

From: Tamera Luzzatto [redacted] on behalf of Tamera Luzzatto
Sent: Sunday, July 22, 2012 8:43 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Fw: Fwd: Reporting on the big losses this past week on the Treaty

B6

Never. I did talk to H on thurs am and Tom later, and we won't let a letter not even delivered turn into the end of this quest. Best to you

Tamera Luzzatto
Managing Director, Government Relations
The Pew Charitable Trusts | 901 E Street, N.W. | Washington, DC 20004-1409
p: [redacted] | e: tluzzatto [redacted] | www.pewtrusts.org
Assistant - Jean Pierce | e: [redacted]

This e-mail contains confidential information. If you have received this message in error, please, notify the sender immediately and delete this e-mail from your system. Please do not disclose, copy or otherwise distribute this email.

----- Original Message -----
From: Jake Sullivan [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Saturday, July 21, 2012 04:20 PM
To: Tamera Luzzatto
Subject: Re: Fw: Fwd: Reporting on the big losses this past week on the Treaty

thanks tamera -- i've been thinking of you. but don't give up!

On 7/17/12, Tamera Luzzatto [redacted] wrote:

> Fyi
>
>
> Tamera Luzzatto
> Managing Director, Government Relations
> The Pew Charitable Trusts | 901 E Street, N.W. | Washington, DC 20004-1409
> p: [redacted] | e: tluzzatto [redacted]
> www.pewtrusts.org
> Assistant - Jean Pierce | e: [redacted]
>
>

> This e-mail contains confidential information. If you have received this message in error, please, notify the sender immediately and delete this e-mail from your system. Please do not disclose, copy or otherwise distribute this email.
>

> From: Luzzatto [redacted]
> Sent: Tuesday, July 17, 2012 08:21 AM
> To: Tamera Luzzatto
> Subject: Fwd: Reporting on the big losses this past week on the Treaty
>
>

> From: Luzzatto [redacted]
> To: hdr22@clintonemail.com

> Sent: 7/17/2012 8:19:50 A.M. Eastern Daylight Time
> Subj: Reporting on the big losses this past week on the Treaty
>
> I think I'll leave to when we talk someday what all we champions have been
> learning about the ways of DeMint and his crew, but as a citizen and human
> being, it has been profoundly depressing.
>
> I was part of a roundup by Kerry joined by Lugar, Warner, Breaux, Lott, and
> a top lobbyist for the Chamber, last evening after the votes, and everyone
> decided to press on making the case with the hope of a post-election changed
> terrain where facts and the like just may prevail. I think we're all
> doubtful of that, but I know my own boss and leadership agree with pressing
> on because of our belief that ratification is the noble and right thing to
> do for the country. At a time when everyone claims the economy and jobs
> are at the top of their list, it is beyond depressing and confounding that
> this "jobs bill" is being spat on and losing potential votes to threats of
> "being Lugarized" and more.
>
> To switch Pew-related topics, I also wanted to let you know that we
> published today a full-page ad with the President's photo, page A9 in the
> NYT, signing the food safety law last January with his tag-line "We Cannot
> Wait," because of the enormous frustration over the WH not issuing the
> proposed rules to implement this historic law. As you can imagine, talking
> with Jack and Nancy-Ann and others who are friends and allies on almost
> everything has been painful, but I joined my workplace's allies on this
> issue in concluding that if the President's people are so fearful of
> criticism that they won't act to protect public health that we owe it to the
> public to showcase the support for those actions and that the support
> includes most of the food industry along with what every poll tells us about
> public passion for safe food. Just wanted to let you know.
>
> Safe travels home, and hope to see you soon. Sighs galore. Love, T
>

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Monday, January 28, 2013 8:46 AM
To: Cheryl Mills; Lona J Valmoro - State; Philippe Reines; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: RE: Building send off

B6

i thkn we include them in the send off on friday;
i have a list started so keep sending me

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 28, 2013 5:13 AM
To: Huma Abedin; Lona J Valmoro - State; Philippe Reines; Jake.Sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Building send off

What is position we are taking in including non-dos employees?

I am getting former employees and other who have helped her ask if there is something building is doing that they can attend?

cdm

From: PIR <preines[redacted]> on behalf of PIR
Sent: Monday, January 28, 2013 6:08 PM
To: CDM; Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro
Subject: Re: Fwd: brit hume

B6

For Brit Hume to even manage to say this is a testament to how well she's done.

“She does her homework. There have been no gaffes or blunders, so I think she’s been a capable and hardworking Secretary of State.”

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted]
Date: Mon, 28 Jan 2013 17:51:42 -0500
To: <Jake.Sullivan[redacted]> Philippe Reines[redacted] Huma
Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>; Lona Valmoro [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: brit hume

Fyi

Brit Hume Slams Hillary Clinton’s Tenure At State With A Laundry List Detailing Her Mediocrity

by [Noah Rothman](#) | 2:31 pm, January 27th, 2013 [VIDEO](#) » [215 comments](#)

Fox News Channel **Brit Hume** contributor took issue with his colleagues on Sunday when he said the effusive compliments that Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton** has been showered with are largely unearned. He launched into a monologue in which he outlined why Clinton’s tenure at State has been decidedly mediocre – “competent,” but not great. After his detailed list, Hume was confronted by **Juan Williams** who accused him of underestimating Clinton and President **Barack Obama**’s first term accomplishments.

RELATED: Obama And Hillary Clinton To Sit Down For First Joint Interview With 60 Minutes

Wallace asked what the significance of the joint 60 Minutes interview with President Obama and Hillary Clinton could be for her 2016 prospects.

“The *60 Minutes* forum has been pretty friendly to him,” replied *New York Times* reporter **Jeff Zeleny**. “It’s not an endorsement per se, but it certainly, sort of, looks like that.”

Wall Street Journal editorial board member **Kimberley Strassel** said that Clinton's testimony this week before Congress regarding her knowledge of the Benghazi attacks was a political success for her. "I think this was an attempt to, kind of, build on that, move beyond it, talk about Hillary Clinton's legacy as a whole rather than that vent," she said.

Wallace noted that Clinton's Capitol Hill testimony was marked by praise of her service as the Secretary of State from both Republicans and Democrats.

Hume replied by saying that Clinton has a strong case to make for her competence but not greatness:

You look across the world now at the major issues: are Arabs and Israelis closer to peace? How about Iran and North Korea and their nuclear programs? Have they been halted or seriously set back? Has the 'reset with Russia,' which she so famously introduced with a photo op in Moscow with the reset button, has that led to a new and more cooperative relationship? Is there a Clinton doctrine that we can identify that she has articulated and formed as Secretary of State? Are there major treaties that she has undertaken and negotiated through to a successful conclusion? I think the answer to all those questions is that she has not, and those are the kind of things that might mark her as a great Secretary of State.

"She does her homework. There have been no gaffes or blunders, so I think she's been a capable and hardworking Secretary of State," Hume concluded. "But I think the case for her being a great Secretary of State is exceedingly weak."

Williams took issue with what Hume said, noting that Clinton has helped spread Democracy to the Middle East in the wake of the Arab Spring. She also helped assemble the alliance structure prior to the intervention in Libya.

"How's that working out for us," Hume asked, citing the chaos in Libya. Crosstalk followed.

Watch the segment below via Fox News Channel:

<http://www.mediaite.com/tv/brit-hume-slams-hillary-clintons-tenure-at-state-with-a-laudry-list-detailing-her-mediocrity/>

From: Hale, David M [redacted] on behalf of Hale, David M
Sent: Wednesday, November 3, 2010 12:23 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: huma@clintonemail.com; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Quartet

B6

[redacted]

B5

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
To: Hale, David M
Cc: Huma@clintonemail.com <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Nov 03 00:12:20 2010
Subject: Re: Quartet

B6

[redacted]

B5

On Tue, Nov 2, 2010 at 11:52 PM, Hale, David M <HaleDM2@state.gov> wrote:
+ Jeff

[redacted]

B5

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

From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com >
To: Hale, David M; 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Nov 02 23:13:22 2010
Subject: Re: Quartet

B6

[redacted]

B5

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

From: Hale, David M <HaleDM2@state.gov >
To: Huma Abedin; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov >
Sent: Tue Nov 02 23:12:18 2010
Subject: Re: Quartet

B6

[redacted]

B5

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

From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com >

To: Hale, David M; 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Nov 02 22:52:04 2010
Subject: Quartet

B6

[redacted]

B5

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Tuesday, August 14, 2012 12:16 PM
To: Cheryl Mills
Subject: Re: letter to editor of FP

B6

what is this?

On 8/13/12, Cheryl Mills [redacted] wrote:

>
>

> cdm

>

> Begin forwarded message:

>

>> From: Jim Kennedy [redacted]
>> Date: August 12, 2012 11:08:16 PM EDT
>> To: Cheryl Mills [redacted]
>> Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>, Capricia Marshall
>> [redacted] Minyon Moore [redacted]
>> Maggie Williams [redacted] Roy Spence
>> [redacted] Judy Trablusi [redacted]
>> Subject: letter to editor of FP

>>

>> Assessing Hillary

>> Is America's 67th secretary of state a Seward or a Powell?

