapore, 14-15 November 2009**

**2009 Leaders' Declaration - "Sustaining Growth, Connecting the Region" - APEC Singapore 2009**

RELEASE IN FULL

**THE 17th APEC ECONOMIC LEADERS' MEETING  
Singapore  
14 - 15 November 2009**

**"SUSTAINING GROWTH, CONNECTING THE REGION"**

We, the Leaders of APEC, gathered in Singapore and marked twenty years of cooperation in promoting economic growth and prosperity for our people. In line with new trends and emerging challenges, our agenda has grown in breadth, depth, and complexity. But our common goal remains the same – to support growth and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region, through free and open trade and investment, as embedded in the Bogor Goals.

A year ago, as the world descended into an economic crisis unprecedented in severity since the Great Depression, we resolved that we would aim to overcome the crisis within eighteen months. Today, our robust policy responses have helped to set the stage for recovery. But economic recovery is not yet on a solid footing. Our commitments to reject protectionism and keep our markets open and free have enabled trade to be part of the solution rather than the problem. We will maintain our economic stimulus policies until a durable economic recovery has clearly taken hold.

We will work together to strengthen the momentum towards strong, sustainable and balanced global economic growth, as set out at the recent G-20 Summit in Pittsburgh.

Looking beyond supporting the recovery, we recognise the necessity to develop a new growth paradigm for the changed post-crisis landscape, and an expanded trade and investment agenda that will strengthen regional economic integration (REI) in the Asia-Pacific region. We cannot go back to "growth as usual". We will put in place next year a comprehensive long-term growth strategy that supports more balanced growth within and across economies, achieves greater inclusiveness in our societies, sustains our environment, and which seeks to raise our growth potential through innovation and a knowledge-based economy.

**Supporting Balanced Growth**

We support the goals of the G-20 Framework for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth. We join in their commitment to:

- Work together to ensure that our macroeconomic, regulatory and structural policies are collectively consistent with more sustainable and balanced trajectories of growth;
- Promote current account sustainability and open trade and investment to advance global



**2009 Leaders' Declaration - "Sustaining Growth, Connecting the Region" - APEC Singapore 2009**

prosperity and growth sustainability;

- Undertake macro prudential and regulatory policies to help prevent credit and asset price cycles from becoming forces of destabilisation; and
- Promote development and poverty reduction as part of the rebalancing of global growth.

We look forward to a progress report from Finance Ministers next year on their efforts to achieve stronger, more balanced and sustained growth in the Asia-Pacific region.

Structural reform will be critical to strengthening long-term potential output growth and narrowing the development gap between economies, by improving economic flexibility, fostering private demand, and developing financial markets. We agree to reenergise APEC's work on structural reform, building on the Leaders' Agenda to Implement Structural Reform towards 2010 (LAISR 2010).

We will leverage APEC's traditional strengths of voluntary cooperation, capacity building, sharing of best practices, and working with the private sector, to implement necessary reforms in infrastructure development, agriculture/food management, social security, education and workforce training, and regulatory frameworks. We will work with the International Financial Institutions and Multilateral Development Banks to facilitate these efforts. Given APEC's diversity, these reforms must take into account individual economies' stage of development, demographic trends, factor and institutional endowments, and comparative advantages.

**Fostering Inclusive Growth**

We resolve to ensure that future economic growth is more inclusive, to broaden access to opportunities created by growth and to spread the benefits of growth more widely. This will enable our economies to better seize the opportunities created by globalisation and to respond to its challenges. Inclusive growth will strengthen the consensus for free and open trade and investment.

APEC's inclusive growth agenda will build on ongoing efforts on structural reform under LAISR 2010 and will be driven by two key thrusts. First, we will undertake structural adjustments that will enhance opportunities for all segments of our societies to benefit from growth. Emphasis will be placed on the following specific areas:

- We will support and develop our small and medium enterprises (SMEs), which account for more than 90 percent of all businesses in the APEC region and employ between 50 and 80 percent of the workforce. We will assist SMEs to gain better access to global markets, technology and finance as well as to improve their crisis management capabilities.
- We will put job creation at the heart of our economic strategy and enhance cooperation to



**2009 Leaders' Declaration - "Sustaining Growth, Connecting the Region" - APEC Singapore 2009**

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address the social implications of globalisation. We will facilitate the retraining, skills upgrading and mobility of our workers so that they can secure jobs, especially in new and growing industries.

- We will focus on enhancing women's access to education, training, financing, technology, and infrastructure, to maximise their economic opportunities. We welcome continued outreach to women entrepreneurs to grow the positive multiplier effect that women's economic engagement can have on productivity and sustained growth.

Second, we will strengthen social resilience to help individuals overcome short-term difficulties while providing the incentive for long-term effort, with a focus on the most vulnerable in our economies.

- We will improve outcomes in education and skills-training to enhance long-term economic security.
- We will consider income supplements or earned income tax credits that encourage work and enterprise.
- We will design social safety nets that provide short-term economic security but avoid long-term dependency.

We instruct our Ministers and officials to further advance APEC's inclusive growth agenda in 2010, and develop a multi-year programme to build capacity for structural reforms and SME development, employment creation, and the development of social safety nets.

**Promoting Sustainable Growth**

We will ensure that economic growth in our region is consistent with sustainable development. Anthropogenic climate change is one of the biggest global challenges. It will impact each of our economies. We welcome the Declaration of the Leaders of the Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate in L'Aquila and the Leaders' Statement at the G-20 Pittsburgh Summit, and reaffirm our commitment to tackle the threat of climate change and work towards an ambitious outcome in Copenhagen, within the objective, provisions and principles of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Global action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions will need to be accompanied by measures, including financial assistance and technology transfer to developing economies for their adaptation to the adverse impact of climate change.

We recall our Declaration on Climate Change, Energy Security and Clean Development in

**2009 Leaders' Declaration - "Sustaining Growth, Connecting the Region" - APEC Singapore 2009**

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Sydney in 2007, which set out an APEC-wide aspirational target of reducing energy intensity by at least 25 percent by 2030. We applaud the efforts made by individual APEC economies that have unilaterally undertaken measures to reduce emissions. Sustainable forest management plays an important role in mitigating global emissions. We will enhance work on meeting the aspirational goal in the Sydney Declaration of increasing forest cover in the region by at least 20 million hectares of all types of forests by 2020. We support efforts in the UNFCCC negotiations to agree on actions to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD) in developing economies. We recognise the role of the oceans in mitigating climate change, and the impact of climate change on oceans and coastal areas, and welcome the Manado Ocean Declaration.

Responding to climate change through transition to green economies also offers opportunities. We will ensure that efforts to address climate change are consistent with our international trade obligations. A key thrust in APEC's sustainable growth agenda is the APEC Environmental Goods and Services (EGS) Work Programme, under which we will develop and implement a set of concrete actions to support sustainable growth in the region, advance work to increase utilisation and dissemination of EGS, reduce existing barriers and refrain from introducing new barriers to trade and investment in EGS, and enhance capabilities of economies to develop their EGS sectors. We also commit to rationalise and phase out over the medium term fossil fuel subsidies that encourage wasteful consumption, while recognising the importance of providing those in need with essential energy services. We will review progress on this at our meeting in 2010. We will also take steps to facilitate the diffusion of climate-friendly technologies, including through economic and technical cooperation (ECOTECH) and capacity building activities.

We will advance work on sharing best practices in energy efficiency with a view to deploying cleaner and more efficient technologies, and welcome the implementation of the voluntary APEC Peer Review on Energy Efficiency. We recognise the role of renewable energy in reducing emissions and encourage its development in the APEC region. We will encourage publication on a regular basis, timely, accurate, and complete data on oil production, consumption, refining and stock levels as appropriate.

**Resisting Protectionism**

We firmly reject all forms of protectionism and reaffirm our commitment to keep markets open and refrain from raising new barriers to investment or to trade in goods and services, and instruct our Ministers to continue to regularly review our adherence to these commitments. These efforts reinforce the WTO's own monitoring mechanism, and act as another bulwark against protectionist pressures by ensuring transparency in the measures taken in response to the crisis.

**Supporting the Multilateral Trading System**

We strongly reaffirm that the most effective means of dealing with protectionist pressures and delivering a global stimulus package to sustain and secure our recovery is an ambitious and balanced conclusion to the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) in 2010, based on the progress achieved to-date, including with regard to modalities. It is important that the high-level political

**2009 Leaders' Declaration - "Sustaining Growth, Connecting the Region" - APEC Singapore 2009**

commitment to concluding the Doha Round translates into substantive progress in the negotiations. We are ready to exercise pragmatism and all possible flexibility and utilise all possible avenues in order to accelerate the pace of negotiations to secure convergence on a final package. We instruct our Ministers to work closely on what needs to be done to bring the DDA to a successful conclusion and to assess the situation no later than in early 2010.

**Accelerating Regional Economic Integration**

We reaffirm our commitment to the Bogor Goals of free and open trade and investment. We direct Ministers and officials to report to us next year with a meaningful assessment of the industrialised APEC economies' achievement of the Bogor Goals.

We will continue to explore building blocks towards a possible Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific (FTAAP) in the future. An analytical study by officials shows that there are significant economic benefits from an FTAAP, as well as the challenges of establishing such an agreement. We look forward to the progress update from Ministers and officials next year on the outcomes of the exploration of a range of possible pathways to achieve FTAAP.

We will accelerate our work to strengthen REI in the Asia-Pacific, taking a comprehensive approach that focuses our work on trade liberalisation "at the border"; improving the business environment "behind the border"; and enhancing supply chain connectivity "across the border".

- We instruct officials to intensify our work on initiatives to promote greater convergences among economies in key areas of APEC's REI agenda, including in services, the digital economy, investment, trade facilitation, rules of origin and standards/technical barriers to trade.
- We welcome the participation of Australia, Canada, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Singapore, and the United States in a pathfinder initiative under which economies will agree to practice self-certification of origin with FTA partners. This initiative will facilitate trade by cutting the certification procedure down to a single step and reducing processing time to just one day.
- We endorse the APEC Principles for Cross-Border Trade in Services and the APEC Services Action Plan, which together will provide a foundation for APEC's future work to promote services trade and build greater convergences among APEC economies in their treatment of services.
- We aspire to achieve an APEC-wide improvement of 25 percent in five key areas of doing business by 2015: Starting a Business, Getting Credit, Enforcing Contracts, Trading Across Borders and Dealing with Permits, and a 5 percent improvement by 2011. We welcome the preparation of capacity building work programmes by champion economies – United States; New Zealand; Japan; Korea; Hong Kong, China; and Singapore – and encourage continuous and concerted efforts through the Ease of Doing Business Action Plan to make it cheaper, faster and easier to do business in the Asia-Pacific.
- We look forward to the progress stock-take in implementing the LAISR forward work

**2009 Leaders' Declaration - "Sustaining Growth, Connecting the Region" - APEC Singapore 2009**

programme in 2010, and instruct our Ministers and officials to strategise the next phase of the LAISR, including in the context of supporting our new growth strategies.

- We look towards the successful conclusion of APEC's second Trade Facilitation Action Plan in 2010, and are pleased to note that APEC as a whole is on track to reduce trade transaction costs by an additional 5 percent by 2010.
- We will develop common approaches towards well-functioning public-private partnership (PPP) markets. We encourage officials to explore the feasibility of utilising PPPs for the upgrading of transport infrastructure that contributes to the enhancement of supply chain connectivity in the region.
- We welcome the Supply Chain Connectivity Framework, which has identified eight chokepoints in regional supply chains and suggested actions to address these chokepoints. We welcome the commitment from Transport Ministers to achieve greater seamlessness in our multi-modal transport networks and call for officials to continue cohesive efforts towards improving supply chain connectivity.
- We welcome the work undertaken in identifying performance indicators for the Investment Facilitation Action Plan (IFAP) and look forward to the implementation of the IFAP next year.
- We reaffirm our commitment to strengthen the protection and enforcement of intellectual property (IP) rights and reiterated the importance of comprehensive and balanced intellectual property (IP) systems that provide for and protect the incentives that encourage creation and innovation and provide the tools for successful management and exploitation of IP rights. We will continue to promote greater collaboration among our IP rights experts, APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC), and enforcement authorities across the APEC region and recognise the importance of capacity building. We welcome the progress made by economies in implementing the APEC Anti-Counterfeiting and Piracy Initiative as well as cooperation to improve patent systems in the region, and look forward to further progress next year.
- We encourage ongoing efforts towards using ICT to address socio-economic issues and realising APEC's goal of achieving universal access to broadband in all member economies by 2015.
- We support the outcomes and recommendations of the APEC Trade Recovery Programme Pilot Exercise. We reaffirm the importance for our economies to implement initiatives, such as communications mechanisms and other approaches to trade recovery, to build trusted relationships and to recognise one another's Authorised Economic Operator (AEO) programmes in alignment with the World Customs Organization (WCO) SAFE Framework of Standards.

**Strengthening Economic and Technical Cooperation**

Building capacity for reforms aimed at facilitating inclusive growth and REI remains a key priority for APEC. We reaffirm our commitment to the Manila Framework, which serves as the basis for the implementation of the ECOTECH activities outlined in the Osaka Action Agenda. We recognise that capacity building needs evolve as priorities shift to meet new challenges. Therefore, we welcome ongoing efforts to develop a more strategic, goal-oriented and



**2009 Leaders' Declaration - "Sustaining Growth, Connecting the Region" - APEC Singapore 2009**

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multi-year approach toward capacity building, and to strengthen the prioritisation and effective implementation of capacity building activities across APEC fora. We welcome the establishment of the US\$10 million China APEC Cooperation Fund which aims to facilitate and promote APEC ECOTECH cooperation.

**Enhancing Human Security**

We express our deepest condolences for the loss of life and destruction caused by the devastating typhoons that hit China, Japan, the Philippines, Chinese Taipei and Viet Nam, and the earthquakes and the recent terrorist attacks in Indonesia. We reaffirm the importance of enhancing human security and reducing the threat of disruptions to business and trade in sustaining economic growth and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region. We recognise the importance of building capacity to counter terrorism and welcome APEC's work in areas such as trade security, aviation security, anti-terrorist protection of energy infrastructure, countering terrorism financing, fighting cyber-terrorism, protecting the food supply against terrorist contamination and emergency preparedness.

Responding to food security challenges in the region is a major priority for APEC. Food security, including access to reliable sources of nutritious, safe and affordable food, remains a concern for many in the Asia-Pacific region and around the world. We encourage continued cooperation with the private sector, academia, and civil society to address food security and safe food supply challenges, including by promoting sustainable agricultural production and rural development, and instruct officials to undertake capacity building projects and other practical initiatives to address food security, and report back to us next year on their progress. We support the L'Aquila Joint Statement on Global Food Security.

We welcome the sharing of experiences in dealing with the double global impact of the economic crisis and the Influenza Pandemic (H1N1) in 2009. We reaffirm our commitment to build regional capacity for avian and other potential human influenza pandemics and emerging and re-emerging infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis. We will strengthen our health systems and cooperate to prevent and control emerging infectious diseases in the world.

**Fighting Corruption, Improving Governance and Transparency**

Good governance, institutional integrity, and transparency in both the public and private sectors have a critical impact on the smooth flow of trade and economic activities and help to mitigate crime and corruption. We recognise the mutually reinforcing relationship between good governance measures and anti-corruption actions. We welcome the efforts of member economies and ABAC in these areas and encourage public-private partnerships to further APEC efforts to enhance governance, institutional integrity and combat corruption.

We welcome the efforts of ABAC and the business community to enhance governance and encourage economies to work through public-private partnership to further APEC efforts in this area.

**2009 Leaders' Declaration - "Sustaining Growth, Connecting the Region" - APEC Singapore 2009**

We note the importance of international cooperation in combating and dismantling the threat of cross-border criminal networks and its linkages with corruption nodes. We encourage member economies, where applicable, to ratify the UN Convention against Corruption and UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime and take measures to implement their provisions, in accordance with economies' legal frameworks.

**Strengthening APEC**

A revitalised APEC is crucial to meet the challenges of sustaining recovery and to deal with the region's 21st century economic challenges. To do so, APEC economies must forge a partnership of common interests to produce strong, balanced and sustainable growth. The appointment of the Secretariat's first Executive Director for a fixed term is an important first step to strengthen the capacity of the APEC Secretariat to meet the growing demands of member economies and other key stakeholders. We direct our Ministers and officials to accelerate efforts to develop more responsive and effective mechanisms to ensure that APEC remains the premier forum for regional economic cooperation.

<a href="#">Top</a>	<b>Attachments</b>	<b>Title</b>	2009 Leaders' Declaration-- "Sustaining Growth, Connecting the Region"
			<a href="#">.DOC(381 kB)</a>

WATCH VIDEO

**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 15, 2009 3:46:42 AM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Mitchell memo

RELEASE IN FULL

Pls find Jones and Donilon and give them each a copy. The three copies are in my red bag in a light blue SecState folder.  
Pls tell them I have told Mitchell to go forward and would appreciate their support. Does that make sense? .

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 15, 2009 11:35 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: your speaking Jan. 19 and UNSCR 1325

RELEASE IN PART  
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**From:** Russo, Robert V  
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C; Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 15 09:21:12 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: your speaking Jan. 19 and UNSCR 1325

**From:** swanee\_hunt [REDACTED] <swanee\_hunt [REDACTED]>  
**To:** Russo, Robert V  
**Cc:** carla\_koppell [REDACTED] <carla\_koppell [REDACTED]>  
**Sent:** Sat Nov 14 22:34:51 2009  
**Subject:** your speaking Jan. 19 and UNSCR 1325

Madam Secretary,

What a pleasure it was to see you last week. I appreciated your making time to see me; it was good to feel connected, in the middle of our upheaval. Charles joins me in sending admiration congratulations for the job you're doing.

I was heartened that you'd like to speak at The Institute for Inclusive Security Policy Forum luncheon in January. We will, of course, be in touch with your scheduler regarding the 19th. Your insights will shine a spotlight on the importance of women's leadership in countering extremism globally.

Following up on our conversation, I want to reiterate the importance of US leadership developing an action plan for realizing UN Security Council Resolution 1325. As I know you are aware, SCR1325 was the first to link women to the peace and security agenda. It addressed not only the impact of war on women, but also the importance of their contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace.

October 2010 will mark the tenth anniversary of passage of SCR1325. More than 20 countries have created or are in the process of crafting SCR1325 action plans, laying out how their governments are ensuring attention to women's priorities and leadership in peace building. Among them are the Austria, Bosnia, Cote d'Ivoire, Ireland, Liberia, Norway, Spain, Netherlands, Uganda, and the United Kingdom. Announcement of US intent to create a national action plan would send an enormous signal to the rest of the world. It also would be a natural follow-on to US leadership passing SCR resolution 1888, strengthening the response to conflict-related sexual violence, and SCR 1889, which builds on 1325, insisting on measured outcomes to support UN (mostly unfulfilled) promises to enhance women's leadership in peace building.

The US already is doing so much in its foreign policy to elevate the status of women. A national action plan could simply be a codification of work already underway. It would provide an opportunity to spotlight Administration efforts and create momentum heading into the tenth anniversary of SCR1325.

I encourage you to consider this as a next step in your efforts to enshrine elevating women's leadership in peace building as a principle of US foreign policy.

Warmly,  
Swanee

Swanee Hunt  
President, Hunt Alternatives Fund  
Chair, The Institute for Inclusive Security  
Eleanor Roosevelt Lecturer of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School of Government  
*"You must do the thing you think you cannot do."* -E. Roosevelt



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 15, 2009 11:36 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: America Pakistan Foundation

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

**From:** Spenta Kandawalla [REDACTED]  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 15 10:23:55 2009  
**Subject:** America Pakistan Foundation

Dear Hillary,

It was wonderful to spend time with you in Islamabad. Thank you for all the courtesy and affection you showed to [REDACTED] and myself. Your trip was a great triumph and it continues to bring you widespread praise, admiration and respect in Pakistan.

B6

I wanted to follow up with you on an unfinished conversation from our last dinner together. I congratulated you on being the catalyst for the America Pakistan Foundation and began to tell you that just a year ago Farrokh, I and several other civil society friends had formed a similar pair of organizations, the i-Care Fund America Inc, which is an IRS approved 501(c) 3 organization in the US and the i-Care Foundation in Pakistan. This is Pakistan's first donor advised fund. It also has the special value added feature of offering evaluation, measuring and monitoring of recipient NGO's. We would be very pleased to offer our evaluation, measuring and monitoring service capability to the America Pakistan Foundation and to serve as their executing arm on the ground in Pakistan. I would be delighted to discuss this further with you. Please let me know your thoughts. I am currently in New York [REDACTED] until November 18<sup>th</sup>, when I return to Karachi [REDACTED] after attending the Acumen Fund Annual Investor Gathering in New York on the 17<sup>th</sup> I will also be at the Asia Society Gala on the 17<sup>th</sup> night, where Richard Holbrooke is being honored.

B6

I have just spent the last 3 days at Wellesley, where I attended an outstanding 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary BLC Plenary Conference on the theme of Global Women's Leadership. I was privileged to meet Farah Pandith, and to hear her speak at the Plenary. She is fantastic- what a great choice for this important position!

Hillary, thank you for your friendship to me and to Pakistan. I want very much to be of any help I can in the important new direction you are taking in Pakistan. I am truly proud to be your friend.

Warmly,

Spenta

Windows Live: Make it easier for your friends to see what you're up to on Facebook.

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Doug Band [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Monday, November 16, 2009 10:41:09 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** We are

B6

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B6

Hosting a reception at davos for cgi as we did the last few years  
It's the single to be at event and will be jan 27 or whenever she would be there as having her drop by would help a lot

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 16, 2009 5:56 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: line block through december 19th for you ...  
**Attach:** updated private line block as of november 16th.docx

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B6

B6

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 16 17:17:52 2009  
**Subject:** line block through december 19th for you ...

Huma, please find attached the line block through December 19<sup>th</sup>. Questions are in yellow highlights – thank you!

Lona Valmoro  
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State  
202-647-9071 (direct)

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 16, 2009 6:28 PM  
**To:** 'humamabedin' [redacted]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: H: New memo on China. Sid  
**Attach:** hrc memo china 111609.docx

RELEASE IN PART  
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B6

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

From: H  
 To: Huma Abedin  
 Sent: Mon Nov 16 18:27:17 2009  
 Subject: Fw: H: New memo on China. Sid

Pls print

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

From: sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted]>  
 To: H  
 Sent: Mon Nov 16 09 33 36 2009  
 Subject: H: New memo on China Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

November 16, 2009

For: Hillary  
 From: Sid  
 Re: What was outside the box is the new box on China

Consensus on China arrived today on the op-ed page of the NYT. Both the center-left in the form of Paul Krugman and the center-right in the form of Niall Ferguson converged on US-China policy, focused like a laser on the Chinese currency policy. Ferguson cut to the quick in a line: "Call it the 10-10 deal: the Chinese get 10 percent growth; America gets 10 percent unemployment. The deal is even worse for the rest of the world — and that includes some of America's biggest export markets and most loyal allies." I would suggest that this is not a zero-sum game. China is not inherently a stable nation but is riven by profound ethnic/language/regional divisions as well as yawning economic and social inequalities growing greater by the day with a vast majority of billions not sharing the benefits of its brand of turbo-charged, despotic authoritarian Communist/capitalism. It is not the wave of any future, China's own perhaps least of all. Medvedev, in his statement last week, made it plain that this sort of system is not Russia's aspiration. He leaves China isolated as an example, shredding its "soft power" appeal. Following China's current path will not lead to its unbroken ascendancy, but exacerbate its centrifugal trends. Only by reforming its currency policy, as a first step, can it begin to spread its own wealth internally because it will have to develop an internal market with consumer demand. The US should make the argument that currency reform is in China's interest. If China doesn't want to play, condign trade methods carefully targeted can be applied and human rights campaigns ramped up. The raw truth is that China has no real alternatives despite its arrogant sneering about the US debt. China is our captive. If it doesn't hold the debt its currency wobbles. China is still relatively weak with a small array of options. I've included, below the Krugman and Ferguson pieces, an article I commissioned this July from my friend and former New Yorker colleague Isabel Hilton, a China expert, fluent in Mandarin, who publishes a website, chinadialogue.net, on the subject of "Will China Implode?" Her view, contrary to Western promoters of conventional wisdom, is that this is a likely possibility, and I think it is advantageous to consider in designing policy.

New York Times  
 November 16, 2009  
 Op-Ed Columnist  
 World Out of Balance

By PAUL KRUGMAN <<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/opinion/editorialsandoped/oped/columnists/paulkrugman/index.html?inline=nvt-per>>

International travel by world leaders is mainly about making symbolic gestures. Nobody expects President Obama to come back from China with major new agreements, on economic policy or anything else.

But let's hope that when the cameras aren't rolling Mr. Obama and his hosts engage in some frank talk about currency policy. For the problem of international trade imbalances is about to get substantially worse. And there's a potentially ugly confrontation looming unless China mends its ways. Some background: Most of the world's major currencies "float" against one another. That is, their relative values move up or down depending on market forces. That doesn't necessarily mean that governments pursue pure hands-off policies. Countries sometimes limit capital outflows when there's a run on their currency (as Iceland did last year) or take steps to discourage hot-money inflows when they fear that speculators love their

11/22/2016



economies not wisely but too well (which is what Brazil is doing right now). But these days most nations try to keep the value of their currency in line with long-term economic fundamentals. China is the great exception. Despite huge trade surpluses and the desire of many investors to buy into this fast-growing economy — forces that should have strengthened the renminbi, China's currency — Chinese authorities have kept that currency persistently weak. They've done this mainly by trading renminbi for dollars, which they have accumulated in vast quantities. And in recent months China has carried out what amounts to a beggar-thy-neighbor devaluation, keeping the yuan-dollar exchange rate fixed even as the dollar has fallen sharply against other major currencies. This has given Chinese exporters a growing competitive advantage over their rivals, especially producers in other developing countries.

What makes China's currency policy especially problematic is the depressed state of the world economy. Cheap money and fiscal stimulus seem to have averted a second Great Depression. But policy makers haven't been able to generate enough spending, public or private, to make progress against mass unemployment. And China's weak-currency policy exacerbates the problem, in effect siphoning much-needed demand away from the rest of the world into the pockets of artificially competitive Chinese exporters.

But why do I say that this problem is about to get much worse? Because for the past year the true scale of the China problem has been masked by temporary factors. Looking forward, we can expect to see both China's trade surplus and America's trade deficit surge.

That, at any rate, is the argument made in a new paper by Richard Baldwin and Dana Taglioni of the Graduate Institute, Geneva. As they note, trade imbalances, both China's surplus and America's deficit, have recently been much smaller than they were a few years ago. But, they argue, "these global imbalance improvements are mostly illusory — the transitory side effect of the greatest trade collapse the world has ever seen."

Indeed, the 2008-9 plunge in world trade was one for the record books. What it mainly reflected was the fact that modern trade is dominated by sales of durable manufactured goods — and in the face of severe financial crisis and its attendant uncertainty, both consumers and corporations postponed purchases of anything that wasn't needed immediately. How did this reduce the U.S. trade deficit? Imports of goods like automobiles collapsed; so did some U.S. exports, but because we came into the crisis importing much more than we exported, the net effect was a smaller trade gap.

But with the financial crisis abating, this process is going into reverse. Last week's U.S. trade report showed a sharp increase in the trade deficit between August and September. And there will be many more reports along those lines.

So picture this: month after month of headlines juxtaposing soaring U.S. trade deficits and Chinese trade surpluses with the suffering of unemployed American workers. If I were the Chinese government, I'd be really worried about that prospect.

Unfortunately, the Chinese don't seem to get it. Rather than face up to the need to change their currency policy, they've taken to lecturing the United States, telling us to raise interest rates and curb fiscal deficits — that is, to make our unemployment problem even worse.

And I'm not sure the Obama administration gets it, either. The administration's statements on Chinese currency policy seem pro forma, lacking any sense of urgency.

That needs to change. I don't begrudge Mr. Obama the banquets and the photo ops, they're part of his job. But behind the scenes he better be warning the Chinese that they're playing a dangerous game.

New York Times

November 16, 2009

Op-Ed Contributors

The Great Wallop

By NIALL FERGUSON and MORITZ SCHULARICK

A FEW years ago we came up with the term "Chimerica" to describe the combination of the Chinese and American economies, which together had become the key driver of the global economy. With a combined 13 percent of the world's land surface and around a quarter of its population, Chimerica nevertheless accounted for a third of global economic output and two-fifths of worldwide growth from 1998 to 2007.

We called it Chimerica for a reason: we believed this relationship was a chimera — a monstrous hybrid like the part-lion, part-goat, part-snake of legend. Now we may be witnessing the death throes of the monster. The question President Obama must consider as he flies to Asia this week is whether to slay it or to try to keep it alive.

In its heyday, Chimerica consisted largely of the combination of Chinese development, led by exports, and American overconsumption. Thanks to the Chimerican symbiosis, China was able to quadruple its gross domestic product from 2000 to 2008, raise exports by a factor of five, import Western technology and create tens of millions of manufacturing jobs for the rural poor.

For America, Chimerica meant being able to consume more and save less even while maintaining low interest rates and a stable rate of investment. Overconsumption meant that from 2000 to 2008 the United States consistently outspent its national income. Goods imported from China accounted for about a third of that overconsumption.

For a time, Chimerica seemed not a monster but a marriage made in heaven. Global trade boomed and nearly all asset prices surged. Yet, like many another marriage between a saver and a spender, Chimerica was not destined to last. The financial crisis since 2007 has put the marriage on the rocks. Correcting the economic imbalance between the United States and China — the dissolution of Chimerica — is now indispensable if equilibrium is to be restored to the world economy.

China's economic ascent was a result of a strategy of export-led growth that followed the examples of West Germany and Japan after World War II. However, there was a key difference: China made a sustained effort to control the value of its currency, the renminbi, which resulted in a huge accumulation of reserve dollars.

As Chinese exports soared, the authorities in Beijing consistently bought dollars to avoid appreciation of their currency, pegging it at around 8.28 renminbi to the dollar from the mid-1980s to the mid-'90s. They then allowed a modest 17 percent appreciation in the three years after July 2005, only to restore the dollar peg at 6.83 when the global financial crisis intensified last year.

Intervening in the currency market served two goals for China: by keeping the renminbi from rising against the dollar, it promoted the competitiveness of Chinese exports; second, it allowed China to build up foreign currency reserves (primarily in dollars) as a cushion against the risks associated with growing financial integration, painfully illustrated by the experience of other countries in the Asian crisis of the late 1990s. The result was that by 2000 China had currency reserves of \$165 billion, they now stand at \$2.3 trillion, of which at least 70 percent are dollar-denominated.

This intervention caused a growing distortion in the global cost of capital, significantly reducing long-term interest rates and helping to inflate the real estate bubble in the United States, with ultimately disastrous consequences. In essence, Chimerica constituted a credit line from the People's Republic to the United States that allowed Americans to save nothing and bet the house on ... well, the house.

Nothing like this happened in the 1950s and 1960s. At the height of postwar growth in the 1960s, West Germany and Japan increased their dollar reserves roughly in line with the American gross domestic product, keeping the ratio stable at about 1 percent before letting it move slightly higher in the early 1970s. By contrast, China's reserves soared from the equivalent of 1 percent of America's gross domestic product in 2000 to 5 percent in 2005 and 10 percent in 2008. By the end of this year, that figure is expected to rise to 12 percent.

The Chimerican era is drawing to a close. Given the bursting of the debt and housing bubbles, Americans will have to kick their addiction to cheap



money and easy credit. The Chinese authorities understand that heavily indebted American consumers cannot be relied on to return as buyers of Chinese goods on the scale of the period up to 2007. And they dislike their exposure to the American currency in the form of dollar-denominated reserve assets of close to \$2 trillion. The Chinese authorities are "long" the dollar like no foreign power in history, and that makes them very nervous. Yet there is a strong temptation for both halves of Chimerica to keep this lopsided partnership going. Despite much talk of the need to reduce global imbalances, the biggest imbalance of all persists. This year, America's trade deficit with China will be around \$200 billion, the same as last year. And China has again intervened in the currency markets, buying \$300 billion to keep its currency and hence its exports cheap. United States policy makers, meanwhile, seem equally willing to prolong America's addiction to cheap money as long as economic recovery seems so fragile, regardless of the effect on the dollar's exchange rate with other currencies. (When American officials insist that they favor a "strong dollar," it's usually a sure sign that they want the opposite.) And why would Americans want to discourage the Chinese from buying yet more dollar-denominated securities? With trillion-dollar deficits as far as the eye can see, the Treasury needs all the foreign buyers it can get. The reality, however, is that an end to Chimerica is in the American interest for at least three reasons. First, adjusting the exchange rates between the currencies would help reorient the American economy — primarily by making American exports more competitive in China, the world's fastest-growing economy. Second, an end to Chimerica would lessen the potentially dangerous reliance of American economic policy on measures to stimulate domestic purchasing. American fiscal policy is clearly on an unsustainable path, and the Federal Reserve's negligible interest rates and the printing of dollars are artificially inflating equity prices. Finally, renminbi revaluation would reduce the risk of potentially serious international friction over trade. The problem is that as the dollar weakens against other world currencies — notably the euro and the Japanese yen — so does the renminbi, magnifying China's already large advantage in global export markets. The burden of post-crisis adjustment falls disproportionately outside Chimerica. Unless China's currency is revalued, we can expect an uncoordinated wave of defensive moves by countries on the wrong side of Chimerica's double depreciation. Already we are seeing the danger signs. Last month Brazil imposed a tax on "hot money" — large, volatile flows of foreign investment that may exit an economy as quickly as they appeared — to try to slow the appreciation of its currency, the real. A number of Asian economies last week intervened to weaken their own currencies relative to the dollar. Similar currency games were a feature of the worst economic decade of the 20th century, the 1930s. Historically, as production costs and income levels in countries have risen, their currencies have adjusted against the dollar accordingly. From 1960 to 1978, for example, the deutsche mark appreciated cumulatively by almost 60 percent against the dollar, while the Japanese yen appreciated by almost 50 percent. The lesson is that exporters can live with substantial exchange rate revaluations so long as they are achieving major gains in productivity, as China still is. To be sure, China's central bank has suggested that it might be willing to switch from the dollar peg to some form of exchange-rate management, taking account of "international capital flows and movements in major currencies." But, like the recent Chinese comments about replacing the dollar as the premier international reserve currency, this may be no more than rhetoric. During his visit to China this week, President Obama must resist the temptation to respond to these overtures with rhetoric of his own. This is not the time for big speeches, but for subtle diplomacy. Right now, Chimerica clearly serves China better than America. Call it the 10:10 deal: the Chinese get 10 percent growth; America gets 10 percent unemployment. The deal is even worse for the rest of the world — and that includes some of America's biggest export markets and most loyal allies. The question is: What can the United States offer to make the Chinese abandon the dollar peg that has served them so well? The authorities in Beijing must be made to see that any book losses on its reserve assets resulting from changes in the exchange rate will be a modest price to pay for the advantages they reaped from the Chimerica model: the transformation from third-world poverty to superpower status in less than 15 years. In any case, these losses would be more than compensated for by the increase in the dollar value of China's huge stock of renminbi assets. It is also in China's interest to kick its currency-intervention habit. A heavily undervalued renminbi is the key financial distortion in the world economy today. If it persists for much longer, China risks losing the very foundation of its economic success: an open global trading regime. And this is exactly what President Obama can offer in return for a substantial currency revaluation of, say, 20 percent to 30 percent over the next 12 months: a clear commitment to globalization and free trade, and an end to the nascent Chinese-American tariff war. For as long as the People's Republic has existed, the United States has been the principal upholder of a world economic order based on the free movement of goods and, more recently, capital. It has also picked up the tab for policing the oil-rich but unstable Middle East. No country has benefited more from these arrangements than China, and it should now pay for them through a stronger Chinese currency. Chimerica was always a chimera — an economic monster. Revaluing the renminbi will give this monster the peaceful death it deserves. Niall Ferguson, a history professor at Harvard, is the author of "The Ascent of Money." Moritz Schularick is a professor of economic history at the Free University in Berlin.

The Daily Beast  
WILL CHINA IMplode?  
By Isabel Hilton  
July 28, 2009

There is a story that the Chinese government likes to tell: that China is the world's oldest continuous, unchanging civilization (the dates vary, according to the exuberance of the moment, from 2,000 to a mythical 5,000 years). This unique history, the story continues, will determine China's future. In this narrative of Chinese exceptionalism, the leadership remains immune to demands for democracy or any resemblance to other developed countries. The government hopes that this story will prove persuasive enough for the Communist Party to keep the Mandate of Heaven and avoid challenges to its exclusive right to rule for the foreseeable future. It's a curious story for a Communist Party and very different to the earlier myths of origin. Where once it promoted class struggle and revolution, today's party invokes history and tradition in support of its right to rule. In its latest identification with the imperial orders of the past, the regime is even restoring Confucianism as the core state narrative. It's a long way from the Communist Party's own origins in the revolt in the early 20th century against the suffocating orthodoxies of Confucianism, blamed by the modernizers of the day for China's slide into stagnation. As recently as the 1970s, Confucius was still thought sufficiently poisonous as an inheritance to merit a virulent campaign of criticism, along with such unported bad hats as the Italian filmmaker Michelangelo Antonioni, the late Ludwig Van Beethoven and the children's book Jonathan Livingston Seagull. They made an odd quartet, but no odder than the current spectacle of a Communist Party that extols the virtues of Mencius and claims to be building a "harmonious" society. Remarkably, despite its obvious flaws, this narrative appeals to those Western commentators who believe that China's rise is, in the Marxist phrase, a historical inevitability, and who accept Beijing's latest version of history at face value. Take this recent example, from the British author Martin Jacques' book *When China Rules the World*: "China has existed roughly within its present borders for 2,000 years and only over the last century has it come to regard itself as a nation state." China does not, in fact, officially define itself as a nation state but as a multiethnic state in which all nationalities theoretically enjoy equal status. A more accurate description would be that it is a recently expanded land-based empire struggling to justify itself. Far from living within the same



borders for 2,000 years, China today occupies a land area roughly twice the size of Ming Dynasty China, its expansion driven by the Manchu conquest in the 18th century. It has an aggressive policy of colonization, exploitation of natural resources, and assimilation. Like all such empires before it, it suffers from the strains of keeping the lid on those it has colonized, who do not identify with an imperial project from which they derive little benefit.

When China Rules the World was published some 10 months after last year's uprising in Tibet and six weeks before this year's riots in Xinjiang. By the time it had been on the bookshelves eight weeks, the Chinese government had been obliged to put nearly half of its territory (including Xinjiang and the Tibetan Autonomous Region) under tight paramilitary control.

The People's Armed Police, the shock troops of Beijing's attempt to impose civil order (officially described as "harmony") are pursuing familiar tactics in Xinjiang: mass arrests within a troublesome demographic—ethnic minority males—undisclosed places and conditions of detention, trials that meet no standards of justice and long prison sentences, often preceded by rough treatment.

It is doubtful, though, whether these measures will be any more effective than they have been in the past. Beijing's diagnosis of the sickness in its body politic is as flawed as its treatment: If repression fails, apply more repression, a policy response that has steadily ratcheted up the resentment in China's far west.

The question is, how far will these troubles affect the majority Han population and what impact will the blowback from the troubles have on China's future? In a related move, the government recently raided the offices of the Open Constitution Initiative in Beijing, confiscating computers and interrogating staff. The OCI was an important legal office, distinguished by its members' belief in the right to a fair, independent, and transparent legal process, and their willingness to defend people whom the government wished to silence or send to jail. Their clients included the parents of infants affected by last year's adulterated milk scandal, Tibetan prisoners, Falun Gong practitioners, and other persecuted or disadvantaged groups. An additional 50 lawyers who handled human-rights cases have also been disbarred.

The OCI also produced one of the only rational responses to last year's uprising in Tibet. Having examined the evidence, they concluded that the uprising had not been orchestrated by the exiled Dalai Lama, but provoked by decades of bungled government policy. Now they have been hit with a massive fine for alleged tax irregularities and their office closed. Neither in Tibet nor in Xinjiang, it seems, do the authorities wish to acknowledge their mistakes.

But mistakes not acknowledged tend to be repeated, and policies that have provoked angry responses in the past are unlikely to promote harmony in the future. The test of China's future trajectory, of its ability to go from large power to great power, is only partly about economics. Thus far, China's economic growth has been based on unsustainable low-end manufacturing for the export market and the legitimacy bestowed by rising living standards. To manage the next phase of development successfully, China needs to move up the value chain: improve its governance, cut down on the huge waste in the economy, distribute the rewards of the effort more fairly, and inject some justice into its politics and legal affairs. But to do that, the Communist Party has to take on the vested interests on which it depends for its power.

We all have an interest in China's success, as President Obama underlined at the opening this week of a two-day high-level dialogue with visiting Chinese officials. With just a nod to the recent troubles in Xinjiang, Obama ticked off a list of common concerns from climate change to economic recovery. In all of them, Chinese cooperation is essential.

In a globalized world, China's troubles are everybody's troubles and the U.S. has little interest in seeing them grow. But China's solutions, to date, are unlikely to help. The revolt of the minorities is only a symptom of a wider political malaise. Even taken together, their numbers, compared to the overwhelming majority of Han Chinese, are small. But the indignation and resentment that burst into view in Xinjiang in Tibet are also visible, for a wide variety of reasons, in the Han population. As Xu Zhiyong, one of the founders of the OCI put it in a withering public statement of protest at the centre's closure:

"It's not us causing trouble, and the tens of thousands of mass incidents every year aren't caused by us.... On the contrary, we strive to bring into line the contradictions caused by corrupt officials, we advocate absolute nonviolence and we hope we can ameliorate some of the endless hate and conflicts in our society... do not let this country once more be dragged by those in power to a place where we are dead but not buried. Why have we been targeted with this retribution? Because we have an awe-inspiring righteousness, because we advocate for better politics, because our dreams are too beautiful, because we as a people have never given up hope, because no matter what befalls, our hearts are always full of the sunlight of hope."

.. I am a poor man, so poor that all I have left are my beliefs. Great leaders, can I give you a little bit of my belief? You should be needing these beliefs and you should, like me, have the ability to show compassion, compassion to see the restless souls disturbed by evil spirits."

Confucius himself would have applauded.

Isabel Hilton has reported extensively from Latin America, East and South Asia, Africa and Europe. She has made many documentaries for the BBC, has presented Radio 4's flagship current affairs program, The World Tonight and BBC Radio 3's main cultural program, Night Waves. She is a columnist for The Guardian. She was editor in chief of openDemocracy.net <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/>> and founded [www.chinadialogue.net](http://www.chinadialogue.net) <<http://www.chinadialogue.net/>>, which she founded in 2006. She is the author of The Search for the Panchen Lama <<http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0393321673/thedaibea-20/>>.

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 16, 2009 10:05 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: updated line block per our conversation  
**Attach:** updated private line block as of november 16th at 10pm.docx

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

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**From:** Valmoro, Lona J  
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 16 22:03:12 2009  
**Subject:** updated line block per our conversation

Here you go ...

Lona Valmoro  
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State  
202-647-9071 (direct)



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 17, 2009 2:15 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Draft November 18 Schedule (Kabul)  
**Attach:** Draft November 18 Schedule.docx

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**From:** Montgomery, Molly C  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 17 02:13:50 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Draft November 18 Schedule (Kabul)

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**From:** Morgan, Jack A  
**To:** Fite, Nina M; Moy, Kin W; Abedin, Huma; Montgomery, Molly C; Alvarado, Victoria A  
**Cc:** SES-O\_OS; SES-O\_SWO-Only  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 16 23:52:02 2009  
**Subject:** Draft November 18 Schedule (Kabul)

I have attached the November 18 draft schedule. Please let me know if I can be of any further assistance.

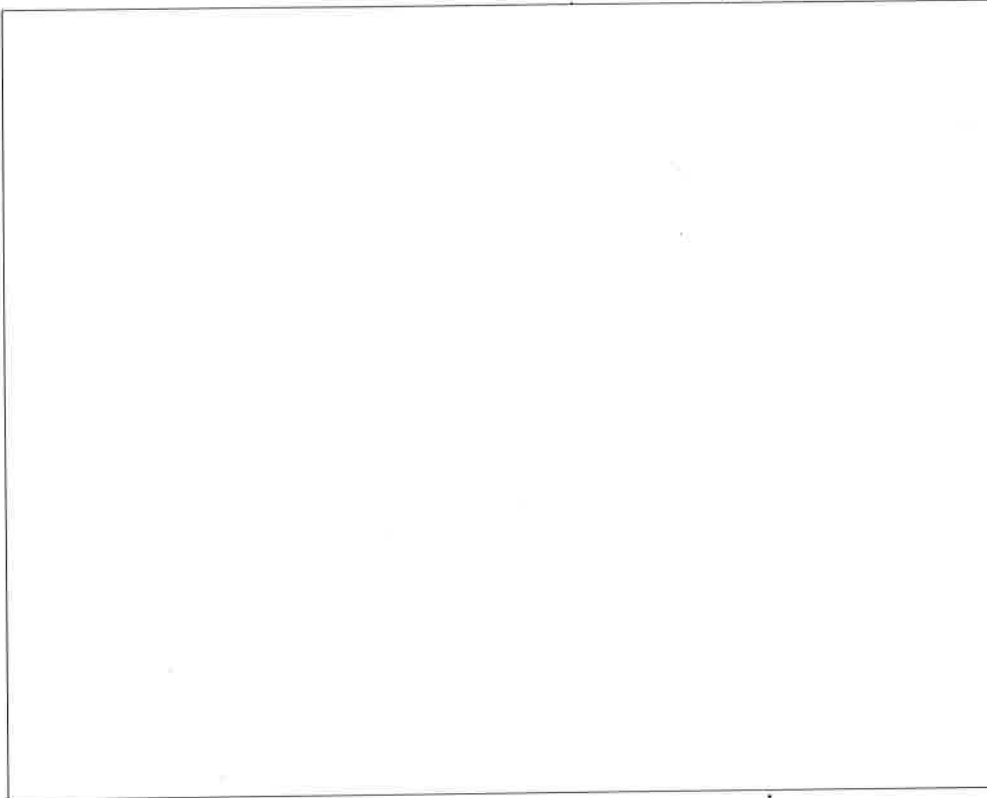
Regards,

Jack Morgan  
Operations Specialist  
S/ES-O  
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN PART B5

**SUMMARY SCHEDULE**

**Wednesday, November 18, 2009**



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Page 1

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 17, 2009 2:15 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Schedules pulled from Groove  
**Attach:** Draft November 18 Schedule.docx; Draft November 19 summary schedule.docx

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

**From:** Montgomery, Molly C  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 17 02:14:33 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Schedules pulled from Groove

B6

For 19th only.

**From:** O'Neill, Douglas S  
**To:** Montgomery, Molly C  
**Cc:** Moy, Kin W; Fite, Nina M  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 16 16:30:02 2009  
**Subject:** Schedules pulled from Groove

Molly,

As requested from groove.

Best regards,

Doug

Doug O'Neill  
Watch Officer  
Operations Center  
Department of State  
(202) 647-1512



**From:** Abodin, Huma <AbodinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 17, 2009 10:18 AM  
**To:** humamahedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: 11/17 Senior Staff and Deputy Secretaries Meetings

RELEASE IN PART  
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**From:** Smith, Daniel B  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 17 10:17:24 2009  
**Subject:** 11/17 Senior Staff and Deputy Secretaries Meetings

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

Palestinian Authority

- Jim reported he had had a 90 minute meeting with Fayyad who is doing all he can to keep things under control, but needs the money for the Palestinian Authority. Jack said that we need to touch base with Mitchell who was suggesting we hold off on the money until the new year. Jim confirmed that Fayyad said he needed the money now. (Our \$75 million combined with the \$100 million from the UAE would largely meet their short-term needs.) Jack said he would follow up with Mitchell.

Mexico

- Jack noted he would travel to Mexico on Sunday for talks on Merida II. He will return Tuesday. (Jack also noted he will visit Camp Atterbury this week, taking press along with him.)

India

- Bill said he will speak to the Indian Foreign Secretary at 9:15 and will provide a subsequent readout to the Secretary on where things stand leading up to the Singh visit.

Congressional Issues

- SFRC business meeting today. They will report out the Lugar "bridging" legislation on START, and mark-up the Kerry-Lugar Foreign Assistance Bill, though we have assurances it will not go further until we are ready to engage. A number of our nominees should also be reported out.
- We received the QFRs for Tom Shannon and will turn those around quickly.

Legal Issues

- L is still negotiating the language of our message to the court in the *Gilmore* case involving the default judgment against the Palestinian Authority.
- Harold said that L is helping prepare press guidance to respond to the NY Times piece on the son of the President of Equatorial Guinea. The case is not nearly as simple as the Times story suggests.
- The stay on military commissions expires today and prosecutors want to move forward one case on the basis of

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"material support," notwithstanding our view that this is not supportable.

#### Public Affairs

- PA anticipates questions on the IAEA report on Iran, the President's trip to China and the Secretary's participation in the inauguration of President Karzai. (PA said there was consensus to make public the fact that the Secretary will attend the Inauguration, but not provide any logistical or other details.)
- PA also noted that there was good news from Afghanistan about the launch of an anti-corruption group and a major crimes task force.

#### Deputy Secretaries Meeting – Highlights

##### Israel

- The Israelis have announced plans for a new settlement on the outskirts of Jerusalem, Jeff Feltman reported, ignoring our appeals. In fact, the Israelis have leaked the demarche that Senator Mitchell just made to them on this. Jeff noted that this will be a real blow to Abu Mazen.

##### SCA

- Iranian FM is in India today. We have no official readout, but press reports suggest the Iranians did not get what they wanted. In particular, Indians apparently turned down Iranian request that India launch an Iranian satellite.

##### GTMO

- Dan Fried reported that DoD is saying it has no air assets available for repatriations until December, even though we have 3-4 detainees ready to go. Jack offered to weigh-in.

##### Afghanistan

- S/SRAP said the rollout strategy is still being worked, but will likely take place right after Thanksgiving. There will also likely be an Afghanistan conference in London at the end of January.