>>

>> SEPT/OCT 2012

>>

>>

>> Susan B. Glasser ("Head of State," July/August 2012) does a good job of
>> chronicling Hillary Clinton's successes and setbacks as U.S. secretary of
>> state. True, Clinton has been marginalized by her initial diplomatic
>> inexperience and exclusion from President Barack Obama's inner circle. But
>> she argued in favor of two key administration initiatives (the 2009
>> Afghanistan troop surge and the 2011 Osama bin Laden raid), constructed
>> the NATO coalition that helped the Libyan people overthrow Muammar
>> al-Qaddafi, and advocated the "pivot" to Asia, which has increased U.S.
>> popularity in the region.

>>

>> I argue in a forthcoming essay that there are five types of secretaries of
>> state. "Prime ministers" such as Martin Van Buren and William H. Seward
>> are influential in foreign and domestic policy, while "foreign ministers"
>> such as John Quincy Adams and George C. Marshall control foreign policy in
>> partnership with the president. "Junior partners" like Thomas Jefferson
>> and Colin Powell wield some power over foreign policy but are not its
>> primary architects, whereas "figureheads" like John Sherman and Robert
>> Lansing have almost no say in foreign policy. "Caretakers" such as Edward
>> Everett and Robert Bacon only hold office for a short time.

>>

>> I would characterize Clinton as a junior partner, albeit a high-profile
>> one. She is the first elected official to transition directly to secretary
>> of state since Edmund Muskie during the Carter administration. The last
>> time such a prominent political leader assumed the post was when President
>> Harry Truman tapped James F. Byrnes in 1945. Byrnes's influence declined
>> over the course of his brief tenure, however, while Clinton's stature has

>> grown.
>>
>> Today, Clinton is one of the most popular politicians in the United States
>> and once again finds herself responding to speculation that she will run
>> for president in 2016. That's quite a turnaround for someone whose
>> appointment was initially greeted with doubts about whether she was up to
>> the job.
>>
>> EDWARD MIHALKANIN
>> Associate Professor of Political Science
>> Texas State University
>> San Marcos, Texas
>>
>>
>>
>>
>

From: Fuchs, Michael H <fuchsmh@state.gov> on behalf of Fuchs, Michael H
Sent: Wednesday, August 15, 2012 6:27 PM
To: Amitabh Desai; cheryl.mills [redacted] huma@clintonemail.com;
[redacted]
Subject: RE: Meeting request for the Korean Women's Journalist Association with the Clinton Foundation in New York

B6

No issues with this group

From: Amitabh Desai [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, August 15, 2012 1:23 PM
To: cheryl.mills [redacted] huma@clintonemail.com; Fuchs, Michael H; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Meeting request for the Korean Women's Journalist Association with the Clinton Foundation in New York

Checking back on this. Thanks, Ami

From: Amitabh Desai
To: Cheryl Mills <[redacted]>; Huma Abedin (huma@clintonemail.com) <huma@clintonemail.com>; Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Thu Aug 02 13:56:51 2012
Subject: FW: Meeting request for the Korean Women's Journalist Association with the Clinton Foundation in New York

Should we do this? Don't want to get us into trouble with journalists. Thanks, Ami

From: Jay, Andrew [mailto:JayA@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, August 02, 2012 3:14 AM
To: Press WJCF
Cc: Kim, Jung Nim
Subject: FW: Meeting request for the Korean Women's Journalist Association with the Clinton Foundation in New York

Dear Ms. Horsburgh:

Thank you for your prompt reply. We fully understand that you receive many visit requests from reporters around the world and cannot accommodate every request sent your way. With Secretary of State Clinton

making Korea such a priority by already visiting us four times, you can understand why the U.S. Embassy Seoul and the KWJA reporters are so excited about visiting the Clinton Foundation. Perhaps if we explain a little bit more about our trip, you can better understand how a meeting between KWJA reporters and your foundation could benefit both of us.

We can assure you that this is not a visit just to tour your foundation. Rather it would be a very practical meeting seeking concrete program/policy ideas from your experiences. Prominent enough to influence Korean government policies and passionate in their work, these women journalists would like to learn more about programs the Clinton Foundation offers to women and children in developing countries beyond the information that you've already provided through your web-site. They are very much interested in how the foundation works with NGOs in conducting those programs. Moreover they would like you to share your wisdom and experiences for Korean government's future policies/plans to help women and children in need in Korea and North Korea defectors since most of them are women and children.

Attached are brief bios of our five journalists for your information. You may notice that our interpreter, Ms. Kwon Min Ji, is the one who provided interpretation service for former President Bill Clinton when he paid a visit to Pyongyang to help two American woman journalists detained by the North Koreans in 2009. And also please take note that KWJA Chairwoman, Chung Seong Hee, actually translated a book about Secretary Clinton into Korean in 2008. So these women already have a special tie to the Clinton Foundation.

We would greatly appreciate if you could give our meeting request a second look. If granted, KWJA reporters will not be the only beneficiary. We are sure that many Korean women and children in desperate situations as well as North Korean defector women and children would benefit the most if we can meet.

Thank you very much again your reviewing our request,

Sincerely,

Andy Jay

Andy "AJ" Jay

AIO

U.S. Embassy Seoul

Phone: 02-397-4637

From: Press WJCF [<mailto:press@clintonfoundation.org>]
Sent: Wednesday, August 01, 2012 3:39 AM
To: Jay, Andrew
Subject: RE: Meeting request for the Korean Women's Journalist Association with the Clinton Foundation in New York

Dear Mr. Jay,

First we'd like to thank you for reaching out to the William J. Clinton Foundation and for your interest in arranging a meeting between a member of the Clinton Foundation's staff and the journalists who will be visiting from Korea. While we wish we could fulfill every opportunity sent our way, unfortunately we are unable to honor your request due to time constraints and the large volume of requests received. We wish you the best of luck on your endeavors.

Sincerely,

[Stephanie Horsburgh](#)

Press Office

William J. Clinton Foundation

press@clintonfoundation.org

From: Jay, Andrew [<mailto:JayA@state.gov>]
Sent: Friday, July 27, 2012 3:10 AM
To: Press WJCF
Cc: Kim, Jung Nim
Subject: Meeting request for the Korean Women's Journalist Association with the Clinton Foundation in New York

Good afternoon! This is Andy Jay, acting spokesman at the U.S. Embassy in Seoul. I realize this email is out of the blue, and I know you are busy, but I would like to ask for your assistance in setting up a meeting in New York between the Clinton Foundation and a group of senior women Korean journalists.

As part of our efforts to educate Koreans about President Obama and Secretary Clinton's emphasis on women's issues as key elements in our foreign policy, my office is organizing a full week of programs for senior journalist members of the Korea Woman Journalists Association in the United States. The journalists will meet with key stakeholders -- government officials, academics, and NGO representatives -- who work to better the lives and circumstances of women, particularly those who promote women's development in media. Our hope is that through these meetings, these journalists will develop skills they need to succeed in Korea's hyper-competitive media environment. At the same time, we hope that they will report some of what they learn about women's issues on this trip to their Korean audiences, where modernism and Confucian culture sometimes clash.

Accordingly, we would like to request a meeting with a member of your New York-based staff. The Korean reporters would benefit greatly from a meeting and exchange of ideas with the Clinton Foundation, particularly the foundation's support for women in underdeveloped countries and cooperation with NGOs. Schedules permitting, we plan to send the reporters to the U.S. in the last week of September. Would it be possible for you to receive the group and arrange a session for them, set tentatively either for the afternoon of Thursday, September 27, or anytime Friday, September 28? Five Korean journalists and two Embassy staff members, including an interpreter, will participate in the program. The reporters would prefer their meetings take place on the record, but if different levels of attribution are preferred, we will of course work with that.

Again, I know you are extremely busy, so any information or guidance you may be able to provide would be greatly appreciated. Please contact me or Ms. Kim Jung Nim (kimjn@state.gov), our office's Information Assistant, anytime if we can provide additional details.

Thank you very much!

Sincerely,

Andy Jay

Andy "AJ" Jay

AIO

U.S. Embassy Seoul

Phone: 02-397-4637

From: Amitabh Desai <[redacted]> on behalf of Amitabh Desai
Sent: Monday, July 30, 2012 12:52 PM
To: Cheryl Mills; huma abedin (huma@clintonemail.com); huma@clintonemail.com
Cc: jake sullivan <[redacted]> Fuchs, Michael H
Subject: Northern Ireland / Gerry McGeough case
Attachments: Letter from Damian Herron re Northern Ireland.pdf

B6

WJC received the attached letter –we are inclined to send a reply back thanking author for the information on the case and reiterating WJC’s belief that the peace accord requires confidence in the justice system in a general sense. Wanted also first to check with Northern Ireland desk about this case and if any concerns about reply outlined above. Thanks, Ami

RELEASE IN PART B6

Mr. William J. Clinton
55 W. 125th Street
14th Floor
New York, New York 10027-4526

Dear Mr Clinton,

Throughout your term as President of the United States of America, your encouragement and dedication to bringing peace to the North of Ireland was vital. On 30th November 1995, you became the first serving President to visit the North and three years later on 10th April 1998, the Good Friday Agreement was signed, 'officially' bringing the 'troubles' to an end. Ten years later, you marked the tenth anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement in 2008 when you attended the US-Ireland Alliance commemoration at Queen's University in Belfast.