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 17, 2009 10:54 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Tomorrow's schedule for your approval  
**Attach:** working schedule Nov 18 docx

RELEASE IN PART  
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**From:** Lucas, Laura D  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Piechowski, Jon E; Moy, Kin W; Montgomery, Molly C  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 17 10:45:50 2009  
**Subject:** Tomorrow's schedule for your approval

Is attached. A hardcopy is also in your folder. Please let us know if we are ready to go final. Thanks

**From:** Revell, Sara M  
**To:** Lucas, Laura D; Piechowski, Jon E  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 17 10:41:51 2009  
**Subject:** Requested file attached

Please let me know if you need anything else.

Regards,

Sara Revell  
Operations Center  
U.S. Department of State  
202-647-1512

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 17, 2009 12:07 PM  
**To:** humamabedin  
**Subject:** Fw: Athens/Brussels trip  
**Attach:** OSCE-NATO trip sched 12-09.docx

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**From:** Wohlers, Paul  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 17 09:35:05 2009  
**Subject:** FW: Athens/Brussels trip.

Any time for a call? I've attached latest draft schedule with some new proposals from Emb Athens for PD and press events.

Paul D. Wohlers  
Deputy Executive Secretary  
S/ES-S, Rm. 7224  
202-647-5302

**From:** Wohlers, Paul  
**Sent:** Monday, November 16, 2009 12:00 PM  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Subject:** Athens/Brussels trip

Hi Huma – hope you're not completely exhausted at this point. Sorry to raise the next trip with you but have two questions:

-- We're at the point of getting visas for advances and DS agents but have not officially notified the Greek govt yet that the Secretary will head our OSCE delegation. Can we do that? I know there is an issue of how soon we can depart the US. Additionally, there was discussion at this morning's staff meeting of possible Congressional Af-Pak testimony by S, Gates, and Mullen on Dec 1. If that were to be the case, we would not be able to make it to Athens until Dec 2, when the OSCE summit is ending, which might not make that stop feasible.

-- When can we arrange a trip call to go over the schedule in general? Let me know what time works for you out there so we can arrange with Cheryl. We're 13 hours behind you, i.e., it's noon Monday here now.

Pw

Paul D. Wohlers  
Deputy Executive Secretary  
S/ES-S, Rm. 7224  
202-647-5302

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**From:** Monica Hanley [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 17, 2009 4:13:43 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**CC:** Lauren Jiloty  
**Subject:** Re: HOLIDAY CARD UPDATE

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Adding [REDACTED] to gift list

On Tue, Nov 17, 2009 at 3:56 PM, Monica Hanley [REDACTED] wrote:

Hi Huma -

Lauren & I went through the lists and here's a start. Attached you will find a memo and an excel sheet with 3 seperate tabs. Let us know if you have time to print and review.

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 18, 2009 7:14 AM  
**To:** 'humamabedin' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: HOLIDAY CARD UPDATE  
**Attach:** Holiday Memo 2009.docx; Holiday List.xlsx

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

From: Monica Hanley [REDACTED]  
To: Huma Abedin  
Cc: Lauren Jiloty [REDACTED]  
Sent: Tue Nov 17 13:56:10 2009  
Subject: HOLIDAY CARD UPDATE

Hi Huma -

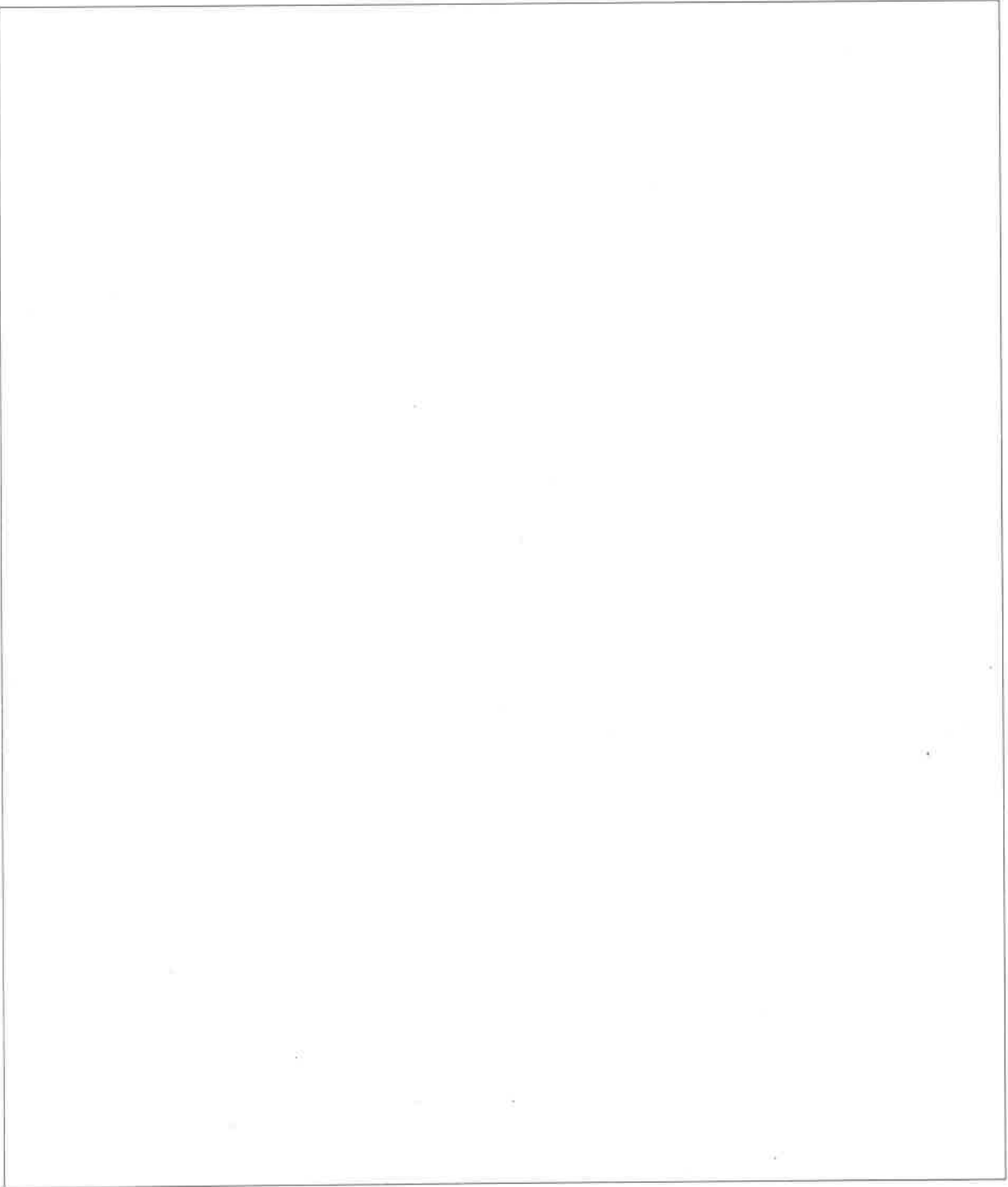
Lauren & I went through the lists and here's a start. Attached you will find a memo and an excel sheet with 3 separate tabs. Let us know if you have time to print and review.

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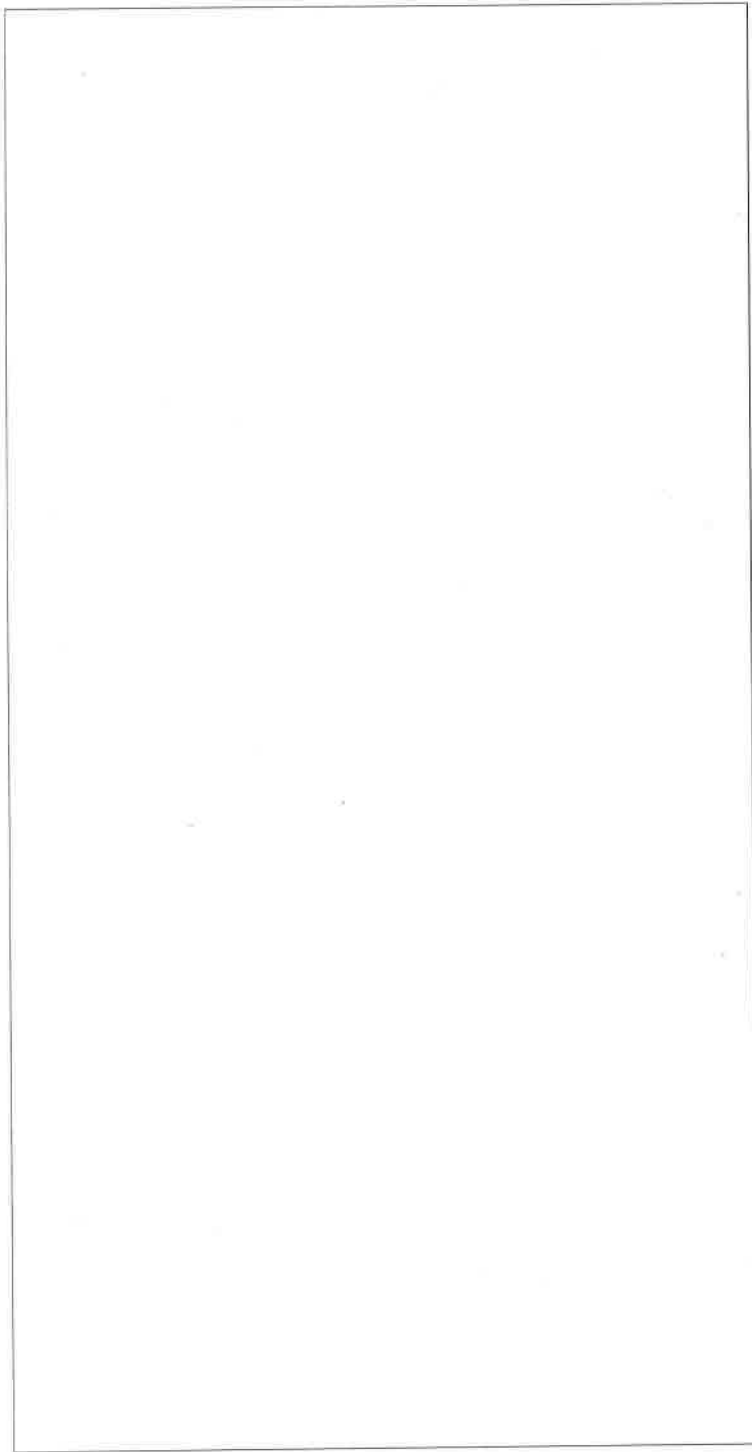
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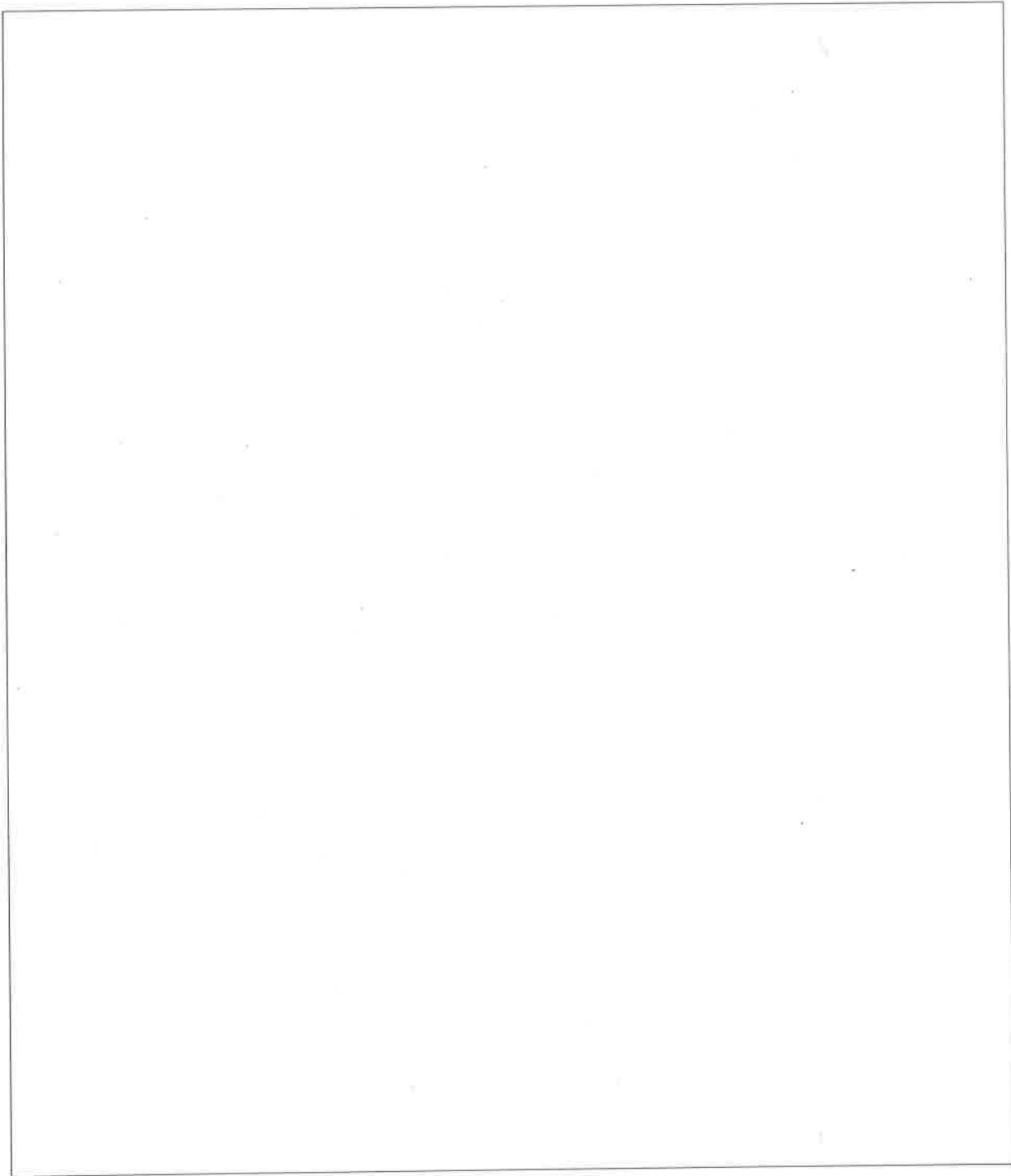
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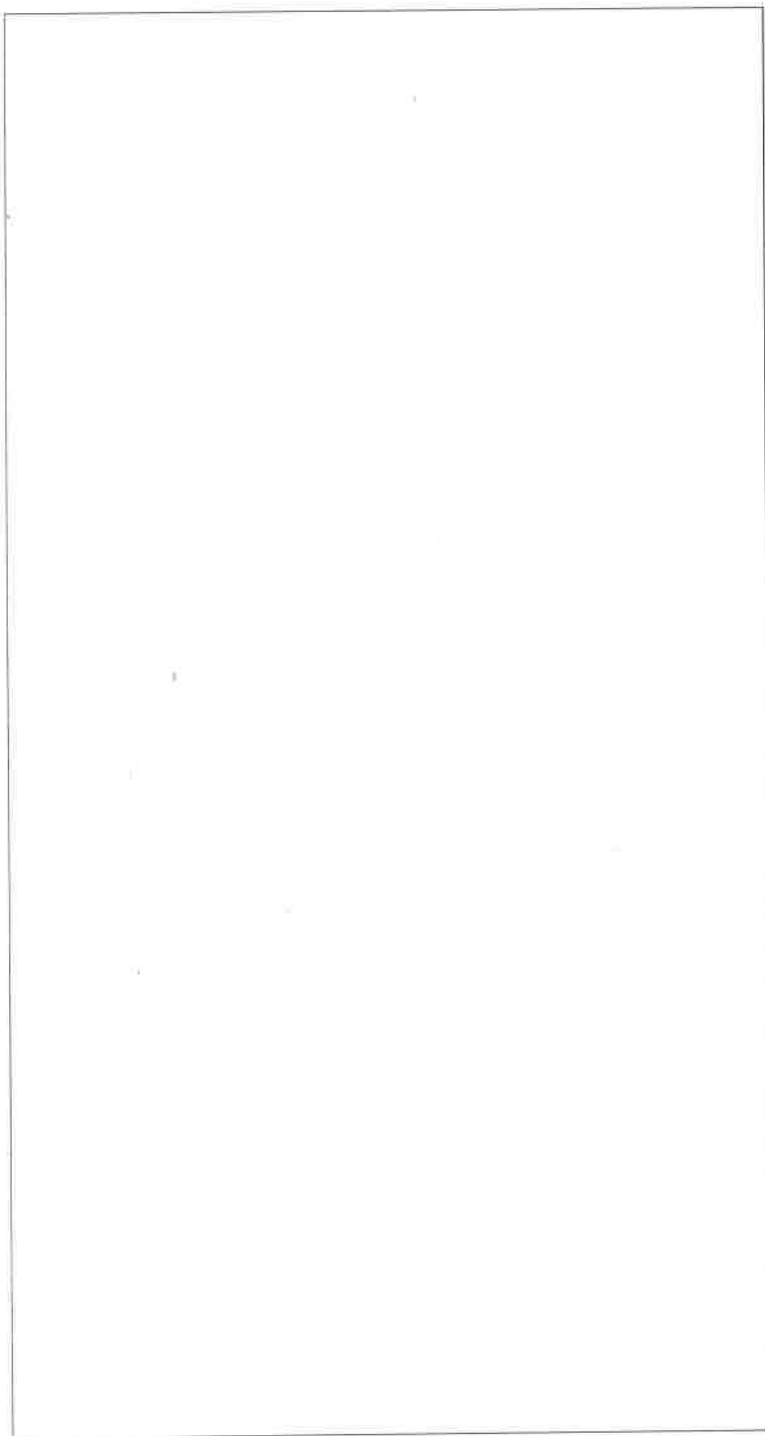
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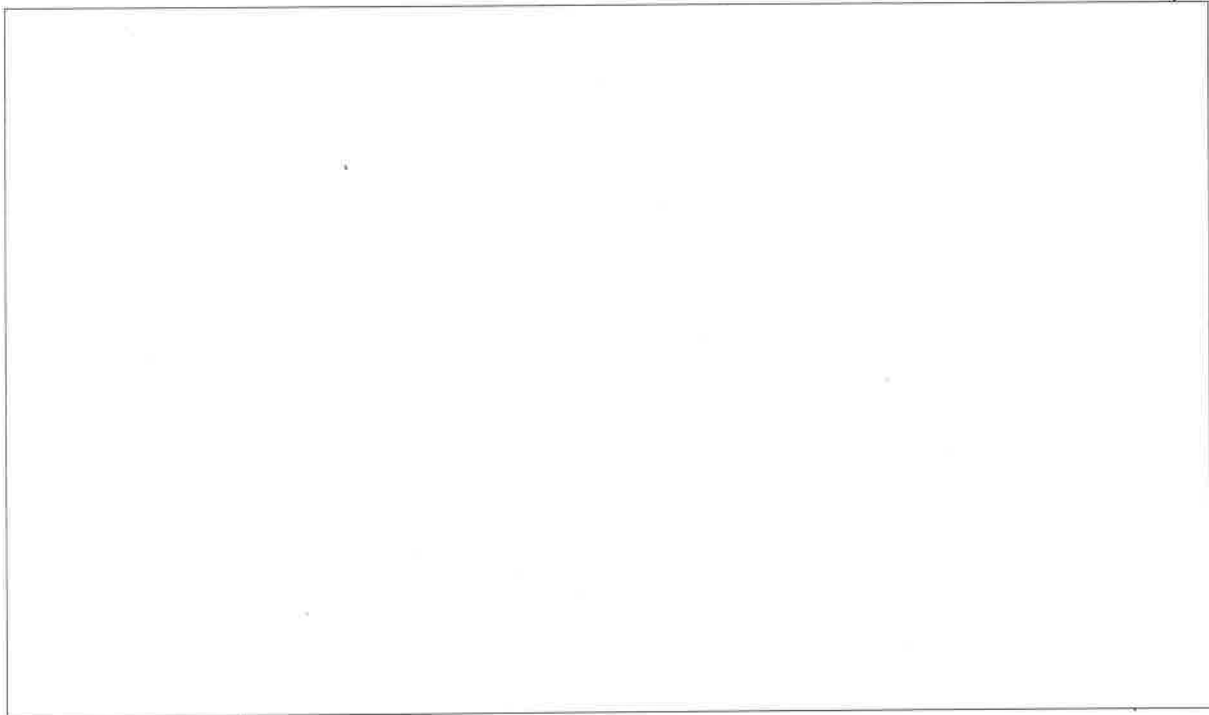
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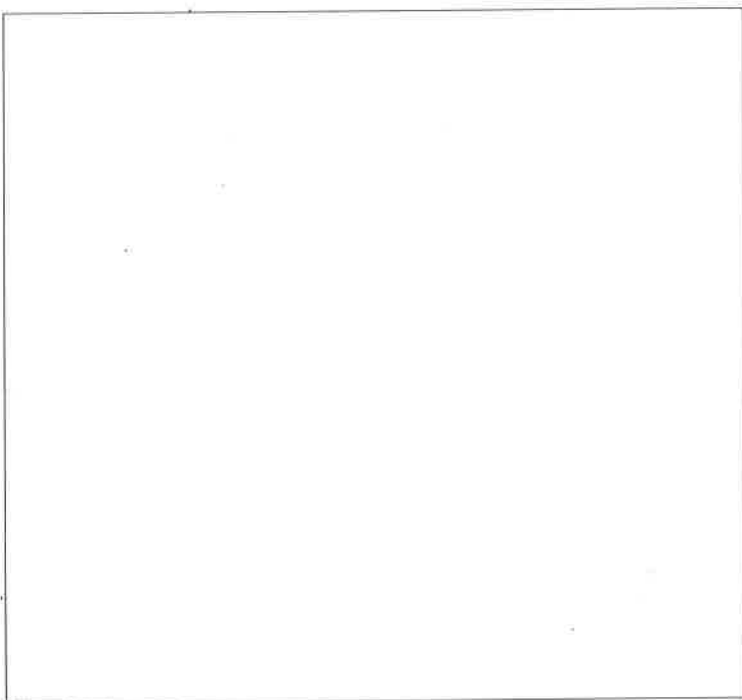
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## State Department Staff

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1	SALUTATION	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	AFFILIATION	NOTES	CARD	CARD DETAILS	GIFT	GIFT DETAILS	PARTY	PARTY DETAILS
2		Abedin	Huma	S Staff	Former staff						
3		Adair	Barbara		Former staff						
4		Adler	Caroline		Former staff						
5		Alcott	Amanda		Former staff						
6		Balcerzak	Kate		Former staff						
7		Balderston	Kris		Former staff						
8		Ballantune	Liza		Former staff						
9		Beale-Kramer	Courtney	S Staff							
10		Belkind	Yael		Former staff						
11		Bishop	Christopher								
12		Button	Case		Former staff						
13		Carpenter	Margaret								
14		Cheng	Dennis		Former staff						
15		Coleman	Claire	S Staff							
16		Corley	Kenna		Former staff						
17		Davis	Jennifer								
18		Dewan	Linda	S Staff							
19		Dowd	Katie		Former staff						
20	Ambassador	Elizabeth	Bagley								
21		Falvo	Christine		Former staff						
22		Fogarty	Dan	S Staff							
23		Fuchs	Michael		Former staff						
24		Gelber	Ethan		Former staff						
25		Gent	Stephanie		Former staff						
26		Hanley	Monica	S Staff	Former staff						
27		Helfenbein	David		Former staff						
28		Hyde	Dana		Former staff						
29		Jack	Katie		Former staff						
30		Jiloty	Lauren	S Staff	Former staff						
31		Johnson	Brock		Former staff						
32		Jones	Natalie		Former staff						
33		Kanick	Liz		Former staff						
34		Keigher	Connolly		Former staff						
35		Kim	Yekyu		Former staff						
36		Klevorick	Caitlin		Former staff						
37		Kobren	Ben		Former staff						
38		Laszczych	Joanne	S Staff							
39		Macmanus	Joe	S Staff							
40		Magarian	Sharyn		Former staff						
41		Mannina	Jamie		Former staff						
42	Ambassador	Marshall	Capricia		Former staff						
43		Maughan	Chelsea		Former staff						
44		McLean	Lori								
45		Mendez	Luz		Former staff						

State Department Staff

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1	MAILING ADDRESS	OTHER CONTACT INFO (Phone/e-mail)
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## State Department Staff

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
46		Menz	Sheila		Former staff						
47		Mills	Cheryl	S Staff	Former staff						
48		Muscatine	Lissa		Former staff						
49		Otero	Mildred		Former staff						
50		Pagliano	Bryan		Former staff						
51		Pally	Maura		Former staff						
52		Pena	Laura		Former staff						
53		Perasu	Shilpa		Former staff						
54		Reines	Phillippe		Former staff						
55		Rodriguez	Miguel		Former staff						
56		Rowland	George								
57		Rubin	Ali		Former staff						
58		Russo	Robert	S Staff	Former staff						
59		Samuelson	Heather		Former staff						
60		Schwerin	Dan		Former staff						
61	Assistant Secretary	Shapiro	Andrew		Former staff						
62		Sullivan	Jacob	S Staff	Former staff						
63		Szymanski	Michael		Former staff						
64		Toiv	Nora	S Staff	Former staff						
65		Valmore	Lona	S Staff	Former staff						
66	Ambassador	Verveer	Melanne		Former staff						
67		Zyed	Zia	S Staff							

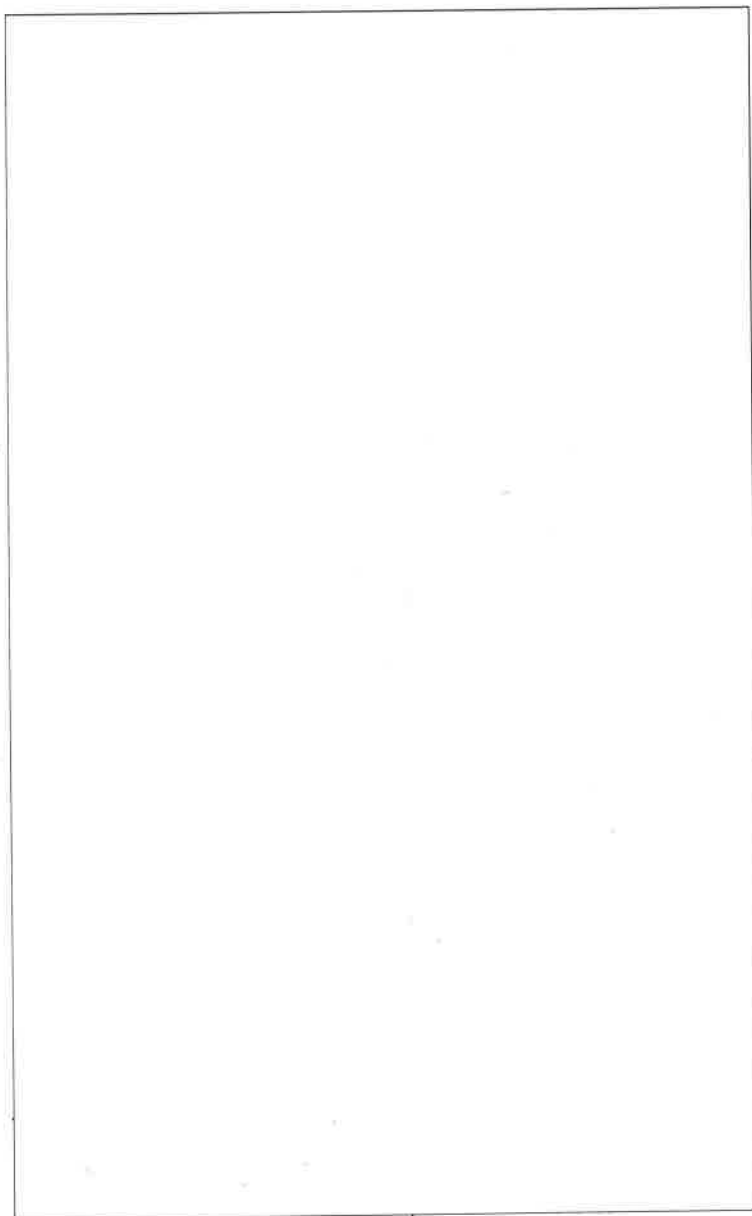
Personal Staff



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Personal Staff



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**From:** santchatwal [redacted]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 18, 2009 8:41:41 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: State Dinner

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Thanks a lot looking forward to see you at the Lunch regs Sant

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** Sant Chatwal  
**Subject:** Re: State Dinner  
**Sent:** Nov 18, 2009 7:16 AM

You will be getting a formal invitation in the mail any day now.

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

**From:** Deena Howard [redacted]  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 17 17:35:30 2009  
**Subject:** RE: State Dinner

Hi Huma,

I know you must be busy. I was just wondering if there's someone we should get in touch with for details to the State Lunch.

With Best Regards,  
Sant Chatwal

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

**From:** Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, November 13, 2009 3:13 PM  
**To:** 'santchatwal' [redacted]  
**Subject:** Re: State Dinner

So nice to hear from you!

Was going to send you an email myself. We have no control over the white house state dinner. But hillary is hosting the state lunch for the prime minister with vice president biden at the state department and you should be receiving your invitation to that soon. Will be same day, nov 24th. Hope all is well.

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

**From:** Deena Howard [redacted]  
**To:** Huma Abedin; abedinh@state.gov <abedinh@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 12 17:41:21 2009  
**Subject:** State Dinner

Dear Huma,

Long time no hear. I've been watching your travels on the news. Hope all is going well.

As you know, Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh and President Obama are having a State Dinner. Any possibilities to include me and my wife for this dinner? If so, that would be really great! But if not, that's ok too I totally understand.

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With Best Regards,

Sant Chatwal

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

**From:** 'Sant S. Chatwal' [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 18, 2009 1:23:47 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** RE: State Dinner

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Thanks Huma.

I'm forwarding you my address just to be on the safe side.

Home Address:



And in case the invite was sent to my office. My current office address is:

Hampshire Hotels & Resort, LLC  
1251 Avenue of the Americas  
Suite 934  
New York, NY 10020  
[REDACTED]

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

**From:** Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 18, 2009 7:17 AM  
**To:** 'santchatwal' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Re: State Dinner

You will be getting a formal invitation in the mail any day now.

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

**From:** Deena Howard [REDACTED]  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 17 17:35:30 2009  
**Subject:** RE: State Dinner

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Sant Chatwal

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

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**To:** 'santchatwal' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Re: State Dinner

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Hope all is well.

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

**From:** Deena Howard [REDACTED]

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HA 09/01/2015

To: Huma Abedin; abedinh@state.gov <abedinh@state.gov>  
Sent: Thu Nov 12 17:41:21 2009  
Subject: State Dinner

Dear Huma,

Long time no hear. I've been watching your travels on the news. Hope all is going well.

As you know, Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh and President Obama are having a State Dinner. Any possibilities to include me and my wife for this dinner? If so, that would be really great! But if not, that's ok too I totally understand.

With Best Regards,

Sant Chatwal

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 18, 2009 3:54 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Fwd: Afghanistan

RELEASE IN PART  
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**From:** pvervee [REDACTED]  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 18 11:57:43 2009  
**Subject:** Fwd: Afghanistan

I sent this to HRC but don't know if she's checking her.bberry. I hope she can make some kind of outreach to the women there. It's a critical time in so many ways.

Stay safe.

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

**From:** PVervee [REDACTED]  
**To:** hdr22@clintonemail.com  
**Sent:** Wed, Nov 18, 2009 12:33 am  
**Subject:** Afghanistan

I'm writing in the hope that when you're in Afghanistan you will be able to demonstrate in some public way your support for the Afghan women. There is much disillusionment over the aftermath of the elections and the ongoing violence. It would be a wonderful signal to the women that we do value the role that they are and must continue to play to move Afghanistan forward.

Secondly, it would also be helpful because there is growing concern at home that the women are going to be abandoned. I have to meet with Sen Casey tom'w, for example. He believes that the women are critical to stability and peace in Afghanistan and wants to discuss our commitment.

Lastly, as Pres. Karzai is beginning to plan his cabinet, perhaps you could mention to him the need to bring in some of the talented and experienced women into his government. At our Shura meeting yesterday, we discussed upcoming ministerial positions. We, of course, have no guarantee that Karzai will listen, but his government would be a lot better if he tapped women and so many are highly qualified.

Thanks.

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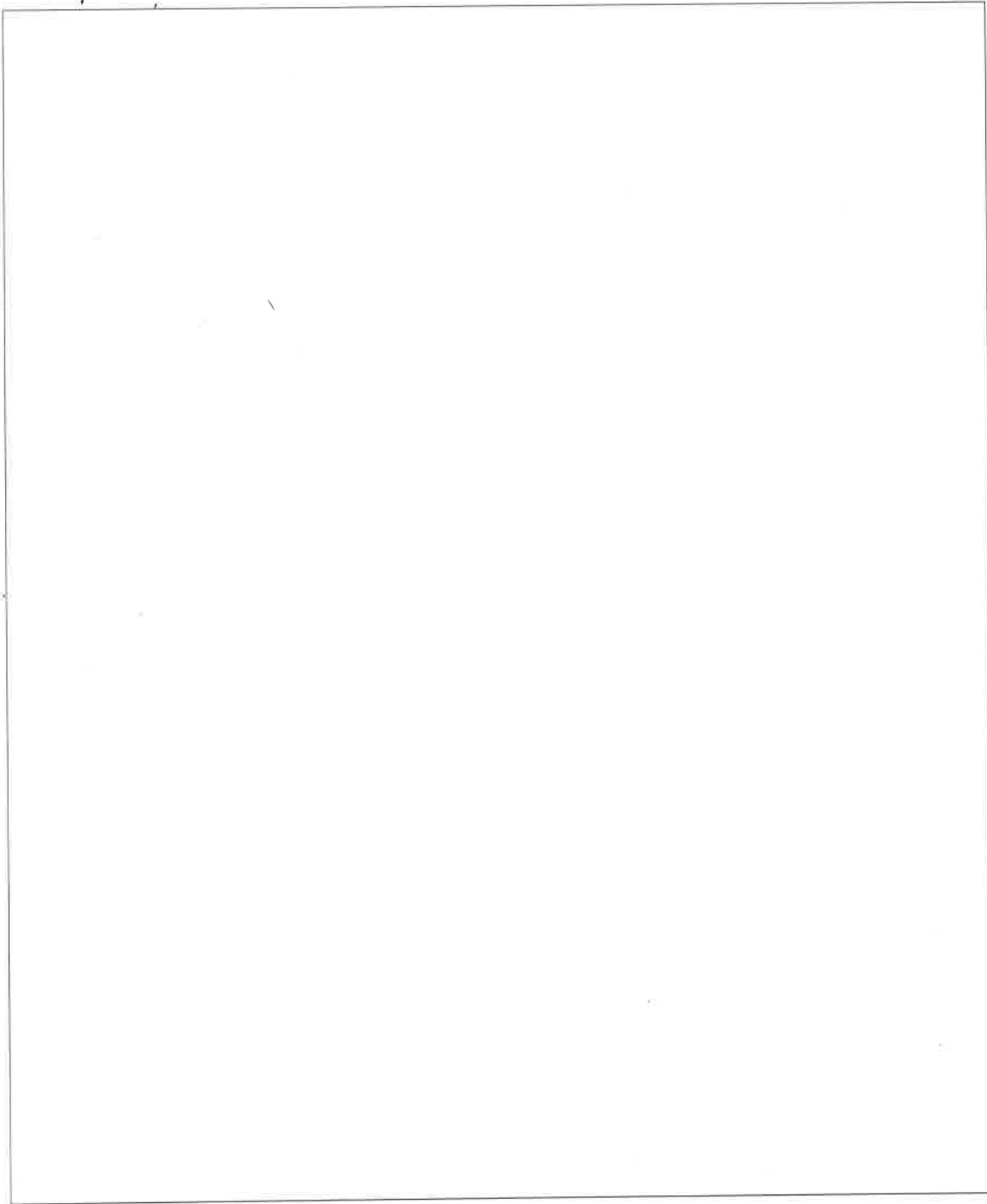


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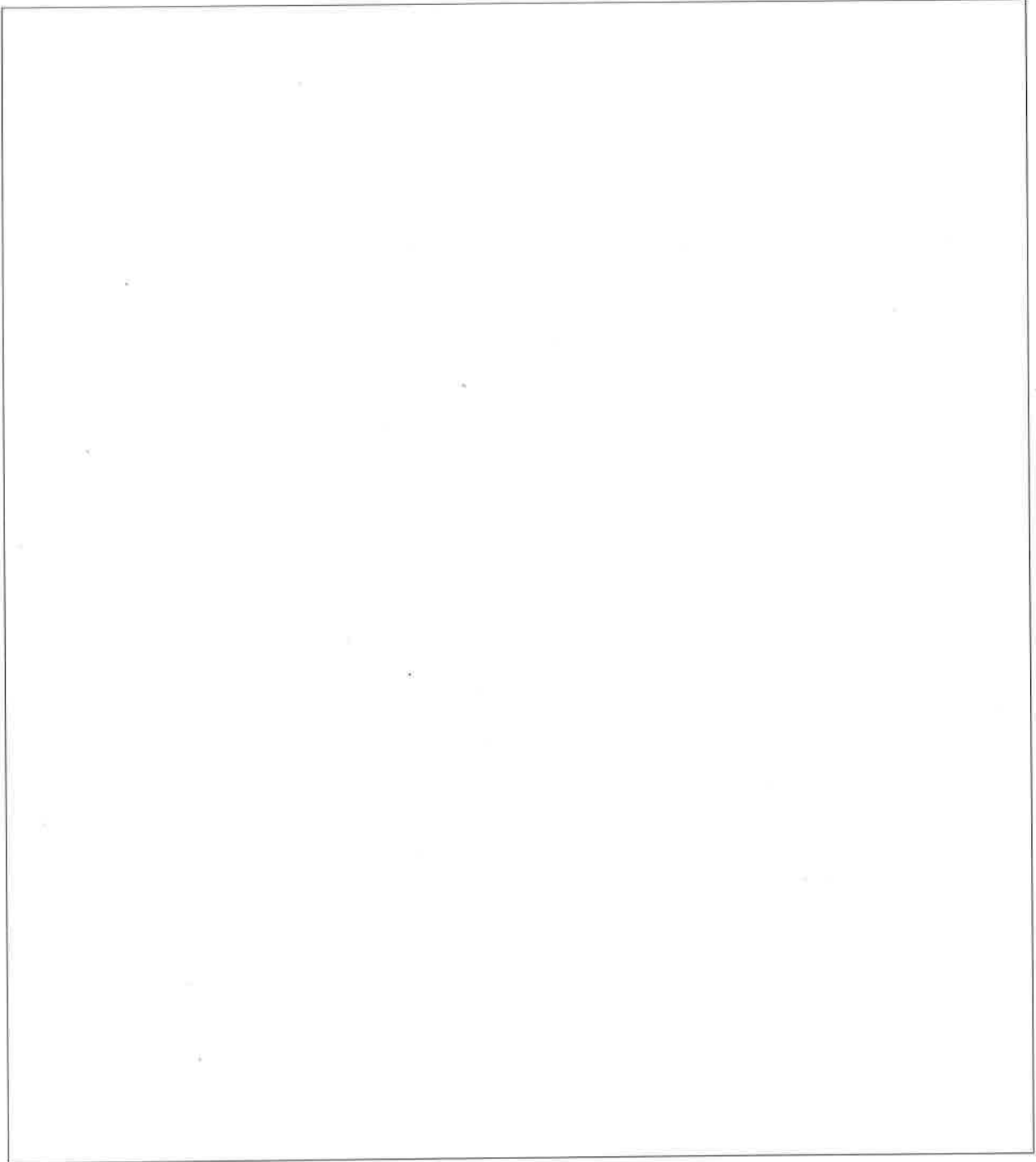
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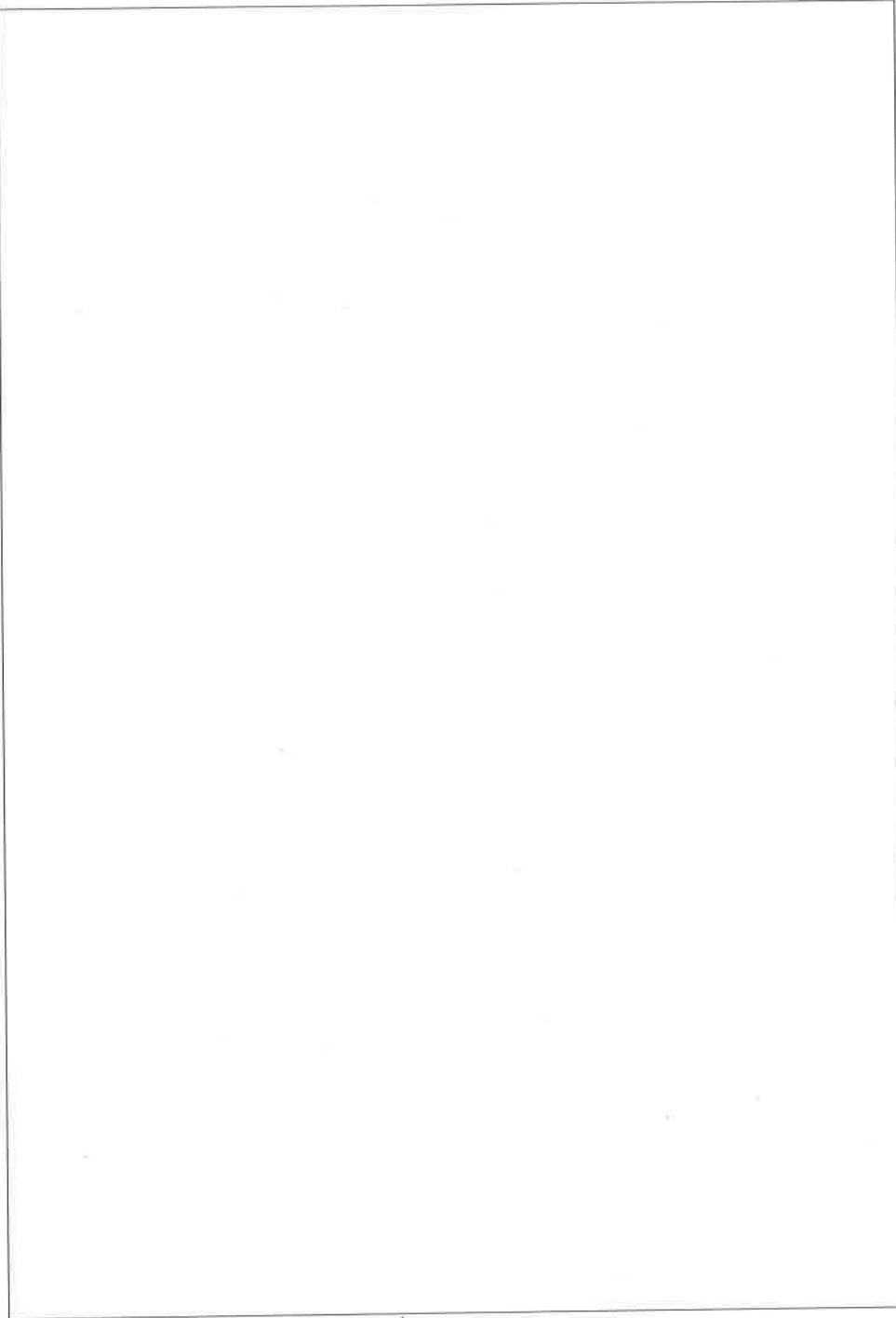
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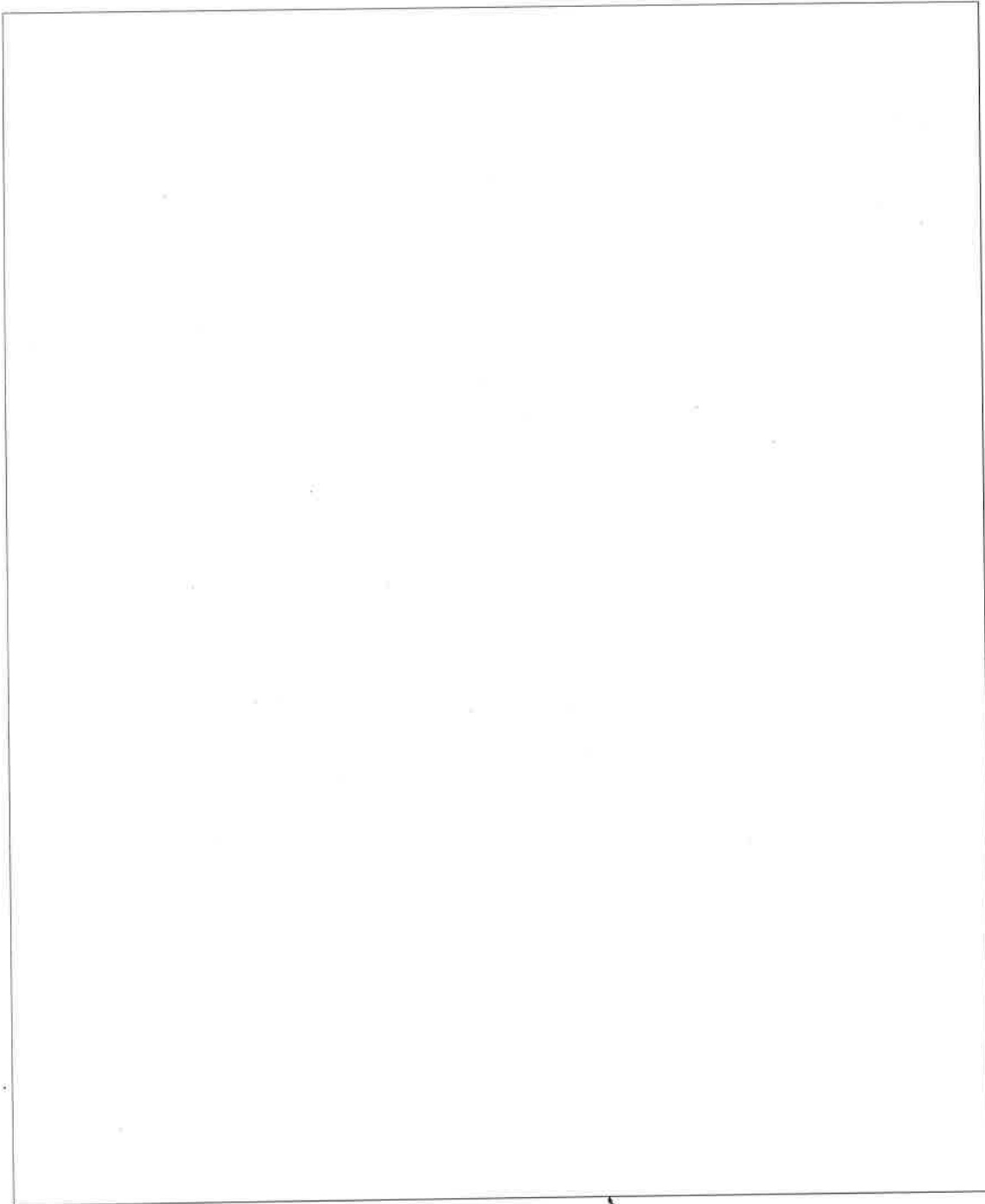


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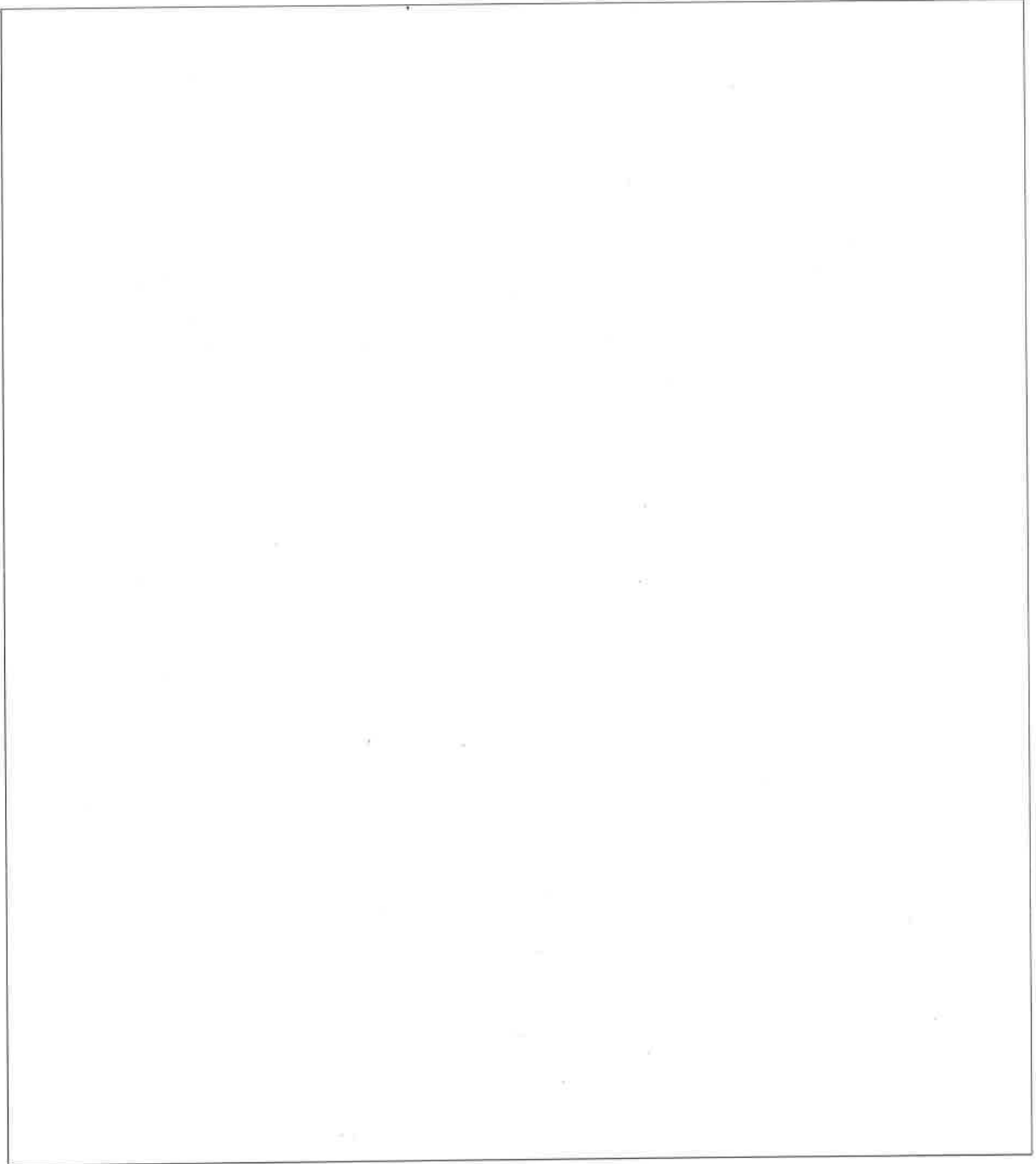