Although the majority of people in Ireland voted in favour of peace, we must not forget that many opposed the Good Friday Agreement from the outset. This includes several politicians who now sit as MLA's within the Stormont Assembly or as MP's at Westminster. They promised to break apart the Peace Agreements. Fourteen years after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, they slowly rewrite the terms agreed by the political parties and the two governments. Quietly, the agreements are being broken and dishonoured.

It began openly in 2007, with the arrest of Gerry McGeough as he left the count centre in Omagh having stood as a candidate in the Assembly elections. A clear and provocative political arrest by the British Government at the behest of those DUP politicians who have always openly opposed the Good Friday Agreement. This is a violation of the terms agreed by the Irish and British Governments in paragraph 20 of the Weston Park Accord (2001). Gerry McGeough was sentenced to twenty years for alleged offences dating back to 1981 and has been incarcerated in Maghaberry prison since 18th February 2011. As a heart patient with six stents inserted, his detention in the middle of a dirty protest is a serious health risk.

Marian Price has been interned without trial and in solitary confinement for over a year and there are serious concerns for her health which continues to deteriorate rapidly. Although the charge against Marian has been dismissed, she remains in prison on further alleged charges based on 'secret evidence' to which nobody, including her lawyers have access. The pardon she received upon her release in 1980 has, according to the British Secretary of State been "lost or shredded".

Martin Corey has been interned without trial in Maghaberry prison since 2010. Martin has not been charged with any offence. His only certainty is that he has been imprisoned at the hands of the British Government.

I have only presented the basic facts in this letter surrounding the cases of Gerry, Marian and Martin. There are other prisoners who also suffer as a direct consequence of the British

Government refusing to adhere to the peace agreements. There is an on-going and escalating dirty protest in Maghaberry prison. The issues surrounding the Boston College subpoenas. Former RUC officers coming out of retirement to fill the ranks of the PSNI. They are not joining the PSNI in the interests of peace and justice.

Actions such as these do not encourage peaceful solutions. They create a distrust of politics and political solutions. They cultivate a desire, in particular amongst the younger generation, for a return to armed conflict. Already, the construction of new prison blocks is underway within Maghaberry prison. They expect a massive increase of Republican prisoners over the next year. Yet, no member of the British State Forces is to face prosecution for events prior to 1998.

When you next visit Ireland, you will not see this side of the Good Friday Agreement. When DUP MLA Arlene Foster next visits America to encourage investment or to raise funds, she will not talk about these things. However, back home in Ireland, she, along with others, will do all they can to encourage this situation to continue.

Mr Clinton, how you personally respond to this letter is entirely your decision. I can only ask for your help and urgent intervention. Without it, there may not be a 20th anniversary celebration of the Good Friday Agreement.

Full details of the Gerry McGeough case can be found on the www.freegerry.com website.

Damian Herron

Northern Chair

Free Gerry McGeough Campaign

25, Main Street

Charlemont, Moy

Dungannon

County Tyrone

BT71 7SF

Ireland

Tel:

Mobile

damian.herron

B6

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted] on behalf of Cheryl Mills
Sent: Saturday, August 11, 2012 9:20 AM
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Fwd: WSJ Op-Ed: Hillary and the Hollowness of 'People-to-People' Diplomacy

B6

Remind me to discuss with you.

cdm

Begin forwarded message:

From: williamsbarrett [redacted]
Date: August 11, 2012 12:56:05 PM GMT+03:00
To: "Jim Kennedy" [redacted], "Cheryl Mills" [redacted]
Cc: "Roy Spence" [redacted], "Judy Trabulsi" [redacted],
"Capricia Marshall-Gmail" [redacted], "Huma Abedin"
<Huma@clintonemail.com>, "Minyon Moore" [redacted]
Subject: Re: WSJ Op-Ed: Hillary and the Hollowness of 'People-to-People' Diplomacy
Reply-To: williamsbarrett [redacted]

Think accomplishment list is a must. Would like to have it worked into a narrative which also anticipates how she will be challenge--framed in Roy's stateswoman frame. Whoever has to, will answer attack by attack whenever it seems smart to do so but think it important to have a narrative/story, with repeatable phrases and key words so a story gets stuck into the heads of people. The basis of this would be a pretty exhaustive Q and A which we just keep adding Qs and As. This is a reference that will be invaluable to her and her surrogates. I think something like this might be process already. Caitlin might work on this.
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: Jim Kennedy <[redacted]>
Date: Sat, 11 Aug 2012 05:34:25 -0400
To: Cheryl Mills<[redacted]>
Cc: <williamsbarrett [redacted]>; Roy Spence<[redacted]>; Judy
Trabulsi [redacted]>; Capricia Marshall-Gmail [redacted]
Huma Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>; Minyon Moore<[redacted]>
Subject: Re: WSJ Op-Ed: Hillary and the Hollowness of 'People-to-People' Diplomacy

I used to like Ajami back in the early 90's when he was a frequent CBS analyst. But he's lost all sense of perspective and nuance. To some extent he undermines his argument by the unrelenting negativity and meanness (even to the point of suggesting historians might not even pay attention to HRC - unbelievable!). Agree that, while a specific response likely unnecessary, there will be a need to mount a vigorous defense of the record by allies, in the form of op-eds, speeches, and availability to comment as others write perspective pieces.
It would be good to have (perhaps it already exists) both a short and long "accomplishments" list that friends and others can have to bolster support. While there is most definitely a generalized sense that she's done a great job, I think for many it's a thin and relatively uninformed

understanding that would benefit from talking points that provide specific examples (of which I'm sure there are many).

On Sat, Aug 11, 2012 at 3:46 AM, Cheryl Mills [redacted] wrote:
good point, but just so we are all clear - this is the essence of what will be the right's attack and there are issues in it that the left will agree with

B6

On Sat, Aug 11, 2012 at 9:45 AM, <williamsbarrett@redacted> wrote:
Pushed send accidentally. To finish.
The world is being transformed, in part, by the leaders and people in new democracies - people who saw what we had and wanted it.
Most importantly he has a book to sell. Think Ted should read the book and prepare a response to XXX. Just for our use, not that this guy should get a response but so we start our As to the incoming Qs.
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: williamsbarrett@redacted
Date: Sat, 11 Aug 2012 06:33:36 +0000
To: Roy Spence<redacted>; Cheryl Mills<redacted>
ReplyTo: williamsbarrett@redacted
Cc: Judy Trabulsi<redacted>; Jim Kennedy<redacted>;
Capricia Marshall-Gmail<redacted>; Huma
Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>; Minyon Moore<redacted>
Subject: Re: WSJ Op-Ed: Hillary and the Hollowness of 'People-to-People' Diplomacy

Also this person only has one notion of what American power looks like. He wishes the world would stay still so his conception of American would be frozen in time. Many of us do but the world is being transformed by the hopes and And last nut not
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: Roy Spence [redacted]
Date: Fri, 10 Aug 2012 22:38:10 -0500
To: Cheryl Mills<redacted>
Cc: Judy Trabulsi<redacted>; Jim Kennedy<redacted>;
Maggie Williams<redacted>; Capricia Marshall-
Gmail<redacted>; Huma Abedin-Personal<Huma@clintonemail.com>;
Minyon Moore<redacted>
Subject: Re: WSJ Op-Ed: Hillary and the Hollowness of 'People-to-People' Diplomacy

Always remember. The intellectual elite hated both bill and Hillary. They are less relevant than ever. The heartland meaning the 70 plus percent of those who vote. Hate the elite on both sides. We must care more about those who are struggling than those who are writing about it. Level 5 leaders care more about those who are trying to make it than those who have a pov who have never been in arena we must not Care what the elite care about. Ever again ever again. Love
Sent from my iPhone

On Aug 10, 2012, at 9:48 PM, "Cheryl Mills" <cheryl.mills@redacted> wrote:

Harsh read and the beginning of the legacy attack.

cdm

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Mills, Cheryl D" <MillsCD@state.gov>
Date: August 11, 2012 5:09:58 AM GMT+03:00
To: <cheryl.mills@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: WSJ Op-Ed: Hillary and the Hollowness of 'People-to-People' Diplomacy

B6

From: Nuland, Victoria J
Sent: Friday, August 10, 2012 09:47 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma
Subject: Fw: WSJ Op-Ed: Hillary and the Hollowness of 'People-to-People' Diplomacy

From: PA Clips [mailto:paclips@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, August 10, 2012 07:00 PM
To: PA-Monitoring-Group-DL
Subject: WSJ Op-Ed: Hillary and the Hollowness of 'People-to-People' Diplomacy

Updated August 10, 2012, 6:51 p.m. ET

Hillary and the Hollowness of 'People-to-People' Diplomacy

Nearly a million miles in the air. And U.S. power is diminished.