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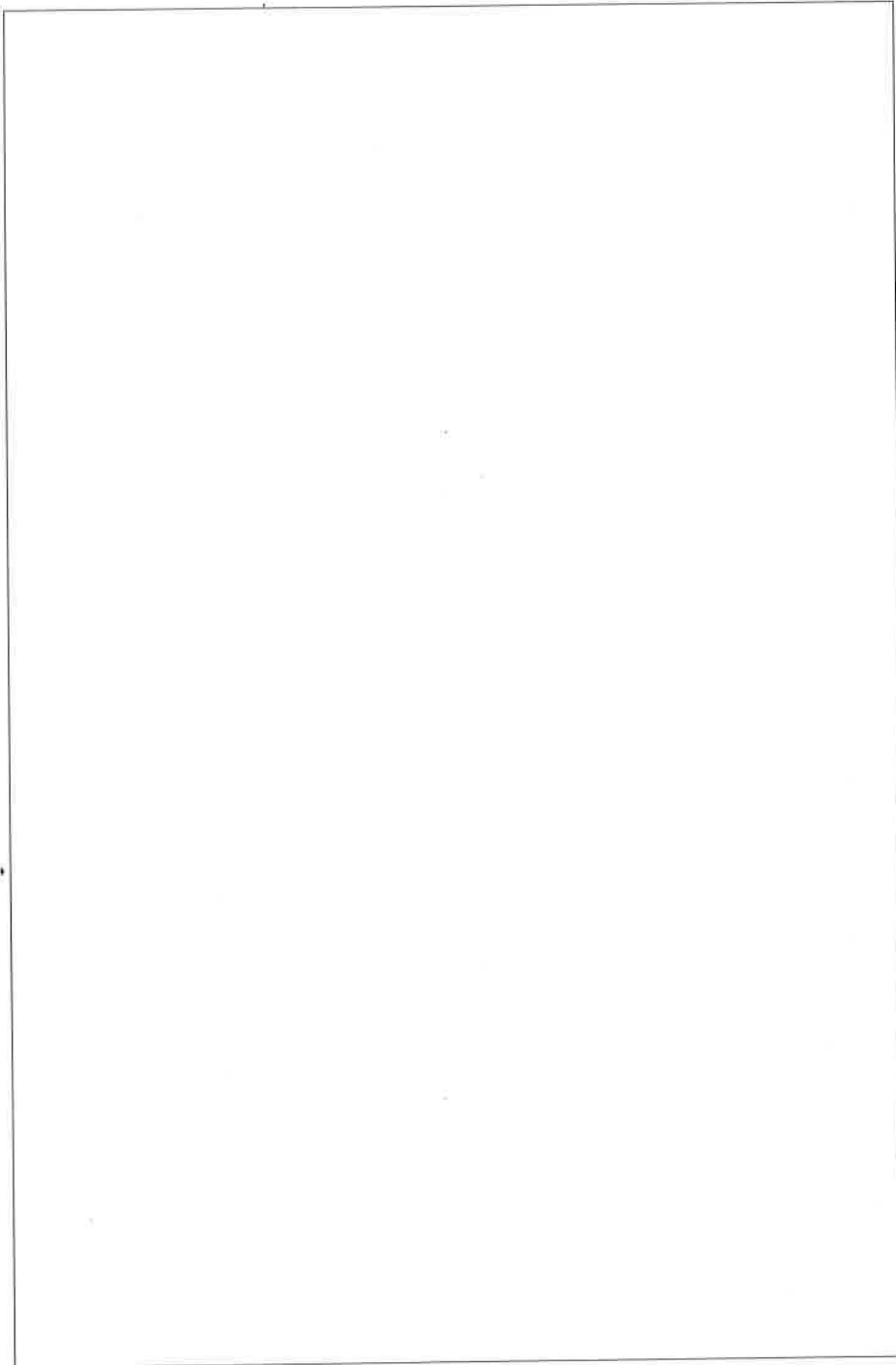
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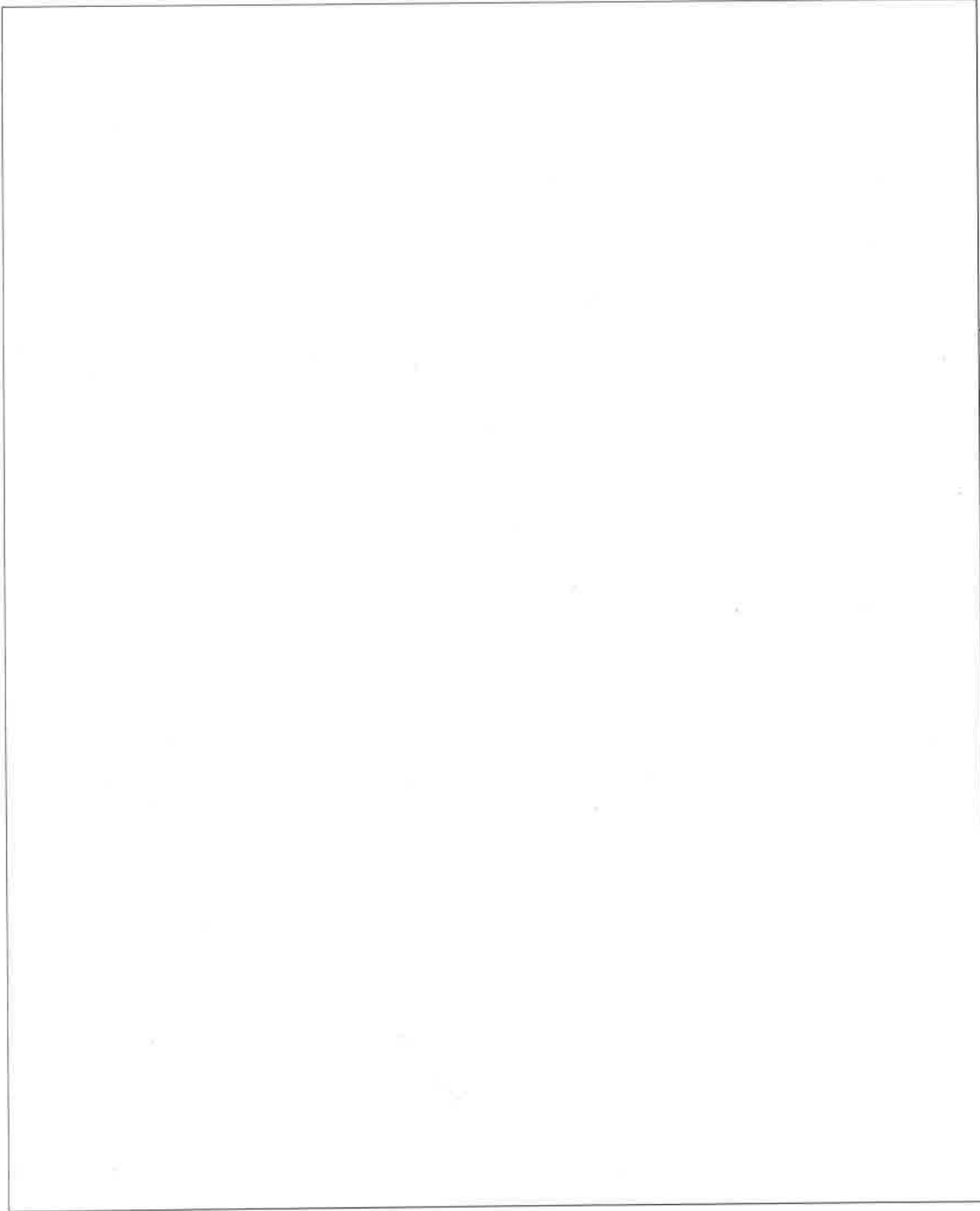


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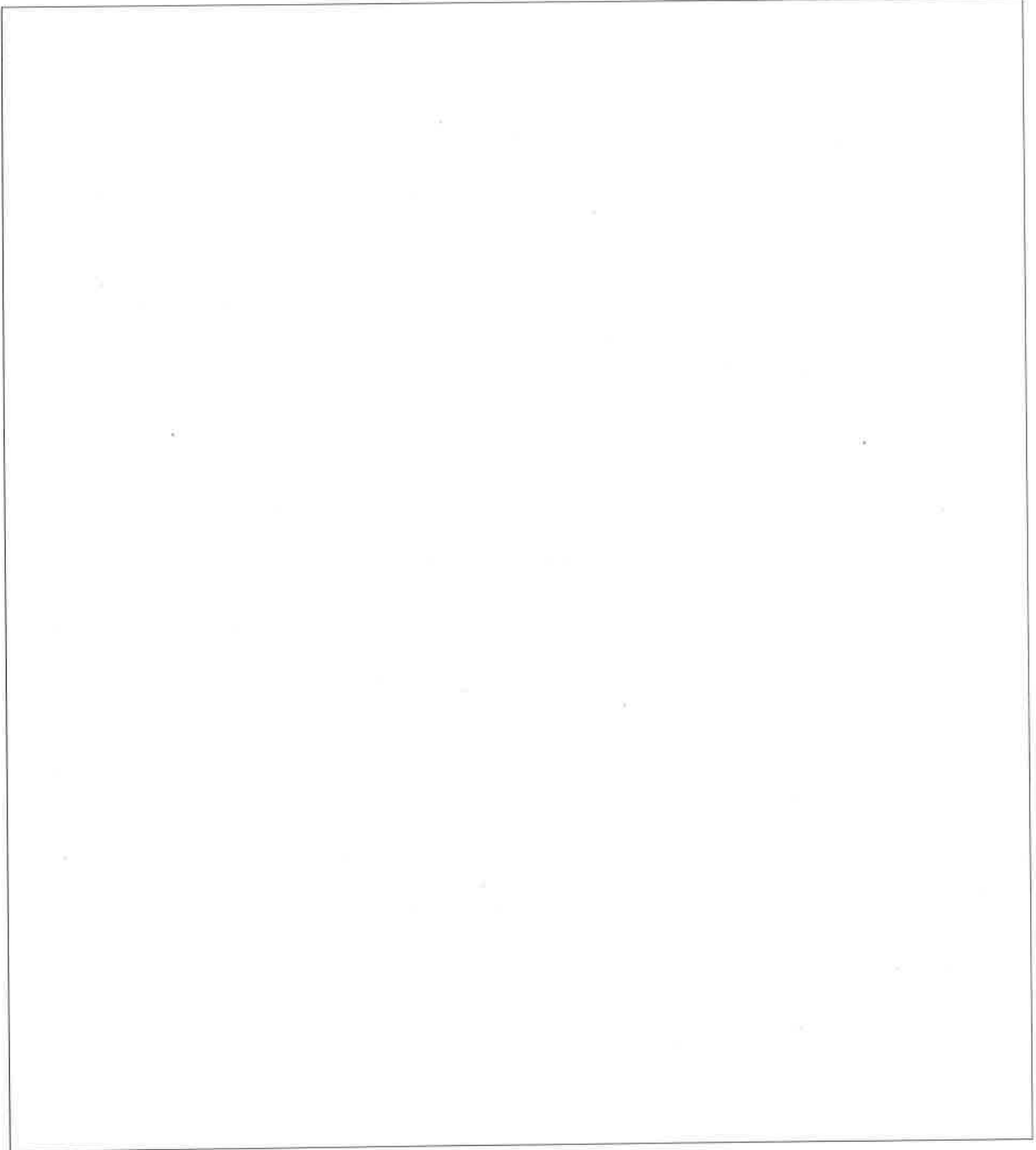
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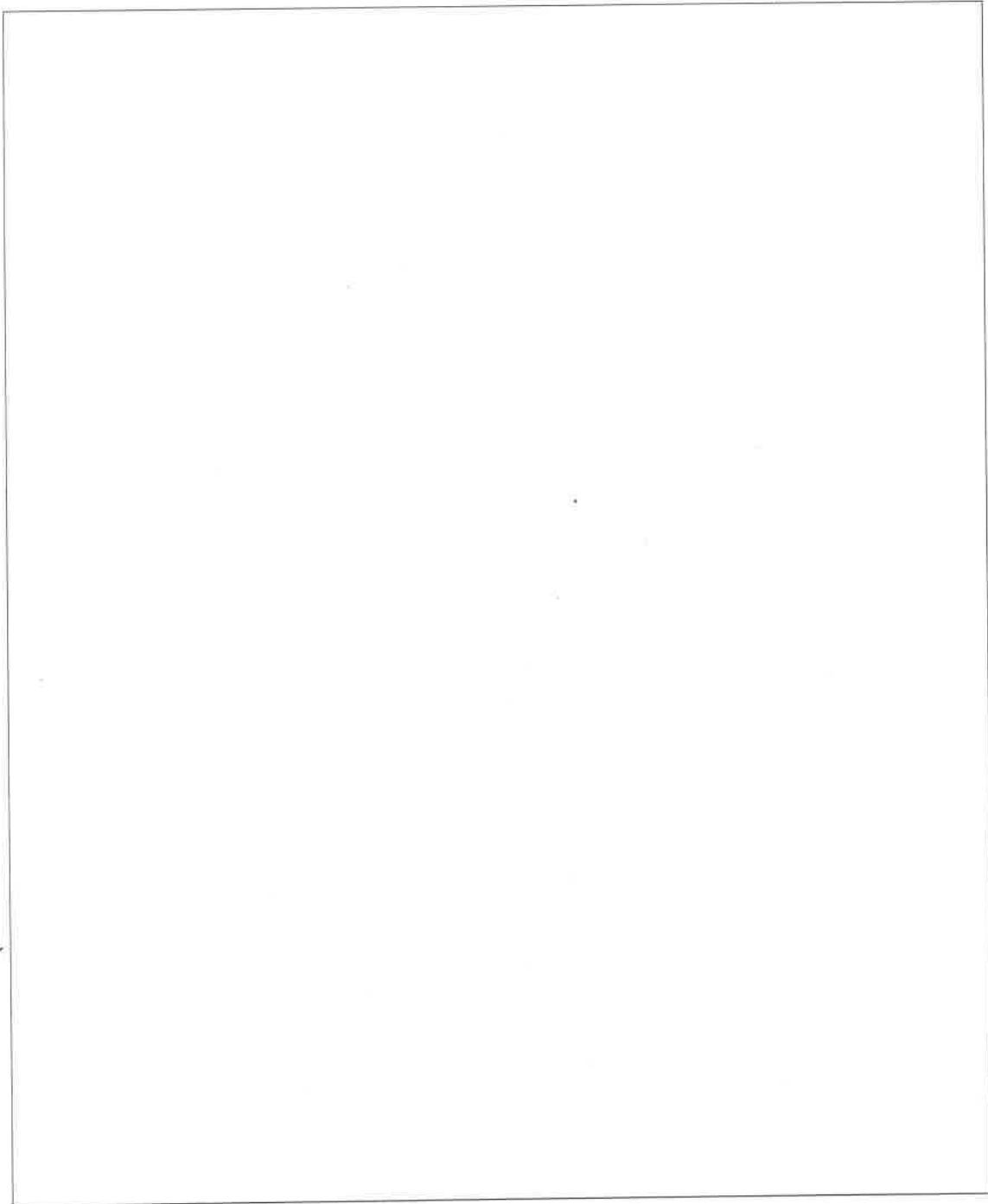
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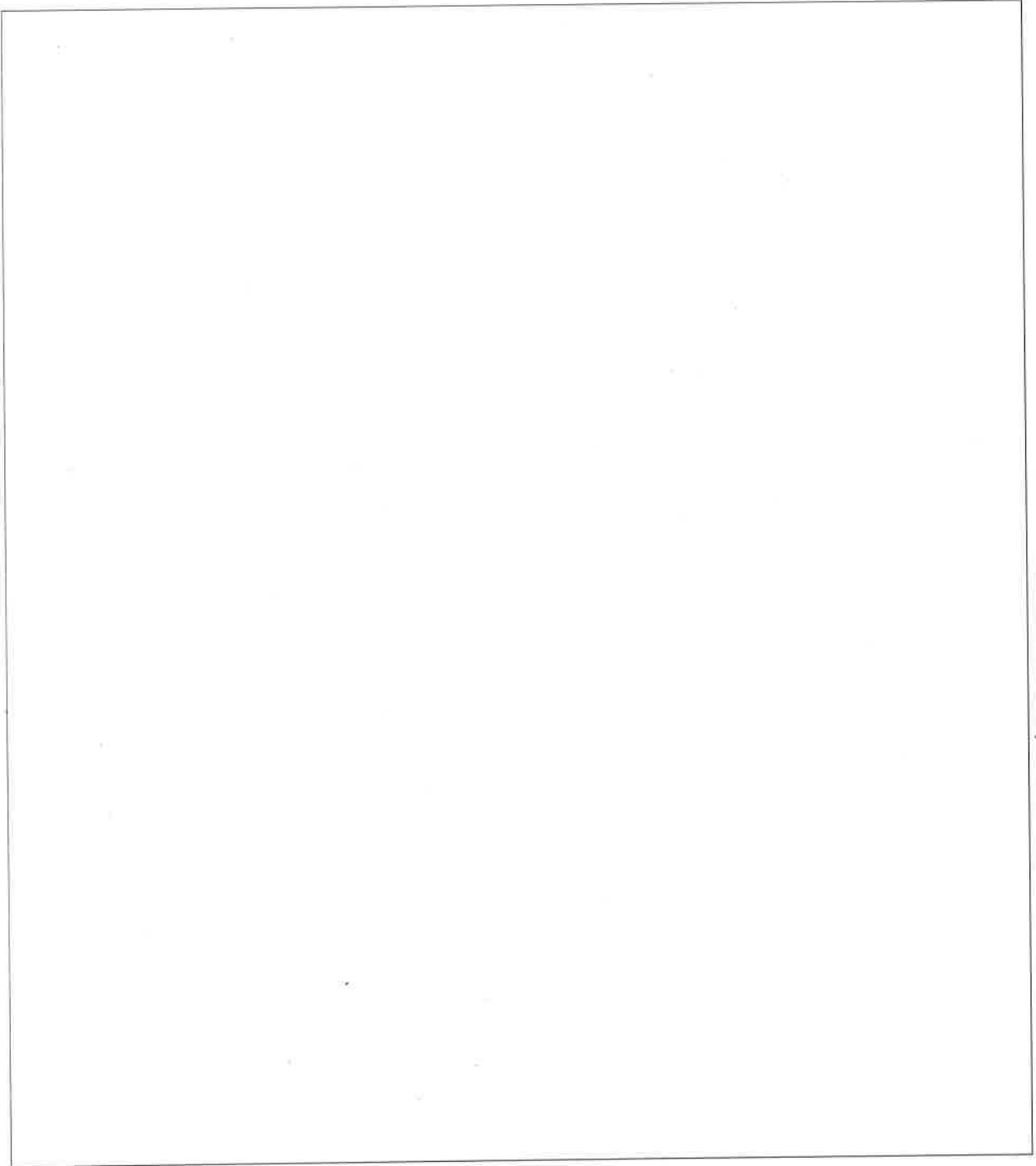


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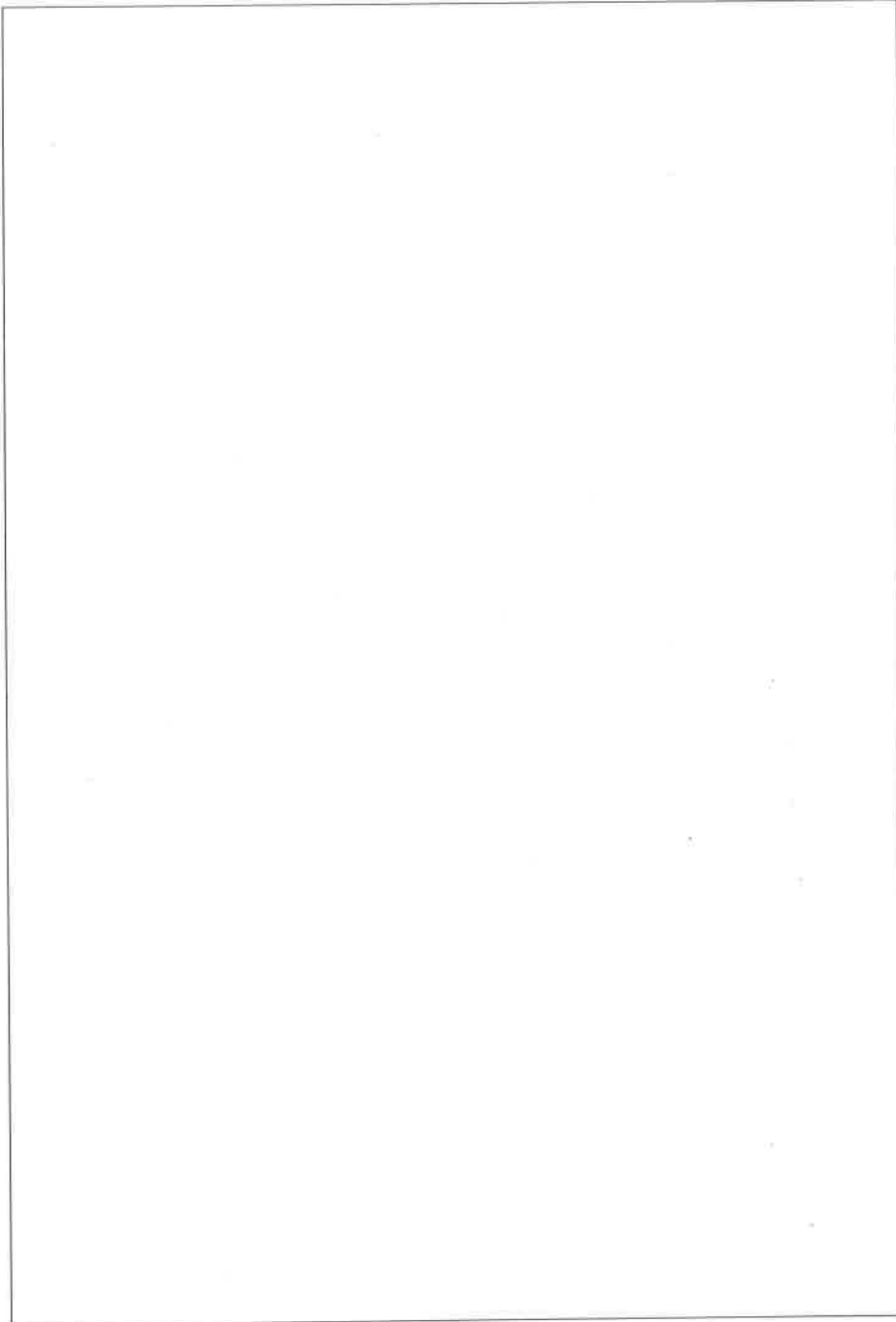
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FRIENDS

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FRIENDS

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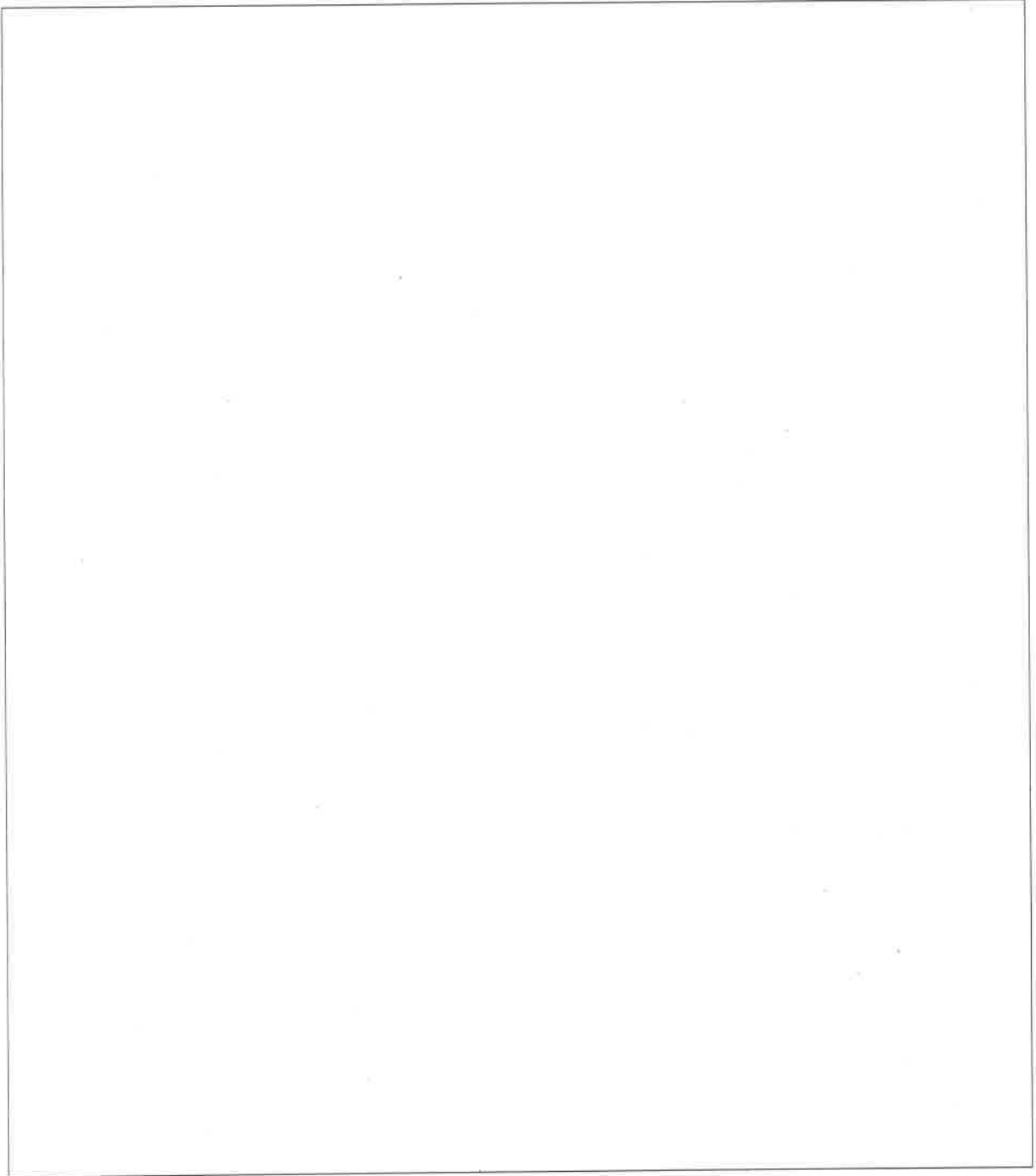
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FRIENDS

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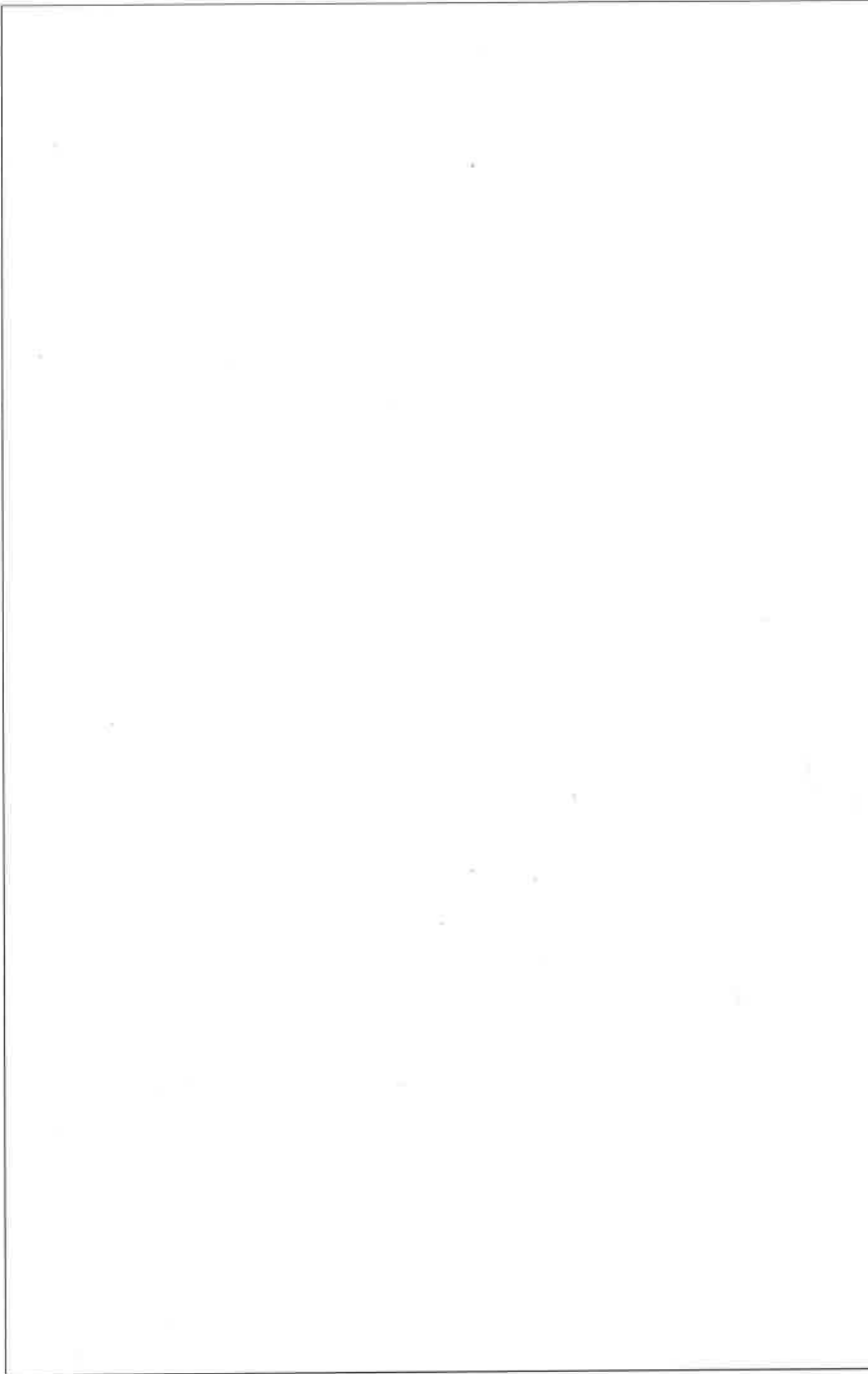
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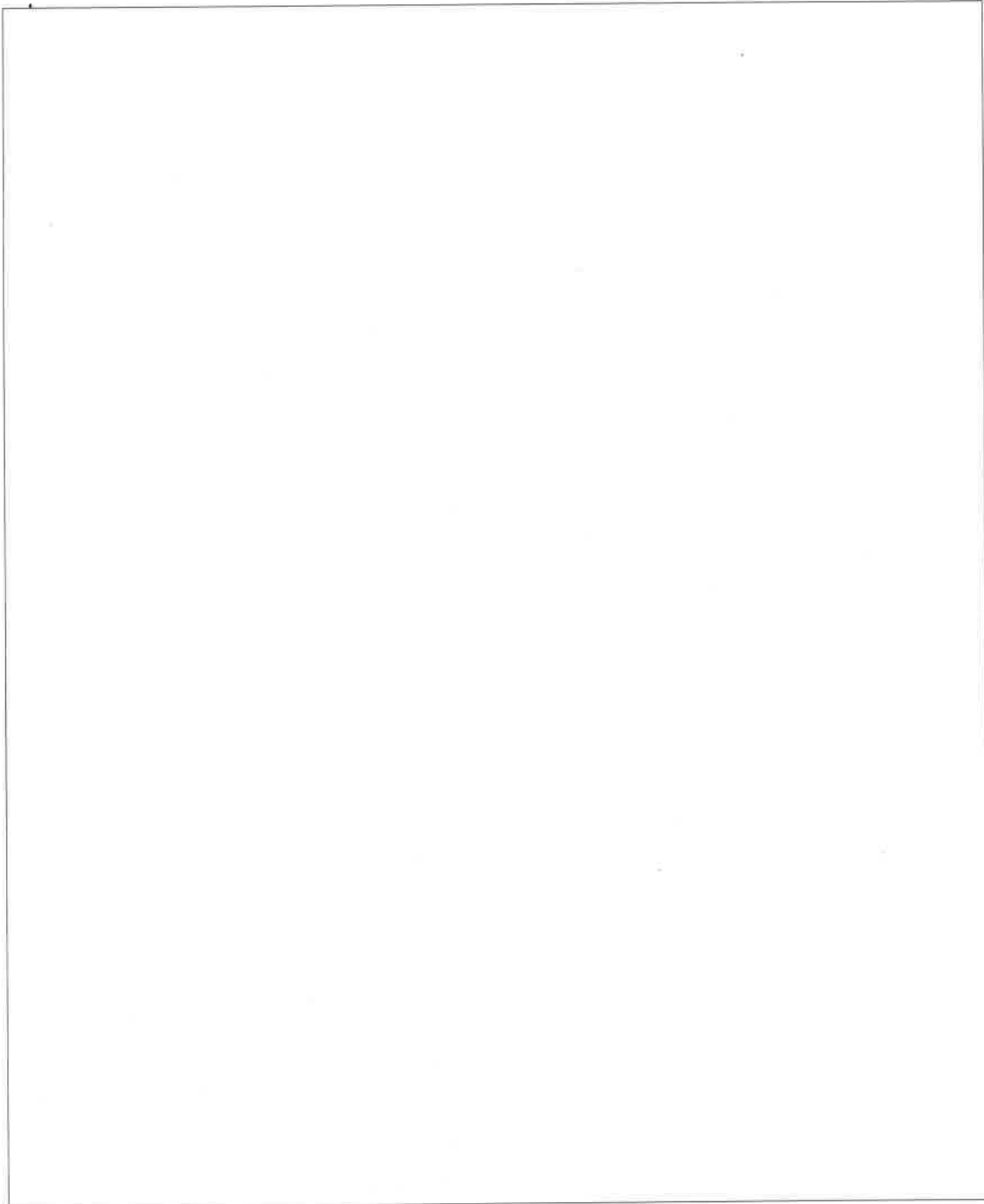


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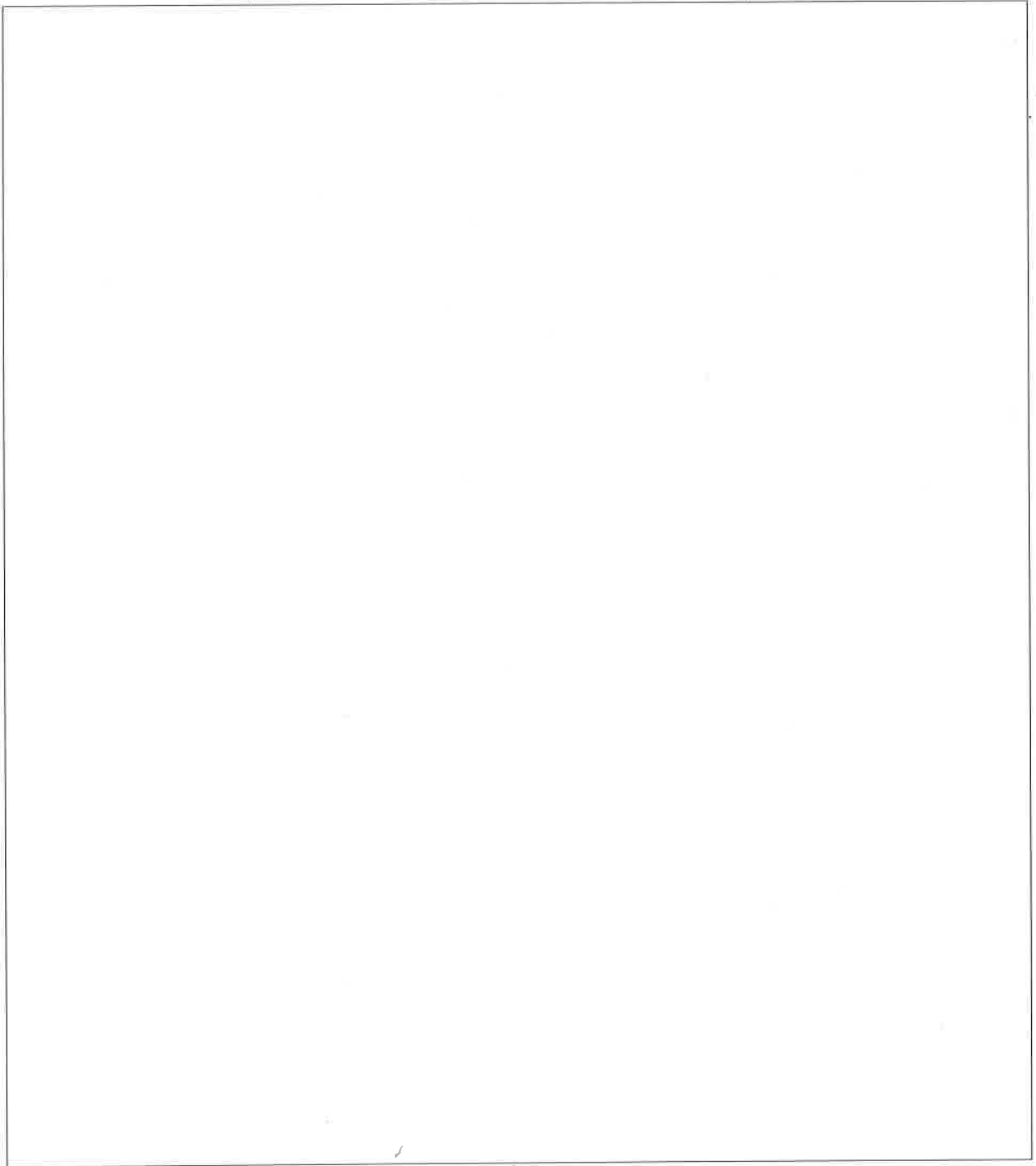


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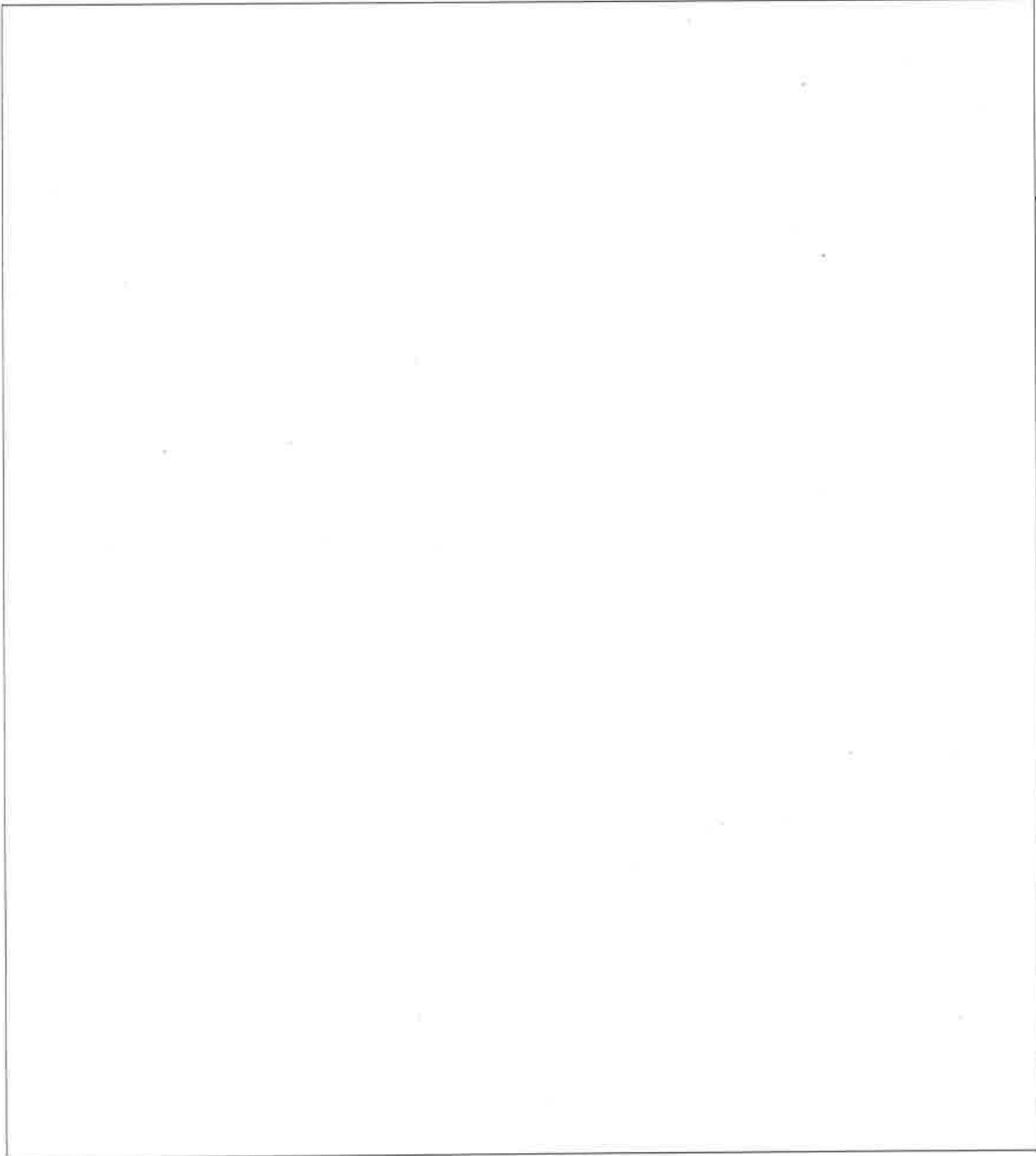
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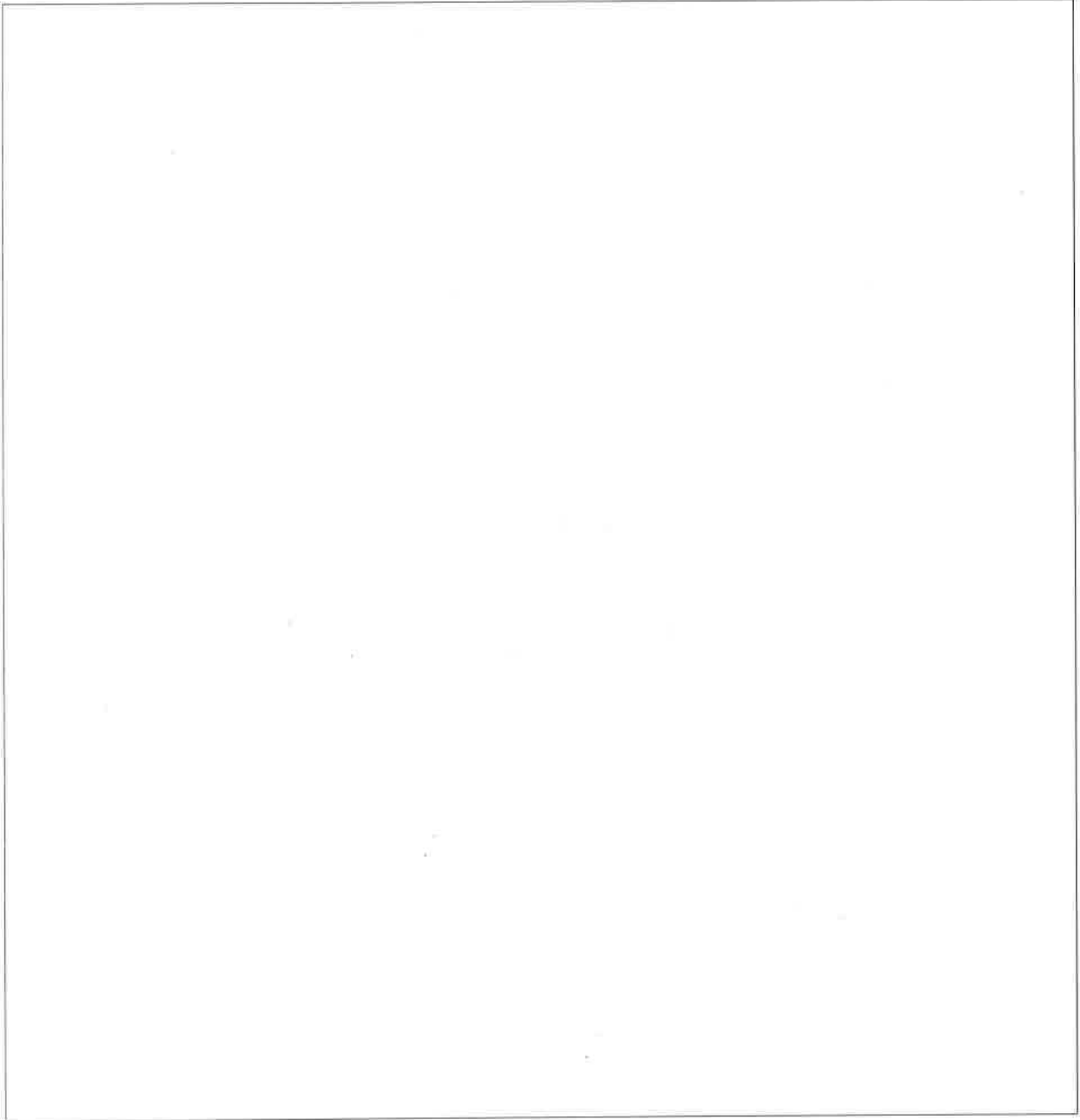


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FRIENDS

B6



HA 09/01/2015

## State Department Staff

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
	TITLE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	AFFILIATION	NOTES						CARD	CARD DETAILS	GIFT
1		Huma	Abedin	S Staff	Former staff								
2		Barbara	Adair		Former staff								
3		Caroline	Adler		Former staff								
4		Amanda	Alcott		Former staff								
5		Kate	Balcerzak		Former staff								
6		Kns	Balderson		Former staff								
7		Liza	Ballantine		Former staff								
8		Courtney	Beale-Kramer	S Staff									
9		Yael	Belkind		Former staff								
10		Christopher	Bishop										
11		Case	Bulton		Former staff								
12		Margaret	Carpenter										
13		Dannis	Cheng		Former staff								
14		Claire	Coleman	S Staff									
15		Corley	Kenna		Former staff								
16		Jennifer	Davis										
17		Linda	Dewan	S Staff									
18		Katie	Dowd		Former staff								
19		Christine	Falvo		Former staff								
20		Dan	Fogarty	S Staff									
21		Michael	Fuchs		Former staff								
22		Ann	Gavaghan		Former staff								
23		Elihan	Gelber		Former staff								
24		Stephane	Gent		Former staff								
25		Monica	Hanley	S Staff	Former staff								
26		David	Hellenbein		Former staff								
27		Dana	Hyde		Former staff								
28		Katie	Jack		Former staff								
29		Lauren	Jilohy	S Staff	Former staff								
30		Brock	Johnson		Former staff								
31		Natalie	Jones		Former staff								
32		Liz	Kanick		Former staff								
33		Connolly	Keagher		Former staff								
34		Yekyu	Kim		Former staff								
35		Caitlin	Kievorick		Former staff								
36		Ben	Kobren		Former staff								
37		Andrew	Lewis		Former staff								
38		Joanne	Laszczych	S Staff									
39		Joe	Macmanus	S Staff									
40		Sharyn	Magonen		Former staff								
41		Jamie	Mannina		Former staff								
42		Chelsee	Maughan		Former staff								
43		Lori	McLean										
44		Luz	Mendez		Former staff								
45		Shella	Menz		Former staff								
46		Mildred	Olivero		Former staff								
47		Bryan	Pagliano		Former staff								
48		Maura	Pally		Former staff								
49		Mira	Patel		Former staff								
50		Shraddhe	Patel		Former staff								
51		Laura	Pena		Former staff								
52		Shilpa	Pesaru		Former staff								
53		Philippe	Reines		Former staff								
54		Miguel	Rodriguez		Former staff								
55		Gemma	Rowland										
56		Ali	Rubin		Former staff								
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State Department Staff

	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
1	GIFT DETAILS	PARTY	PARTY DETAILS	MAILING ADDRESS	OTHER CONTACT INFO (Phone/e-mail)		
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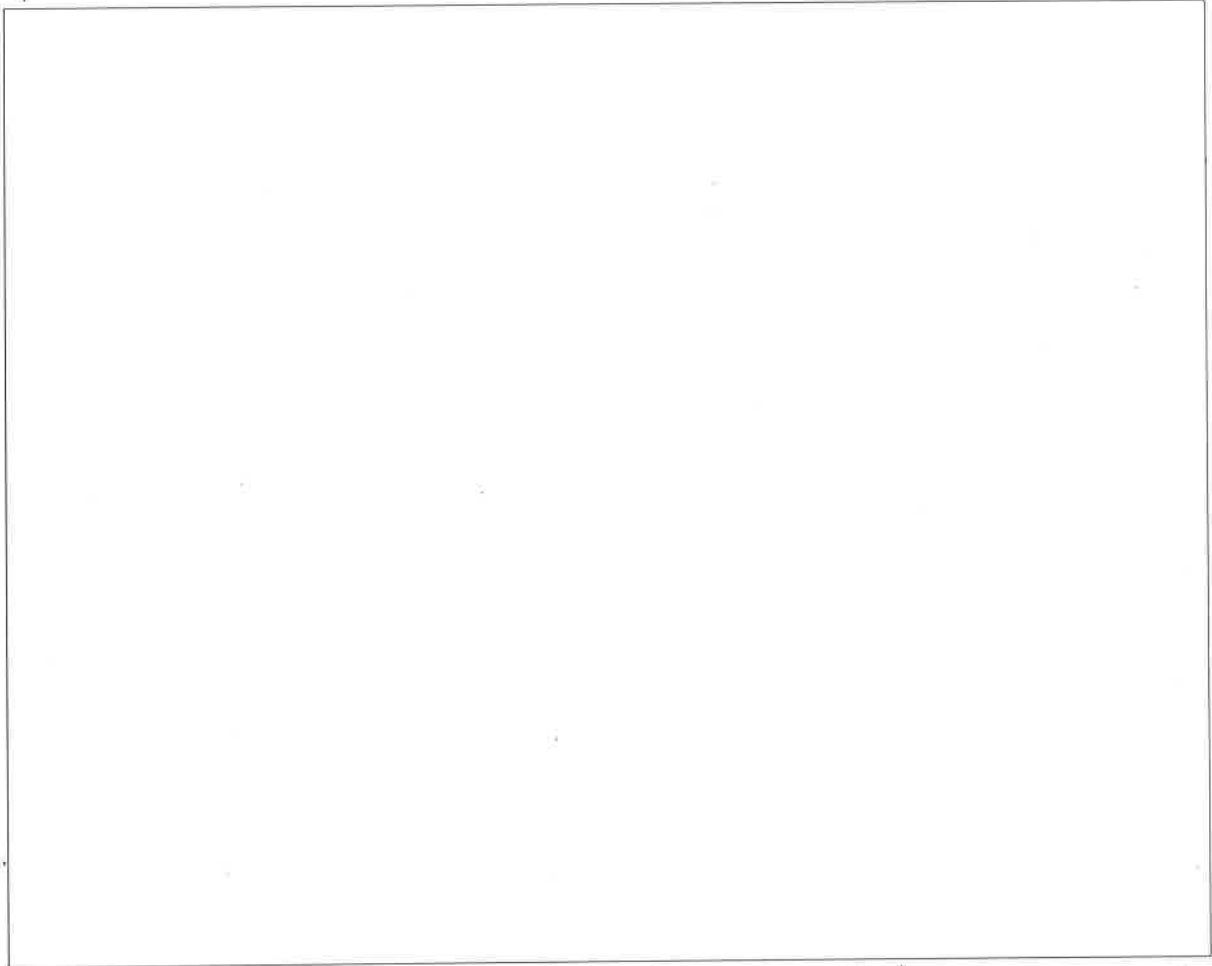
State Department Staff

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
58		Robert	Russo	S Staff	Former staff								
59		Heather	Samuelson		Former staff								
60		Dan	Schwerin		Former staff								
61	The Honorable	Andrew	Shapiro		Former staff								
62		Philip	Spector		Former staff								
63		Jacob	Sullivan	S Staff	Former staff								
64		Michael	Szymanski		Former staff								
65		Nora	Torv	S Staff	Former staff								
66		Lona	Valmoro	S Staff	Former staff								
67		Rachel	Vogelstein		Former staff								
68		Zia	Zyed	S Staff									

B6

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Personal Staff



B6

HA 09/01/2015

Personal Staff

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 18, 2009 9:29 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: updated private line block through december 31st  
**Attach:** updated private line block as of november 18th.docx

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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**From:** Valmoro, Lona J  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 18 17:12:37 2009  
**Subject:** updated private line block through december 31st

Lona Valmoro  
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State  
202-647-9071 (direct)

HA 09/01/2015

**SCHEDULE FOR SECRETARY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 2009**

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

**DRAFT-11/20/09-am**

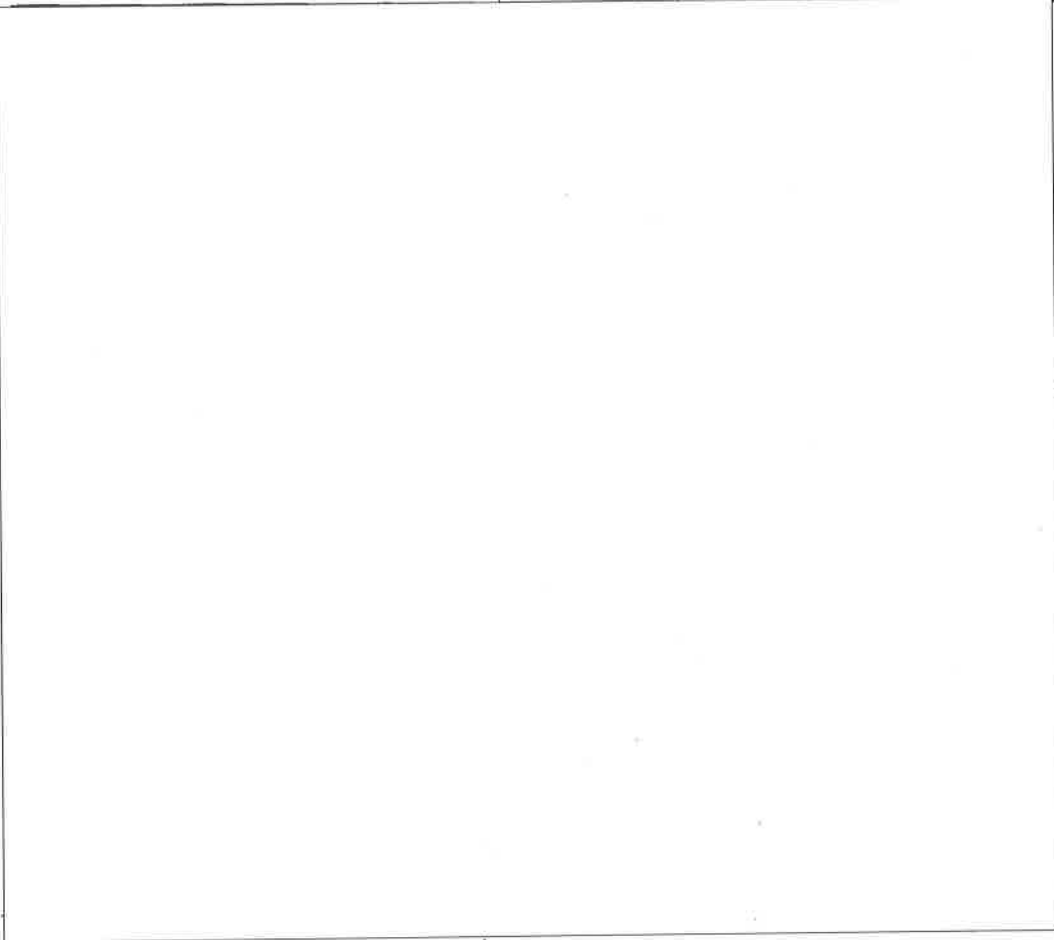
**CHAPPAQUA, NY/WASHINGTON, DC**

**SPECIAL ASSISTANT: LONA VALMORO**  
**OFFICE (202) 647-9071**  
**CELL**

**STAFF ASSISTANT: LINDA DEWAN**  
**OFFICE (202) 647-5733**  
**CELL**

B6

B5



**Weather:**

Chappaqua, NY: Partly sunny, 52/41.