By FOUAD AJAMI

The sight of Hillary Clinton cutting a rug on the dance floor this week in South Africa gives away the moral obtuseness of America's chief diplomat. That image will tell the people of the besieged Syrian city of Aleppo, under attack by a merciless regime, all they need to know about the heartlessness of U.S. foreign policy.

True authority over foreign affairs has been vested in the White House, and for that matter, in the Obama campaign apparatus. All the great decisions on foreign policy—Iraq and Afghanistan, the struggle raging in Syria, the challenge posed by the Iranian regime—have been subjugated to the needs of the campaign. All that is left for Mrs. Clinton is the pomp and ceremony and hectic travel schedule.

Much has been made of her time in the air. She is now officially the most traveled secretary of state in American history. She has logged, by one recent count, 843,458 miles and visited 102 countries. (This was before her recent African swing; doubtless her handlers will revise the figures.) In one dispatch, it was breakfast in Vietnam, lunch in Laos, dinner in Cambodia. Officially, she's always the life of the party.

This is foreign policy trivialized. If Harry Truman's secretary of state, Dean Acheson, was "present at the creation" of the post-World War II order of states, historians who bother with Mrs. Clinton will judge her as marking time, a witness to the erosion of U.S. authority in the international order.

After settling into her post in early 2009, she made it clear that the "freedom agenda" of the prior administration would be sacrificed. "Ideology is so yesterday," she bluntly proclaimed in April of that year. This is what her boss had intended all along. The herald of change in international affairs, the man who had hooked crowds in Paris and Berlin and Cairo, was, at heart, a trimmer, timid about America's possibilities beyond its shores.

Preside

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Jones, Beth E <jonesae3@state.gov> on behalf of Jones, Beth E
Sent: Monday, August 20, 2012 9:14 PM
To: huma@clintonemail.com; Zeya, Uzra S; jake.sullivan [redacted] dibbleeel@state.gov;
Lakhdir, Kamala S
Subject: Re: Fos ad hoc meeting

B6

Super, thank you!

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

From: Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, August 20, 2012 07:59 PM
To: Zeya, Uzra S; 'jake.sullivan' [redacted] Jones, Beth E;
'dibbleeel@state.gov' [redacted] Lakhdir, Kamala S
Subject: Fos ad hoc meeting

Apologies my state email down today so I'm just catching up
S totally fine with this plan
And we will get her to morocco as well
Thanks

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <sullivanjj@state.gov> on behalf of Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thursday, November 4, 2010 6:01 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: To read on the trip
Attachments: Project Proposal 29Oct2010.doc

B6

From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Nov 04 17:11:47 2010
Subject: To read on the trip

Robert Pape is a top strategic thinker from U of Chicago who is best known for his empirical work showing a strong correlation between suicide terrorism and occupation by foreign troops. In his new work he is proposing a grand strategy of off-shore/on-shore balancing, where we keep nimble deployable military forces over the horizon and use

From: rpape [redacted]
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Cc: [redacted] Sokolsky, Richard D; McAuliffe, Marisa S
Sent: Fri Oct 29 15:07:58 2010
Subject: Asking to Meet with You

Dear Anne-Marie,

As we discussed during your salon dinner with Steve Clemons at Nora's, I am developing a practical strategy of "off-shore/on-shore balancing" that would involve key USG agencies.

As the attached proposal explains, the new strategy is substantially different from previous historical constructs in the literature on American grand strategy and offers important advantages to improve our position in Afghanistan and other regions in the world in the coming years.

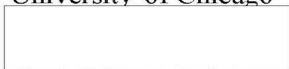
Going forward, I would like make sure I have State's views correct. If you and your staff could meet with me later next week, this would greatly help.

I look forward to further discussion.

Bob

--

Robert A. Pape
Professor, Political Science Department
Director, Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism
University of Chicago



cpost.uchicago.edu

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Tuesday, November 2, 2010 9:21 PM
To: fuchsmh@state.gov; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: woodardew@state.gov
Subject: Re: Sudan

B6

Send to this account asap please

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

From: Fuchs, Michael H <FuchsMH@state.gov>
To: Huma Abedin; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: Woodard, Eric W <WoodardEW@state.gov>
Sent: Tue Nov 02 21:19:05 2010
Subject: Re: Sudan

Yes, Nov. 16th. Just forwarded the details I've got

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

From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
To: Fuchs, Michael H; 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]
Cc: Woodard, Eric W
Sent: Tue Nov 02 21:11:46 2010
Subject: Sudan

M - Can you confirm unsc on nov 16th.
And send details if u have them?

From: Nora Toiv [redacted] on behalf of Nora Toiv
Sent: Tuesday, September 4, 2012 3:31 PM
To: Amitabh Desai
Cc: Cheryl Mills; jake.sullivan [redacted]; huma abedin (huma@clintonemail.com); huma@clintonemail.com
Subject: Re: Colombia / President Santos

B6

I'll check. I'm also working on the visa issue.

On Tue, Sep 4, 2012 at 3:23 PM, Amitabh Desai [redacted] wrote:

President Santos folks said he reopened negotiations with FARC and it would be helpful if WJC could say something positive publicly (along lines of what's below). Would USG have any concerns? This would NOT be a formal printed statement; just something for WJC to weave into public remarks at some point in the near future. Thanks, Ami

Colombia's transformation in the past decade - from the brink of being declared failed state to being celebrated as an economic miracle - is perhaps the biggest success story in the hemisphere.

The process that began in 2001 with Plan Colombia - one of the most successful bipartisan foreign policy initiatives of recent years - had one goal in mind: greater security for the Colombian people.

Colombia has made great progress: the country as a whole is safer than it was ten years ago. And though Colombia continues to be plagued by an internal conflict that is almost fifty years old, the last conflict in the Americas, there is now an end in sight.

We in the international community must wholeheartedly support President Santos' efforts to bring an end to fifty years of violence through negotiations with the FARC guerrilla group.

Peace in Colombia is a victory not just for Colombia, but for the region and the world.

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Thursday, November 11, 2010 8:49 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Schedule request?

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

If you wanted her to, I'm sure she would seriously consider.

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

From: jake.sullivan [redacted]
To: Huma Abedin
Sent: Thu Nov 11 08:48:01 2010
Subject: Fw: Schedule request?

Hey - any chance at all that she would be willing to do this?

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

From: Sara Grewing
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Schedule request?
Sent: Oct 6, 2010 5:55 PM

B6

[redacted]

At any rate - wondering if you could share a contact with me on a weird scheduling request. The Minnesota Women Lawyers would like to invite the Secretary to keynote their gala this winter. (Not the best time to invite someone to come to Minnesota, I know...) I've attended several times and it's a great group - they list former Canadian Prime Minister Kim Campbell, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, US Attorney General Janet Reno, Professor Anita Hill, Cokie Roberts, Gwen Ifel, Michelle Norris, Jan Crawford Greenburg, Coretta Scott King, Nadine Strossen and Marian Wright Edelman as former speakers.

They can be very flexible about the date. Let me know if you can help me help them with a contact. I realize this is WAYYYY below your paygrade.

Hope you're doing well! Would love to catch up soon.

SG

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

From: aclb [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, November 11, 2010 8:30 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Note

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

Great Thanks.

From: jake.sullivan [redacted]
To: aclb
Sent: Thu Nov 11 04:47:12 2010
Subject: Re: Note

Thanks - I've printed for her.

Hope you're well,

Jake

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

From: aclb [redacted]
Date: Thu, 11 Nov 2010 01:15:29 +0000
To: 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]
Subject: Note

Hi Hillary. Here is the note I promised. It is at least a first stab. I would be grateful if it could be kept just between us.

Best Tony

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RELEASE IN PART B6

From: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, November 11, 2010 7:00 AM
To: Terry Krinvic; huma@clintonemail.com
Subject: Re: Fw: How do I get through to Bill Clinton?

B6

Awesome - tx

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

From: Terry Krinvic [redacted]
Date: Wed, 10 Nov 2010 19:06:03 -0500
To: Huma@clintonemail.com<Huma@clint onemail.com>;
jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Fw: How do I get through to Bill Clinton?

Of course.
Send to this address. [redacted]

Best
Terry

From: Huma Abedin
To: Jake Sullivan
Cc: Terry Krinvic
Sent: Wed Nov 10 19:01:51 2010
Subject: RE: Fw: How do I get through to Bill Clinton?
terry - can they email you directly so you can consider this?

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 10, 2010 3:27 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Fwd: Fw: How do I get through to Bill Clinton?

hey -- thoughts?

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Edward Meier [redacted]
Date: Wed, Nov 10, 2010 at 3:04 PM
Subject: Fw: How do I get through to Bill Clinton?
To: Jake Sullivan [redacted], Jake Sullivan <sullivanjj@state.gov >

Any chance we can help Rafael with this? If not, no problem. Just want to see how you would handle this.

----- Forwarded Message -----

From: "Anchia, Rafael" [redacted]
To: Edward Meier [redacted]

Sent: Wed, November 10, 2010 2:16:18 PM
Subject: How do I get through to Bill Clinton?

Ed:

The Basque region in Spain wants to bring him in to give a speech and a large bank is willing to pay for it. Who are the gatekeepers? Feel free to call me to discuss.

Thanks,

haynes boone

Rafael M. Anchia

Partner

[Redacted]

Haynes and Boone, LLP

2323 Victory Avenue

Suite 700

Dallas, TX 75219-7673

(t) [Redacted]
(f) [Redacted]

[vCard](#) | [Bio](#) | [Website](#)

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B1,B5,1.4(D)**

PLAN



B1
1.4(D)
B5

**Classified by Director A/GIS/IPS, Acting, DoS on 11/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~
Reason: 1.4(D), B5 ~ Declassify on: 11/01/2025**



B1
1.4(D)
B5

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Capricia Marshall <[redacted]> on behalf of Capricia Marshall
Sent: Tuesday, September 4, 2012 2:31 PM
To: PIR
Cc: H; jake.sullivan <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Paralympics

B6

Really fascinating. Had no idea was this complicated.

Sent from my iPad

On Sep 4, 2012, at 6:23 PM, PIR <preines@[redacted]> wrote:

August 31, 2012

At Paralympics, First Thing Judged Is Disability

By SARAH LYALL
The New York Times

LONDON — Anthony Dawson, who has cerebral palsy and little muscle function on his right side, rode for South Africa in the first round of the equestrian dressage competition at the Paralympics on Thursday, guiding his horse through an intricately choreographed series of movements.

Last summer he had to perform an altogether different set of exercises in front of a medical professional, a way of determining what for many is the most crucial and potentially fraught aspect of the Paralympics: the disability category in which he would compete.

There are five grades for Paralympic equestrians, ranging from 1A, for the most severely disabled riders, to IV, for the least impaired. Dawson, 17, was put in Grade II, the group to which he has been assigned in every evaluation he has gone through. He is confident that he belongs there, though some of his competitors clearly are not: so far in his brief career, Dawson said, he has been the subject of eight official complaints about his classification.

“They were saying that I’m too able for Grade II,” he said. “But Grade II is by far the most diverse grade, and that’s where I’ve always been placed.” He added dryly, “I have really gotten to know the classifiers.”

The London Paralympics, which opened Wednesday, are no less competitive than the Olympics held here earlier this summer. The Paralympics are the largest ever, with 4,200 athletes competing in 20 sports. Some are in wheelchairs, some are wholly or partially blind, some have three, two, one or no limbs, some have dwarfism, some have intellectual deficits, some have complex coordination and muscle-control problems and some have multisymptom conditions like multiple sclerosis.

The classifiers, as they are called, must ensure that athletes compete against others with similar levels of ability — an exercise in physical examination and assessment that exists nowhere else in sports.

“It’s not always as simple as if you’re just dealing with amputations, for example — one arm, one leg,” said Christine Meaden, chief classifier for the International Paralympic Equestrian Committee. “We have people with coordination problems, paralysis, amputations and visual impairments — and people who have a mixture of types of disabilities.”

Paralympians have to be assessed by international classifiers before arriving at the Games. But, said Peter van der Vliet, the International Paralympic Committee’s chief medical classifier, some 245 athletes here have been deemed borderline — hovering between one grade and another — and have been reassessed at the Games. Forty have been moved to different classifications, and eight athletes (in track and field, swimming and judo) have been ruled ineligible and sent home because, he said, they did not meet “the minimal disability criterion.”

The classification process is multifaceted and different for each sport. Riders in international equestrian events are observed riding in competition. They also have to undergo face-to-face medical evaluations from two international classifiers, involving a range of movements that tests for strength, coordination and flexibility. The exercises can be as straightforward as touching a finger and thumb together, moving the shoulder, or placing a heel in set spots on the ground.

“They seem like simple tasks,” said Dawson, “but when I started doing them I was like, ‘Oh, my life — this is so difficult.’ ”

The system is meant to focus on the athletes’ physical abilities and on the limitations their disabilities impose, not on their riding prowess. But it can anger competitors who believe that they are being forced to compete against people who are less disabled than they are.

“People will say, ‘You shouldn’t be in grade 1A — you ride so well,’ ” said Donna Ponessa, a rider on the United States team. She has multiple sclerosis and is paralyzed from the chest down. She uses a wheelchair and a ventilator, except when she rides. “But I’ve given up a year and a half of my life for the Olympics,” she said — time almost entirely spent riding, exercising at the gym or working.

Riders with fluctuating conditions like multiple sclerosis are frequently re-evaluated, and athletes unhappy with their classifications can appeal.

“There are two reasons for this,” Mr. van der Vliet said. “First, it’s a fundamental right that if an athlete believes a wrong decision is taken, he has a right to protest. And with some athletes their default mode is that they will challenge a decision any time they can when they are not in agreement with it.”

Swimming has 10 classifications for athletes with different physical impairments, plus three more for visual impairments and one for athletes with intellectual deficits. For that reason it is particularly prone to challenges, and swimmers say they sometimes suspect that athletes have not been classified correctly.

Three weeks before she was set to compete in the London Paralympics, Mallory Weggemann, an American swimmer who is paralyzed from the waist down, learned that officials from the International Paralympic Committee had questions about her level of ability and were requiring her to submit to reclassification in London.

Weggemann has always swum at the S7 level, against athletes who, for instance, might have double leg amputations or paralysis down one side of their bodies. But after a physical evaluation by two examiners four days ago, she was abruptly moved to level S8, a class in which the athletes are less disabled.

“I have no function or feeling from the belly button down, and now I’m competing against people who are, say, missing just one arm or have leg amputations below the knee,” Weggeman said. “I think there’s a significant difference in functional ability between myself and the new competitors.”

It works both ways, and athletes say they have all heard of instances of people trying to game the system.

“I think I’m in the right class, but always there are some people who — how do you say this? — lie a little more than others and pretend to be worse than they are,” said Amaya Alonso, a Spanish swimmer who competed Thursday in the women’s 400-meter freestyle S12 class, for swimmers with visual impairments.

One competitor, who did not want to be identified talking about cheating, said: “You hear people say, ‘Well, I know what it takes to be a I or a II.’ Everybody is in search of that win, present company included, and I’m told that some people are less than scrupulous.”

Asked if the system was vulnerable to abuse, Mr. van der Vliet said: “I can counter that one with a question: can I eliminate doping from the Games?” (The answer is no.)

The most notorious example of Paralympic classification manipulation took place at the 2000 Games in Sydney. The Spanish men’s intellectual disability basketball team was stripped of its gold medal after it emerged that many of its members were not intellectually disabled at all.

After that, mentally disabled athletes were barred from the Paralympics while officials revised the classification process; they are back again this year.

The athletes say they sympathize with the difficulties faced by the classifiers, who are forced to determine how to sort people who have several hundred different types and degrees of disability.

“No system is perfect,” Dale Dedrick, a U.S. para-equestrian who has systemic lupus and competes at Level II, said in an e-mail. “Before I would wish to challenge someone else’s disability, however, I would consider carefully the old adage of walking a mile in their shoes.”

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Tuesday, September 25, 2012 2:31 PM
To: Ami Desai; cheryl.mills [redacted] jake.sullivan [redacted] mfuchs [redacted]
Subject: Re: WJC meeting Morsi today at 3pm

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

Good cause he blew off all the heads of state at the UN lunch

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

From: Amitabh Desai [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, September 25, 2012 02:25 PM
To: Huma Abedin; cheryl.mills [redacted] jake.sullivan [redacted]
[redacted] mfuchs [redacted]
Subject: WJC meeting Morsi today at 3pm

They are going to sit down together for a few minutes before they go into the CGI closing plenary

From: Amitabh Desai <[redacted]> on behalf of Amitabh Desai
Sent: Wednesday, September 26, 2012 3:32 PM
To: cheryl.mills@[redacted]; mfuchs@[redacted]; huma@clintonemail.com;
jake.sullivan@[redacted]
Subject: Fw: President Banda's MOU with Clinton Global Initiative

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

FYI (walker is malawi country director for clinton development initiative)

From: Walker Morris
To: Jeanine Jackson <JacksonJE@state.gov>
Cc: Arbuckle, Doug (Lilongwe) <darbuckle@usaid.gov>; Amitabh Desai
Sent: Wed Sep 26 12:51:05 2012
Subject: Re: President Banda's MOU with Clinton Global Initiative

Dear Jeanine,

We are very excited about CDI's future work in Malawi and certainly see great opportunity to collaborate. Our focus will continue to be on helping large numbers of smallholder farmers increase their yields, their access to markets and their profits. Soya will continue to be a focus crop for our work with smallholders, but we also recognize the opportunity available in groundnuts. We will be expanding our commercial farming operation to additional farms, and with that we are looking at how we might have a much greater impact on the agricultural sector by being directly involved in the seed production business.

The MOU with the government reinforces our interest in supporting broader adoption of many of the elements that we have found to be so effective in our project.

I am working with Bagie Sherchand at DAI on ways that we might partner in a number of ways.

I have copied Ami Desai, President Clinton's Foreign Policy Advisor, who is very involved in our work in Malawi. Ami and I would like to set up a telephone call with you to talk about our plans, your plans and where we can collaborate. Please let me know days and times that would work best for you.