Washington, DC: Mostly cloudy, 54/45.



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 20, 2009 6:18 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Would you mind sending me a draft of Monday pls?  
**Attach:** hrc draft schedule-11-22.doc; hrc draft schedule-11-23.doc

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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**From:** Valmoro, Lona J  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 20 18:03:59 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Would you mind sending me a draft of Monday pls?

---

**From:** Dewan, Linda L  
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J  
**Cc:** Dewan, Linda L  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 20 14:40:36 2009  
**Subject:** RE: Would you mind sending me a draft of Monday pls?

See attachments / sent them to you this morning / guess they didn't go thru

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J  
**Sent:** Friday, November 20, 2009 2:38 PM  
**To:** Dewan, Linda L  
**Subject:** Would you mind sending me a draft of Monday pls?

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 20, 2009 6:27 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: call grid  
**Attach:** Nov 20 09 Gnd scan.pdf

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Coleman, Claire L  
**Cc:** Fogarty, Daniel J; S\_SpecialAssistants; Hanley, Monica R  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 20 13:02:30 2009  
**Subject:** call grid

Huma – I updated the call grid to reflect today's date (attached here for everyone else). I'll send over hard copies to you with whatever the specials are getting over to you later today.

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November-20, 2009 6:35 PM  
**To:** 'humamabedin' [redacted]  
**Subject:** \*\*\* VIRUS \*\*\*Fw: I Thought You Might Enjoy This

B6

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 20 08:50:54 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: I Thought You Might Enjoy This

Pls print. And who is he?

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

**From:** Jonathan Weston [redacted]  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 20 08:16:07 2009  
**Subject:** I Thought You Might Enjoy This

Dear Colleagues,

Despite evidence that global economic imbalances helped fuel the financial crisis, China persists in maintaining a wide variety of industrial policies to support an export and investment-led growth model. China continues to accumulate record sums of foreign currency reserves as a result of large trade surpluses. These surpluses result, in part, from China's extensive web of subsidies to favored industries, which include tax rebates, low interest loans from state-owned banks, discounts on land, electricity and fuel, and a currency that is pegged to the U.S. dollar at an artificially low rate. These are among the conclusions in the seventh Annual Report to Congress of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. "By providing these benefits, along with a cheap labor force without the ability to bargain collectively or join independent unions, the Chinese government has created a low-cost haven for foreign and domestic manufacturers," said Carolyn Bartholomew, chairman of the Commission, at the release of the group's 2009 Report to Congress on Thursday.

The bipartisan Commission, established by Congress to analyze the economic and national security relationship of the two nations, made 42 recommendations to Congress for further action. The 367-page report was unanimously approved by the 12 Commissioners. The Commission held eight hearings, travelled to China, commissioned staff and original research, and consulted with the U.S. intelligence community.

The Report details stepped up efforts by China to penetrate U.S. computer networks, particularly those of the U.S. government and contractors, and to obtain information by increasingly sophisticated espionage methods. "Although attribution is a problem in cyber attacks, the scale and coordination of the attacks strongly indicates Chinese state involvement," said vice chairman Larry Wortzel. "In addition to harming U.S. interests, Chinese human and cyber espionage activities provide China with a method for leaping forward in economic, technological, and military development."

The Commission also describes China's efforts at naval modernization. "The Chinese navy has vastly increased its arsenal of advanced weapons, particularly antiship and land attack cruise missiles, and advanced naval mines," said Wortzel. "Of particular importance is China's attempt to develop antiship ballistic missiles, specifically planned with U.S. aircraft carriers in mind."

The Commission held a hearing in Rochester, New York, to assess the effect of China's industrial policy on the upstate New York region. The Report examines China's efforts to develop an optoelectronics industry, in part by enticing the U.S. industry to move production and research and development activities there.

Attached is the summary report for your kind reference. The Full Report is available on the Commission's Web Site: [www.uscc.gov](http://www.uscc.gov)  
<http://www.uscc.gov/>

Jonathan Weston  
 Congressional Liaison Coordinator  
 U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission  
 444 North Capitol Street, NW Suite 602  
 Washington, DC 20001  
 Phone: [redacted]

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 22, 2009 6:27:33 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

No problem to leave earlier.  
And will change shuttle

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 22 06:24:51 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

We may need a later shuttle, maybe 10 or 11? Also, I'd like to leave around 9 tonight if possible.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 22 06:06:52 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

- didn't know about turkey. Will find out more
- we will know about mon mtg this morning and will let you know as soon as we do
- holding early december dates so we can leave any day
- we are on 8am shuttle wednesday but can easily move

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

**From:** H  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 22 06:02:15 2009  
**Subject:** Schedule

I think the PM of Turkey is coming Dec 7. Have we been asked to do anything for him? I want to be sure we treat him and his party well. If WH doesn't do lunch, should we?

[REDACTED] Have you been told what time yet?

B5

Pls keep Dec 1, 2 and 3 free and plan for me to go to Brussels either night of 12/2 or 3.

Also, which shuttles have you held for Wed?

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 22, 2009 6:33:31 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: India Dinner

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 22 06:30:47 2009  
**Subject:** Re: India Dinner

B6

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 22 06:28:22 2009  
**Subject:** Re: India Dinner

B6

Ok agree tough call.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 22 06:25:49 2009  
**Subject:** Re: India Dinner

If he did come, we could fly back w him either that night or next day.

B5

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 22 06:09:33 2009  
**Subject:** Re: India Dinner

B5

I can check with cheryl, didn't ask her what she thinks.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 22 06:03:47 2009  
**Subject:** India Dinner

Bill asked me if I was sure he didn't need to go. What do you really think--and who else should we consult?

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J [ValmoroLJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 22, 2009 6:54:57 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin; H  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

I found out late last night that the meeting tomorrow at the WH with POTUS is at 8:00pm, which does affect your dinner plans. Should we still move forward with the dinner (currently starting at 7:00pm), with you needing to depart around 7:50pm? Move up the start time by 15-30 minutes? Or consider postponing?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**To:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 22 06:06:52 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

- didn't know about turkey. Will find out more
- we will know about mon mtg this morning and will let you know as soon as we do
- holding early december dates so we can leave any day
- we are on 8am shuttle wednesday but can easily move

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

**From:** H  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 22 06:02:15 2009  
**Subject:** Schedule

I think the PM of Turkey is coming Dec 7. Have we been asked to do anything for him? I want to be sure we treat him and his party well. If WH doesn't do lunch, should we?

B5

Have you been told what time yet?

Pls keep Dec 1, 2 and 3 free and plan for me to go to Brussels either night of 12/2 or 3.

Also, which shuttles have you held for Wed?

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Monday, November 23, 2009 5:46:33 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Miliband call

RELEASE IN FULL

Ops calling.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 23 17:46:07 2009  
**Subject:** Miliband call

I'm in the car. Will ops/call me or should I call in?

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C [JilotyLC@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Monday, November 23, 2009 5:48:32 PM  
**To:** H; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Miliband call

RELEASE IN FULL

They are calling you now.

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

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Jiloty, Lauren C  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 23 17:46:07 2009  
**Subject:** Miliband call

I'm in the car. Will ops call me or should I call in?



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 23, 2009 6:11 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Westerville Call Sheet  
**Attach:** 11-23-09 AM S call Westerville re TPFT3.docx; 112309 Talkers S call to Westerville re TFTP3.docx

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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**From:** Syed, Zia S  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** S, SpecialAssistants; Coleman, Claire L  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 23 18:10:17 2009  
**Subject:** Westerville Call Sheet

Huma, Attached are the call sheet and Action memo (which include some additional background).

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J [ValmoroLJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 24, 2009 8:25:11 AM  
**To:** H; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** RE: Shuttle tomorrow

RELEASE IN FULL

Yes, will call now.

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

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 24, 2009 8:23 AM  
**To:** Valmoro, Lona J; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Shuttle tomorrow

I will have to go into office first. Can I get on the 11 or 12?

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CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASE IN FULL

November 24, 2009

For: Hillary  
From: Sid  
Re: Afghanistan

Bill Murray, former CIA station chief in Pakistan, one member of the small group that ran the war against the Soviets, has sent me a new memo based on a recent conversation we had. He reiterates some of the ideas I've already told you, but also has one big new idea of how to explain the US policy to the Afghans—holding a series of *loya jirgas* in Pashtun areas. I also like the "ask" in the last paragraph

Memo for Sidney  
Thoughts on Afghanistan  
From: Bill Murray  
Date: 24 November 2009

I did not want to send this to you over the international open circuits so I waited to write it after I got back last night. Unexpectedly, the day after I spoke with you I spoke to the British Prime Minister's adviser on Afghanistan. The introduction was made by a retired British Vice Admiral at a speech we were both attending. The Vice Admiral told the other officer, whose name I never properly heard, about my background and involvement in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Coincidentally, former President Musharraf of Pakistan was at the same event and spent some time with us both. The British are going through the same process our government is going through and the officer said they have been paying the Taliban for some time and know they are going to have to pay more. He asked me what I thought and I said paying them is just rent and there is going to have to be some kind of political agreement. I suggested a series of *loya jirga* in each of the areas the British are working in, just as I am suggesting it to you below.

You already know my thoughts on much of this:

A very simple and clearly enunciated policy such as we came here to stop further attacks on the US.

We will leave when we have located and retrieved those who attacked us, Usama Bin Ladin and Ayman al-Zawahiri, and received assurances that Afghanistan will not again be a safe haven for those who want to attack us.

I believe that the message needs to be short, clear and perfectly understandable to the Pathan/Pushtun ethnic group that makes up 40% of the population and that is currently fighting

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us. I also believe that the best way to get the point across is to have a series of tribally based *loya jirga* in the Pathan/Pushtun areas. Forget about a big national level meeting in Kabul. That will just be seen as an attempt by the US to consolidate the power of Hamid Karzai or to create some kind of national strong central structure these people will never accept. They have and can live with a weak central government and powerful regional governments. They have never had or accepted any attempt to establish a strong central government. The Pathans are divided between a northern and southern group (hence the 2 different ways the word is written and pronounced) and further divided along tribal lines. They will not agree as a unified group because there is no unity among them, but they can be dealt with tribe by tribe and region by region. We will inevitably have to pardon leaders who are currently shooting at us, and we just need to get used to the idea.

Not long ago I listened to a US military briefer describing political groups such as the Hizbi Islami, as terrorist organizations. I am sure he had no idea that there is more than one Hizbi Islami (literally Party of Islam) or that the US aided both of them during the struggle against the Soviet Union. We cannot win, or extricate ourselves from, this kind of war with this level of ignorance. We need to get down to where the Afghans are and deal with them in terms they understand. We also cannot get anywhere by sending out as our representatives people who cannot even attempt to pronounce their names. I heard the same briefer try to pronounce Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's name then give up and say "we just call him Gubdin." We need to create a small group of diplomats, intelligence officers and military – teams led by the diplomats not the military – who really have some area and cultural knowledge and then use them to deal with the Afghans. The *loya jirga* is not pretty nor is it efficient but it is, in its own way, democratic and it is the Afghan way to make arrive at group consensus.

I also believe that we should demand that Bin Ladin and al-Zawahiri be turned over to us. If we try to leave without getting these guys we will be seen as weak and irresolute and our word on other issues will not be trusted. Despite what they say about not believing that these guys were behind 9-11 the Afghan leaders know the truth. They will also say they cannot violate their own code of honor under which the Arabs were offered sanctuary. Anything and everything is for sale in Afghanistan if we can just fix the price. The al-Qaida leaders violated the sanctuary given to them by bringing their war to Afghanistan. Any obligations the Afghans felt toward them have run out.

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 4:34:29 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: MEMO: Good idea on Afghanistan. Sid

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

We have become vampires

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 04:33:20 2009  
**Subject:** Re: MEMO: Good idea on Afghanistan. Sid

Why are you up???? We need to go for a long sleep cure.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 04:32:10 2009  
**Subject:** Re: MEMO: Good idea on Afghanistan. Sid

Ok.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 04:31:38 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: MEMO: Good idea on Afghanistan. Sid

Pls print.

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

**From:** sbwhoep [redacted]  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 24 17:58:21 2009  
**Subject:** MEMO: Good idea on Afghanistan. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

November 24, 2009

**For:** Hillary  
**From:** Sid  
**Re:** Afghanistan

Bill Murray, former CIA station chief in Pakistan, one member of the small group that ran the war against the Soviets, has sent me a new memo based on a recent conversation we had. He reiterates some of the ideas I've already told you, but also has one big new idea of how to explain the US policy to the Afghans—holding a series of loya jirgas in Pashtun areas. I also like the "ask" in the last paragraph.

Memo for Sidney  
Thoughts on Afghanistan  
**From:** Bill Murray  
**Date:** 24 November 2009

I did not want to send this to you over the international open circuits so I waited to write it after I got back last night.

HA 09/01/2015



Unexpectedly, the day after I spoke with you I spoke to the British Prime Minister's adviser on Afghanistan. The introduction was made by a retired British Vice Admiral at a speech we were both attending. The Vice Admiral told the other officer, whose name I never properly heard, about my background and involvement in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Coincidentally, former President Musharraf of Pakistan was at the same event and spent some time with us both. The British are going through the same process our government is going through and the officer said they have been paying the Taliban for some time and know they are going to have to pay more. He asked me what I thought and I said paying them is just rent and there is going to have to be some kind of political agreement. I suggested a series of loya jirga in each of the areas the British are working in, just as I am suggesting it to you below.

You already know my thoughts on much of this:

A very simple and clearly enunciated policy such as we came here to stop further attacks on the US. We will leave when we have located and retrieved those who attacked us, Usama Bin Ladin and Ayman al-Zawahiri, and received assurances that Afghanistan will not again be a safe haven for those who want to attack us. I believe that the message needs to be short, clear and perfectly understandable to the Pathan/Pushtun ethnic group that makes up 40% of the population and that is currently fighting us. I also believe that the best way to get the point across is to have a series of tribally based loya jirga in the Pathan/Pushtun areas. Forget about a big national level meeting in Kabul. That will just be seen as an attempt by the US to consolidate the power of Hamid Karzai or to create some kind of national strong central structure these people will never accept. They have and can live with a weak central government and powerful regional governments. They have never had or accepted any attempt to establish a strong central government. The Pathans are divided between a northern and southern group (hence the 2 different ways the word is written and pronounced) and further divided along tribal lines. They will not agree as a unified group because there is no unity among them, but they can be dealt with tribe by tribe and region by region. We will inevitably have to pardon leaders who are currently shooting at us, and we just need to get used to the idea.

Not long ago I listened to a US military briefer describing political groups such as the Hizbi Islami, as terrorist organizations. I am sure he had no idea that there is more than one Hizbi Islami (literally Party of Islam) or that the US aided both of them during the struggle against the Soviet Union. We cannot win, or extricate ourselves from, this kind of war with this level of ignorance. We need to get down to where the Afghans are and deal with them in terms they understand. We also cannot get anywhere by sending out as our representatives people who cannot even attempt to pronounce their names. I heard the same briefer try to pronounce Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's name then give up and say "we just call him Gubdin." We need to create a small group of diplomats, intelligence officers and military – teams led by the diplomats not the military – who really have some area and cultural knowledge and then use them to deal with the Afghans. The loya jirga is not pretty nor is it efficient but it is, in its own way, democratic and it is the Afghan way to make arrive at group consensus.

I also believe that we should demand that Bin Ladin and al-Zawahiri be turned over to us. If we try to leave without getting these guys we will be seen as weak and irresolute and our word on other issues will not be trusted. Despite what they say about not believing that these guys were behind 9-11 the Afghan leaders know the truth. They will also say they cannot violate their own code of honor under which the Arabs were offered sanctuary. Anything and everything is for sale in Afghanistan if we can just fix the price. The al-Qaida leaders violated the sanctuary given to them by bringing their war to Afghanistan. Any obligations the Afghans felt toward them have run out.

**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 8:00:23 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Fyi

RELEASE IN FULL

I'm on the way.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 08:00:01 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Fyi

He will. Or I will.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 07:52:30 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Fyi

Ok. Can you ask Rob to meet me in garage?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 07:51:10 2009  
**Subject:** Fyi

Claire, lauren, Iona and monica are all out for thanksgiving today.

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J [ValmoroLJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 10:55:02 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin; H; Mills, Cheryl D  
**Subject:** Re: cairo +15 speech in early january

RELEASE IN FULL

Huma's right, she will be over the moon!

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

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**To:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J; Mills, Cheryl D  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 10:51:40 2009  
**Subject:** Re: cairo +15 speech in early january

Yes, we can. Melanne would be happy to hear that!

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

**From:** H  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; 'millsd@state.gov' <millsd@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 10:50:07 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: cairo +15 speech in early january

Lona—Could we be ready to do on or before 12/18? I'm reluctant to schedule for early Jan. Also if we did in Dec, would coincide w Copenhagen.

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

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 24 21:52:43 2009  
**Subject:** FW: cairo +15 speech in early january

Assume this is something you want to do that we can lock on a date?

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 24, 2009 9:38 PM  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D  
**Subject:** cairo +15 speech in early january

About six weeks ago, HRC agreed to give a speech commemorating the anniversary of the 1994 UN Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. I believe the actual anniversary is December 18th so frankly, if we did the speech in early January, we would not be that far off the mark. The idea would be to do this speech at State with the audience including the NGOs, Gates Foundation, UN, and Packard Foundations. This speech could send a message regarding the link between population and environmental sustainability and as a result, improve women's status and rights. I would love to give them January 6th-8th if that works on your end.

Lona Valmoro

Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

202-647-9071 (direct)

HA 09/01/2015



**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 12:30:58 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Calls

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

When you land, you can do following:

- conf call with arturo, craig and jake
- about gheit
- lebanese president sulayman
- saad hariri
- catherine ashton
- prime minister papandreou

- ISAF calls:

1. Italy
2. Poland
3. Romania
4. France
5. Turkey

B5

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 12:54:05 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Calls

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

When u r done with arturo, ops will connect in following order:

1. lebanese president sulayman
2. saad hariri
3. catherine ashton
- 4 prime minister papandreou
5.
6.

B5

**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 2:57:56 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Update

RELEASE IN FULL

Ok.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 14:51:22 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Update

Yes he wants to proceed. So we will move forward.  
Trying south africa now  
Turkey available at 4pm. Ok?

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 14:50:08 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Update

Ask Bill Burns if that works w timing.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 14:47:01 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Update

Amorim saying he's out of pocket today but can talk btw 9-10am tomorrow. Ok?

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 14:41:43 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Update

Try S Africa first and then Brazil again and then Turkey.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 14:23:46 2009  
**Subject:** Update

About gheit at 230  
Davutoglu on plane till 3pm.  
Can we try south african as well?  
Anyone else u want to do from Isaf?

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J [SullivanJJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 4:48:19 PM  
**To:** H; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** RE: Afghan reporting

RELEASE IN  
FULL

We'll have the specials summarize the key points of the memcons and circulate them to RCH and senior NSC folks, if that works for you.

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

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 4:42 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Afghan reporting

Who do I respond to re these calls? Or are we just sending the memcons?

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J [SullivanJJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 4:49:49 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** RE: Afghan reporting

RELEASE IN  
FULL

They are? How?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 4:49 PM  
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Re: Afghan reporting

Readouts from all your calls r going to the relevant people.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 16:41:42 2009  
**Subject:** Afghan reporting

Who do I respond to re these calls? Or are we just sending the memcons?

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 4:51:03 PM  
**To:** H  
**CC:** OFlores [REDACTED]  
**Subject:**

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

Abu mazen is waiting per your request. Can u call in to ops.

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 5:05 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: EUR Bilats for S and D(S) for OSCE and NATO Ministerials  
**Attach:** EUR Proposed Bilats for OSCE NATO Ministerials docx

---

B6

**From:** O'Brien, Vincent J  
**To:** O'Brien, Vincent J; Wohlers, Paul; Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** EUR-DAS-DL; Turner, Bruce I; Scanlon, Amy B  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 15:45:42 2009  
**Subject:** RE: EUR Bilats for S and D(S) for OSCE and NATO Ministerials

<<EUR Proposed Bilats for OSCE NATO Ministerials.docx>>

With attachment.

*Vincent J. O'Brien  
Special Assistant  
Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
U.S. Department of State  
Tel: (202) 647 6285*

Mob: [REDACTED]

B6

---

**From:** O'Brien, Vincent J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 3:44 PM  
**To:** Wohlers, Paul; Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** EUR-DAS-DL; Turner, Bruce I; Scanlon, Amy B  
**Subject:** EUR Bilats for S and D(S) for OSCE and NATO Ministerials

Paul/Huma,

Here are EUR's proposed bilats for the OSCE and NATO ministerial next week. At a minimum, we recommend

[REDACTED]

Best,

Vincent

*Vincent J. O'Brien  
Special Assistant  
Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
U.S. Department of State  
Tel: (202) 647 6285*

Mob: [REDACTED]

B5

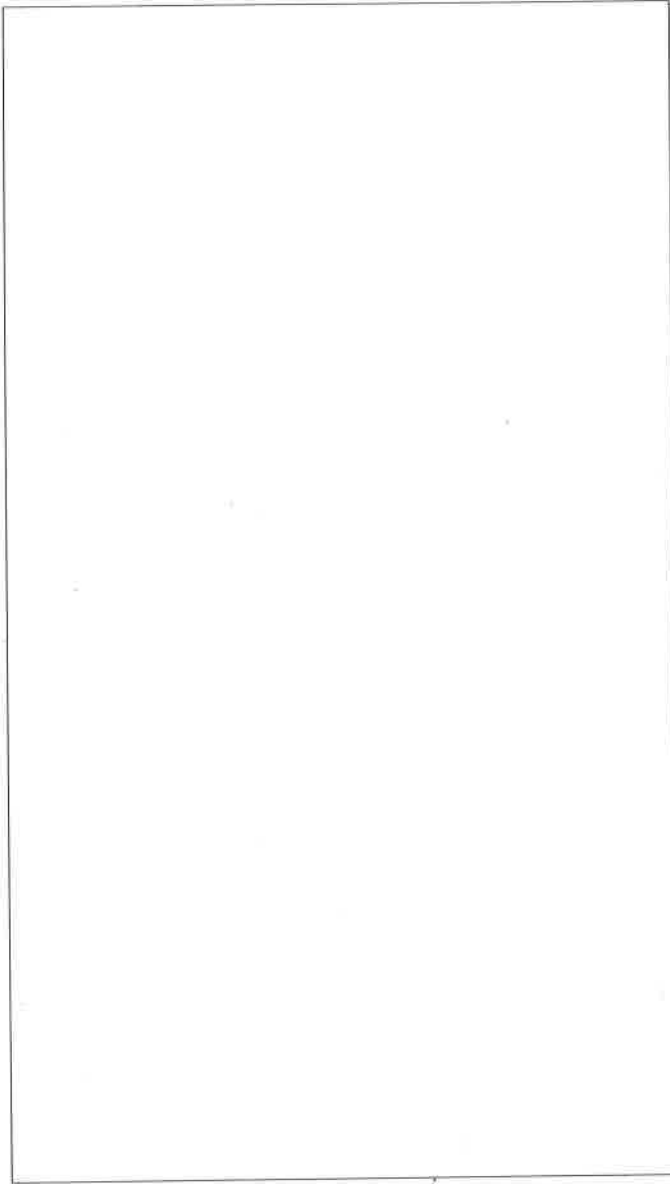
B6

HA 09/01/2015

EUR Bilat Proposals for OSCE and NATO Ministerials

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

B5





**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 25, 2009 7:22:17 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 19:13:46 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

Ok. Saud is now isaf too.  
If ok, ill tell ops to start going through remaining isaf calls tomorrow?

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 19:04:00 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

I have to call Saud back tomorrow. I should do all the calls in the morning; hopefully, btw 8:30 and 11 if possible.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H; 'OFlores' [redacted] <OFlores [redacted]>  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 18:52:46 2009  
**Subject:** Tomorrow

We will do the brazilain fm call at 9:30am. Ops will connect.  
Pdb coming at 10am along with additional isaf call sheets:

- spain
- australia
- canada
- sweden
- japan
- south korea
- saudi arabia

B6

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 26, 2009 12:12:42 PM  
**To:** 'wburns'  
**CC:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Gen. Jones

B6

B5

It would be helpful either to limit FM calls or at least give us notice so the caller is fully briefed.

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 26, 2009 3:14:15 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Jim steinberg asking to talk.

RELEASE IN FULL

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, November 27, 2009 6:52:25 AM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Fw: Egypt

RELEASE IN PART  
 1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

Fyi

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

**From:** Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 27 06:41:57 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Egypt

Very good outcome in Vienna: 25 votes in favor, incl all 5+1 and India. Your personal efforts were key, and thank you again.  
 First BOG res since 2006 is not a small thing. All best, Bill

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

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**To:** Burns, William J  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 16:37:05 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Egypt

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 06/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
 ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 11/26/2024

[Redacted]

B1  
 1.4(B)  
 1.4(D)

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

**From:** Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 15:46:49 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Egypt

Many thanks. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Your call gives us a good

opening, and I think we're headed for a solid BOG vote.

Happy Thanksgiving !

Bill

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

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**To:** Burns, William J  
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 25 14:57:00 2009  
**Subject:** Egypt

Bill--

Abu Gheit has two asks-and one big complaint--1)He wants to delay voting until Friday to give more time to round up positive votes. [Redacted] 2)He chairs the NAM and [Redacted]

B1  
 1.4(B)  
 1.4(D)

I told him I would inquire about the possibility of delay but that [Redacted]

What do you advise? HRC

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Valmoro, Lona J [ValmoroLJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, November 27, 2009 8:11:33 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin; H  
**CC:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Re: Followup from FM calls

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

And yes, the POTUS/President of Lebanon visit is your schedule for 12/14. As of Wednesday, no time had been set yet.

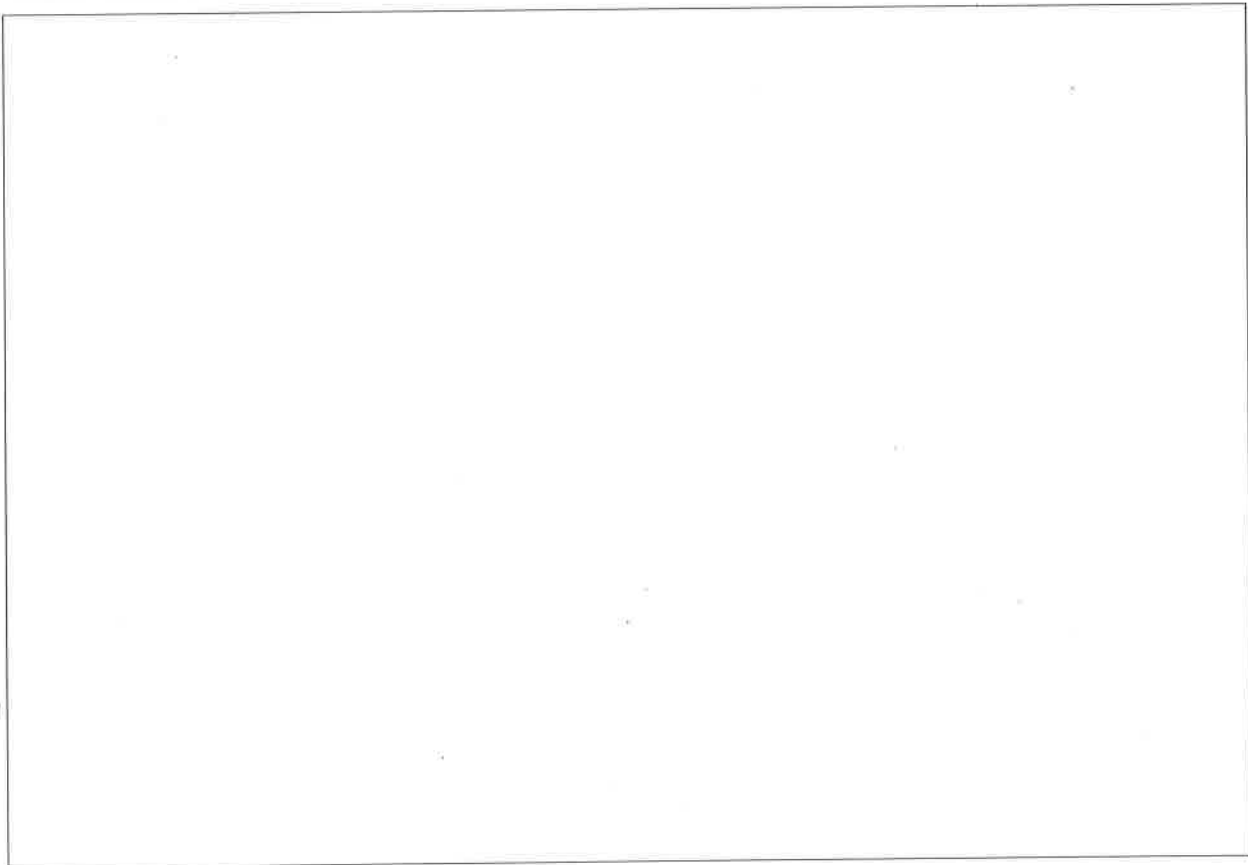
----- Original Message -----

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**To:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Valmoro, Lona J  
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 27 08:03:16 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Followup from FM calls

Thank you  
We will get going on all this asap.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; H  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 27 07:43:07 2009  
**Subject:** Followup from FM calls



B5

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C [JilotyLC@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, November 27, 2009 8:16:31 AM  
**To:** H; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Call list

RELEASE IN FULL

Ok

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

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**To:** Jiloty, Lauren C; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 27 08:01:54 2009  
**Subject:** Call list

Take off:

Hariri  
Sulayman  
Papandreou  
Ashton  
Abbas  
Gheit  
Faisal  
Amorim  
Posner  
Schuster  
Solis

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, November 27, 2009 12:33:50 PM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Follow up

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

[redacted] wants invite to meet w me, and hopefully, the POTUS next year. [redacted]

B5

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, November 27, 2009 12:37:00 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Follow up

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

Jake wants to talk to you so I will call after you r done with funes and him.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 27 12:01:52 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Follow up

Can you call me?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 27 11:35:46 2009  
**Subject:** Follow up

Started follow up on everything you sent yesterday.

- Sent WH all relevant call and meeting requests.
- will make a brussels schedule with additional bilats for you to look at. We can either do a very intensive brussels day on friday and come back. Or do bilats on sat and fly back early. Working on it with EUR. Most people are out today.
- I left a few messages for [REDACTED] Ill also ask danny for his plane as soon a I hear back.
- [REDACTED] I hear cheryl is also working on this. The sense I'm getting is they still haven't figured this out.
- I sent oscar a note from david miliband to print for you.
- do you want the pdb today? Or do you want fri and sat to come together tomorrow?
- for sunday, we can book you on a 3 or 4pm shuttle and you can go home [REDACTED] What do u want to do?

B6

B5

B5

HA 09/01/2015



**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, November 27, 2009 1:17:32 PM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Follow up

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

Ok w me—have to ask Miliband. I'd be happy just to do blats.

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

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**To:** H; Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 27 12:57:31 2009  
**Subject:** RE: Follow up

[Redacted]

B5

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

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, November 27, 2009 12:43 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Re: Follow up

I want to do everything on Friday. And I think that's better since FMs will be leaving after mtg. I can do it all in one day. Also, Miliband wants to do a Quad mtg which I think may be ok since I can see all three at one time.

Also the pdb can come tomorrow and I'll take the 4pm shuttle home [Redacted]

B6

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 27 11:35:46 2009  
**Subject:** Follow up

Started follow up on everything you sent yesterday.

- Sent WH all relevant call and meeting requests.
- will make a brussels schedule with additional bilats for you to look at. We can either do a very intensive brussels day on friday and come back. Or do bilats on sat and fly back early. Working on it with EUR. Most people are out today.
- I left a few messages for [Redacted] I'll also ask danny for his plane as soon as I hear back.
- [Redacted] I hear cheryl is also working on this. The sense I'm getting is they still haven't figured this out.
- I sent oscar a note from david millband to print for you.
- do you want the pdb today? Or do you want fri and sat to come together tomorrow?
- for sunday, we can book you on a 3 or 4pm shuttle and you can go home [Redacted] What do u want to do?

B6

B5

B5

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** wburns [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 28, 2009 4:51:47 AM  
**To:** H  
**CC:** sullivanj@state.gov; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Gen. Jones

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B6

Sorry to be so slow. I haven't been able to get into my [REDACTED] account  
until now. [REDACTED]

B5

[REDACTED] Hope  
you have good weekend. Bill

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN  
FULL

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 28, 2009 12:37:23 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Holbrooke asking to talk.

HA 09/01/2015

**From:**  
**Sent:**  
**To:**  
**Subject:**

Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
Sunday, November 29, 2009 12:27:12 PM

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

H

Donilon available whenever you want to talk. [REDACTED] will be at house when u get back today.

B6

HA 09/01/2015

**From:**  
**Sent:**  
**To:**  
**Subject:**

Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
Sunday, November 29, 2009 12:28:24 PM

RELEASE IN  
FULL

H  
Also, send oscar the latest draft of human rights speech to print for you.

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 29, 2009 3:08:05 PM  
**To:** H; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills [REDACTED]'; 'MillsCD@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Re: POTUS paper

Its classified, wasn't sent by email.  
It will be waiting at whitehaven on arrival.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; 'cheryl.mills [REDACTED]' <cheryl.mills [REDACTED]>; 'millscd@state.gov' <millscd@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 29 15:06:52 2009  
**Subject:** Re: POTUS paper

I just checked my emails and don't have that. When was it sent?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov' <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; 'cheryl.mills [REDACTED]' <cheryl.mills [REDACTED]>; 'MillsCD@state.gov' <MillsCD@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 29 15:03:22 2009  
**Subject:** Re: POTUS paper

This is the same [REDACTED] I emailed you about. It will be at whitehaven on arrival.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; 'cheryl.mills [REDACTED]' <cheryl.mills [REDACTED]>; 'millscd@state.gov' <millscd@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 29 15:02:29 2009  
**Subject:** POTUS paper

[REDACTED] I told him I had not but assumed I would receive it when I landed. Do any of you know about this?

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 29, 2009 3:08:38 PM  
**To:** 'MillsCD@state.gov'; H; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov'; 'cheryl.mills [REDACTED]'  
**Subject:** Re: POTUS paper

B6

Jake and I have coordinated. She will have it when she gets home.

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

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; cheryl.mills [REDACTED] <cheryl.mills@gmail.com>; Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 29 15:08:02 2009  
**Subject:** Re: POTUS paper

B6

Jake is supposed to be getting it and bringing it by your house - I have not seen it yet

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

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; 'cheryl.mills@gmail.com' <cheryl.mills [REDACTED]>; Mills, Cheryl D; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sun Nov 29 15:02:29 2009  
**Subject:** POTUS paper

B6

[REDACTED] I told him I had not but assumed I would receive it when I landed. Do any of you know about this?

B5

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 29, 2009 3:54:26 PM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Fw: American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

What do you think? Can I commit to this?

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

**From:** Duffy, Terry  
**To:** H2; H  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 27 10:02:38 2009  
**Subject:** American Friends of the Hebrew University Scopus Award Dinner - March 11, 2010

B6

Madam Secretary-

I hope you, the President and Chelsea had a great Thanksgiving. Hopefully things will wind down and you'll be able to spend some time with your family. As you know, I'm being honored by the American Friends of the Hebrew University on Thursday, March 11, 2010. I'd be so honored if you would consider being the keynote speaker. I've had some correspondence with Lona in your office and she indicated you may have a better idea of your 2010 calendar in early November. It would mean the world to me if you could do it, but if not I completely understand.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

All my best,  
Terry

Terrence A. Duffy  
Executive Chairman  
CME Group  
20 S. Wacker Drive  
Chicago, IL 60606  
P: 312-930-2000  
F: 312-930-2040

HA 09/01/2015



From: Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
 Sent: Sunday, November 29, 2009 7:46 49 PM  
 To: 'SullivanJJ@state.gov'  
 Subject: Re: POTUS paper

RELEASE IN PART  
 B5,B6

Very funny  
 I think they just didn't recognize you from ops!

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

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
 To: Huma Abedin  
 Sent: Sun Nov 29 19:46 18 2009  
 Subject: Re: POTUS paper

I will shave before I go next time cuz the secret service was v suspicious

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

From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
 To: Sullivan, Jacob J  
 Sent: Sun Nov 29 19:45 01 2009  
 Subject: Re: POTUS paper

Yes thanks we got it

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

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
 To: H; Huma Abedin; cheryl.mills [redacted] <cheryl.mills [redacted]> Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
 Sent: Sun Nov 29 16:16 05 2009  
 Subject: Re: POTUS paper

B6

The document is at Whitehaven

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
 To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>, Sullivan, Jacob J; 'cheryl.mills [redacted]' <cheryl.mills [redacted]> Mills, Cheryl D  
 Sent: Sun Nov 29 15:06:52 2009  
 Subject: Re: POTUS paper

B6

I just checked my emails and don't have that. When was it sent?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
 To: H; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov' <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; 'cheryl.mills [redacted]' <cheryl.mills [redacted]>; 'MillsCD@state.gov' <MillsCD@state.gov>  
 Sent: Sun Nov 29 15:03:22 2009  
 Subject: Re: POTUS paper

B6

This is the same [redacted] emailed you about. It will be at whitehaven on arrival

B5

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

From: H  
 To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; 'cheryl.mills [redacted]' <cheryl.mills [redacted]>; 'millscd@state.gov' <millscd@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
 Sent: Sun Nov 29 15:02:29 2009  
 Subject: POTUS paper

B6

[redacted] I told him I had not but assumed I would receive  
 it when I landed. Do any of you know about this?

B5

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 30, 2009 7:51 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [redacted]  
**Subject:** Fw: Holiday Greeting

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

---

**From:** Jones, Natalie R  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Marshall, Capricia P  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 30 00:44:31 2009  
**Subject:** RE: Holiday Greeting

Any update on this?

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Monday, November 23, 2009 1:04 PM  
**To:** Jones, Natalie R; Marshall, Capricia P  
**Subject:** RE: Holiday Greeting

Will ask hrc too

She likes to see these

---

**From:** Jones, Natalie R  
**Sent:** Monday, November 23, 2009 2:03 PM  
**To:** Marshall, Capricia P; Abedin, Huma  
**Subject:** RE: Holiday Greeting

Great - 3 it is.

---

**From:** Marshall, Capricia P  
**Sent:** Monday, November 23, 2009 2:03 PM  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Jones, Natalie R  
**Subject:** RE: Holiday Greeting

Ditto - like 3

---

**From:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Monday, November 23, 2009 1:59 PM  
**To:** Jones, Natalie R; Marshall, Capricia P  
**Subject:** RE: Holiday Greeting

I like 3

What do you guys like?

---

**From:** Jones, Natalie R  
**Sent:** Monday, November 23, 2009 1:48 PM  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Marshall, Capricia P  
**Subject:** Holiday Greeting

Here are a few greeting options for the Secretary's holiday card, please let us know what option you prefer or if you had something else in mind - Dan Schwerin and Lissa are helping with this.

HA 09/01/2015

1. Best wishes for a peaceful

and joyous new year.

2. Wishing you and your family  
a peaceful and joyous  
holiday season and new year.

3. Warmest wishes for  
a joyous holiday season  
and a peaceful new year.

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** H [HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Monday, November 30, 2009 11:21:09 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'millsd@state.gov'; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Copenhagen

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

Mike Froman just said I was expected to go btw 16-18 [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

B5

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**SPEECH COVER PAGE**

**SASC Testimony on Af-Pak Strategy**

Lead Writer: Tomicah Tillemann

Phone: 7-9842 / BB:

Email: tillemanns@state.gov

**VETTERS: PLEASE INITIAL HERE** \_\_\_\_\_

B6

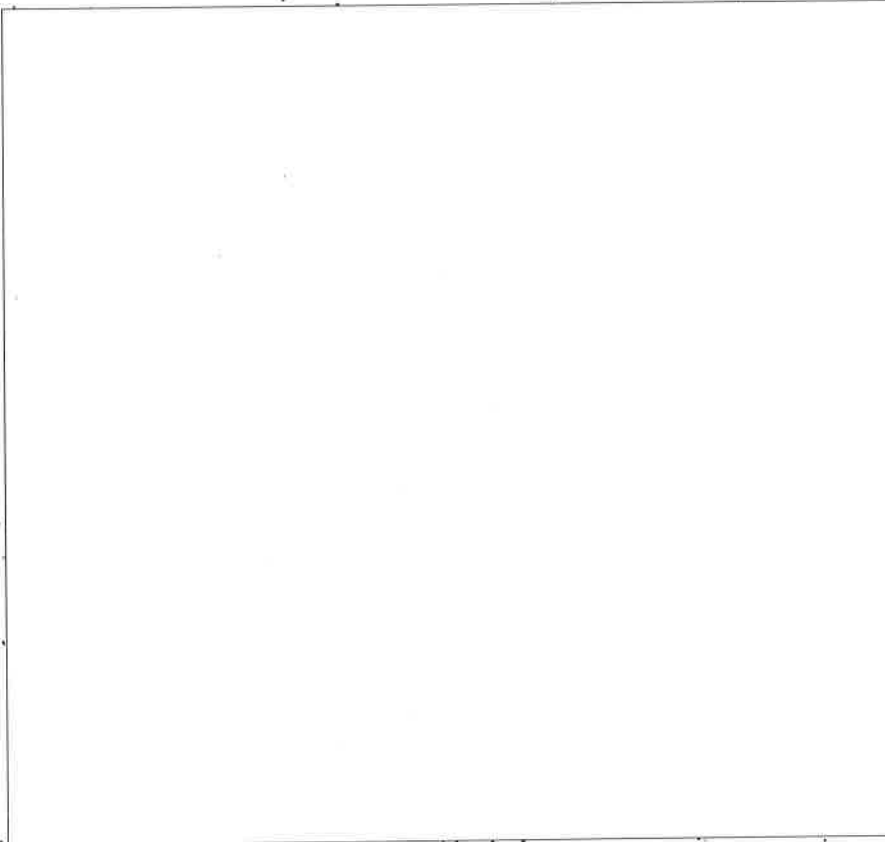
RELEASE IN  
PART B5

SASC Af-Pak Testimony

DRAFT TT5

11.30.09 4 PM

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE  
WASHINGTON, DC  
DECEMBER 2, 2009



B5

HA 09/01/2015

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 1, 2009 12:09 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: The Secretary's request to speak with Indonesian FM Natalegawa  
**Attach:** 113009 S Indonesian FM Natalegawa.doc

---

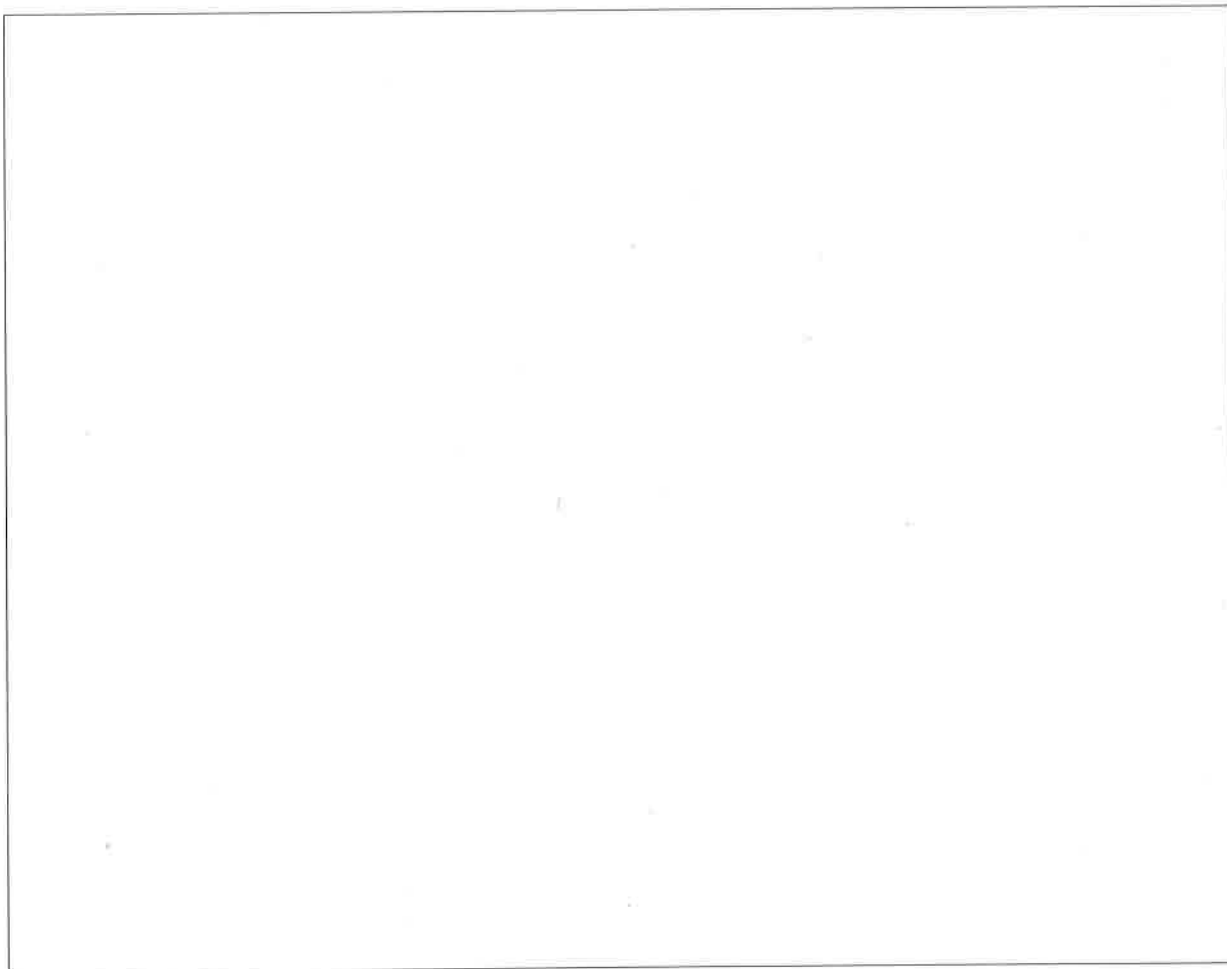
RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

B6

**From:** Syed, Zia S  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Sent:** Tue Dec 01 00:05:29 2009  
**Subject:** RE: The Secretary's request to speak with Indonesian FM Natalegawa

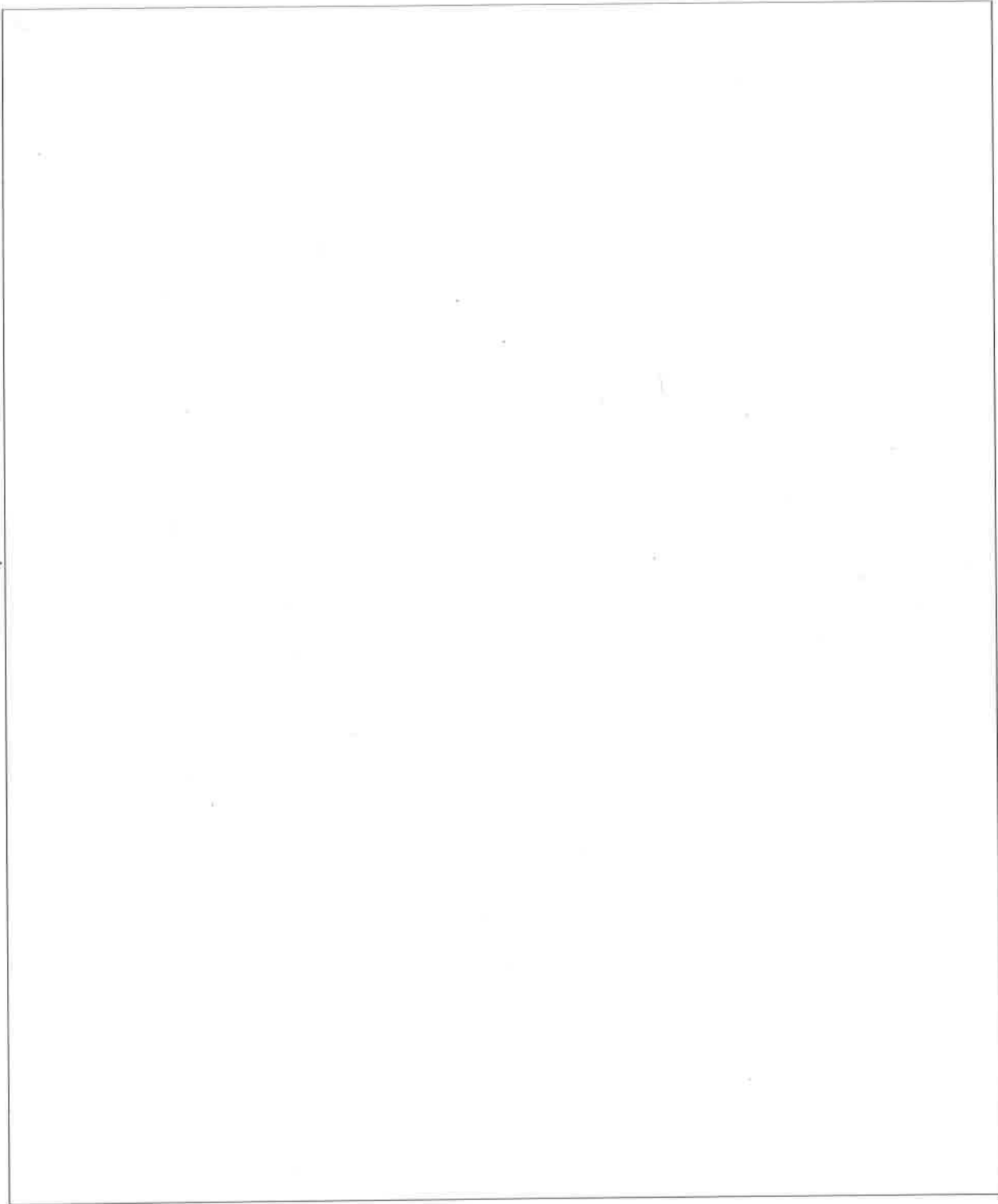
Indonesian FM call sheet is attached if you want to use it instead of the general NSC call sheet.

**The Secretary's Call Sheet for**  
**Indonesian FM Marty Muliana Natalegawa ["nah-tah-leh-GAH-wah"]**  
**Tuesday, December 1, 2009, 7:30 a.m.**



B5

HA 09/01/2015



B5

Call Notes:

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Syed, Zia S  
**Sent:** Monday, November 30, 2009 11:30 PM  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Subject:** RE: The Secretary's request to speak with Indonesian FM Natalegawa

Thanks Huma – to clarify. [REDACTED]

B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Monday, November 30, 2009 11:28 PM  
**To:** Syed, Zia S  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Subject:** Re: The Secretary's request to speak with Indonesian FM Natalegawa

**From:** Syed, Zia S  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 30 23:03:37 2009  
**Subject:** RE: The Secretary's request to speak with Indonesian FM Natalegawa.

Thanks, Zia.

**From:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Monday, November 30, 2009 10:40 PM  
**To:** Andrabi, Erfana S; SES-O\_S-Calls  
**Cc:** Davis, Timmy T; Rodriguez, Hugo F  
**Subject:** Re: The Secretary's request to speak with Indonesian FM Natalegawa

Can we also reach out to [REDACTED] and ask for windows as well?

**From:** Andrabi, Erfana S  
**To:** SES-O\_S-Calls  
**Cc:** Davis, Timmy T; Rodriguez, Hugo F  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 30 22:29:48 2009  
**Subject:** The Secretary's request to speak with Indonesian FM Natalegawa

Colleagues

The call time is confirmed for 0730 EST/1930 Jakarta.

We continue to pursue [REDACTED] for call windows provided  
by Ms. Coleman:  
1015-1030  
1030-1045

HA 09/01/2015

1045-1100  
1300-1330

Best regards

Erfana Andrabi  
Watch Officer  
State Department Operations Center  
202-647-1512

HA 09/01/2015



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B5

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 01, 2009 7:32:32 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Reminder

the call sheets are all the same. They personalized indonesia cause he was only one confirmed but ill double check.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Tue Dec 01 07:31:26 2009  
**Subject:** Re: Reminder

We can do both but I don't have separate call sheet for

B5

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Dec 01 07:29:01 2009  
**Subject:** Reminder

Indonesian fm natelagawa at 730.

Also,

HA 09/01/2015

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B5

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 01, 2009 4:37:49 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:**

[redacted] going to sleep so will need to make call tomorrow.  
I have your black bag.  
Your coat and scarf are in the car.  
When you are done, they are expecting you will just walk back over [redacted]  
[redacted]

B5

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 1, 2009 4:51 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Washington Post Article on Pakistan

RELEASE IN PART  
 B6

B6

**From:** Adams, David S  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Verma, Richard R; Turk, David M  
**Sent:** Tue Dec 01 16:50:54 2009  
**Subject:** Washington Post Article on Pakistan

Huma - The Secretary asked to see a copy of this article from yesterday's Washington Post. Would you pass it to her? Thanks.

## U.S. offers new role for Pakistan

A BROADER PARTNERSHIP

Importance of country to Afghan effort recognized

By Karen DeYoung  
 Washington Post Staff Writer  
 Monday, November 30, 2009

President Obama has offered Pakistan an expanded strategic partnership, including additional military and economic cooperation, while warning with unusual bluntness that its use of insurgent groups to pursue policy goals "cannot continue."

The offer, including an effort to help reduce tensions between Pakistan and India, was contained in a two-page letter delivered to President Asif Ali Zardari this month by Obama national security adviser James L. Jones. It was accompanied by assurances from Jones that the United States will increase its military and civilian efforts in Afghanistan and that it plans no early withdrawal.

Obama's speech Tuesday night at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., will address primarily the Afghanistan aspects of the strategy. But despite the public and political attention focused on the number of new troops, Pakistan has been the hot core of the months-long strategy review. The long-term consequences of failure there, the review concluded, far outweigh those in Afghanistan.

"We can't succeed without Pakistan," a senior administration official involved in the White House review said. "You have to differentiate between public statements and reality. There is nobody who is under any illusions about this."

This official and others, all of whom spoke about the closely held details of the new strategy on the condition of anonymity, emphasized that without "changing the nature of U.S.-Pakistan relations in a new direction, you're not going to win in Afghanistan," as one put it. "And if you don't win in Afghanistan, then Pakistan will automatically be unperiled, and that will make Afghanistan look like child's play."

Proffered U.S. carrots, outlined during Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton's October visit to Islamabad, center on a far more comprehensive and long-term bilateral relationship. It would feature enhanced development and trade assistance; improved intelligence collaboration and a more secure and upgraded military equipment pipeline; more public praise and less public criticism of Pakistan; and an initiative to build greater regional cooperation among Pakistan, India and Afghanistan.

Obama called for closer collaboration against all extremist groups, and his letter named five: al-Qaeda, the Afghan Taliban, the Haqqani network, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and the Pakistani Taliban organization known as Tehrik-e-Taliban. Using vague diplomatic language, he said that ambiguity in Pakistan's relationship with any of them could no longer be ignored.

Jones, a retired Marine Corps general, was more precise in conversations with top Pakistani government and military leaders, U.S. and foreign officials said, stating that certain things have to happen in Pakistan to ensure Afghanistan's security. If Pakistan cannot deliver, he warned, the United States may be impelled to use any means at its disposal to rout insurgents based along Pakistan's western and southern borders with Afghanistan.

Current U.S. policy includes the use of missiles fired from unmanned drones on insurgent locations limited to roughly 50 miles inside the western border, training in two military camps for the Pakistani Frontier Corps, and intelligence exchanges. It prohibits kinetic, or active, operations by U.S. ground forces inside Pakistan.

While praising Pakistani military offensives against groups that pose a domestic threat -- primarily the alliance of groups known as Tehrik-e-Taliban, in the Swat Valley and South Waziristan -- Jones made it clear that the administration expects more.

The rollout of the new strategy is being coordinated with principal U.S. allies, including Britain, whose prime minister, Gordon Brown, said Sunday, "People are going to ask why, eight years after 2001, Osama bin Laden has never been near to being caught."

HA 09/01/2015

"Al-Qaeda has a base in Pakistan," Brown said in an interview with Sky News. "That base is still there -- they are able to recruit from abroad. The Pakistan authorities must convince us that they are taking all the action that is necessary to deal with that threat."

Expansion of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship will require overcoming significant public and political mistrust in both countries. Officials said that they recognize the difficulty in delivering on either U.S. promises or threats, and that "our leverage over Pakistan is very limited," the senior administration official said.

At the same time, although the administration's goal is to demonstrate a new level and steadfastness of support, short-term U.S. demands may threaten Pakistan's already fragile political stability.

"It's going to be a game of cat-and-mouse with them for a while," another official said, adding that "what we're trying to do is to force them to recalculate" where their advantage lies.

The Pakistan strategy is complicated by a number of factors, including the fact that any indication of increased U.S. involvement there generates broad mistrust. Zardari's political weakness is an additional hazard for a new bilateral relationship. He is disliked by the military and is challenged by the political opposition and his own prime minister; he also remains under a cloud of long-standing corruption charges. Less than a third of Pakistan's population voices approval for him in polls. Obama is even less popular there, with approval ratings in the low double digits.

Many of the broad powers that Zardari assumed from his predecessor, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, who seized power in a 1999 military coup and was forced to resign last year, are being whittled away. On Friday, Zardari turned over control of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal to Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani, who is held in much higher favor by the military.

Zardari's Musharraf-era powers to fire the elected government and appoint top military officials are also under challenge, and a law protecting government officials from corruption prosecution expired Saturday. On Sunday, the leading political opposition group called for him to give up the additional powers, and Zardari, who had pledged to do so, said he will act "soon." The administration expects Zardari's position to continue to weaken, leaving him as a largely ceremonial president even if he manages to survive in office.

Senior U.S. officers, including the Joint Chief of Staff chairman, Adm. Mike Mullen, have made repeated relationship-building trips to Pakistan, and training programs in this country for Pakistani officers are expanding after being moribund for years.

U.S. officials have long referred to Pakistani military and intelligence officers who are sympathetic to or actively support insurgent groups fighting in Afghanistan as "rogue elements." More recently, they have described those relationships as more direct and institutional within a divided military. "For the things that we care about," a U.S. official said, "the real decision-maker is the military." It has long been hedging its bets in Afghanistan; the military has positioned itself to prevent inroads by India in the event of a U.S. withdrawal, and against a 30-year history of being used and then rejected by shifting U.S. policy aims.

"Our game is to convince them that our commitment to Afghanistan and the region is long-term," the official said of the military. "We're not going to pack up our bags and leave them as soon as we're done. We have to create a situation in which they see a much more positive interest in closer relations with us than they do in trying to play us. But it requires time."

India is skeptical of any U.S. involvement in its relationship with Pakistan. Bilateral attempts to resolve the long-standing border dispute in Kashmir were put on hold after last year's terrorist attacks in Mumbai, which were blamed on Lashkar-e-Taiba.

The group has long been active in the Kashmir conflict and is said to have close ties to Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency.

Obama and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh treaded carefully on the issue in public during Singh's state visit to Washington last week. "It is not the place of the United States to try to, from the outside, resolve all those conflicts," Obama said during their news conference here. "On the other hand, we want to be encouraging of ways in which both India and Pakistan can feel secure."

*Correspondent Pamela Constable in Islamabad contributed to this report.*

*David S. Adams*

*Deputy Assistant Secretary for House Affairs*

*Department of State*

*202 647 2623*

*202 647 2762 fax*

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 1, 2009 7:02 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Supplemental QA final  
**Attach:** Supplemental QA final.docx

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Verma, Richard R; Beale, Courtney A Kramer  
**Sent:** Tue Dec 01 18:58:24 2009  
**Subject:** Supplemental QA final

Hi Huma,

Attached are the final supplemental QA for S. Any chance you can print for ride back? Courtney, FYI for book if Huma can't print.

Tx,  
Jake

HA 09/01/2015

**Supplemental Q&A**

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

**Below are several additional Q&A based on the prep session today.**



B5

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**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 2, 2009 8:36 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print Fw: email exchange with secretary  
**Attach:** 120209 HFAC Af-Pak Rollout Testimony 830 am doc, 120209 SASC Af-Pak Rollout Testimony - 830 am.doc

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B6

**From:** Beale, Courtney A Kramer  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Sent:** Wed Dec 02 08:35:34 2009  
**Subject:** FW: email exchange with secretary

These are the electronic versions.

**From:** Beale, Courtney A Kramer  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 02, 2009 8:29 AM  
**To:** Reines, Philippe I; Tillemann, Tomicah S; 'jake.sullivan' [REDACTED]; Verma, Richard R; Turk, David M; Rodriguez, Miguel E  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Subject:** RE: email exchange with secretary

Huma,

Attached are the 8:30 versions, which include Jake's revised language.

Good luck,  
Courtney

**From:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 02, 2009 8:25 AM  
**To:** Tillemann, Tomicah S; Beale, Courtney A Kramer; 'jake.sullivan' [REDACTED]; Verma, Richard R; Turk, David M; Rodriguez, Miguel E  
**Subject:** Re: email exchange with secretary

And Miguel CC'd who will print for HRC

Also, can you pls send it as txt in the body of a clean email

**From:** Tillemann, Tomicah S  
**To:** Beale, Courtney A Kramer; 'jake.sullivan' [REDACTED]; <jake.sullivan [REDACTED]>; Verma, Richard R; Turk, David M; Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Wed Dec 02 08:24:14 2009  
**Subject:** Re: email exchange with secretary

Courtney,

Pls send final to Philippe and Dave Turk (cc'd).

Tomicah

**From:** Beale, Courtney A Kramer

HA 09/01/2015

**To:** Tillemann, Tomicah S; 'jake.sullivan' [redacted] <jake.sullivan [redacted]>; Verma, Richard R  
**Sent:** Wed Dec 02 08:21:15 2009  
**Subject:** RE: email exchange with secretary

B6

Ok, doing it now.

**From:** Tillemann, Tomicah S  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 02, 2009 8:21 AM  
**To:** 'jake.sullivan' [redacted] Verma, Richard R; Beale, Courtney A Kramer  
**Subject:** Re: email exchange with secretary

B6

Courtney,

Please see and insert language below.

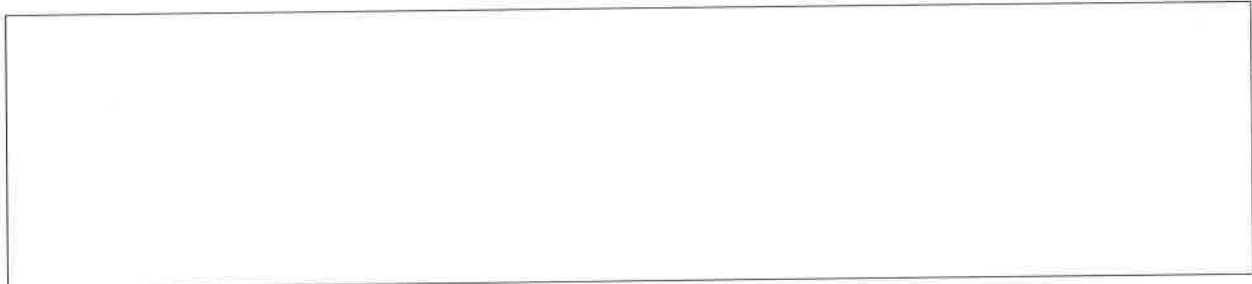
**From:** Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>  
**To:** Verma, Richard R; Tillemann, Tomicah S  
**Sent:** Wed Dec 02 08:19:28 2009  
**Subject:** email exchange with secretary

B6

After an email exchange with S while she talked to Madeleine, here is the proposed language -- Rich, the bracketed sentence comes directly from POTUS speech.

I know you are speaking with her now.

B5



HA 09/01/2015

## **SPEECH COVER PAGE**

### **HFAC Testimony on Af-Pak Strategy**

Lead Writer: Tomicah Tillemann .

Phone: 7-9842 / BB:

Email: tillemanns@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

**VETTERS: PLEASE INITIAL HERE** \_\_\_\_\_

**HA 09/01/2015**

HFAC Af-Pak Testimony

DRAFT TT2

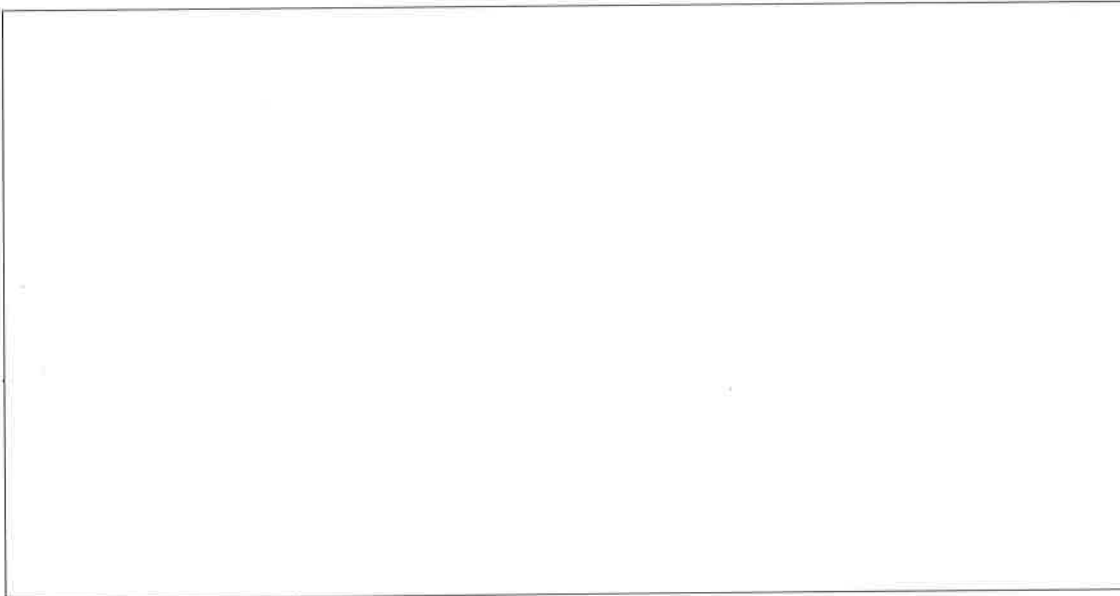
12.02.09 8:30 AM

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
COMMITTEE**

**WASHINGTON, DC**

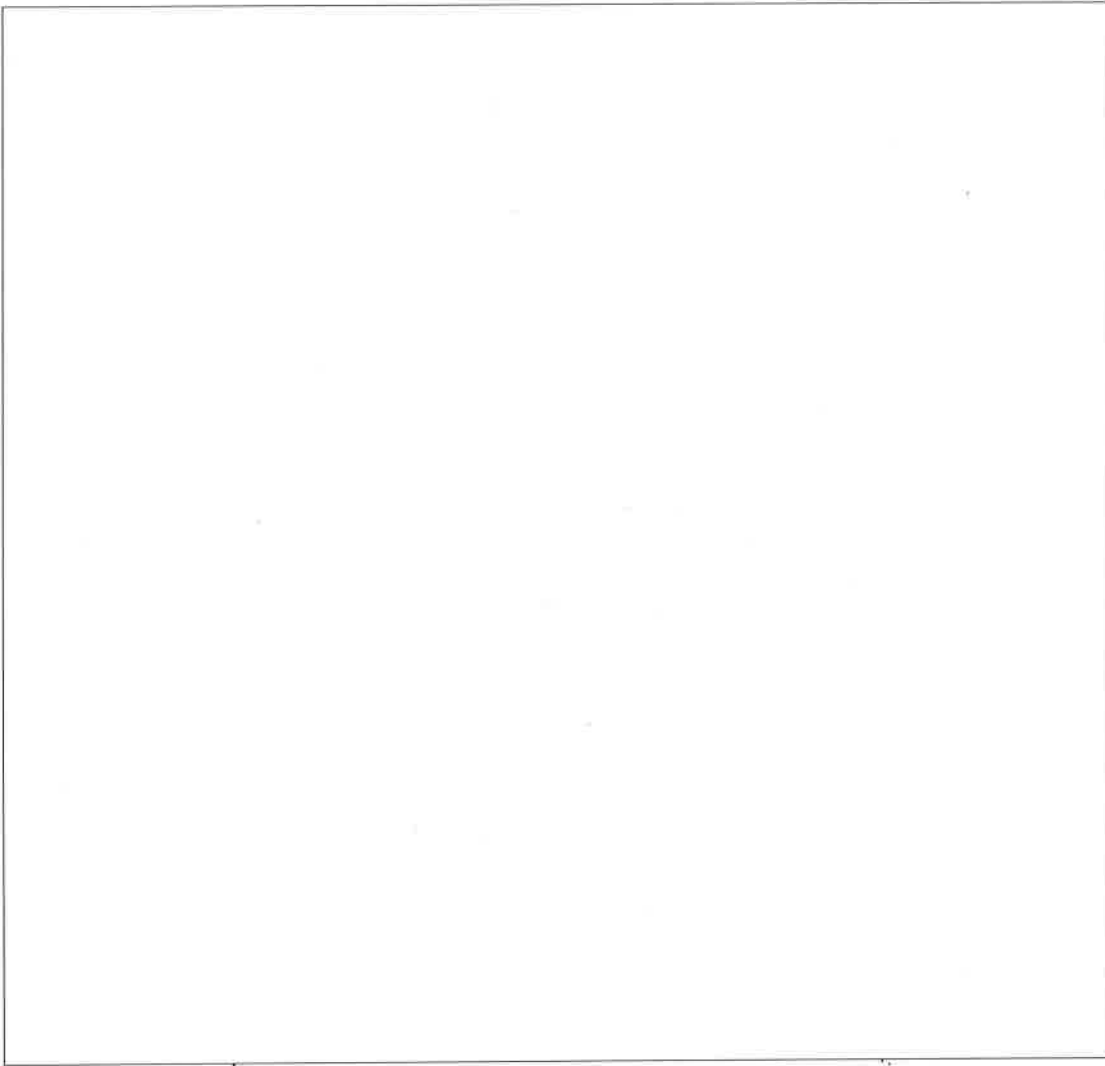
**DECEMBER 2, 2009**



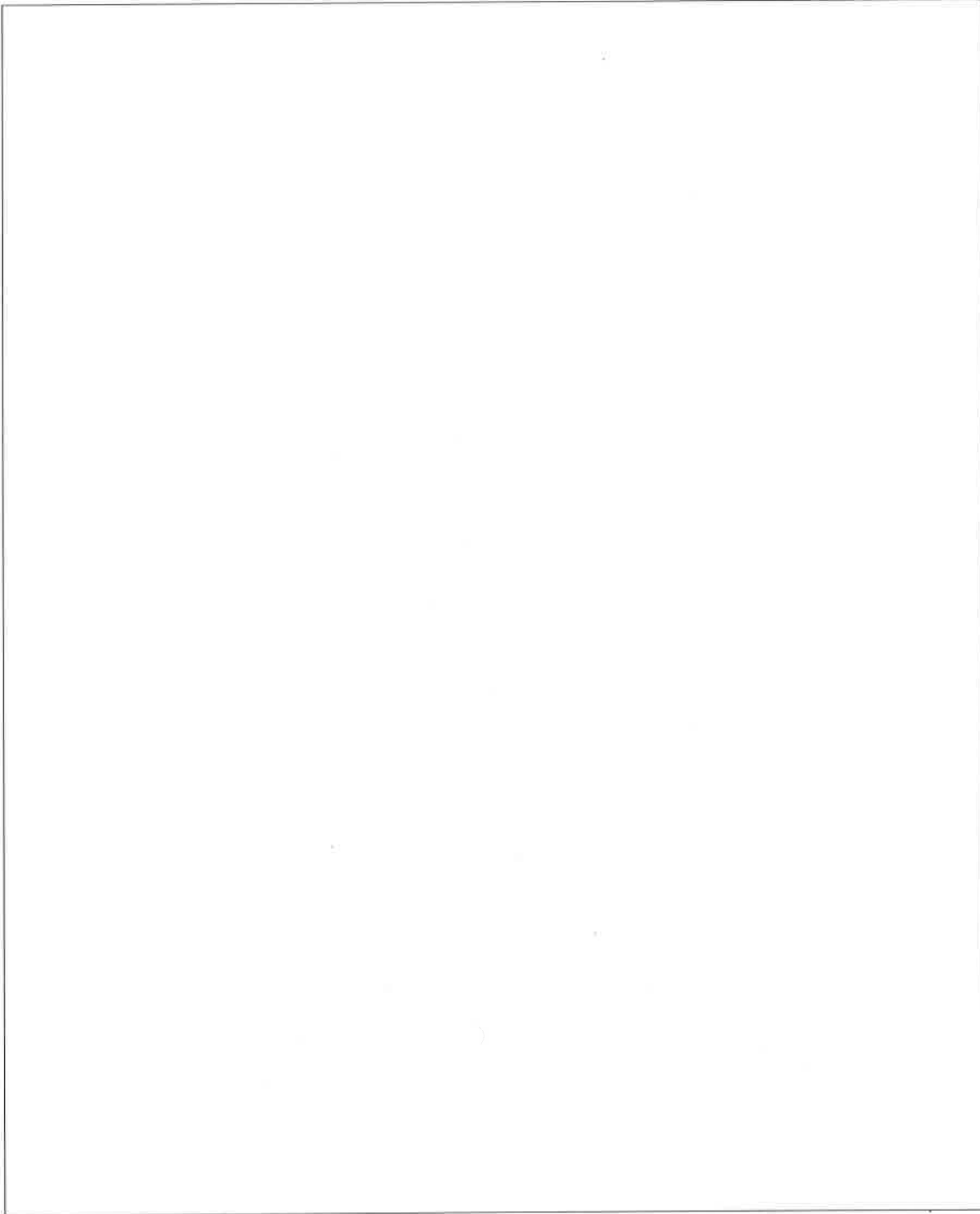
B5



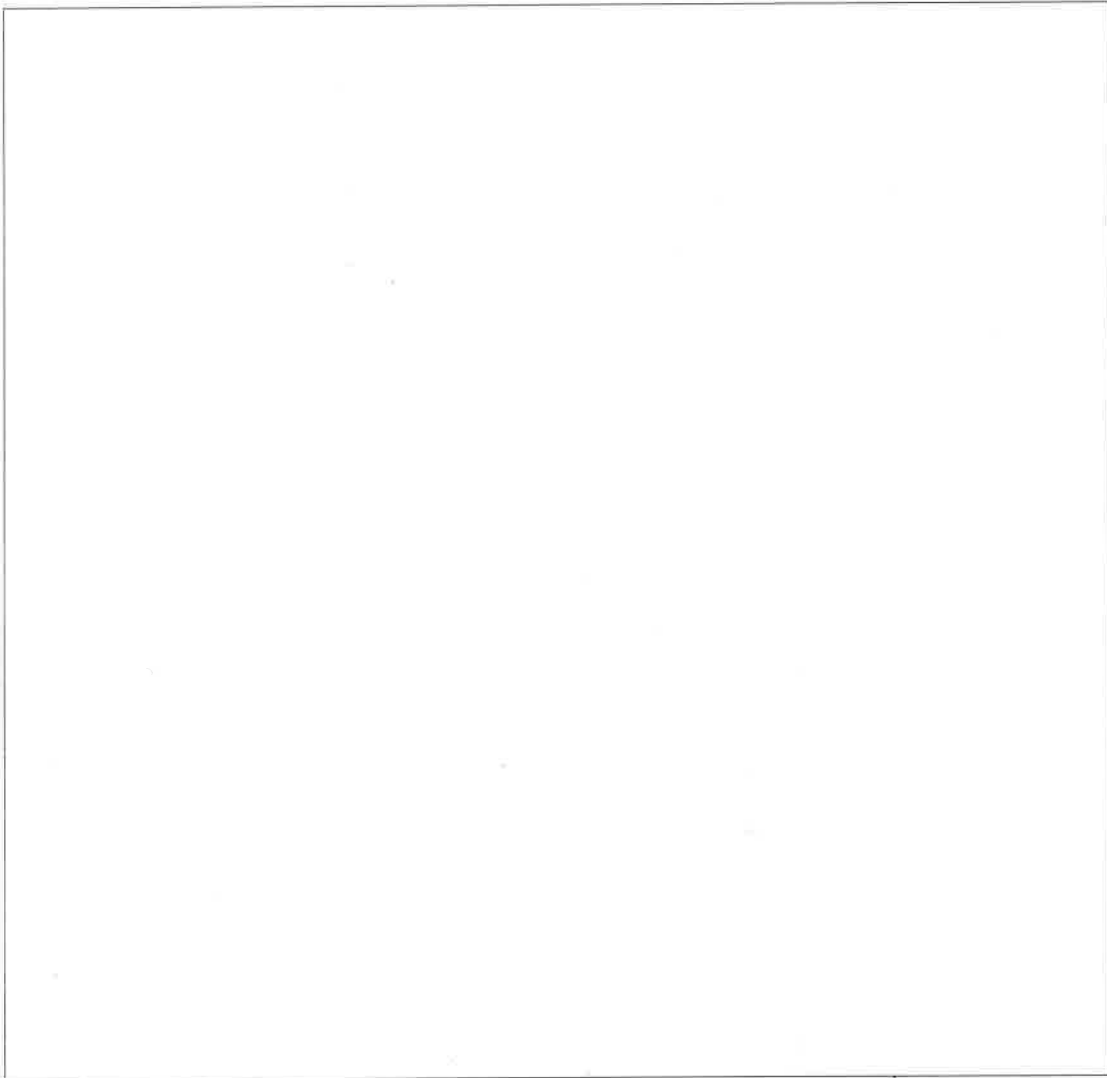
B5

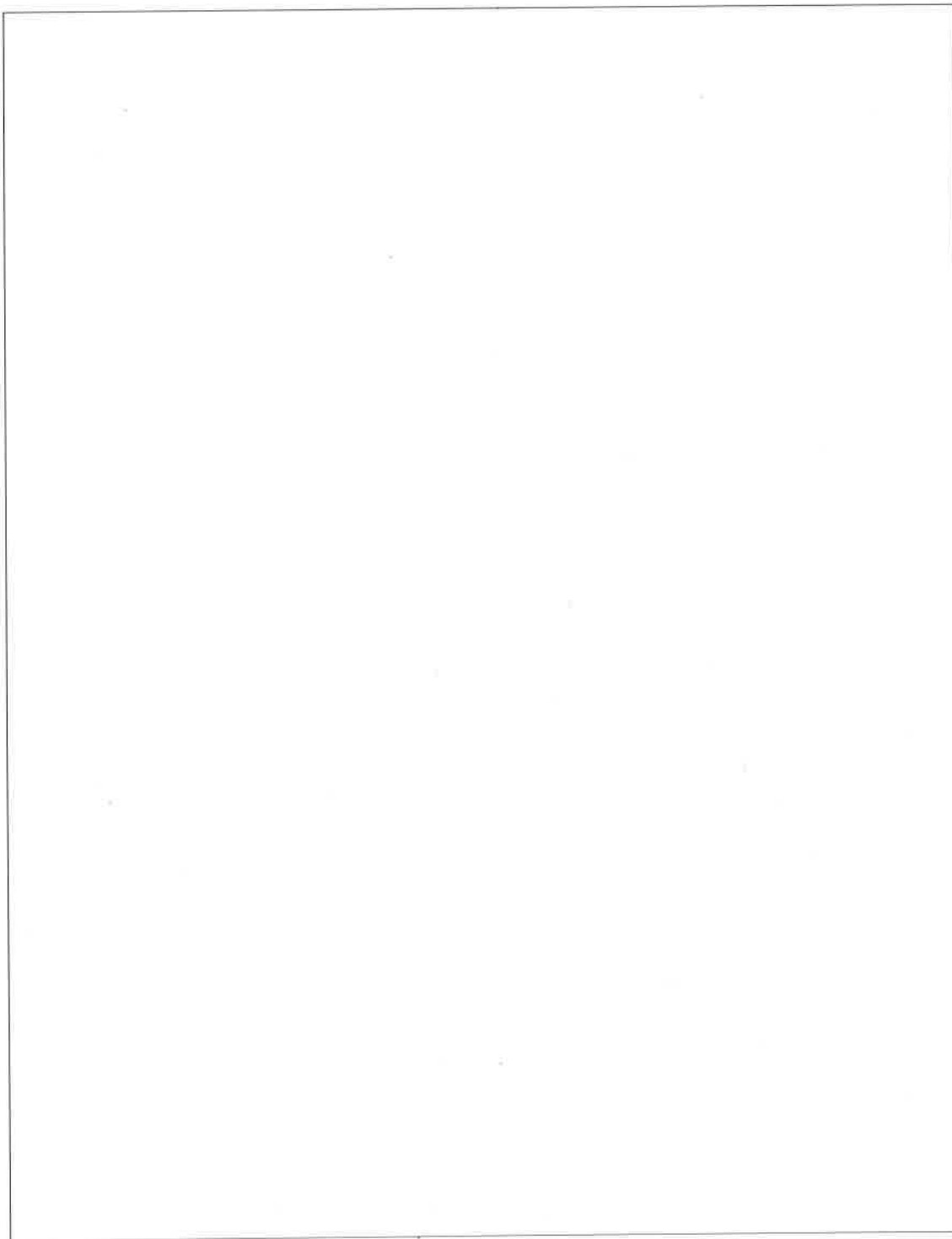


B5

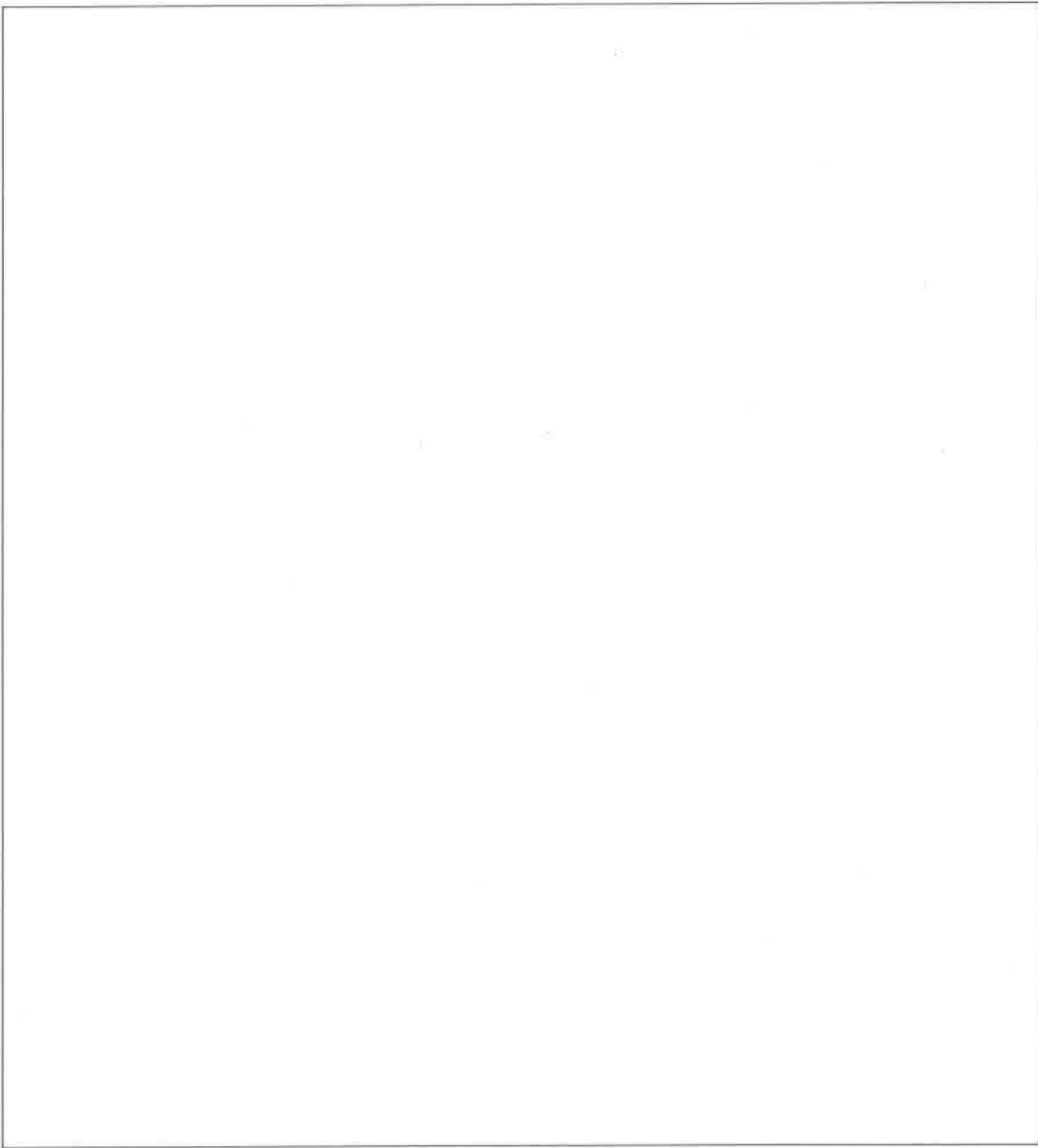


B5





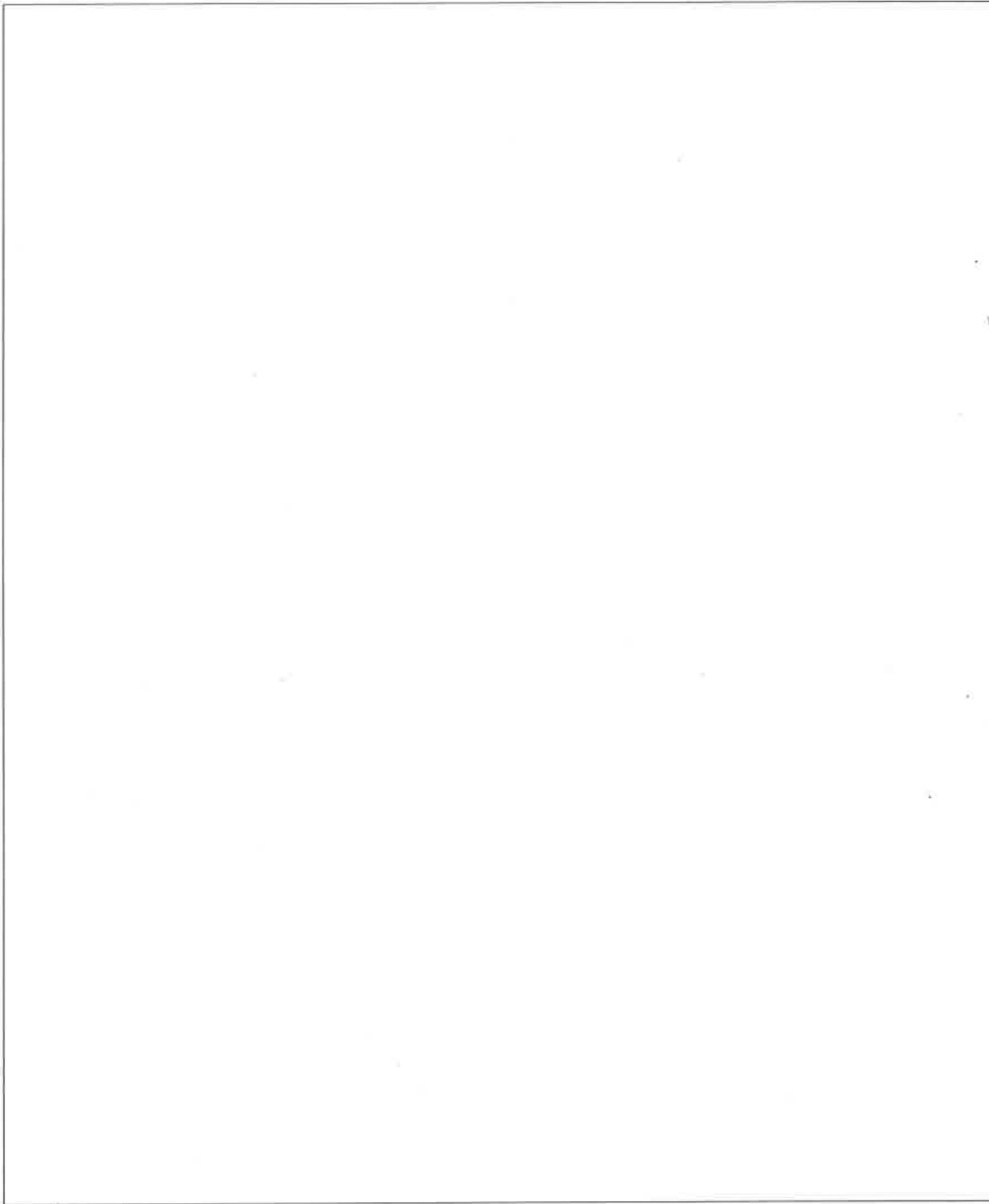
B5



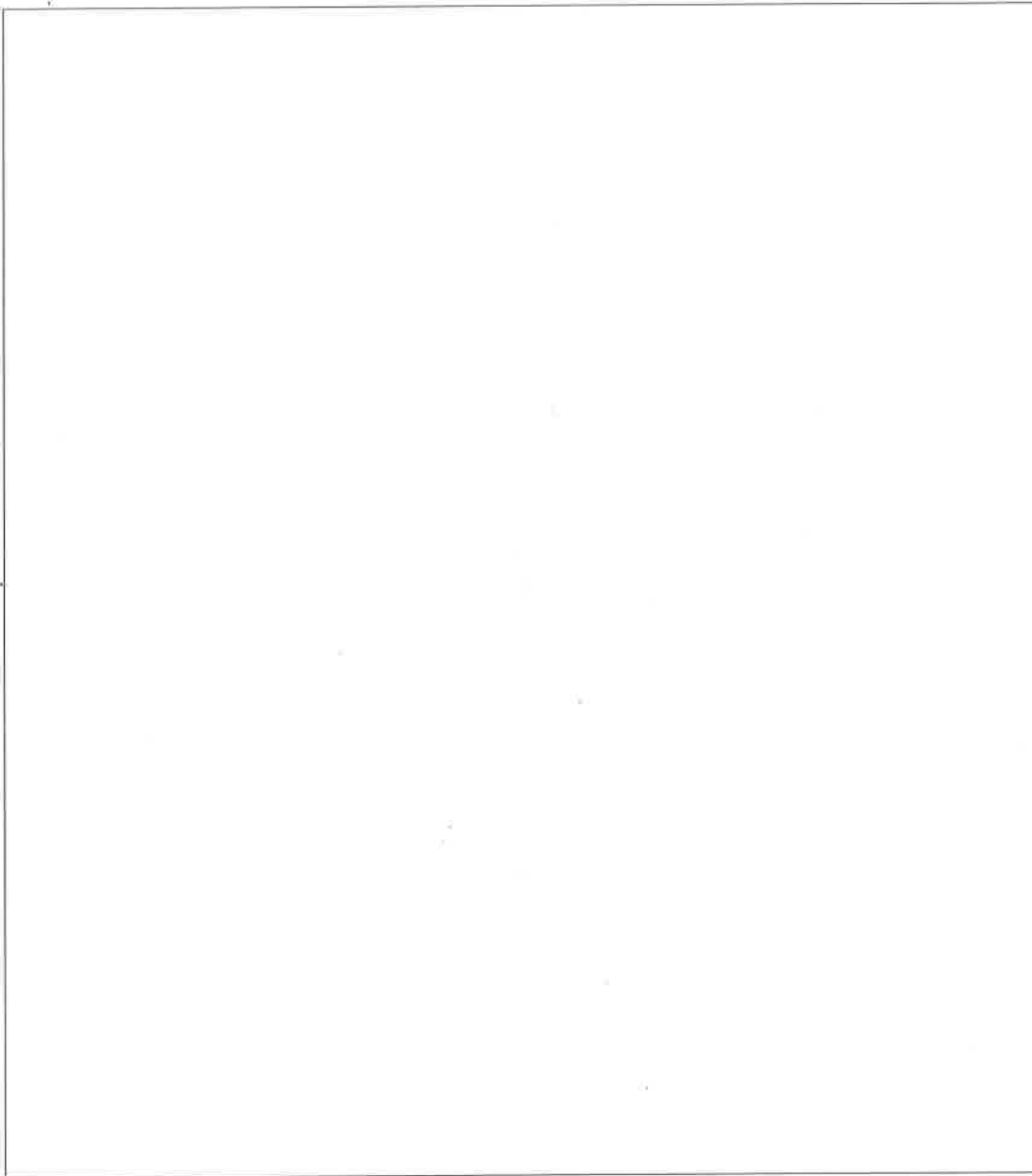
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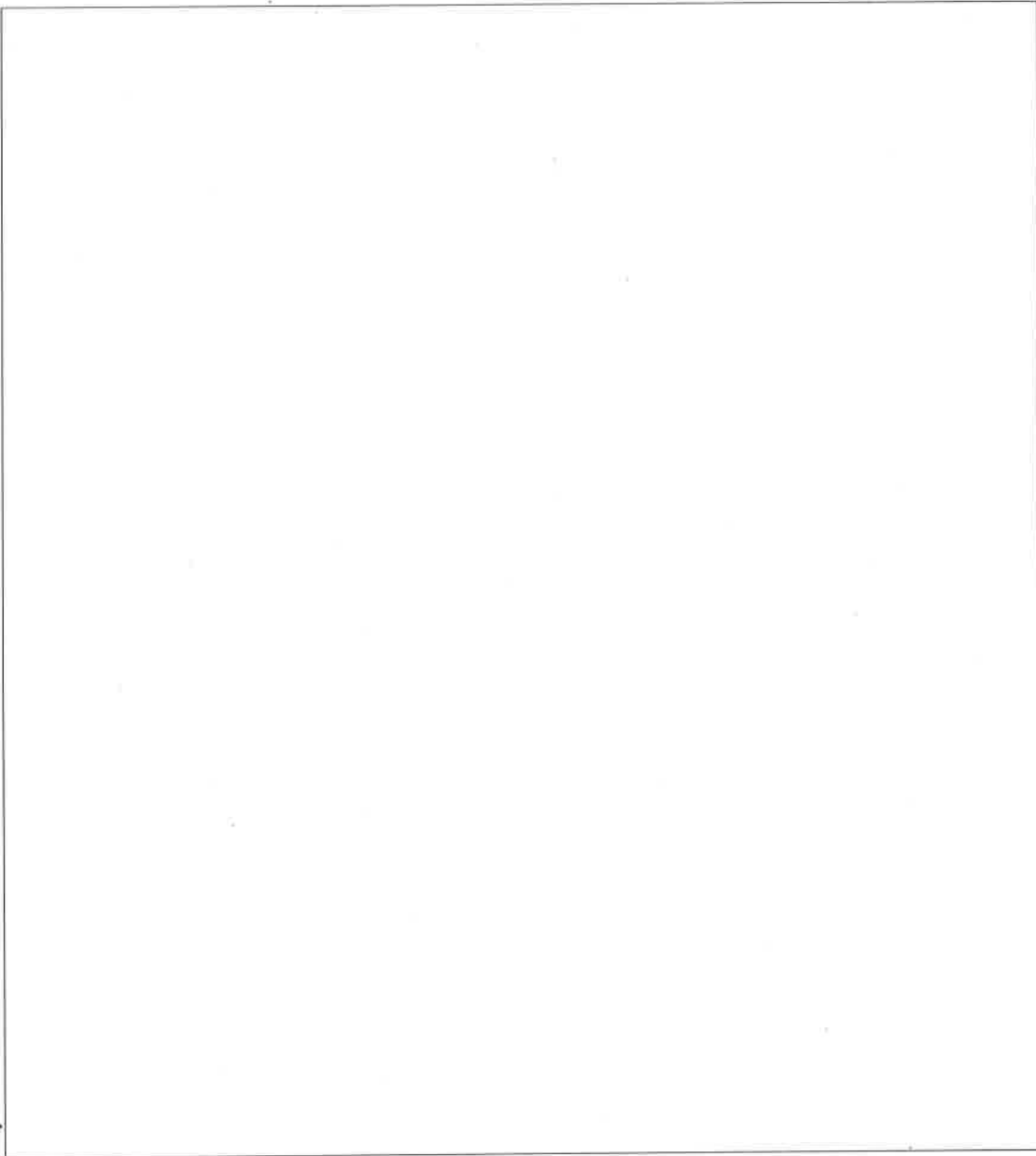