Walker

On 9/25/12 2:26 AM, "Jeanine Jackson" <JacksonJE@state.gov> wrote:

Walker, We are wondering here what the MOU means for future, and hopefully, increased investment in Malawi by CDI. We understand it was focused on supporting her initiative to reduce poverty and hunger, which is very much aligned with our Feed the Future spending here. Will be anxious to collaborate once you have an idea of the MOU's intent.

Thanks.

Ambassador Jackson

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Nora Toiv [redacted] on behalf of Nora Toiv
Sent: Friday, September 7, 2012 10:48 AM
To: Amitabh Desai
Cc: Fuchs, Michael H; jake.sullivan [redacted]; Cheryl Mills; huma abedin (huma@clintonemail.com); huma@clintonemail.com
Subject: Re: FW: Mayor of Istanbul

B6

EUR reports "No cause for concern from Istanbul's perspective. Topbas is not a political heavyweight on the national level, but I'm told he has a good track record of promoting tolerance and interfaith dialogue."

On Thu, Sep 6, 2012 at 3:39 PM, Amitabh Desai <[redacted]> wrote:

Would welcome your thoughts about WJC potentially giving CGI award to Mayor of Istanbul in a few weeks:

From: Megan Bambino
Sent: Thursday, September 06, 2012 3:16 PM
To: Amitabh Desai
Subject: Mayor of Istanbul

Hi Ami,

Do you know anything about the Mayor of Istanbul, Kadir Topbas? If so, any thoughts about him being nominated for the public service award?

Thanks for your help.

Megan

Kadir Topbaş

Mayor of Istanbul

Mr. Topbaş is the current Mayor of Istanbul and President of United Cities and Local Governments, and an expert in urban rehabilitation, social transformation and the management of the urban challenges faced by fast-growing cities.

Facts ([source](#))

- graduated as an architect and later obtained a PhD in architectural history at Istanbul University
- worked as a freelance architect for several years
- between 1994 and 1998, he served as the architectural adviser to Istanbul Mayor (and now Prime Minister) Recep Tayyip Erdogan, overseeing the restoration of a number of historic buildings in the city
- appointed as deputy director of the Ministry of Culture's Heritage Protection and Monuments
- 1999-2004 Mayor of Beyoglu district in Istanbul
- 2004-present Mayor of Istanbul; re-elected for a second term in 2009 and recently announced his candidacy for a third term in elections in 2014
- since 2007 co-president of the United Cities and Local Governments organization, where he focuses on:
 - supporting decentralization in developing countries
 - corporate – city partnerships
 - city development strategies
 - disaster risk reduction
- In 2008, he was short-listed for the World Mayor Award
- Mayor Topbas visited Brooklyn this April where he was presented with a special award during the Turkish Cultural Center's annual Friendship Dinner at the Baku Palace
- In July 2012, he was nominated as a member of the post-MDGs High-Level Panel

Megan Bambino

Program Manager

CLINTON GLOBAL INITIATIVE

TEL: Mobile:

B6

megan.bambino

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <sullivanjj@state.gov> on behalf of Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sunday, November 21, 2010 4:11 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: (Jerusalem Post) PM: Cabinet to review US freeze deal when we get letter

B6

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Nov 21 15:51:46 2010
Subject: Re: (Jerusalem Post) PM: Cabinet to review US freeze deal when we get letter

Great game--even when played by girls! Will we be sending letter or not? Can you talk?

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

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
To: H
Sent: Sun Nov 21 14:33:40 2010
Subject: Fw: (Jerusalem Post) PM: Cabinet to review US freeze deal when we get letter

Fyi - Prince is working with Dermer to get a common line.

Meanwhile, I just watched my first ever women's field hockey game - Maryland beat UNC to win the national championship.

From: Rudnitski, Jennine R
To: NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-NEA
Cc: SES-O_OS; SES-O_Shift-II
Sent: Sun Nov 21 12:03:58 2010
Subject: (Jerusalem Post) PM: Cabinet to review US freeze deal when we get letter

(Jerusalem Post) Prime Minister Netanyahu met with Likud MKs and deputy ministers to discuss the U.S. proposal for a 90-day construction freeze, November 21. In the meeting, Netanyahu told the Likud officials: "I have a responsibility that includes making the best decision for the state of Israel and its national interests, foremost, its security." He continued, "We still haven't received the written agreement from the Americans on the basic understandings." The prime minister assured those attending the meeting, "If we receive a written agreement, I will bring it to the cabinet and I am sure that the ministers will approve it because it is what's best for the state of Israel." He added, "If we don't receive such a document, I won't bring the issue [of a freeze] to the cabinet."

Earlier in the day thousands of settlers protested outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem against the potential freeze. National Infrastructures Minister Uzi Landau, an opponent of an additional freeze, addressed the demonstrators. Dozens of youngsters also blocked the entrance to Jerusalem. Police dispersed the protesters and arrested two people. Over the weekend, Kadima MK Avi Dichter told The Jerusalem Post, "The total freeze for 10 months was a serious mistake," said Dichter. "It was clear that it would

come to an end, and that in those 10 months nothing dramatic could happen between Israel and the Palestinians - leaving us in the same situation as at the beginning."

"Netanyahu made a second mistake when he didn't agree to the American request to extend a two-month freeze immediately on September 26, and insist that it was the last freeze. If he had, we'd be one week away from the end, rather than in our current state," he said. Dichter said the "main problem is that the topic of the freeze has become the central topic of discussion, rather than talks between us and the Palestinians."

From: Amitabh Desai [redacted] on behalf of Amitabh Desai
Sent: Saturday, September 22, 2012 6:36 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Barak

B6

Yessir

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

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
To: Cheryl Mills [redacted]
Cc: Amitabh Desai; Mfuchs [redacted] huma@clintonemail.com
<huma@clintonemail.com>; mararudmar [redacted]
Sent: Sat Sep 22 18:02:19 2012
Subject: Re: Barak

HRC sees Barak at 5, so Ami can you call me right after the meeting?

On 9/22/12, Cheryl Mills [redacted] wrote:

> Mike -can you get those to him?

>

> cdm

>

> On Sat, Sep 22, 2012 at 3:45 PM, Amitabh Desai

> [redacted]

>> wrote:

>

>> WJC is seeing Ehud Barak tomorrow at 1:45pm ET. We'd be happy to include

>> USG TPs in his briefing if it would be helpful. Sincerely, Ami

>

From: Mike Fuchs [redacted] on behalf of Mike Fuchs
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 8:15 PM
To: Amitabh Desai
Cc: jake.sullivan [redacted]; cheryl.mills [redacted] huma@clintonemail.com
Subject: Re: WJC likely seeing Yemen President Hadi tomorrow evening

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

i'll check with our folks

On Mon, Sep 24, 2012 at 5:55 PM, Amitabh Desai
[redacted] wrote:
> Should we give him USG TPs? Thanks.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: mararudman [redacted]
Sent: Saturday, September 22, 2012 6:31 PM
To: Michael Fuchs; Cheryl Mills
Cc: Ami Desai; jake.sullivan [redacted] huma@clintonemail.com
Subject: Re: Barak

B6

(Israelis here too.)
Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

From: mararudman [redacted]
Date: Sat, 22 Sep 2012 22:31:00 +0000
To: Michael Fuchs [redacted] Cheryl Mills [redacted]
ReplyTo: mararudman [redacted]
Cc: Ami Desai [redacted]; jake.sullivan [redacted]
huma@clintonemail.com<huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: Barak

I am here in nyc leading usg delegation for Pal donor coordination mtg tmrw (Ad Hoc Liaison Committee mtg (AHLC)) so let me know if you need anything from me.
Mara
Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

From: Michael Fuchs [redacted]
Date: Sat, 22 Sep 2012 18:13:07 -0400
To: Cheryl Mills [redacted]
Cc: Amitabh Desai [redacted]; jake.sullivan [redacted]
huma@clintonemail.com<huma@clintonemail.com>; mararudman [redacted]
Subject: Re: Barak

Will do

On Sep 22, 2012, at 4:10 PM, Cheryl Mills [redacted] wrote:

Mike -can you get those to him?

cdm

On Sat, Sep 22, 2012 at 3:45 PM, Amitabh Desai [redacted] wrote:
WJC is seeing Ehud Barak tomorrow at 1:45pm ET. We'd be happy to include USG TPs in his briefing if it would be helpful. Sincerely, Ami

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Michael Fuchs [redacted] on behalf of Michael Fuchs
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 6:58 AM
To: Amitabh Desai
Cc: cheryl.mills [redacted] nora.toiv [redacted] jake.sullivan [redacted]
huma@clintonemail.com
Subject: Re: WJC seeing Libyan President Weds morning

B6

I'll check

On Sep 23, 2012, at 8:22 PM, Amitabh Desai
[redacted] wrote:

> Should we give him any USG TPs? Thanks, Ami

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Wednesday, September 26, 2012 4:07 PM
To: Ami Desai; cheryl.mills [REDACTED]; mfuchs [REDACTED]; jake.sullivan [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: He had v good meeting with Libya and Burma

B6

Yes hrc looking forward to hearing about burma. We meet at 545. I believe you have downloaded to jake?