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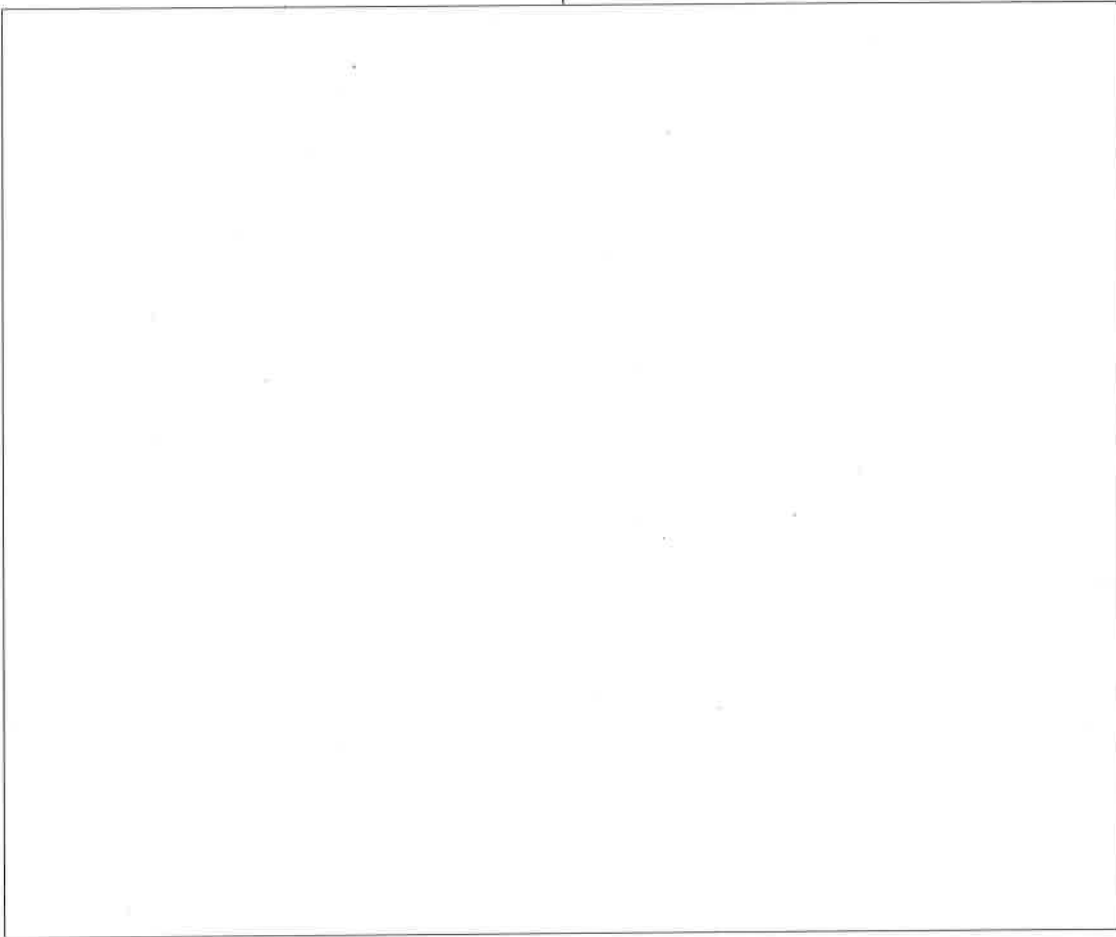




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## **SPEECH COVER PAGE**

### **SASC Testimony on Af-Pak Strategy**

Lead Writer: Tomicah Tillemann

Phone: 7-9842 / BB:

Email: tillemanns@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

**VETTERS: PLEASE INITIAL HERE** \_\_\_\_\_

**HA 09/01/2015**

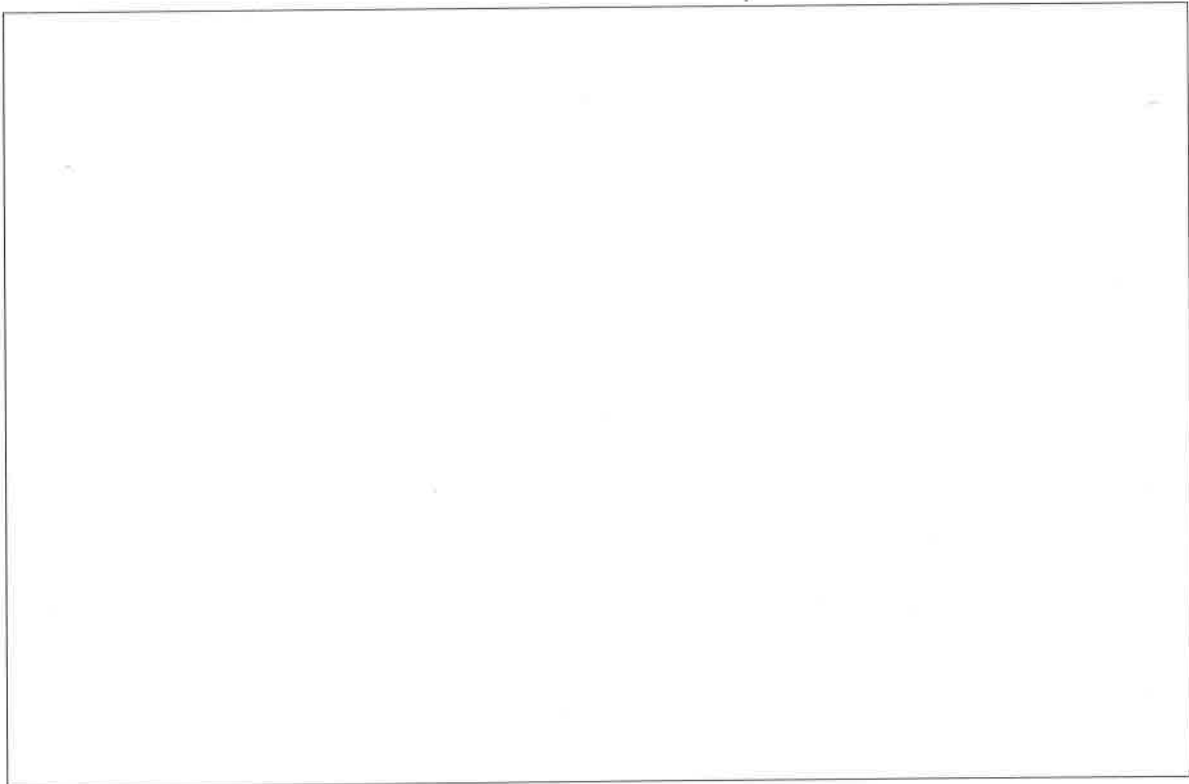
SASC Af-Pak Testimony

DRAFT TT11

12.02.09 8:30 AM

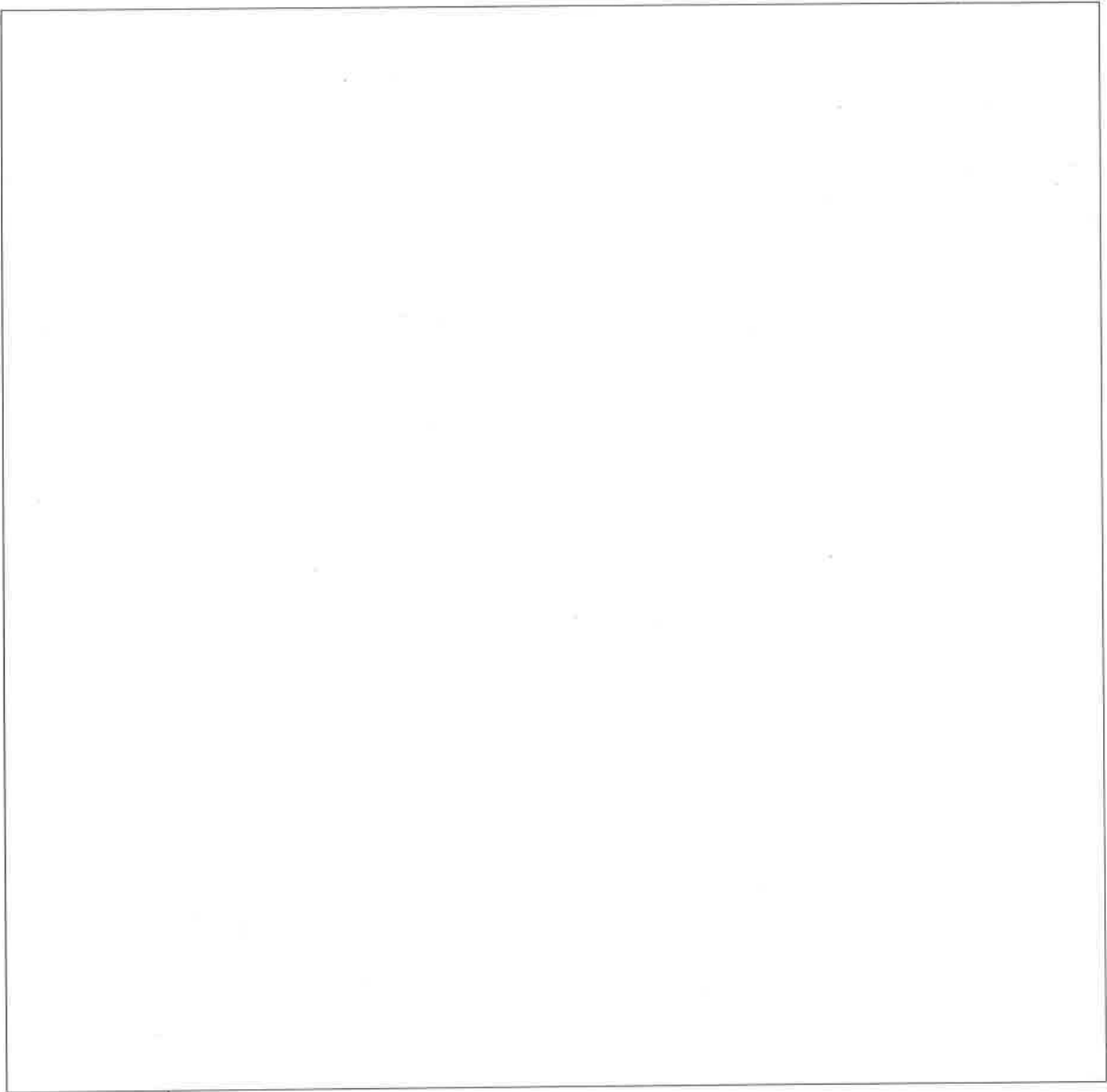
RELEASE IN PART  
B5

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES  
COMMITTEE  
WASHINGTON, DC  
DECEMBER 2, 2009**

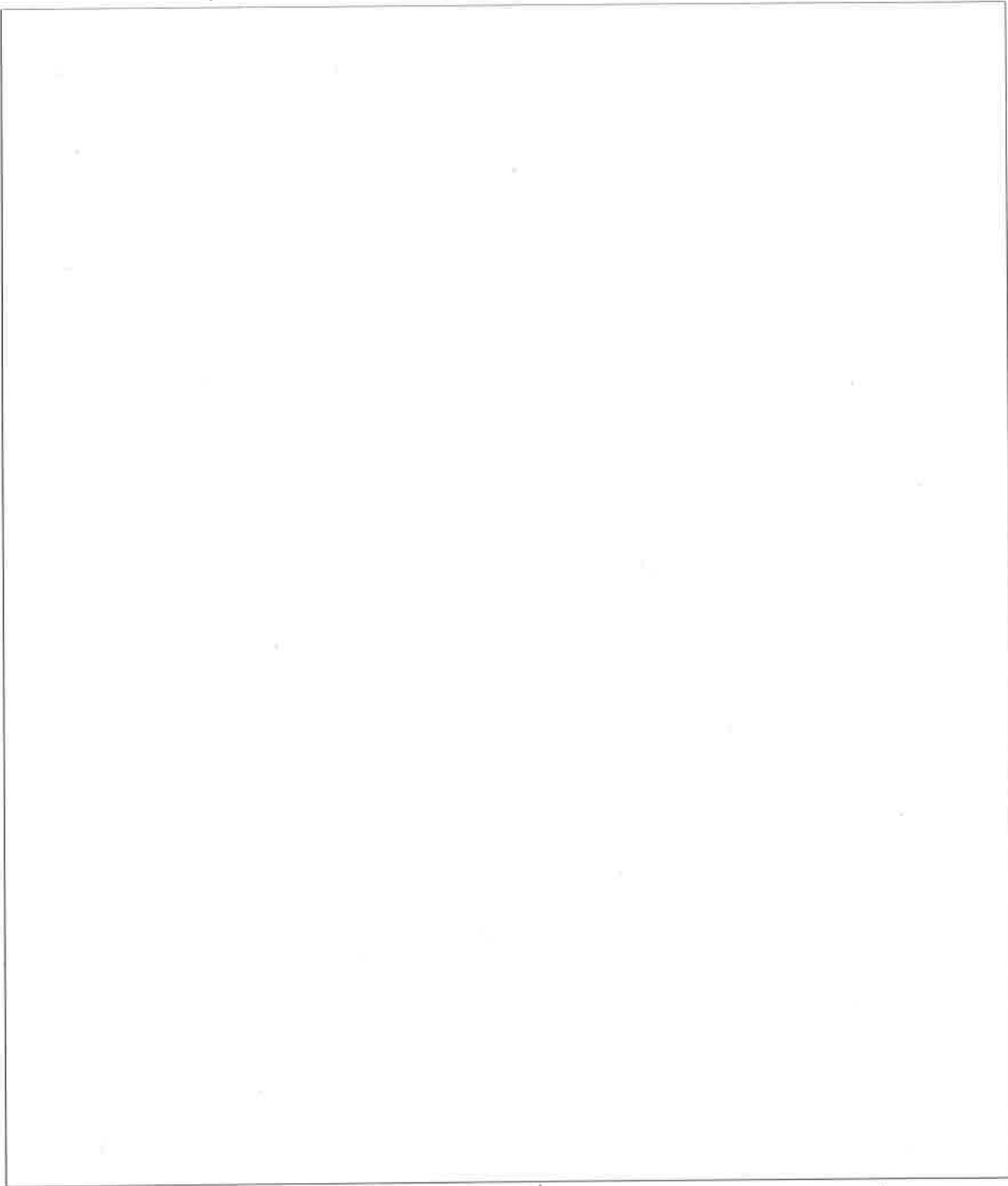


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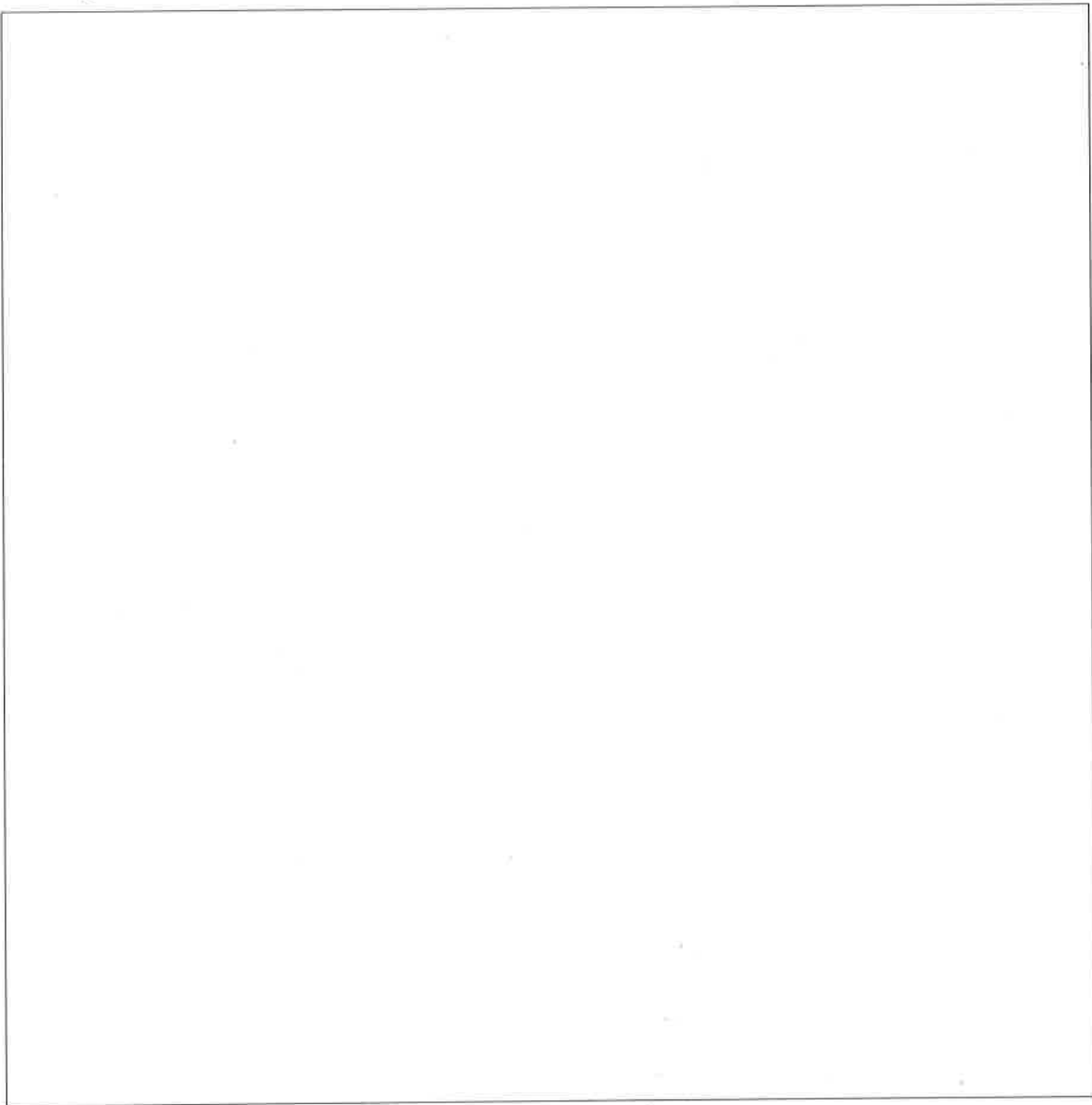
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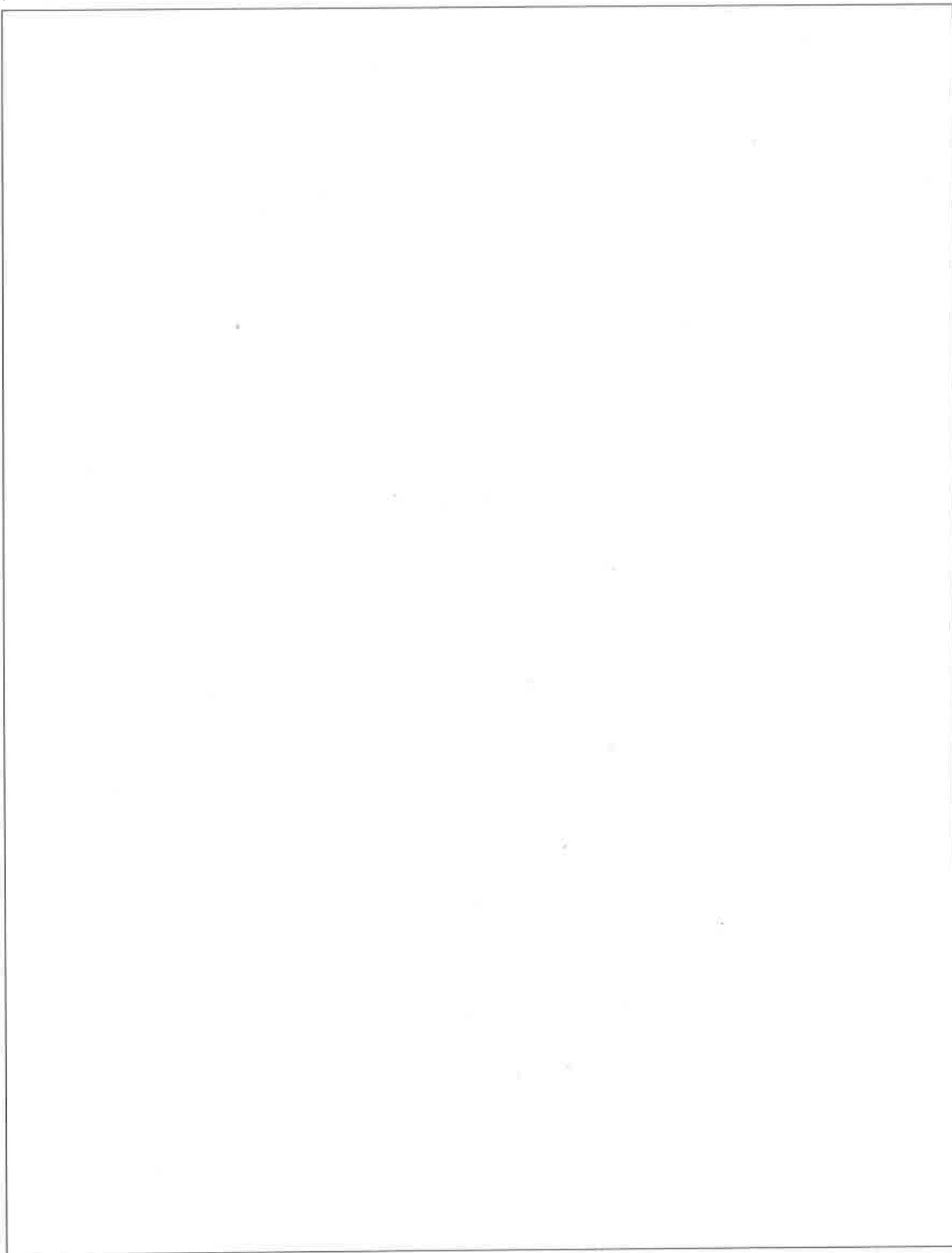
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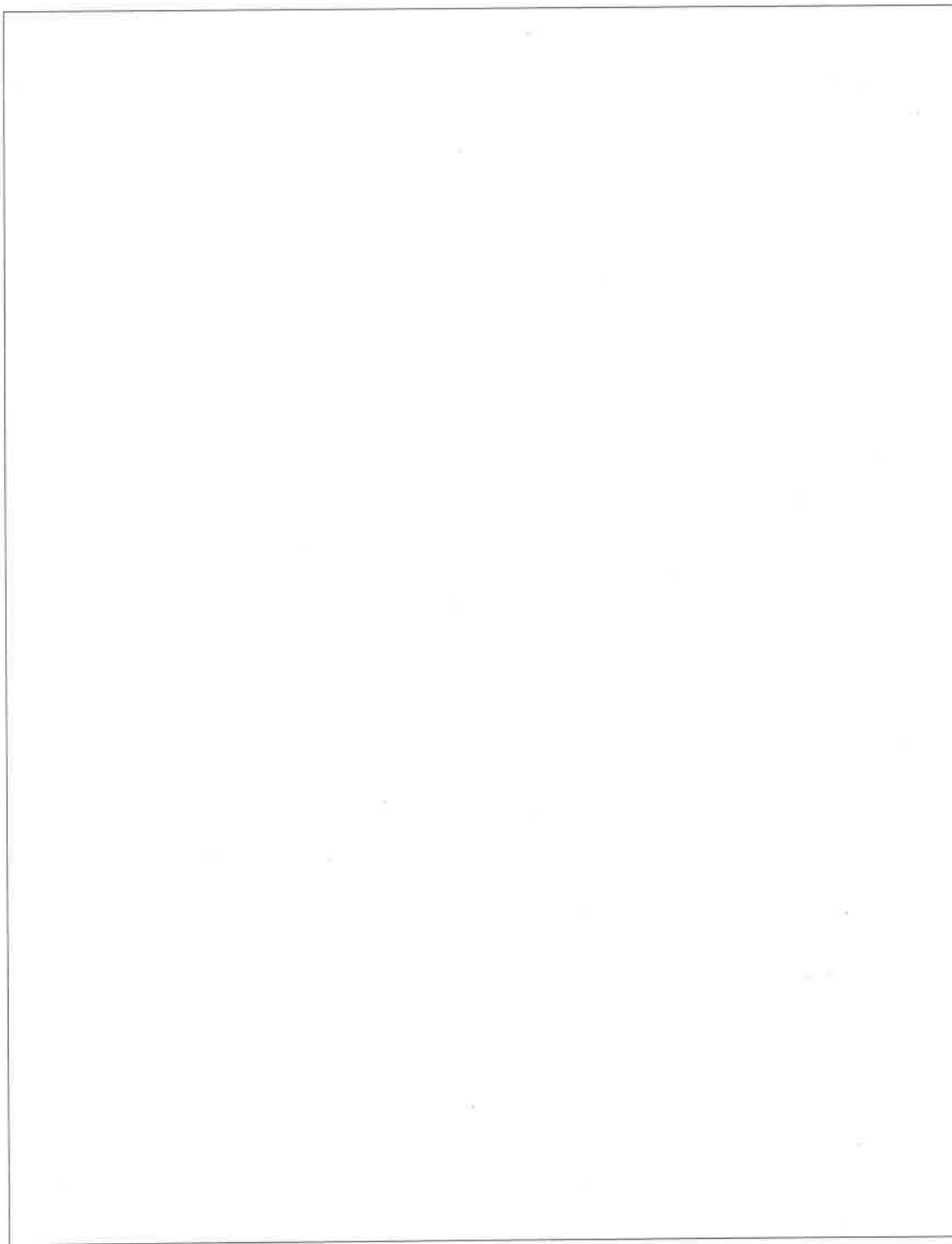




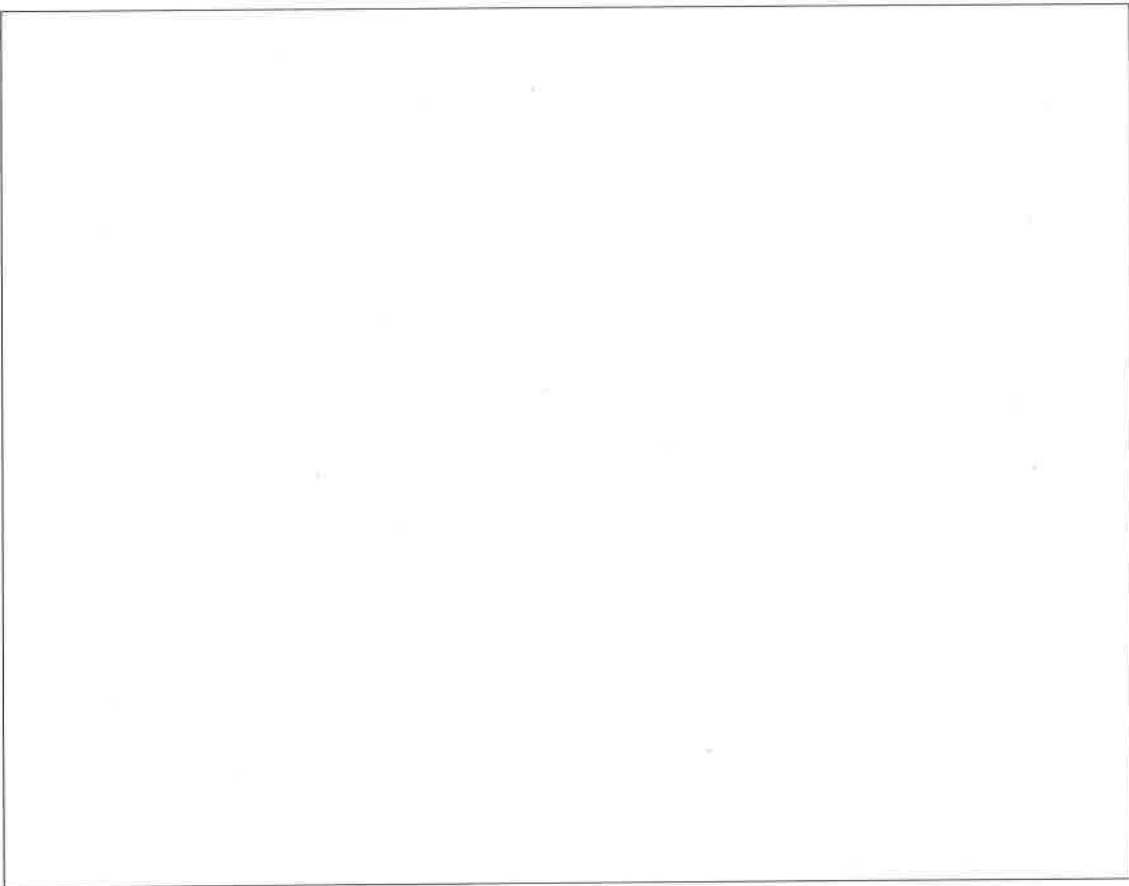


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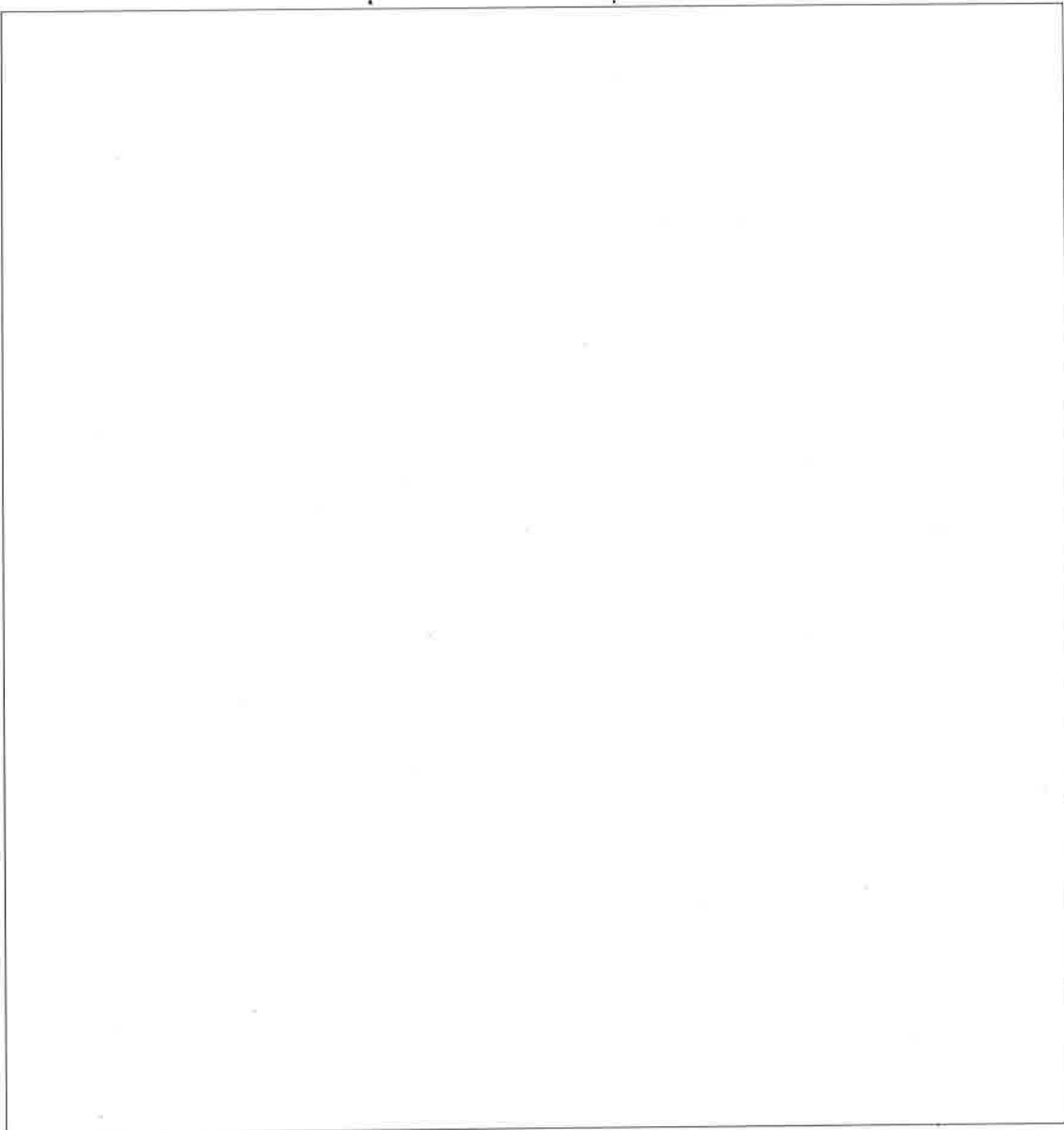
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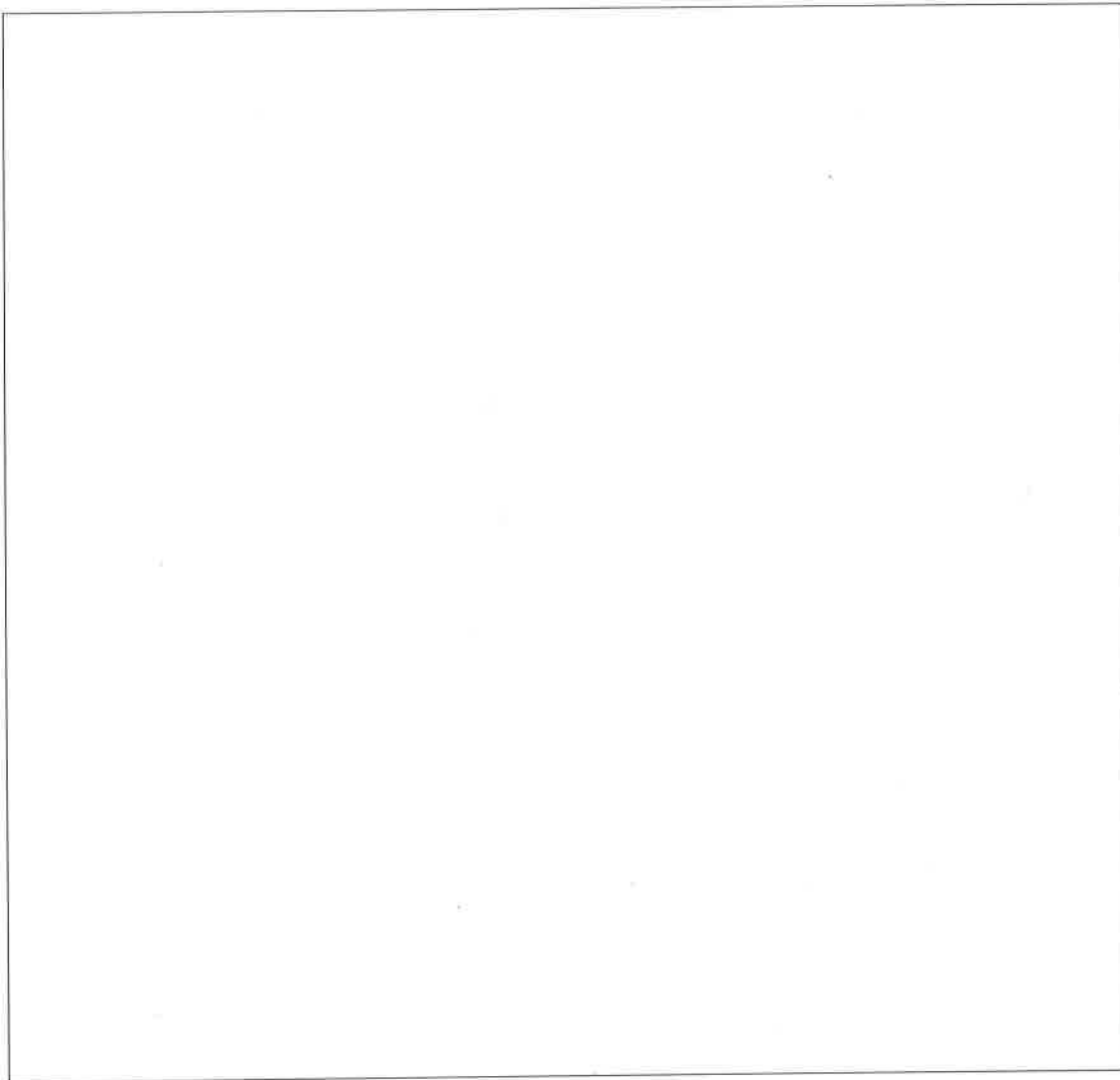


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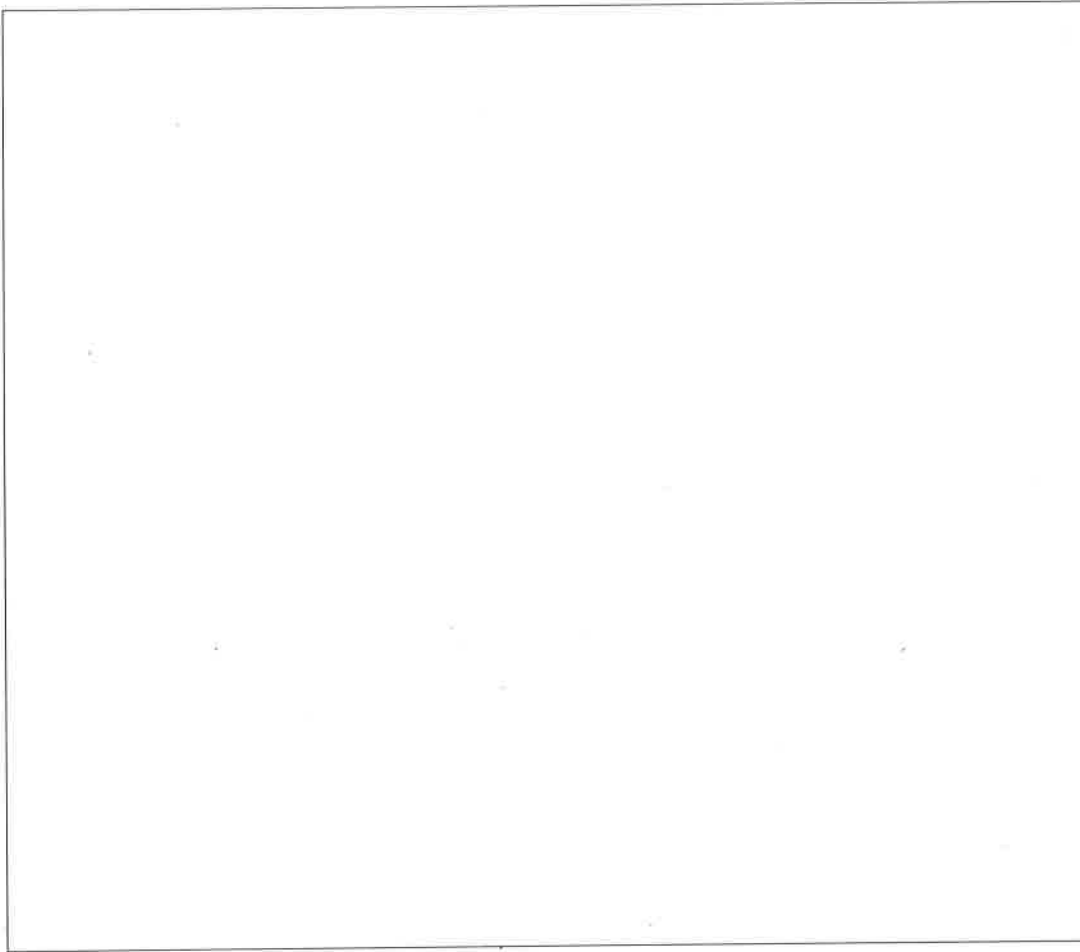


B5





B5



B5

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 02, 2009 8:21:40 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Notes

RELEASE IN PART B6

[redacted] at 7:30

-Malaysian fm not confirmed yet for 7:30.

-The briefing book is waiting for you at house. The Libyan foreign minister kusa is a new call.

-told Kennedy center you will skip Sunday and they are totally fine

B6

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 02, 2009 8:50:08 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Jack lew just faxed the document to the house. Says he doesn't need to talk but would like to know if you sign off on it.

RELEASE IN FULL

HA 09/01/2015



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 3, 2009 7:33 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Latest Testimony Draft  
**Attach:** 120309 SecState SFRC Testimony 0715 doc

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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**From:** Syed, Zia S  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Sent:** Thu Dec 03 07:15:07 2009  
**Subject:** Latest Testimony Draft

Huma, Attached is latest (07:15) draft of the testimony. Hopefully there won't be too many more revisions.

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 3, 2009 8:11 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: For HRC review: AfPak op-ed

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RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B6

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

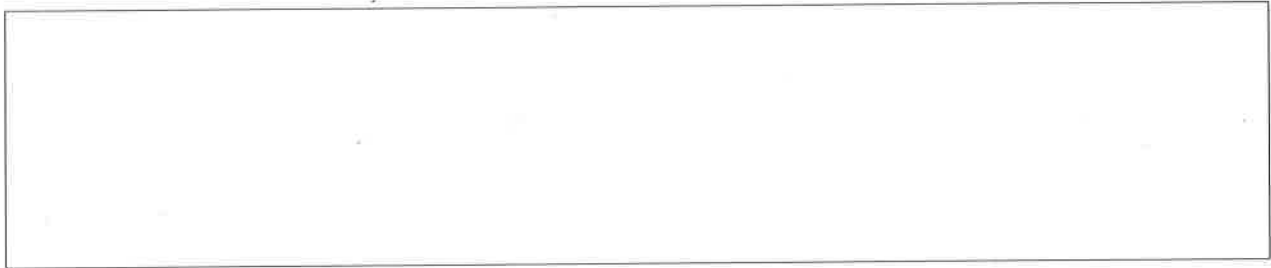
**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Hanley, Monica R; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Fuchs, Michael H  
**Sent:** Thu Dec 03 08:09:57 2009  
**Subject:** For HRC review: AfPak op-ed

Huma, can you show this op-ed to HRC this morning? Its been cleared by Jake and Holbrooke and we're trying to get to the FT asap.  
Thanks much.  
Dan

B5



HA 09/01/2015



B5

###

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 3, 2009 9:03 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: trip call?  
**Attach:** OSCE-NATO trip sched 12-09 with press.docx

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

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**From:** Wohlers, Paul  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Wed Dec 02 18:17:48 2009  
**Subject:** trip call?

It's getting late in Brussels now – after midnight. If we're going to do a call, would be better sooner rather than later. Any idea of when you'd be available?