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

From: Amitabh Desai [mailto:[REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, September 26, 2012 02:47 PM
To: cheryl.mills [REDACTED]; Huma Abedin; Mfuchs [REDACTED]; jake.sullivan [REDACTED]
Subject: He had v good meeting with Libya and Burma

B6

Happy to call you with download if helpful. Sincerely, Ami

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Amitabh Desai <[redacted]> on behalf of Amitabh Desai
Sent: Tuesday, September 25, 2012 9:59 PM
To: cheryl.mills [redacted] huma@clintonemail.com; mfuchs [redacted]
jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Dilma readout

B6

B6

WJC saw President Rousseff and as part of their meeting he mentioned HRC would step down at end of first term. Seemed like news to Rousseff.

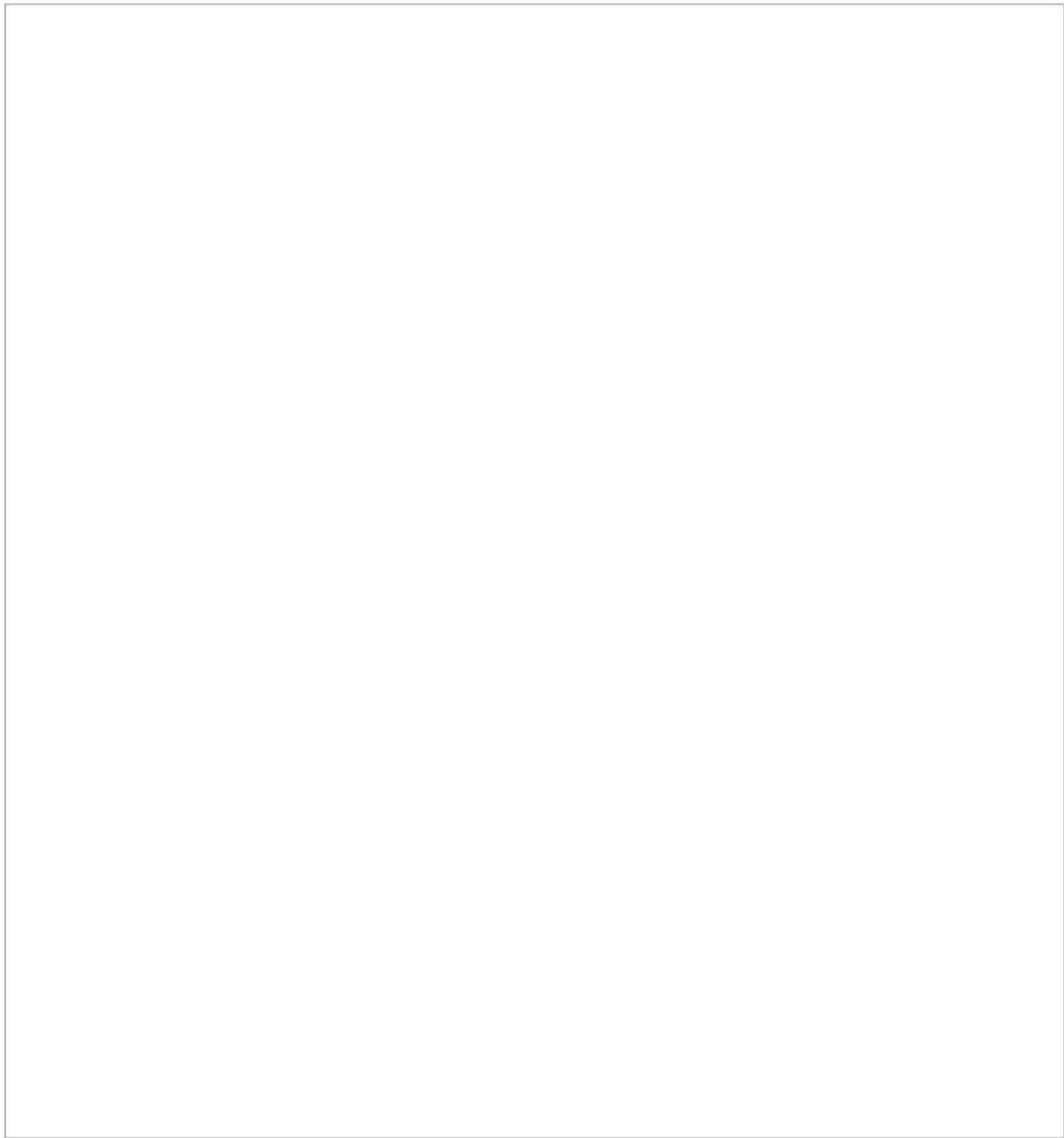
From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Friday, December 3, 2010 10:53 AM
To: Abedin, Huma; Huma Abedin
Subject: here you go
Attachments: bahrain_manama_dialogue_draft_v6 .docx

B6

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT THE MANAMA DIALOGUE
MANAMA, BAHRAIN
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, 2010**

**RELEASE IN
PART B5**

B5



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B6

From: Amitabh Desai [redacted] on behalf of Amitabh Desai
Sent: Wednesday, September 26, 2012 5:17 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Burma

B6

TS said he wanted to see WJC to get advice on reforms, since WJC has done reforms in US effectively
TS said HRC is a close friend so WJC is too
WJC commended TS for making tough decisions, said Myanmar has great potential
WJC mentioned work of CF and offered to help in any way
TS said he already had asked HRC about WJC foundation and wanted to invite WJC foundation to work in myanmar in collaboration with gov agencies and other ngos, and also invite WJC to come and visit with family
WJC said would love to visit and would be happy to explore helping via foundation
TS invited WJC to open offices in Rangoon and Mandalay
They talked of importance of small farmers and agri-processing and processing of things like rubber
TS said please come to work via Foundation and also encourage investors to come
WJC offered to bring investor delegation to myanmar
TS said they want labor-intensive industries
TS said political reforms are important but they have very little experience with democracy and they know that political reforms alone won't help - they want and need econ reforms
TS said priorities are farmers, children, mothers, and poverty alleviation. want to provide higher wages and more educational opportunities
TS said the assistance of people like WJC would give them confidence on further reforms
TS said China and Bangladesh potential markets for raw and processed goods
WJC stressed there is enormous interest in US to see Myanmar succeed - they have a moment now, and should seize it
TS said they need capital for investments, technology, and capacity
WJC said they have a good start b/c they have good organizational skills
WJC asked about energy and TS said they spend \$400 million importing oil. Electricity generated domestically via hydro and natural gas (which on-land is extracted by state association
WJC said energy increasingly important relative to labor costs since manufacturing now requires less labor
Overall WJC committed to bring a trade delegation and said we'll look at health and education and present some options and then we and they can decide together on a plan and then WJC will go there to announce/do it

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

From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
To: Amitabh Desai; 'cheryl.mills [redacted]'; 'Mfuchs [redacted]'; 'jake.sullivan [redacted]'; [redacted]
Sent: Wed Sep 26 16:06:32 2012
Subject: Re: He had v good meeting with Libya and Burma

Yes hrc looking forward to hearing about burma. We meet at 545. I believe you have downloaded to jake?

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

From: Amitabh Desai [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, September 26, 2012 02:47 PM

B6

To: cheryl.mills [redacted] ; Huma Abedin; Mfuchs.mike [redacted]

[redacted] jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: He had v good meeting with Libya and Burma

B6
B6

Happy to call you with download if helpful. Sincerely, Ami

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H
Sent: Tuesday, November 30, 2010 6:38 PM
To: preines [redacted] jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: cheryl.mills [redacted]
Subject: Fw: on The Huffington Post by David Helfenbein "Jack Shafer: How Dare You Call for the Resignation of Secretary Clinton"

B6

Nice words from David. Can we get other voices out there making the case? Even my husband told me he was confused about my ordering diplomats to "spy" at the UN and was relieved to hear I had not but wondered why I didn't say that. Also, Stengel at TIME interviewed Assange by Skype and gave him a platform to call for me to resign over my spying. I still think we need to address this.

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

From: David Helfenbein [redacted]
To: David Helfenbein [redacted]
Sent: Tue Nov 30 18:28:02 2010
Subject: on The Huffington Post by David Helfenbein "Jack Shafer: How Dare You Call for the Resignation of Secretary Clinton"

The Huffington Post

"Jack Shafer: How Dare You Call for the Resignation of Secretary Clinton
<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-helfenbein/jack-shafer-how-dare-you-_b_790055.html>
" by David Helfenbein

Jack Shafer of Slate Magazine recently called for the resignation of Secretary Clinton.

I have something to say to you, Jack: how dare you.

Secretary Clinton has been nothing but an asset to the U.S. Department of State and to the United States of America as a leader and a diplomat, working tirelessly representing this nation across the globe and helping to restore America's reputation.

As a recent, and now former State Department employee, I can say that I have seen no one work more tirelessly than Secretary Clinton to try and achieve diplomatic successes and I am not sure I ever will again in my lifetime. Go to www.State.gov <<http://www.State.gov/>> to see how many places she has traveled to, how many foreign leaders she has met with, and how much work she has accomplished in so little time.