I've attached the new draft schedule with participation, based on keeping the press conf at 4:30 as PJ and Philippe voted. I flipped the informal ISAF meeting and the Belgian bilat in order to do the ISAF mtg as early as possible (5:15pm). It does make the bilat a little late (7:15pm).  
pw

Paul D. Wohlers  
Deputy Executive Secretary  
S/ES-S, Rm. 7224  
202-647-5302

*Current as of: 12/02/2009 6:00 PM*

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

**The Secretary's Trip to Brussels, Belgium,**  
**December 3-4, 2009**



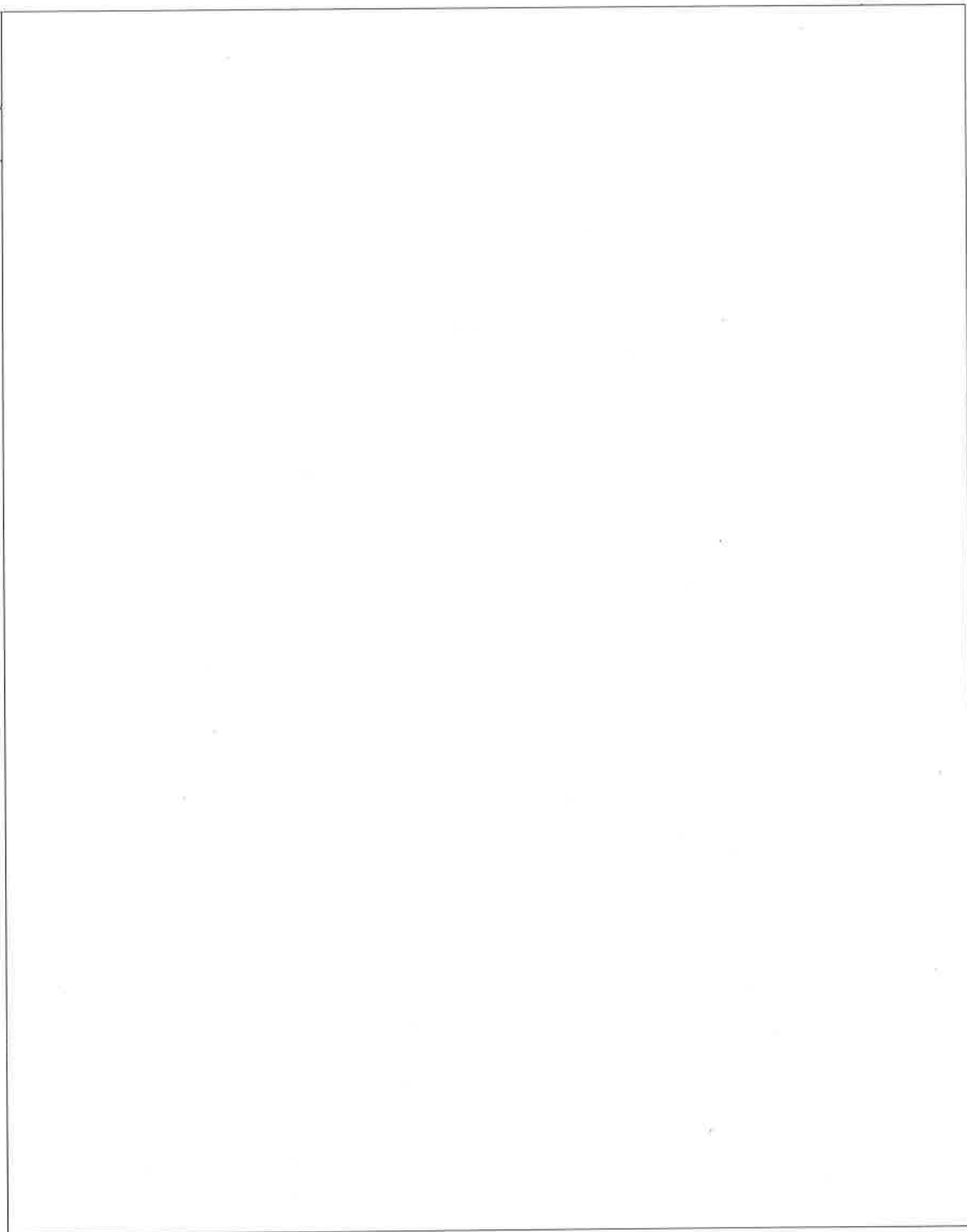
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11/13/2009 4:33 PM

HA 09/01/2015

*Current as of: 12/02/2009 6:00 PM*



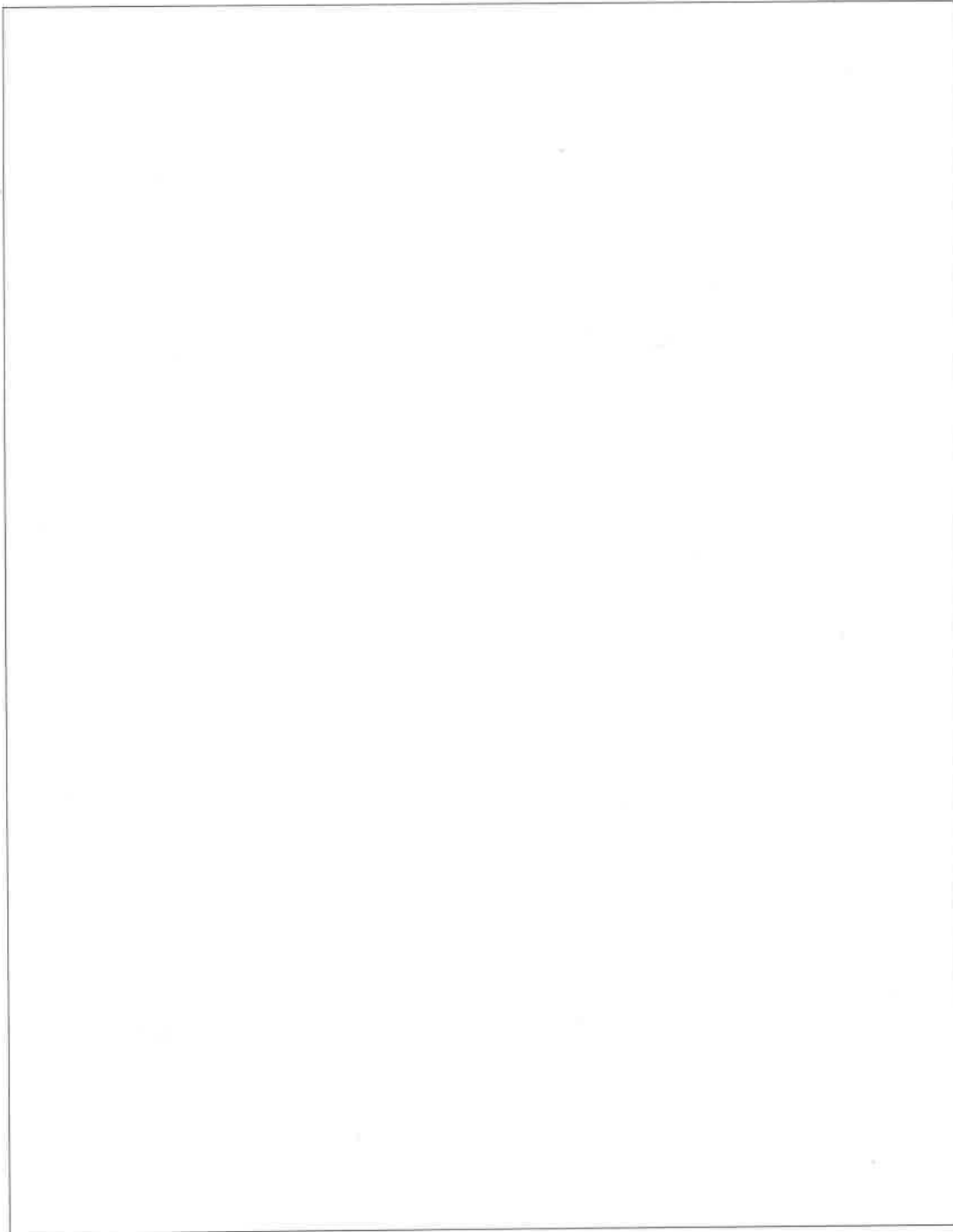
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11/13/2009 4:33 PM

**HA 09/01/2015**

*Current as of: 12/02/2009 6:00 PM*



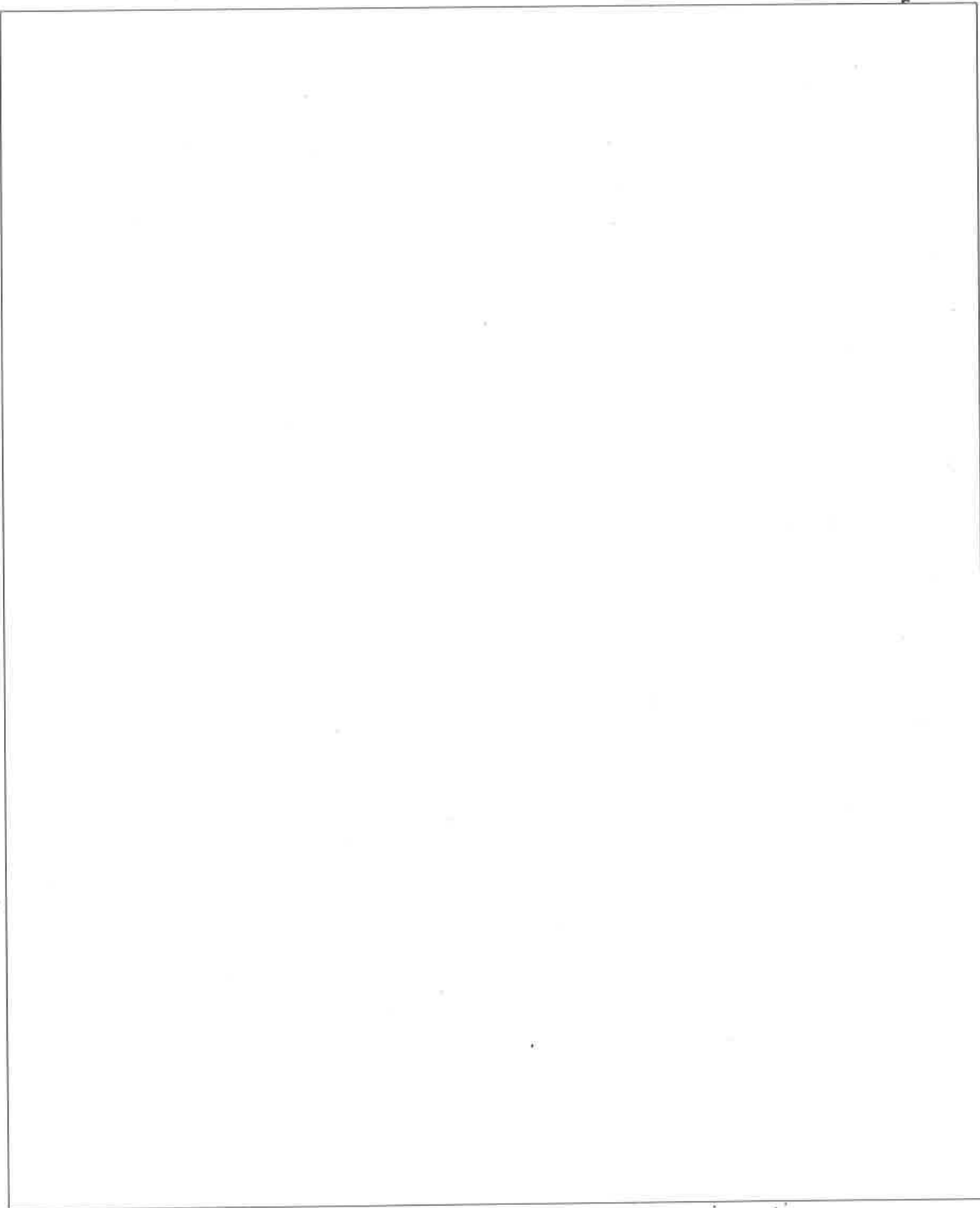
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11/13/2009 4:33 PM

**HA 09/01/2015**

*Current as of: 12/02/2009 6:00 PM*



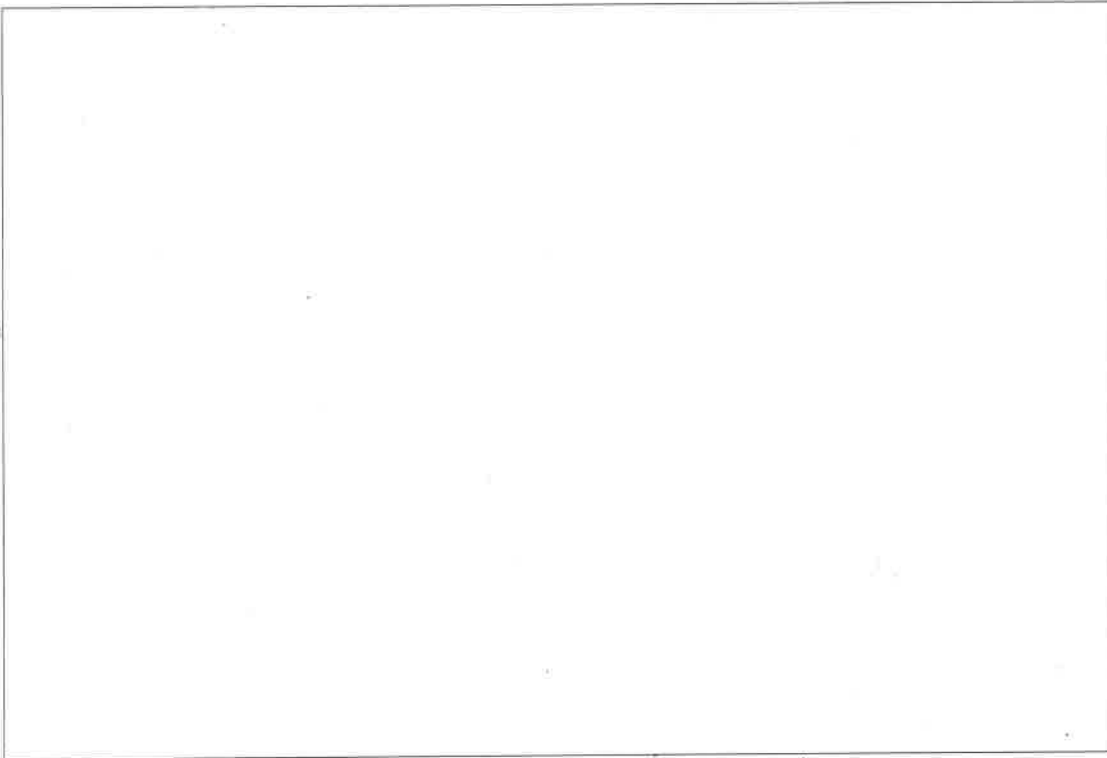
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SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

11/13/2009 4:33 PM



*Current as of: 12/02/2009 6:00 PM*



B5

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

11/13/2009 4:33 PM

**HA 09/01/2015**

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 3, 2009 9:32 PM  
**To:** humamabedin  
**Subject:** Print Fw: Approved holiday card lists from NSS  
**Attach:** AF FINALS 112709.docx; EAP FINALS 112709.docx; EUR FINAL 112709.docx; IO FINALS 112709.doc; NEA FINALS 112709.docx; SCA FINALS 112709.docx; WHA FINAL MASTER 112709.doc

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

**From:** Zielke, Jessica D  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Jones, Natalie R; Jiloty, Lauren C; Hanley, Monica R  
**Sent:** Thu Dec 03 16:19:31 2009  
**Subject:** Approved holiday card lists from NSS

Huma, attached are all of the NSC approved bureau lists for the holiday cards. Heads of State and International Organizations included.

Again, please keep in mind that all of the FM's will be automatically included and sent. We need your office to review and notify us of any additions, and for that matter any subtractions to the list.

Let me know if you have any questions

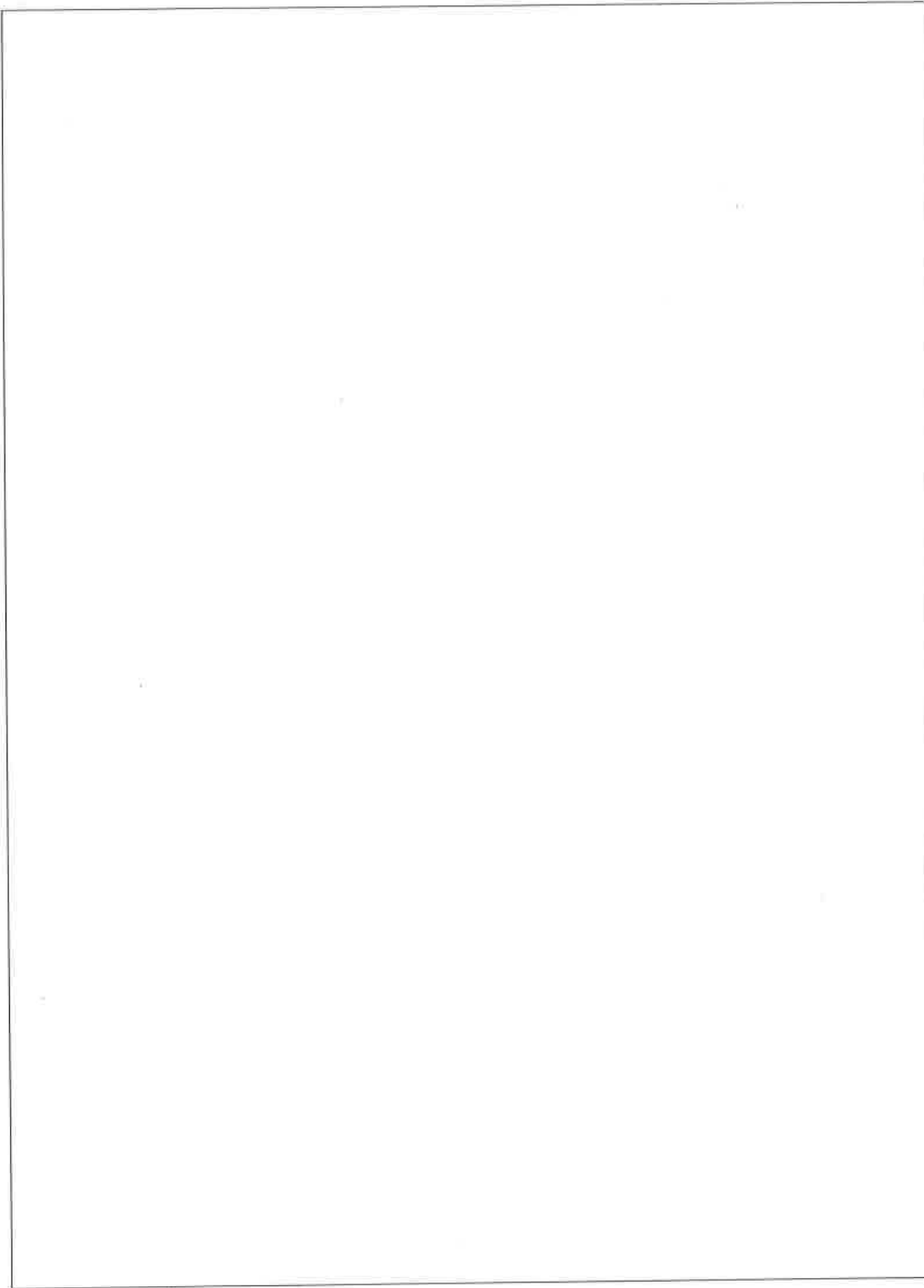
Thanks and safe travels!

HA 09/01/2015

**AF HOLIDAY GREETING CARD LIST**  
**2009 Africa**

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**HA 09/01/2015**

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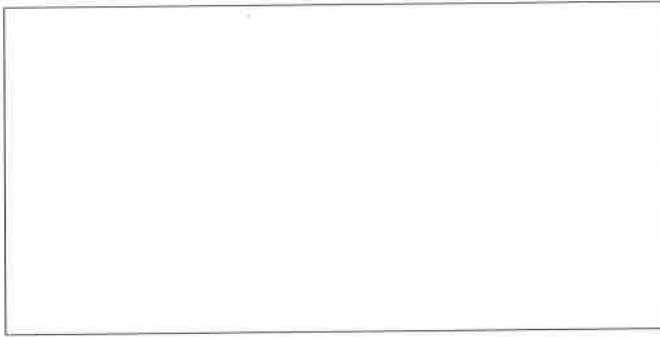
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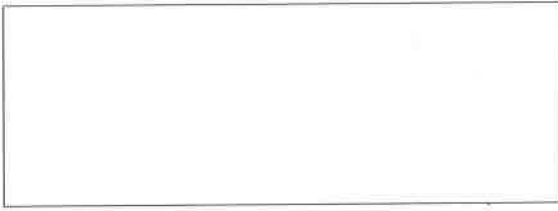
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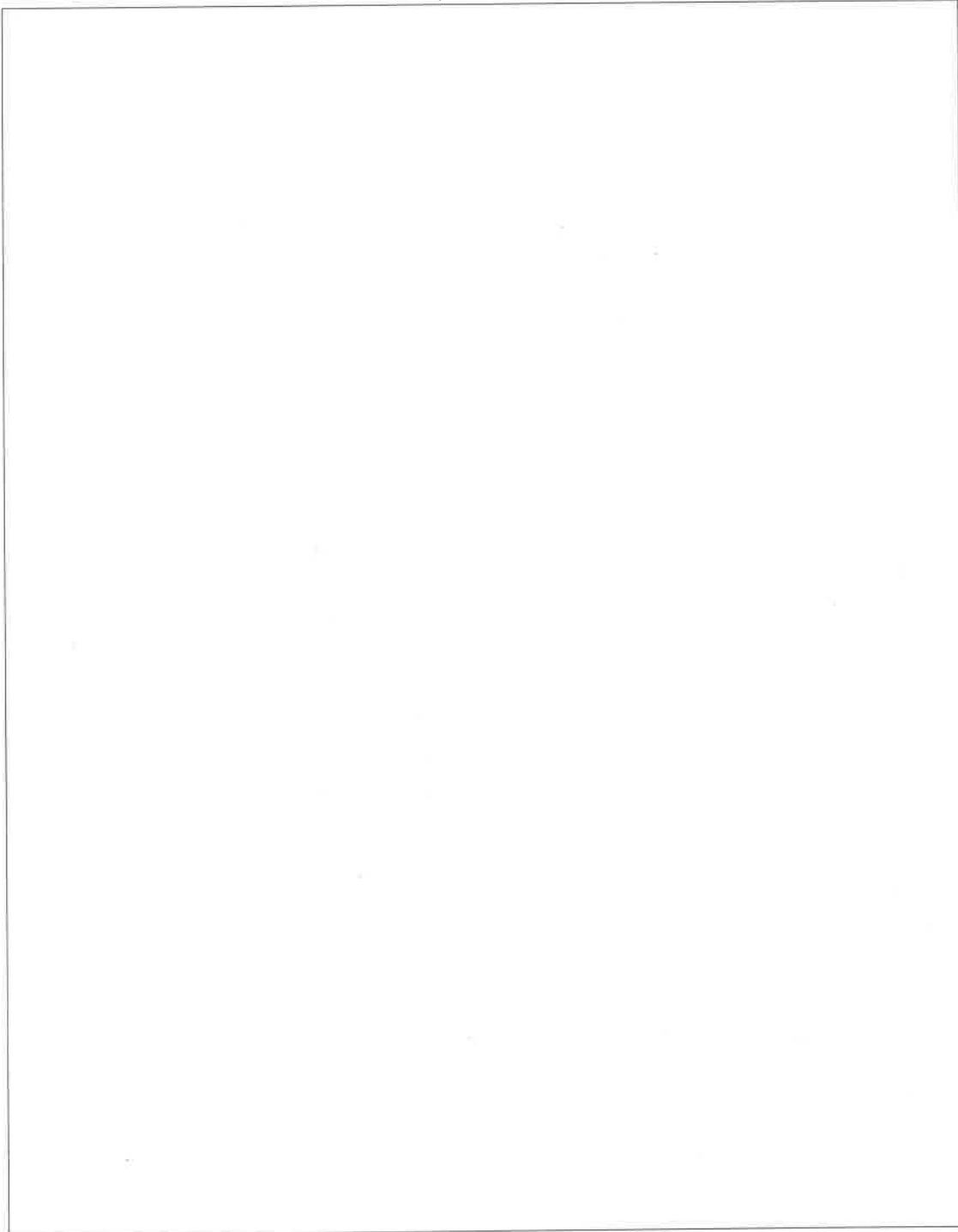
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**HOLIDAY GREETING CARD LIST**  
**2009 East Asia / Pacific**

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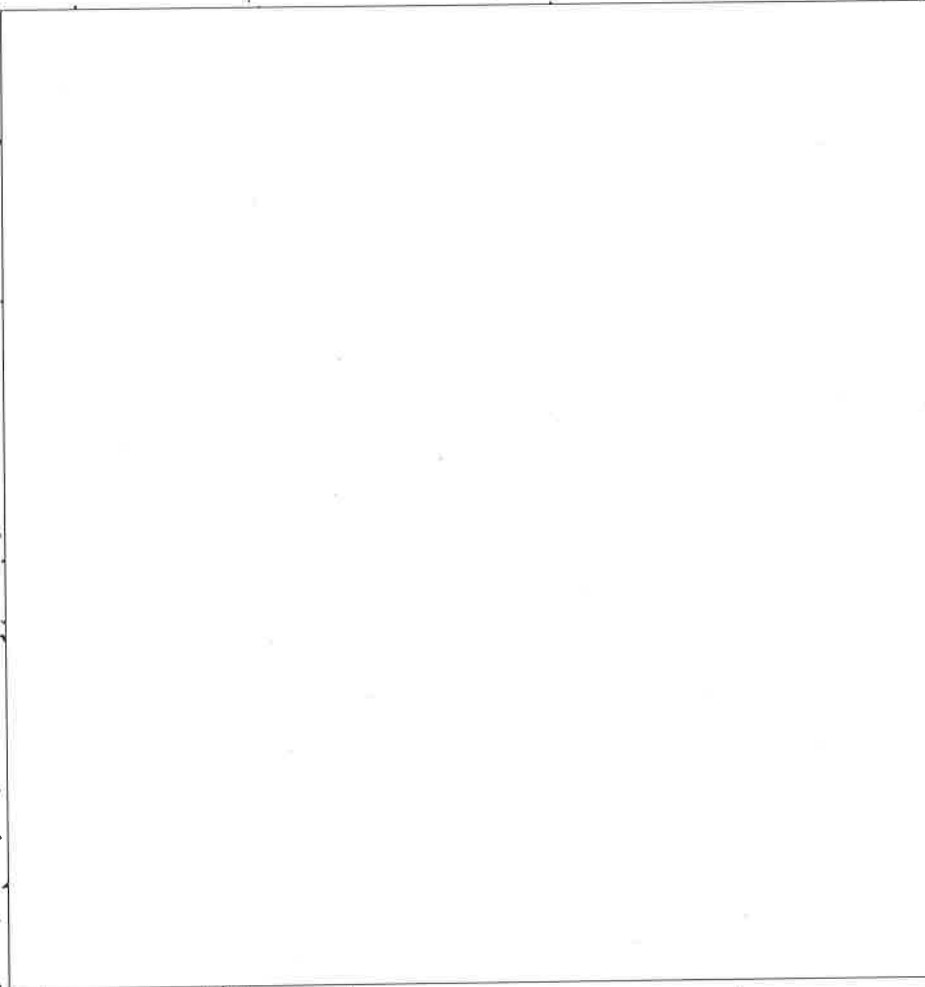
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HOLIDAY GREETING CARD LIST  
2009 EUROPE AND EURASIA



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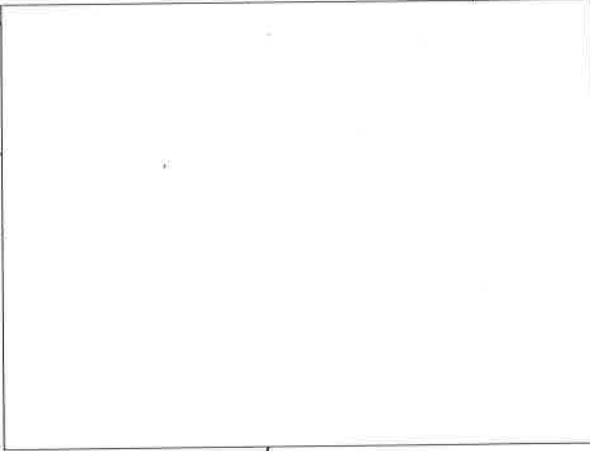
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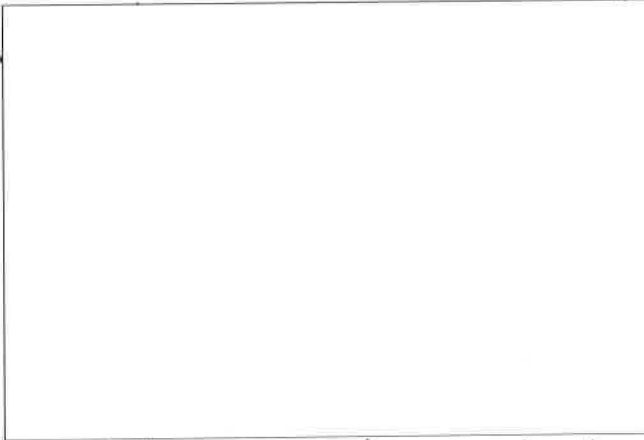


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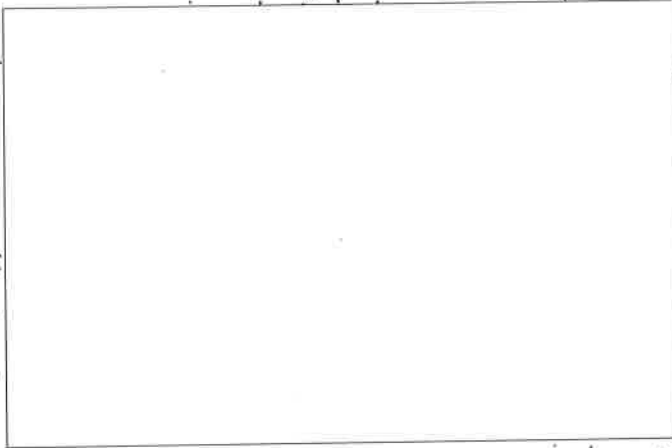
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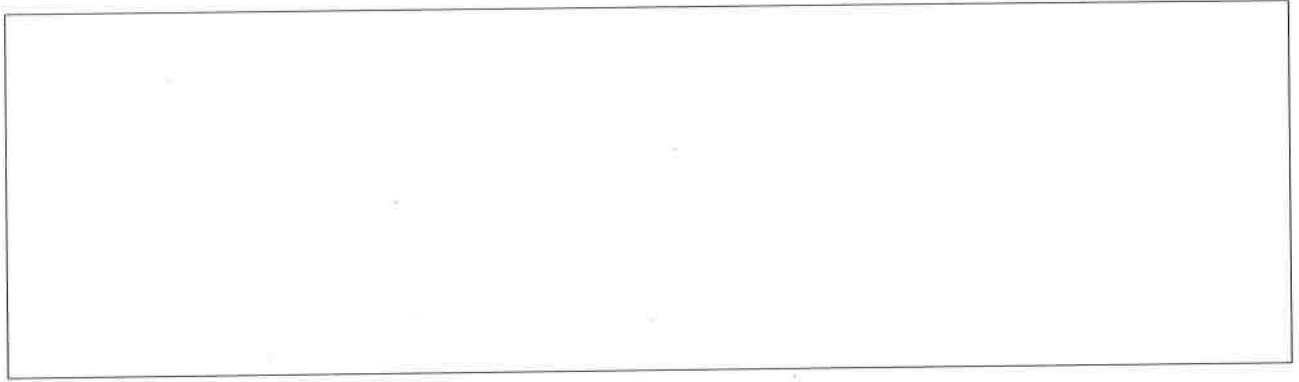
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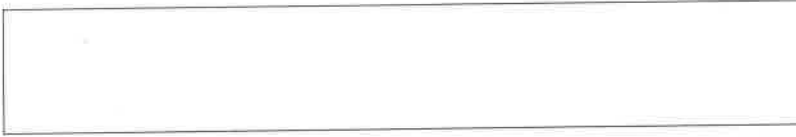
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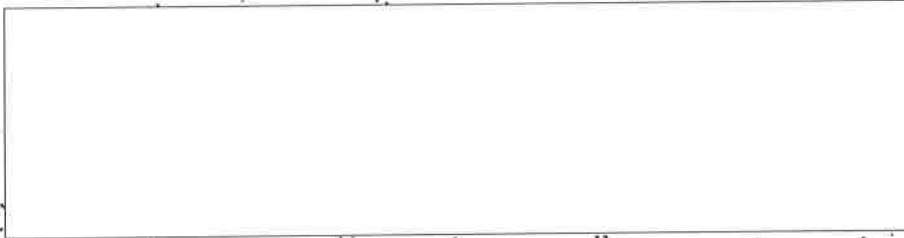


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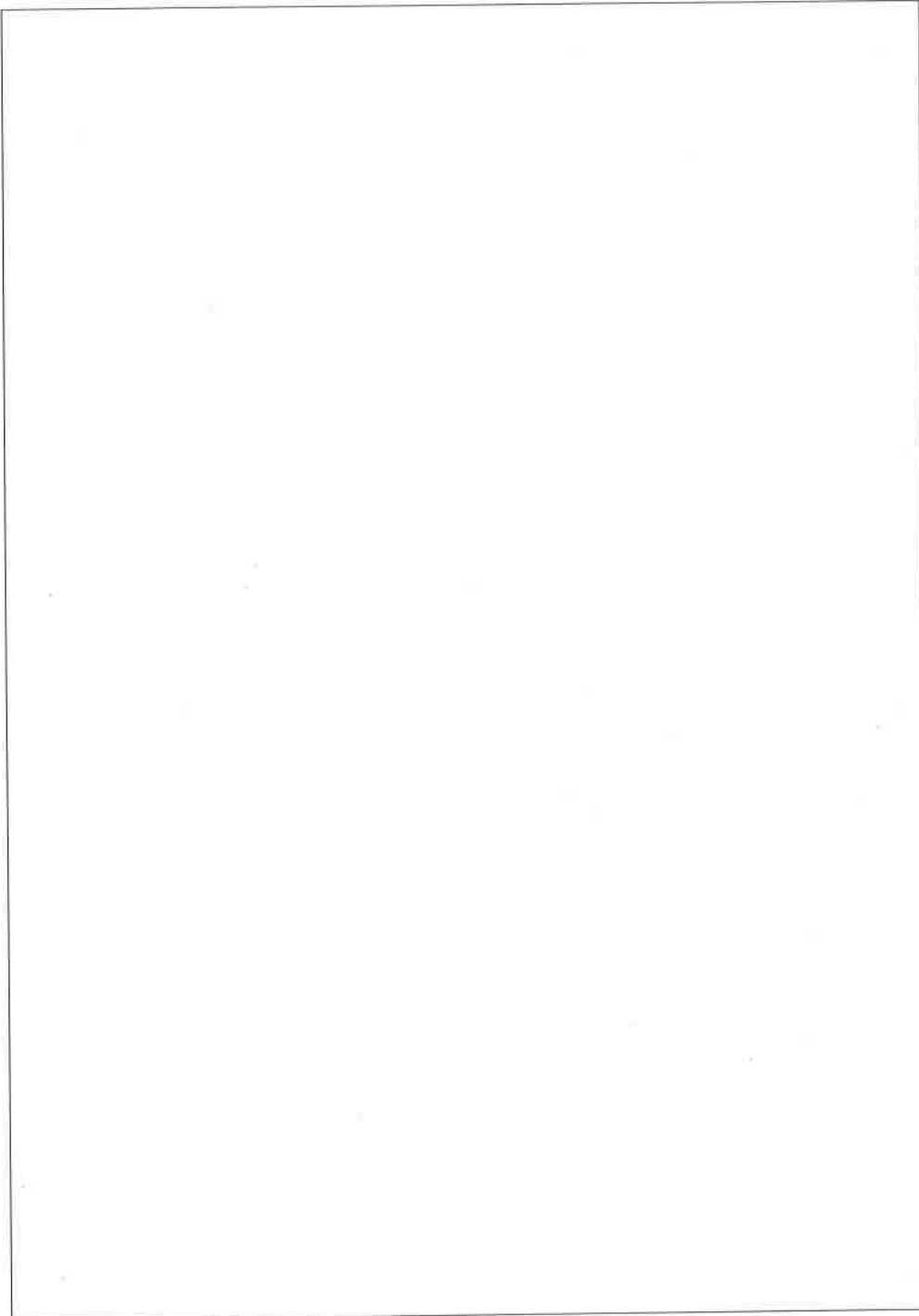
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**HOLIDAY GREETING CARD LIST**  
**2009 International Organizations**

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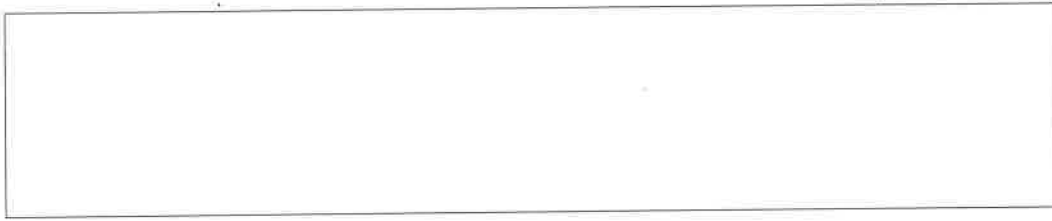
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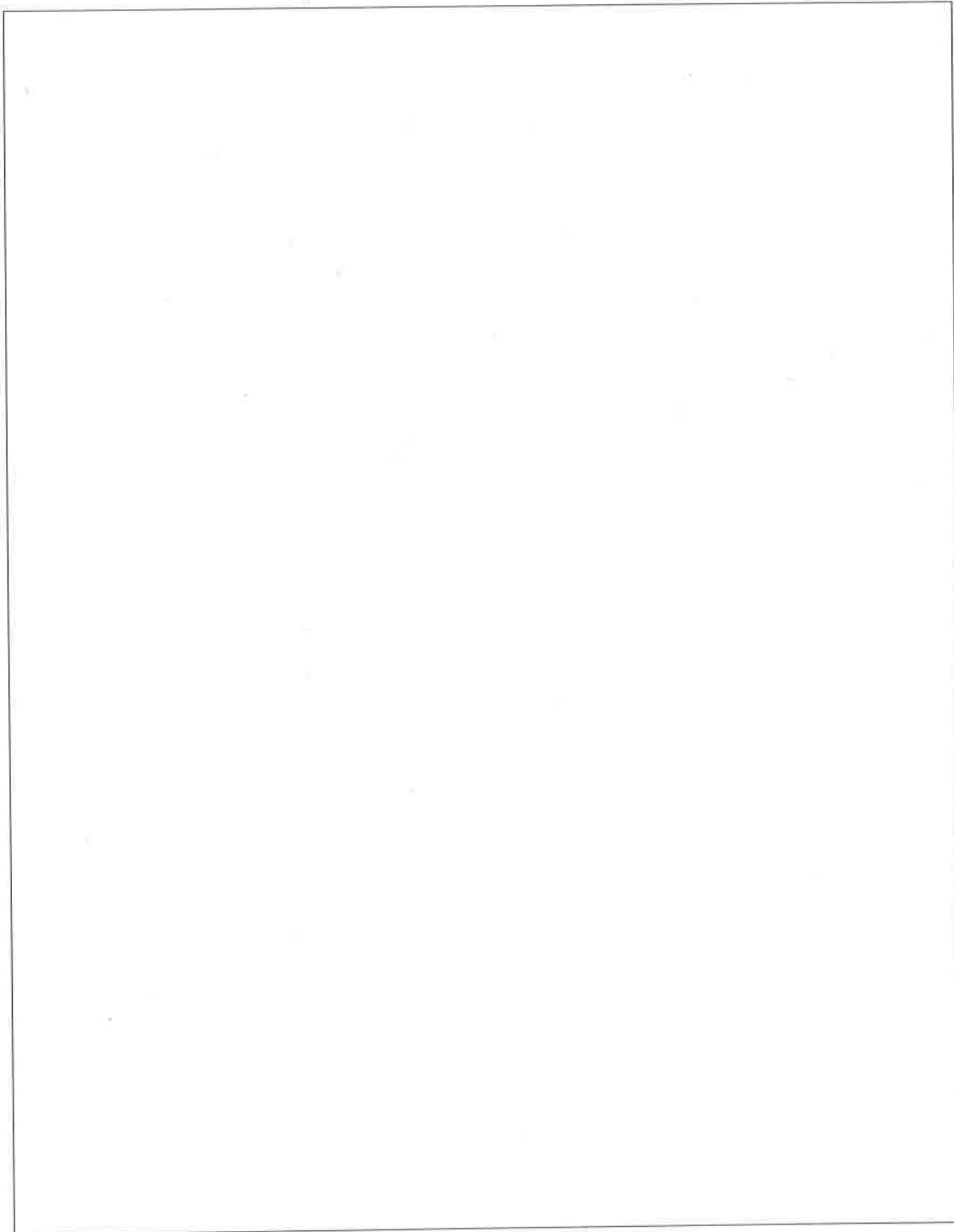
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**HOLIDAY GREETING CARD LIST**  
**2009 Near East**

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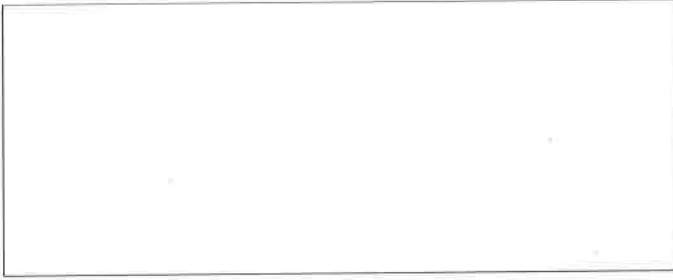
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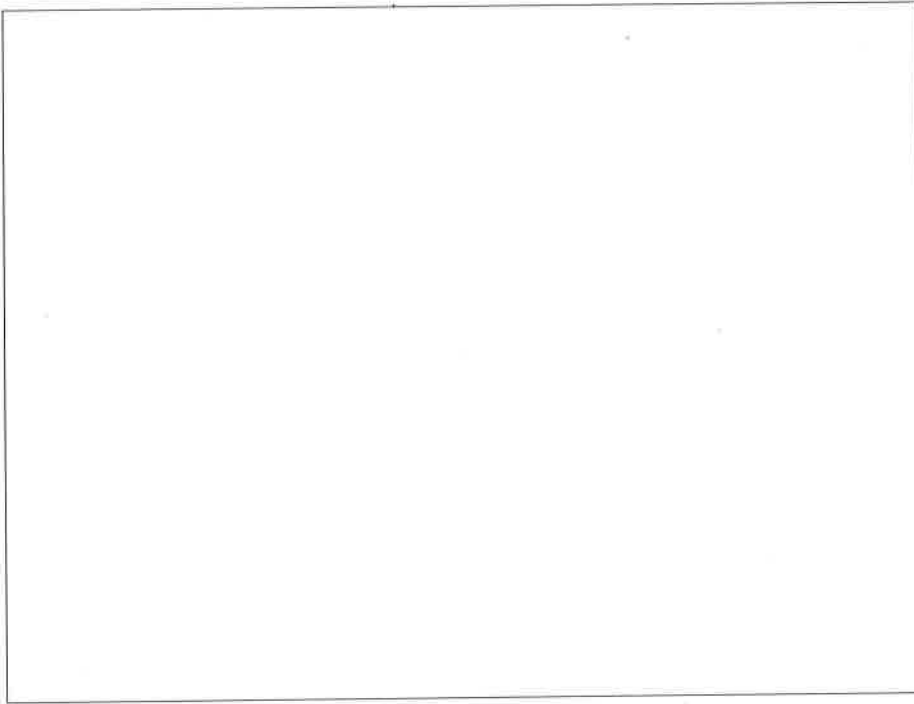
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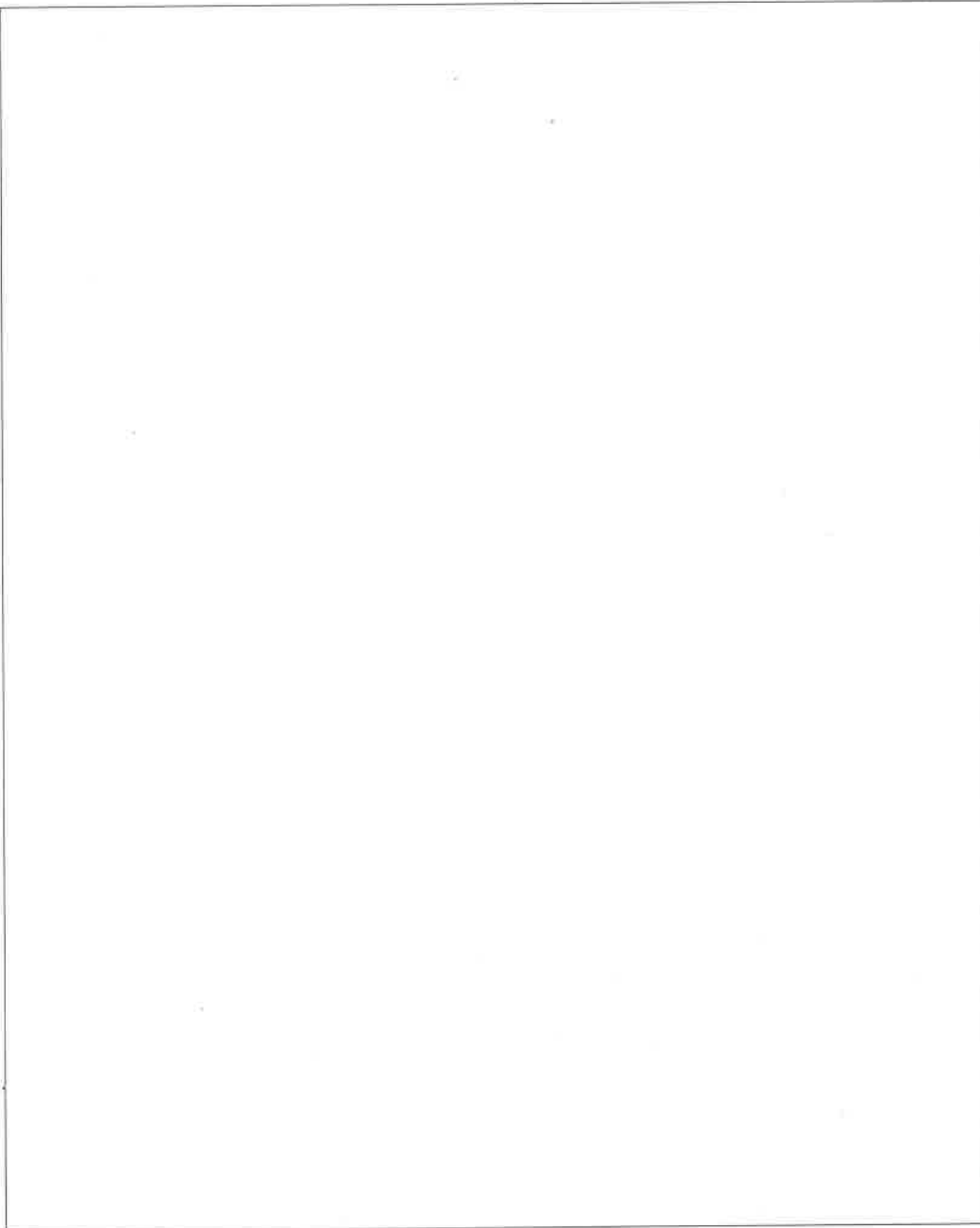
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**HA 09/01/2015**

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**HOLIDAY GREETING CARD LIST**  
**2009 South and Central Asia Affairs**



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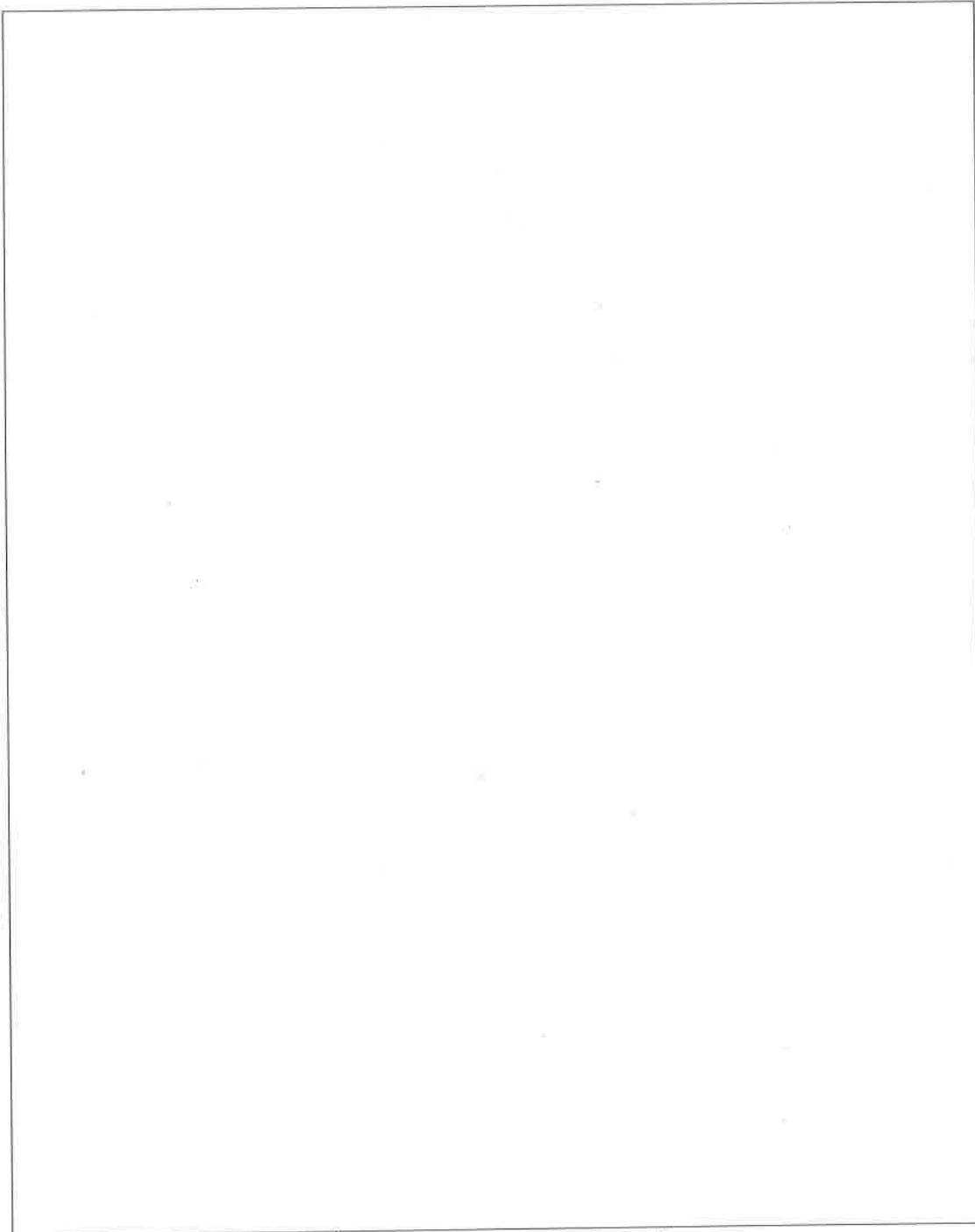
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**HOLIDAY GREETING CARD LIST**  
**2009 Western Hemisphere**

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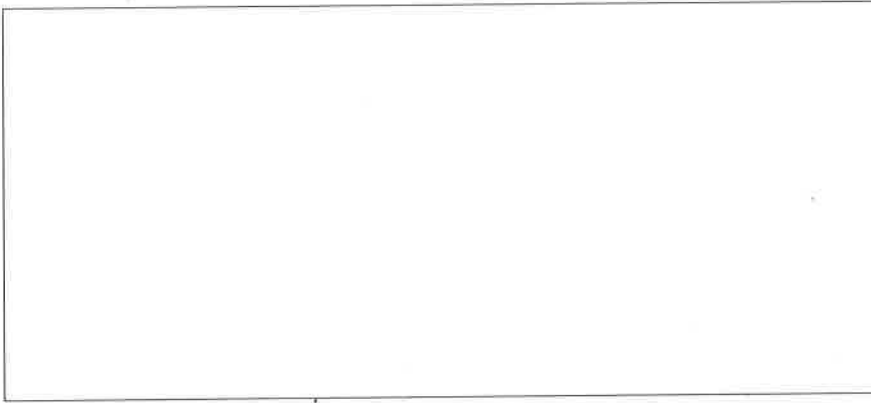
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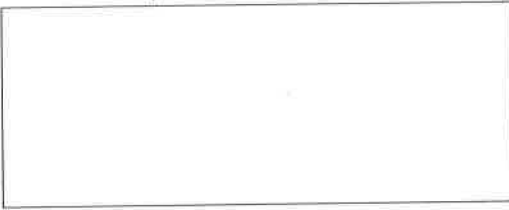


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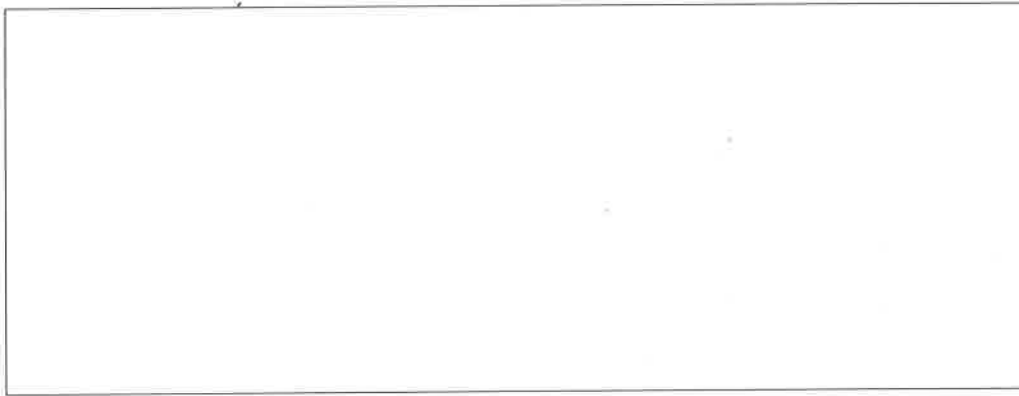
HA 09/01/2015

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HA 09/01/2015



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, December 4, 2009 1:18 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Latest Testimony Draft  
**Attach:** 120309 SecState SFRC Testimony 0715.doc

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RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

**From:** Syed, Zia S  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Sent:** Thu Dec 03 07:15:07 2009  
**Subject:** Latest Testimony Draft

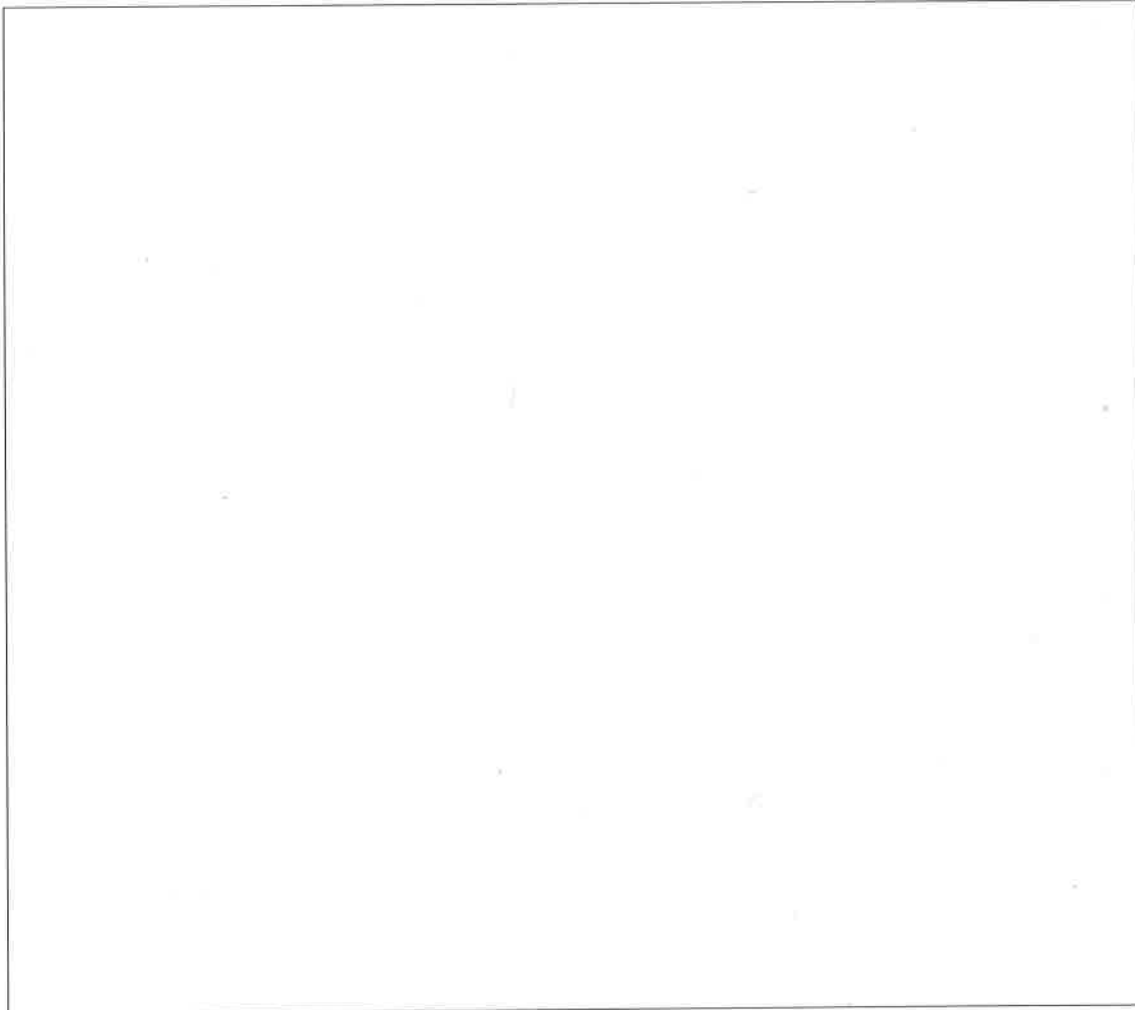
Huma, Attached is latest (07:15) draft of the testimony. Hopefully there won't be too many more revisions.

HA 09/01/2015

12/3 @ 0715am

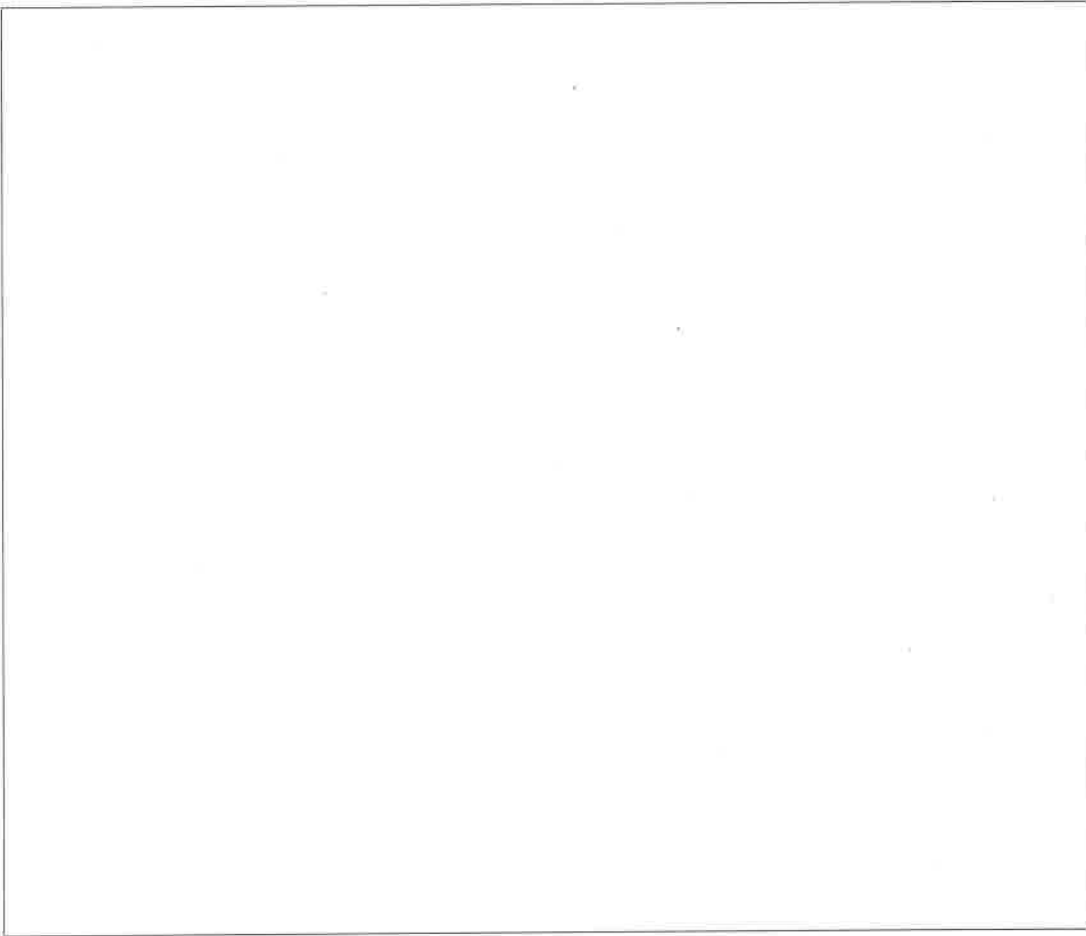
RELEASE IN PART  
B5

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
TESTIMONY BEFORE THE  
SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
WASHINGTON, DC  
DECEMBER 3, 2009**



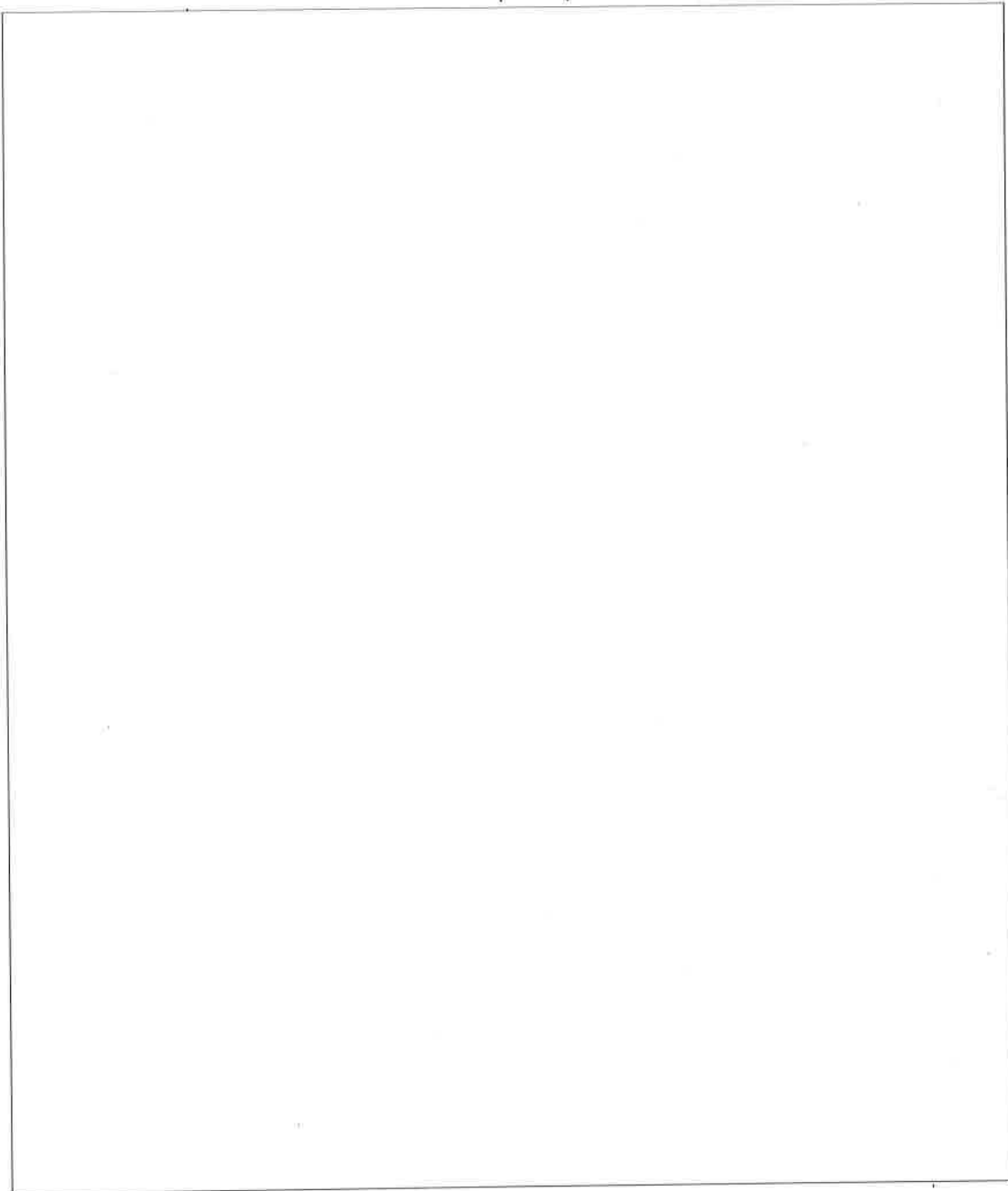
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12/3 @ 0715am



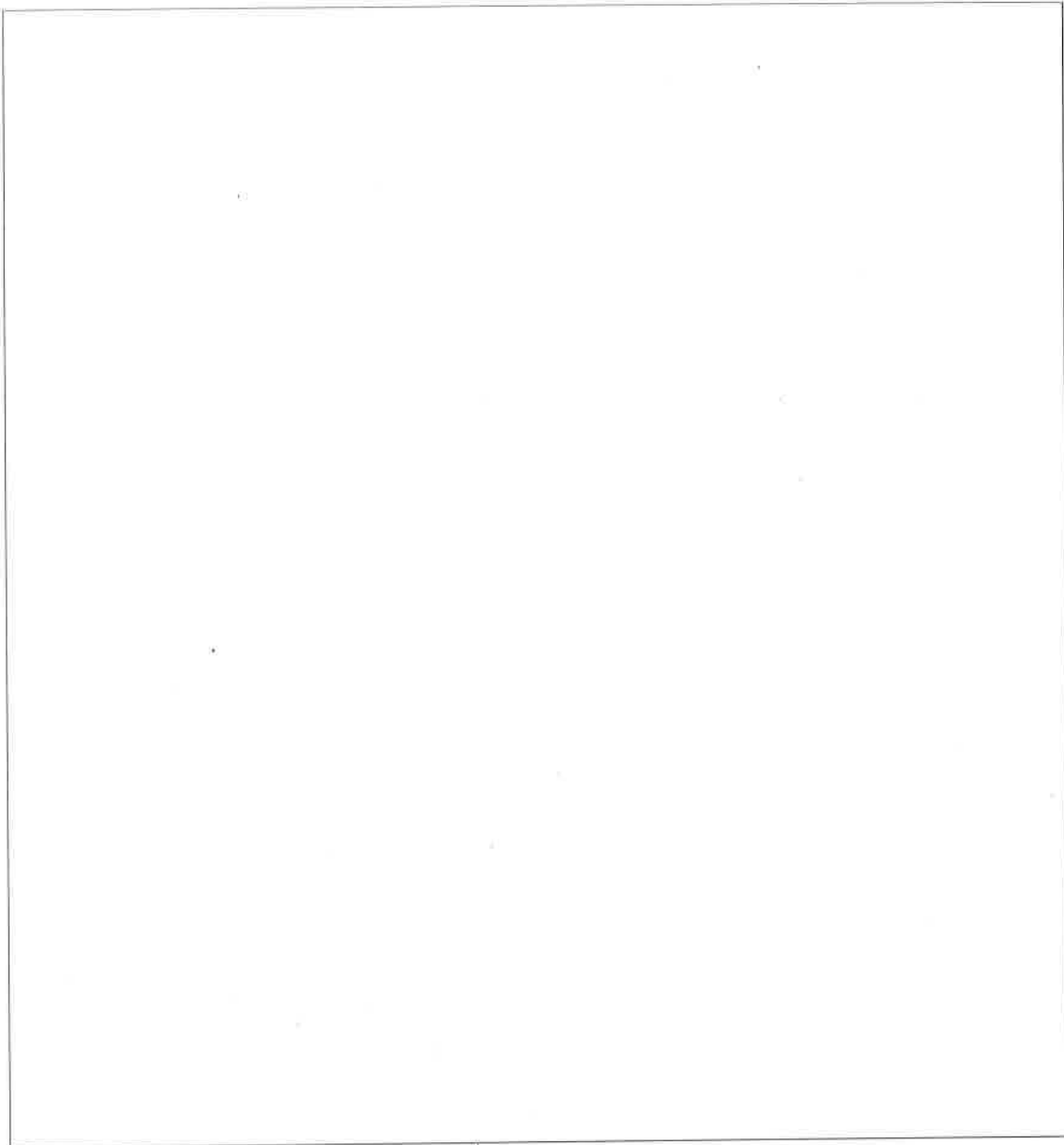
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12/3 @ 0715am



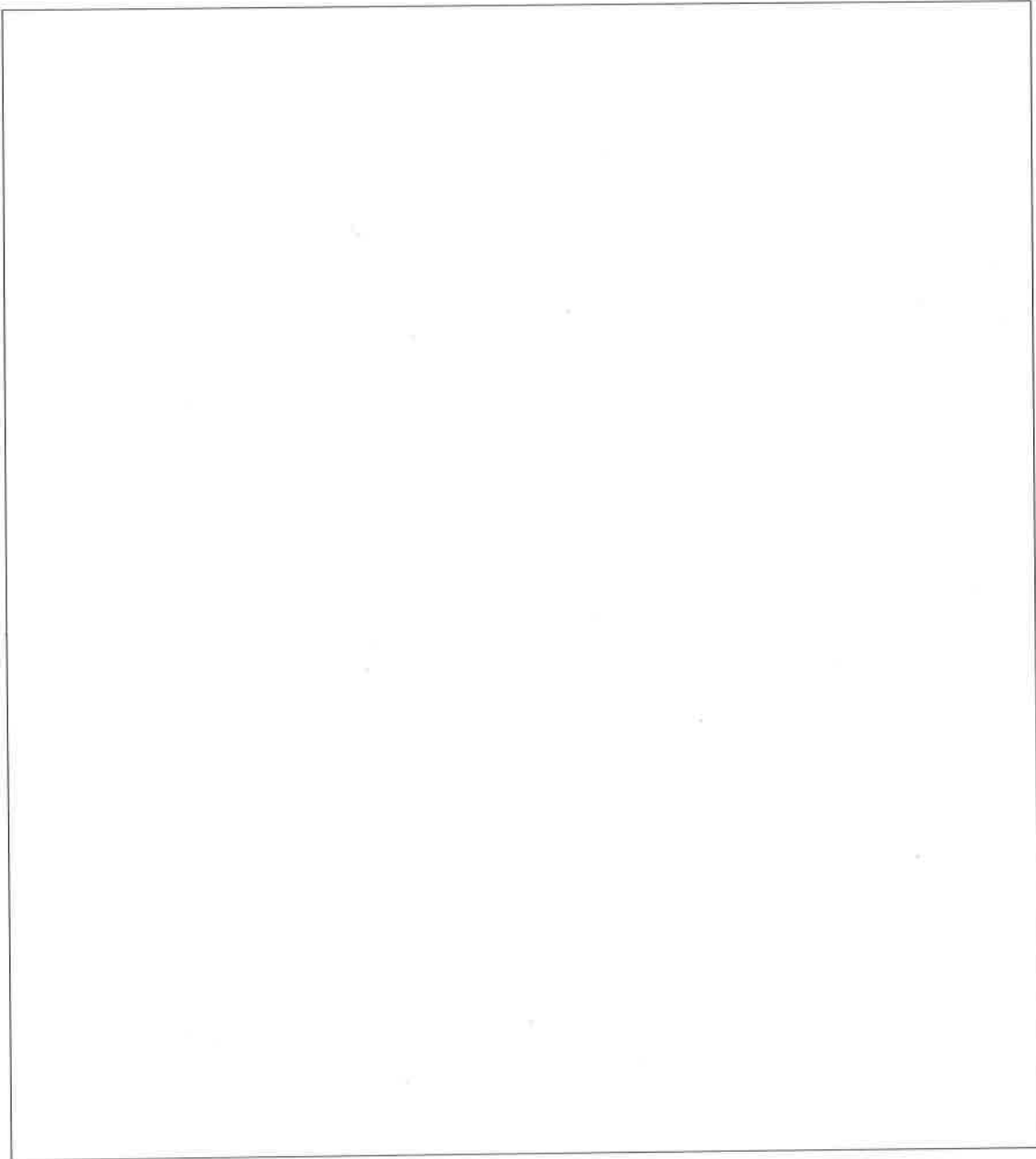
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12/3 @ 0715am



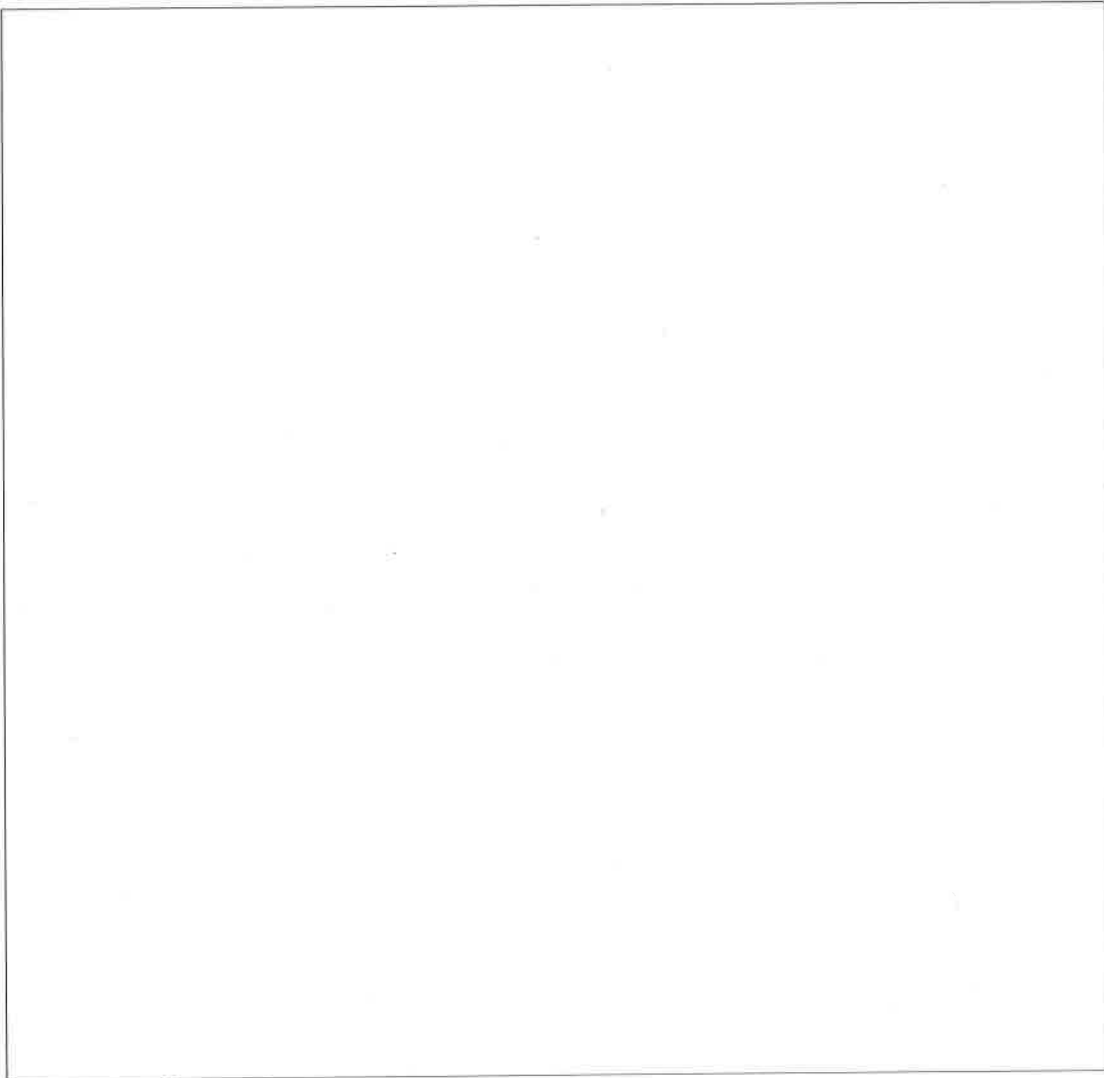
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12/3 @ 0715am



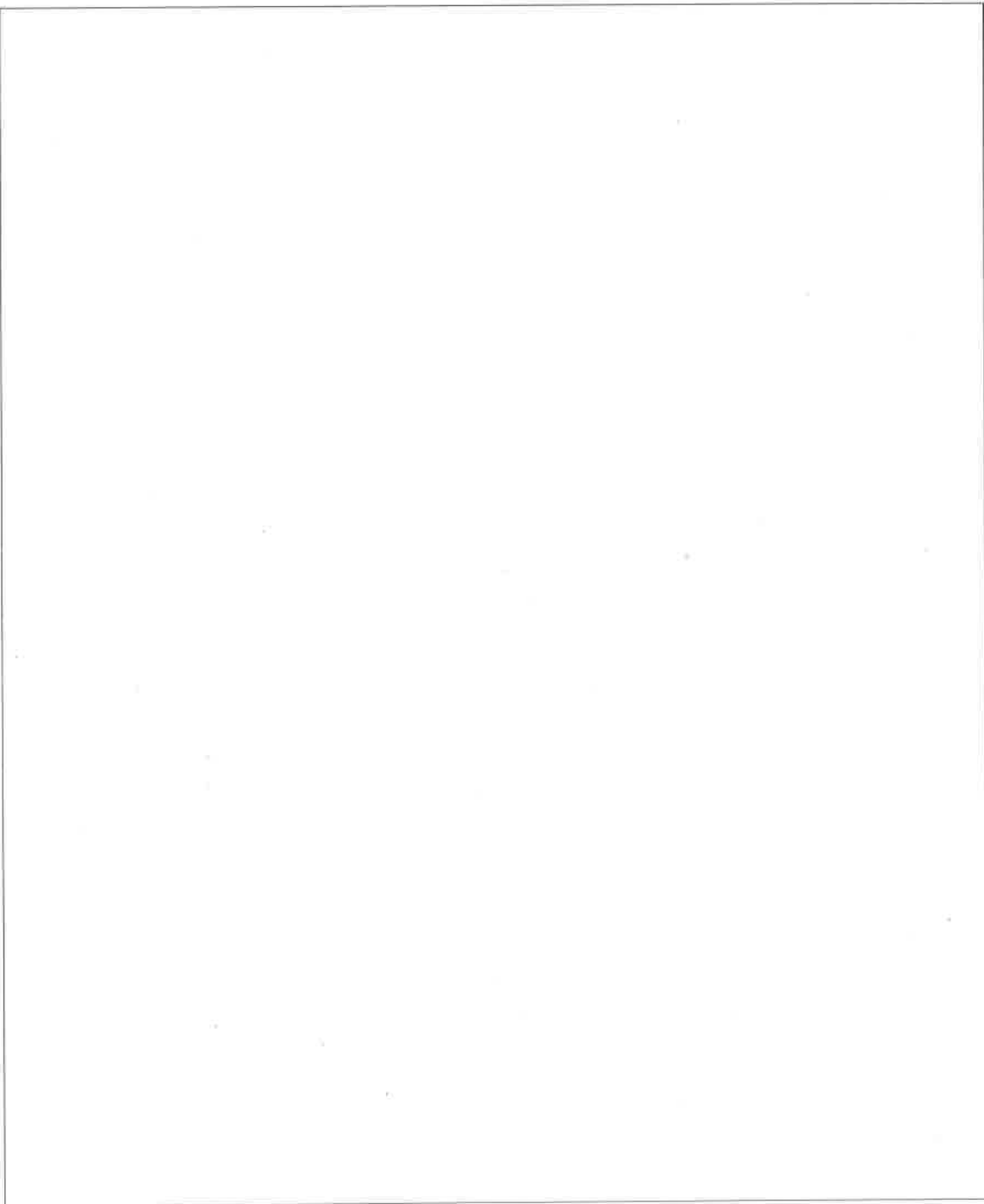
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12/3 @ 0715am



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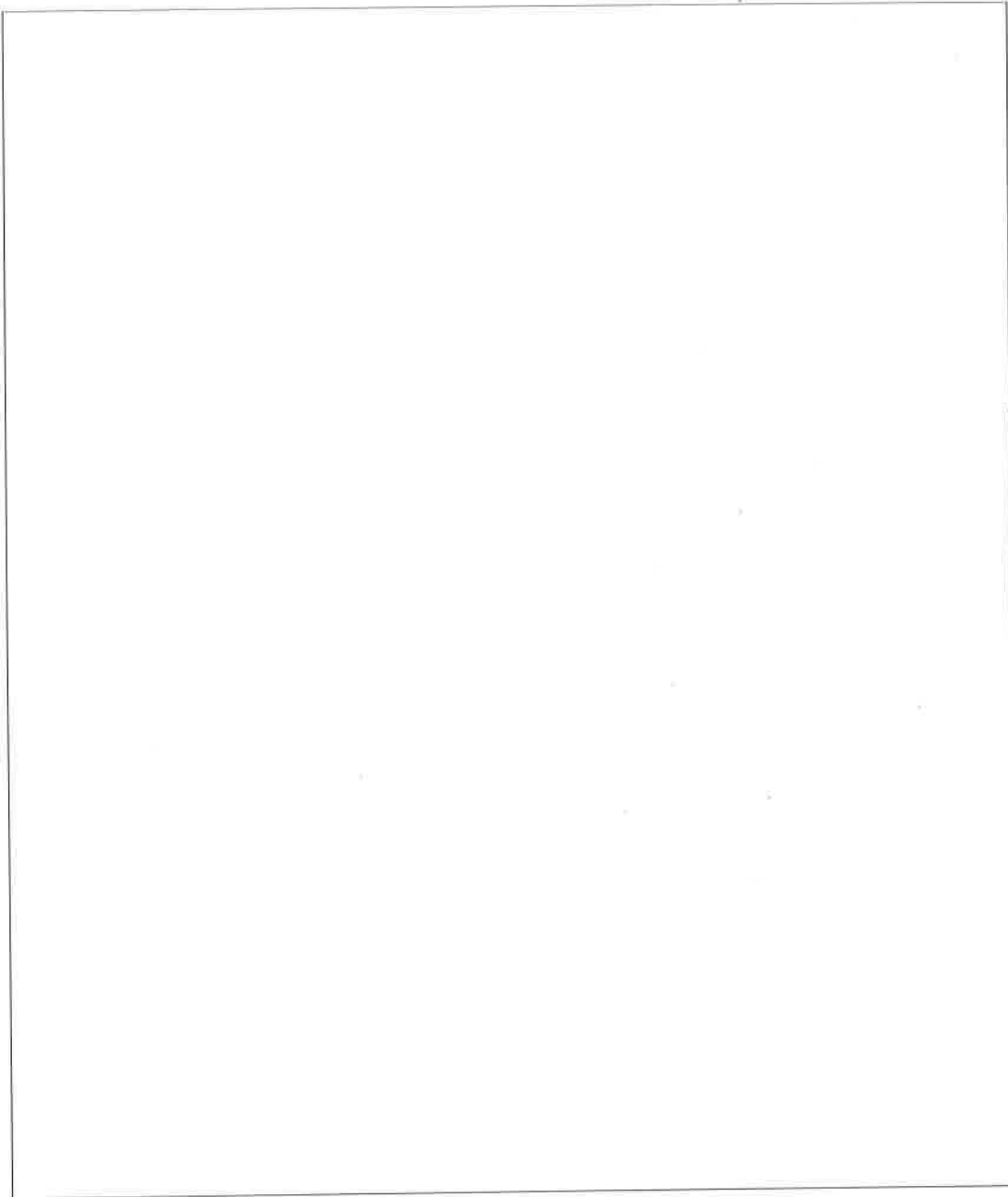
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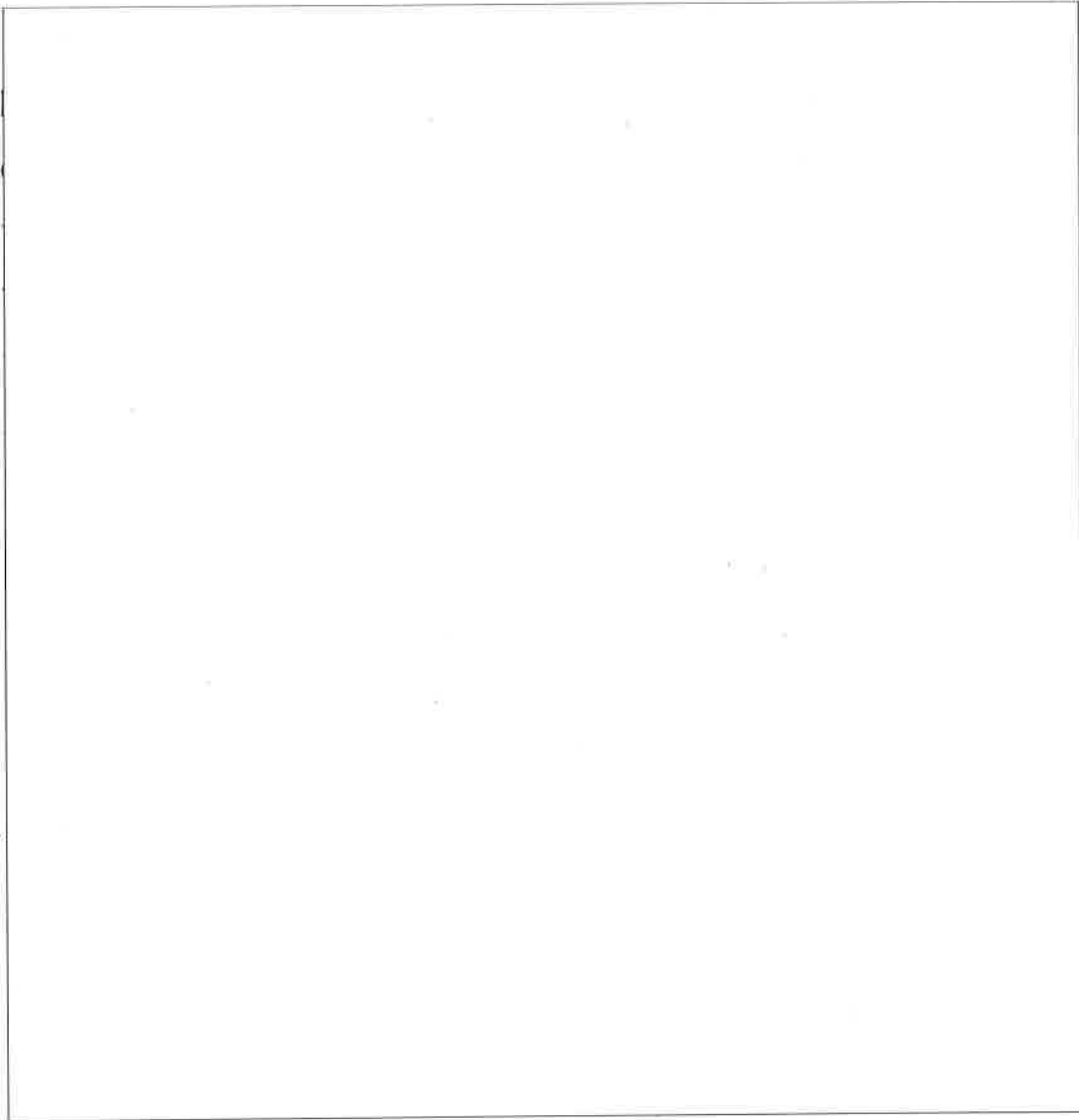


12/3 @ 0715am



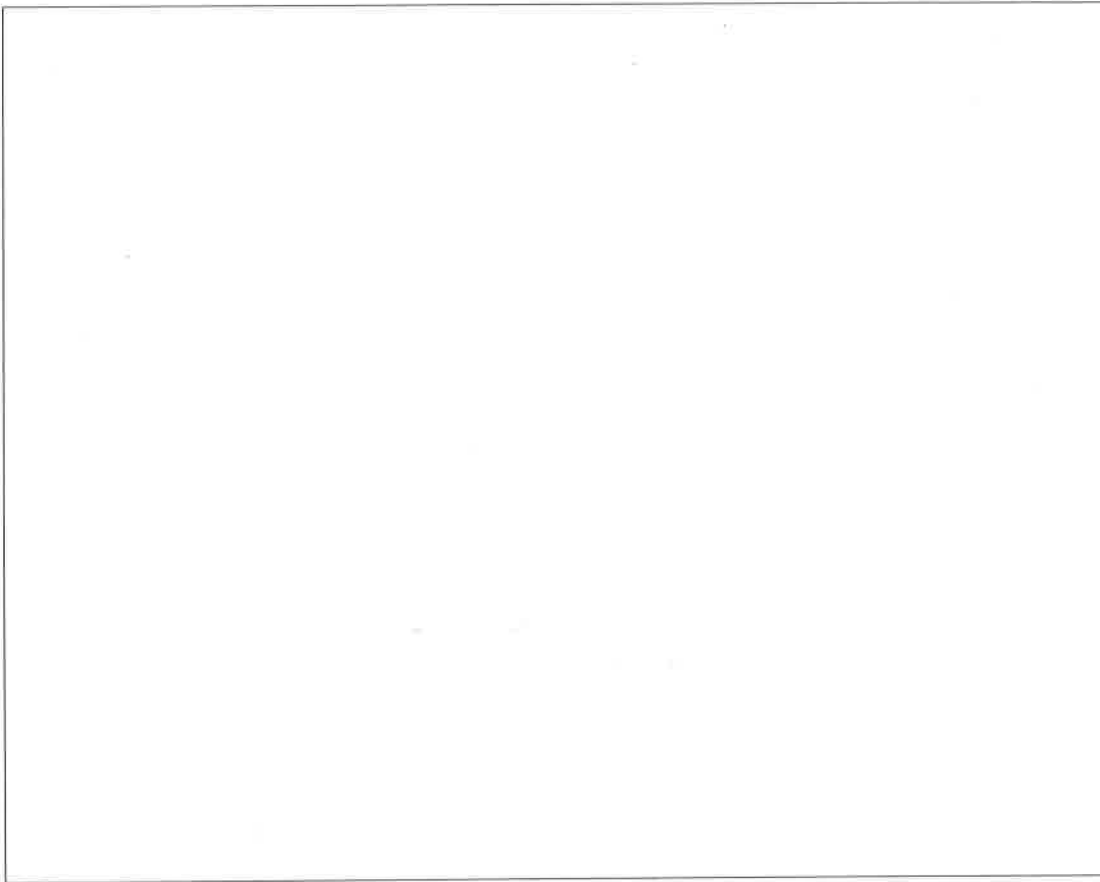
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12/3 @ 0715am



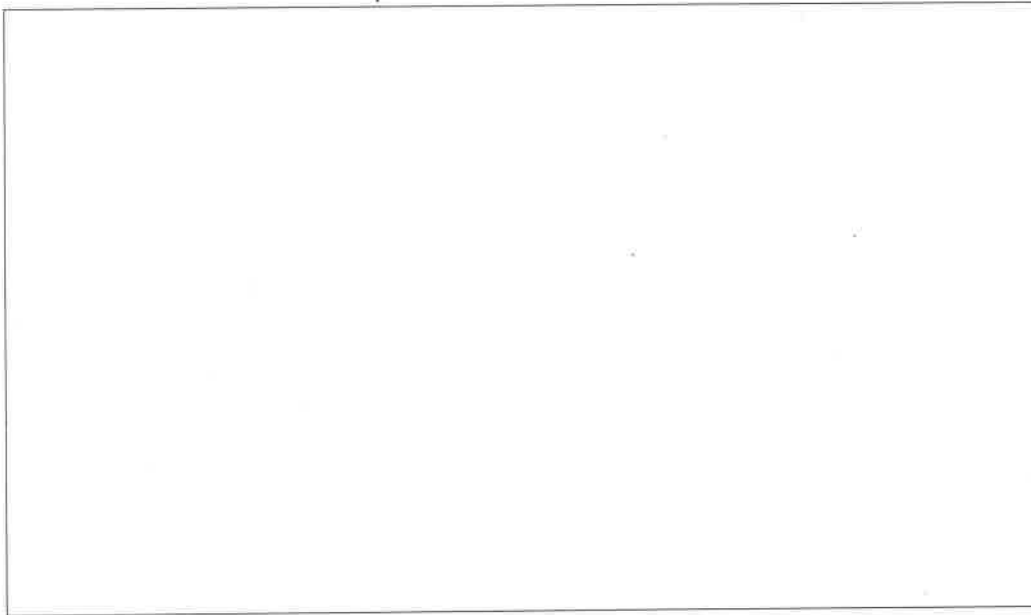
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12/3 @ 0715am



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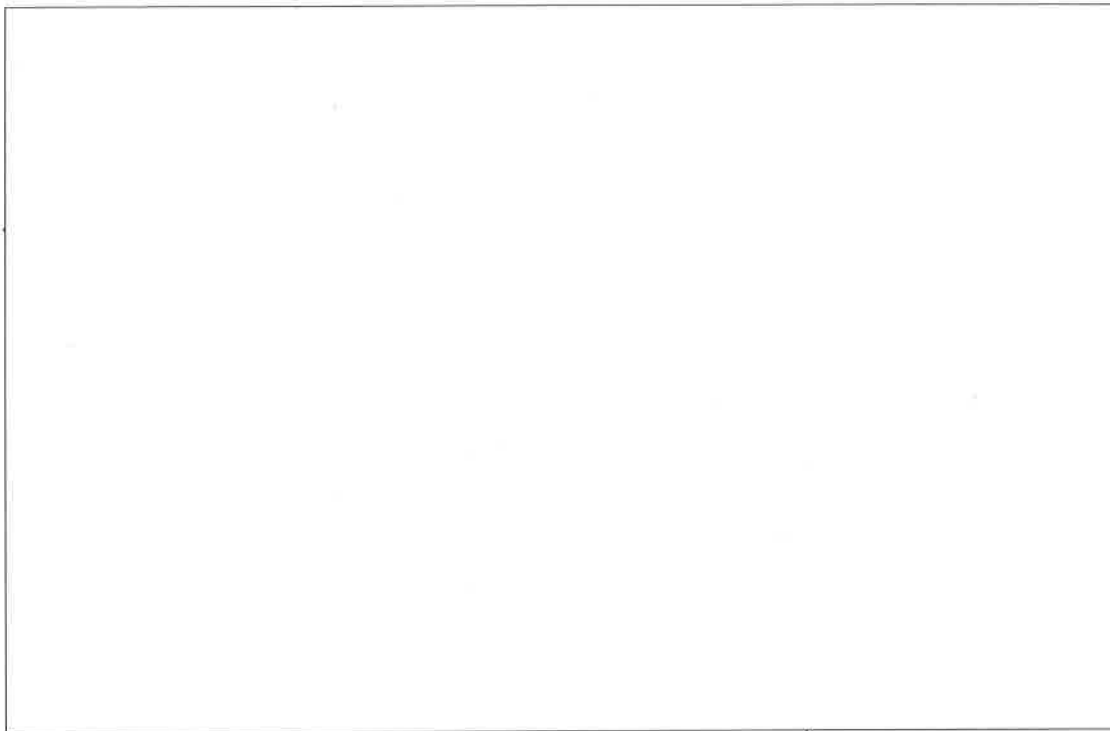
12/3 @ 0715am



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12/3 @ 0715am

## THE MESSAGE



B5

**From:** Doug Band [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 04, 2009 12:34:46 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Fw: tomorrow night Kennedy event

RELEASE IN PART  
 B6

B6

?

Want to manifest his table unless its just with brubecks

--- Original Message ---

**From:** Joey Schlichter [REDACTED]  
**To:** Doug Band; Justin Cooper; Jon Davidson  
**Sent:** Fri Dec 04 12:27:04 2009  
**Subject:** tomorrow night Kennedy event

You are all 3 travelling tomorrow right? Below is HRC's briefing instructions for the event, is WJC doing everything with HRC (getting there early for photos) or just coming for dinner?

#### SCENARIO

6:50 p.m. You proceed to the John Quincy Adams Room.

6:55 p.m. You join Mr. and Mrs. Stephen and Christine Schwarzman and Mr. Michael Kaiser to form a receiving line. Ambassador Capricia Penavic Marshall will assist with guest introductions. An official photographer will take photos. (Photos will not be posed).

The receiving line order is you, Mr. Schwarzman, Mrs. Schwarzman, and Mr. Kaiser.

Cocktails are passed.

7:30 p.m. Doors open to the Benjamin Franklin Dining Room.

8:00 p.m. Dinner is served.

9:30 p.m. You will be cued by Elizabeth Stevens (Kennedy Center) after coffee is served to prepare for your remarks and the introduction of Chairman Schwarzman.

9:40 p.m. Chairman Schwarzman thanks you and introduces Ms. Carol Burnett, Master of Ceremonies.

9:44 p.m. Ms. Burnett reads Honoree citation; Chairman Schwarzman goes to the Honoree table and presents medallion; toaster proposes a toast for that honoree. (Repeated for each honoree).

10:10 p.m. Ms. Burnett introduces Mrs. Victoria Reggie Kennedy for remarks.

10:13 p.m. Mrs. Kennedy introduces Mr. Kaiser for closing remarks.

10:18 p.m. You are escorted by one of you staffers to the Thomas Jefferson Room where you will join the Honorees, Chairman Schwarzman, and President Kaiser in the Thomas Jefferson Room for official photos.

10:30 p.m. You are free to depart.

HA 09/01/2015

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

**From:** Huma Abedin [Huma@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 05, 2009 7:53:29 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Hi Hillary - my Thursday column for The Hill- Purple Nation: Criticized From the Left and Right, Obama Must Be Doing Something Right By Lanny J. Davis

Ok

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sat Dec 05 07:27:53 2009  
**Subject:** Fw: Hi Hillary - my Thursday column for The Hill- Purple Nation: Criticized From the Left and Right, Obama Must Be Doing Something Right By Lanny J. Davis

Pls print.

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

**From:** Davis, Lanny J. [redacted]  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Dec 04 09:32:23 2009  
**Subject:** Hi Hillary - my Thursday column for The Hill- Purple Nation: Criticized From the Left and Right, Obama Must Be Doing Something Right By Lanny J. Davis

Hi H--

Know you are in Europe doing Great Work, as usual.

I stopped my column for Wash Times after my friend Exec Editor John Solomon resigned on principle. But still writing each Thurs for The Hill - and am using my favorite theme, "Purple Nation."  
See below.

Saw Pres Clinton in NH Wed night - my soulmate Chris Spirou, who predicted your win in NH primary, invited me up as guest. Pres Clinton was truly great - still the second best public speaker and politically gifted person I have ever known. (You remain my #1)

Congratulations on Chelsea. Pres Clinton actually said he looked forward to be a grand-father!!!!

[redacted]

Be well, sleep when you can, and you continue to amaze me and everyone else with the job you are doing (and with highest job approval rating of anyone in office on Washington and maybe in the world! Funny how life is a full circle and there is justice somewhere sometimes....)

My best wishes to you, the President, Chelsea and your future son-in-law for happy and health holidays (those two worlds being the ONLY ones that truly matter).

Lanny

(My column is below in case you want to read it)

Lanny

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

**From:** Davis, Lanny J.  
**To:** Davis, Lanny J.  
**Sent:** Fri Dec 04 08:19:37 2009  
**Subject:** Purple Nation: Criticized From the Left and Right, Obama Must Be Doing Something Right By Lanny J. Davis

Thursday, December 3, 2009

HA 09/01/2015

Purple Nation

Criticized From the Left and Right, Obama Must Be Doing Something Right

By Lanny J. Davis

<http://mobile.thehill.com/opinion/columnists/lanny-davis/>

The Obama White House must consider last week to have been a pretty good one. When the president is attacked personally in the same week both from the right by former Reagan speechwriter and Wall Street Journal columnist, Peggy Noonan, and from the left, by New York Times columnist Maureen Dowd, he must figure he's in the right place politically and substantively.

Late last week, Ms. Noonan made a rather personal attack on Mr. Obama for what she described as his "iconic" bow to the Emperor of Japan. This, she concluded, emblemized Mr. Obama's weakness as president. Then came the witty and acerbic Ms. Dowd a day or so later, noting that "President Obama can often be more interested in wooing opponents than tending to those who put themselves on the line for him."

Meanwhile, here are the facts and results in the reality-land called the White House:

\*Mr. Obama returned from his trip to Asia after obtaining some concessions from the Chinese on global warming for the first time ever; and then China also indicated it would join Russia, for the first time ever, to support increased pressures on Iran to cease its development of a nuclear bomb. Funny how that respectful bow to an emperor seemed more important to some conservative Republican critics of Mr. Obama than these concrete, albeit preliminary, results of his trip to the Far East.

\*Then on Tuesday night, after many weeks of deliberations, President Obama made the tough decision on Afghanistan to send 30,000 additional U.S. GIs (plus, he hopes, additional troops from NATO countries). But he made that decision not, as Ms. Dowd might suggest, in order to "woo opponents," but rather, based on a careful assessment of facts, a variety of opinions – elected officials from both sides of the aisle, experts, civilian and military – and then he exercised his best judgment. The mission, which he clearly spelled out in his sober speech Tuesday night, is to prevent Afghanistan from reverting to a rogue, Taliban-controlled state – one that provides safe harbor to Al Qaeda, and thus, increases the risks of a terrorist attack on the U.S. Most of Mr. Obama's, traditional anti-war Democratic Party base are probably unhappy with his speech and his decision.

\*Yet this is the same Barack Obama who banned torture and closed Gitmo, pleasing the left; but refused to prosecute Bush Administration officials for war crimes or even to support a Truth Commission, offending the left. This is the same Obama who has led this nation closer than it has ever been in its history to a national health insurance system, pleasing the left; while indicating he is willing to give up a government – run "public option" if that's what it takes to pass the bill, and thus, offending the left.

So which is it? The weak Obama who bows to an emperor? Or the Obama who is willing to use increased military strength to protect the U.S. from another 9/11?

Is it Obama the liberal, who believes in the FDR-embedded principal of government as a friend, not an enemy, and national health insurance as a follow-on to Social Security and Medicare? Or Obama the centrist, who fundamentally believes in the bedrock role of the private sector in a free market economy – i.e., who is ready to pass a national health insurance plan that almost entirely relies on the private insurance industry (even if a public option were included)?

To me, the answer is as obvious as it is displeasing to the both the hard left and hard right: Barack Obama was during his campaign, and remains to this day, a pragmatic man of the center-left.

I wasn't an Obama supporter during the primaries – and I don't always agree with him on every issue. For example, my gut favors getting out of Afghanistan entirely, based on past history and too many memories of Vietnam. But I am impressed with this president's careful and thoughtful decision-making; so I am going to trust him and support his decision on Afghanistan and hope and pray he has made the right decision.

Now comes the next battle. Purist liberals will again be angry when the president supports a health care bill without the public option, as he must, since it will be the only way national health insurance can get enacted into law this year. But as I've written before: I'll bet not one of those brave liberals who insist it is better to do without any bill than one without a public option have been forced to take a sick child to a public hospital emergency room because they couldn't afford health insurance; or have risked bankruptcy – or even death – for the same reason.

Such purist liberals who see the good as the enemy of the perfect may not be salvageable. But I only hope that thoughtful

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and fair-minded conservative Republicans in the congress will give President Obama a chance to work with them and pragmatic progressive Democrats to create the bi-partisan consensus that he and most Americans – left, right and center – truly want in the months and years ahead.

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Mr. Davis, a Washington D.C. attorney, served as Special Counsel to President Clinton from 1996-98 and as a member of President Bush's Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board from 2005-06. He is the author of the 2006 book, "Scandal: How 'Gotcha' Politics Is Destroying America."

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