Jack Shafer tries to make the point that Clinton can no longer be an effective diplomat after these leaks. I have heard similar stories before with Secretary Clinton: "She cannot possibly work with President Obama after such a contentious election;" "There is no way she can work among 99 other Senators without stealing all of the limelight." And which of these stories actually came to fruition? So you know what I have to say to Mr. Shafer's claim? Hit the road, Jack. The Secretary will be just as effective as she was before.

The blame here rests with whoever leaked the documents. Don't lose sight of the issue at hand. We have, and will continue to have, an outstanding Secretary of State.

Follow David Helfenbein on Twitter: www.twitter.com/DavidHelfenbein

Link to article: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-helfenbein/jack-shafer-how-dare-you-_b_790055.html

From: Abedin, Huma <abedinh@state.gov> on behalf of Abedin, Huma
Sent: Friday, December 3, 2010 10:55 AM
To: jake.sullivan[redacted] huma@clintonemail.com
Subject: Re: here you go

B6

Ok

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
To: Abedin, Huma; Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Fri Dec 03 10:52:47 2010
Subject: here you go

NEAR DUPLICATE

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Friday, December 3, 2010 1:38 AM
To: Rooney, Megan
Subject: Fwd: The speech

B6

NEAR
DUPLICATE

----- Forwarded message -----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com >
Date: Fri, Dec 3, 2010 at 2:54 AM
Subject: The speech
To: "jake.sullivan" [redacted], "sullivanjj@state.gov" <sullivanjj@state.gov>, "rooneym@state.gov" <rooneym@state.gov >

B6

I apologize, but now that I am really focussed on it, I have some problems.

First, and easy to address, the long intro needs tightening and editing. [redacted]

B5

Maybe I'm wicki whacked out, but I'm trying to read everything from a hypercritical view. [redacted]

I hope this makes sense--we should talk later in the morning.

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Friday, December 3, 2010 11:05 AM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: here you go

B6

then megan will send another version before then

On Fri, Dec 3, 2010 at 7:01 PM, Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> wrote:
Ok she's lying down so may not see it for 30 min.

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

From: Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
To: Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Dec 03 10:58:17 2010
Subject: Re: here you go

k -- not/not the final. but very very close and she can familiarize herself.

On Fri, Dec 3, 2010 at 6:56 PM, Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> wrote:

Printing

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

From: Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
To: Abedin, Huma <abedinh@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Sent: Fri Dec 03 10:52:47 2010
Subject: here you go

From: Cheryl Mills <[redacted]> on behalf of Cheryl Mills
Sent: Saturday, September 29, 2012 1:19 PM
To: jake.sullivan <[redacted]> Philippe Reines **RELEASE IN PART B5,B6**
Subject: Fwd: REVISED Key points

B6

My suggested thoughts:

John:



B5



B5

On Sat, Sep 29, 2012 at 11:49 AM, Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov> wrote:

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

From: Sullivan, Jacob J

Sent: Saturday, September 29, 2012 11:09 AM

To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>

Cc: Mills, Cheryl D

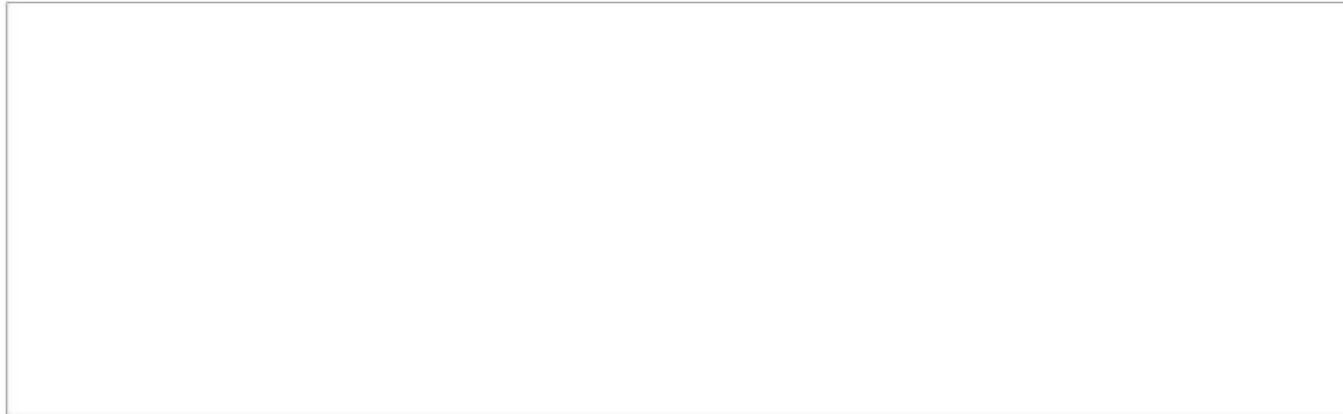
Subject: Key points

HRC, Cheryl -

Below is my stab at tp's for the Senator call. Cheryl, I've left the last point blank for you. These are rough but you get the point.



B5



RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 7:01 PM
To: H
Subject: having now read the clips

B6

the briefing was a mistake. BUT, i do wonder how pat would have handled this if he hadn't done the briefing.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H
Sent: Thursday, December 23, 2010 5:58 PM
To: sullivanjj@state.gov; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Anything to report?

B6

From: Amitabh Desai <[redacted]> on behalf of Amitabh Desai
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 4:42 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted] Cheryl Mills; michael fuchs [redacted]
[redacted] Nora Toiv; huma abedin (huma@clintonemail.com);
huma@clintonemail.com
Subject: Mayor of Jerusalem asking to see WJC next week

B6

Would USG continue to recommend against? Thanks.

From: Amitabh Desai [redacted] on behalf of Amitabh Desai
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2012 7:07 PM
To: Huma Abedin; Cheryl Mills; jake.sullivan [redacted] Nora Toiv; michael fuchs
Subject: FW: VB: Assassination Attempt on Dr. Denis Mukwege, Prominent Congolese Doctor and Activist

B6

Is HRC planning to say anything about this?

Trying to figure out how best to channel/express concern

WJC gave a CGI award to Mukwege in 2011

Från: PMU [no-reply@mynewsdesk.com]
Skickat: den 25 oktober 2012 23:41
Till: Elisabeth Hammarberg
Ämne: Assassination Attempt on Dr. Denis Mukwege, Prominent Congolese Doctor and Activist

Kan du inte läsa mailet? [Visa det i din webbläsare.](#)

PMU

Assassination Attempt on Dr. Denis Mukwege, Prominent Congolese Doctor and Activist

PMU - 2012-10-25 23:41

On the evening of 25 October 2012 around 19:00, four armed men, not in uniform, entered Dr. Denis Mukwege's house in Bukavu, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The armed men forced Dr. Mukwege's two daughters and their friend at gunpoint to sit silently on the floor until he returned home. On his arrival, roughly half an hour later, one of the armed men opened the gate and forced Dr. Mukwege out of the vehicle and demanded he hand over his keys. The security guard on duty ran out shouting to intervene and was shot and killed. The armed men fired the remaining bullets at Dr. Mukwege, who threw himself on the ground narrowly avoiding the gunfire. The men then fled in Dr. Mukwege's vehicle, which they quickly abandoned before hijacking another vehicle. The identity of the armed men and their current location is unknown.

Dr. Denis Mukwege is the founder and medical director of Panzi Hospital in Bukavu, DRC. The hospital has become known worldwide for the treatment of survivors of sexual violence and women in need of specialised gynaecological care. Dr. Mukwege has been the recipient of numerous international awards including the UN Human Rights Prize, African of the Year, the Olof Palme Prize and the Clinton Global Citizen Award. He has been nominated several times for the Nobel Peace Prize. These awards recognize his extraordinary service, humanity and commitment.

Dr. Mukwege is a tireless advocate for the rights of women in DRC. He has addressed the United Nations General Assembly on the matter, most recently in September, and he regularly travels abroad raising awareness of the situation in Eastern DRC. In addition to his responsibilities managing and administering Panzi Hospital and Panzi Foundation, Dr. Mukwege continues to see patients and perform surgery.

Contact person:

Maria Bard, Advocacy Officer, PMU



B6

PMU has been working in DR Congo since the 1920s and supported the establishment of Panzi Hospital. Currently, PMU is working in partnership with Dr. Mukwege to support survivors of sexual violence and women in need of specialised gynaecological care.

PMU (Pingstmissionens Utvecklingssamarbete) är en av Sveriges större biståndsorganisationer och är de svenska pingstförsamlingarnas biståndsorgan. Organisationen arbetar tillsammans med lokala församlingar i cirka 165 projekt i cirka 50 länder.

Läs på Mynewsdesk

[Assassination Attempt on Dr. Denis Mukwege, Prominent Congolese Doctor and Activist](#)

Relaterat material

Bilder

DR Kongo - Dr. Denis Mukwege

Läkaren Denis Mukwege vid Panzisjukhuset i Bukavu, DR Kongo.

Storlek 552,51 KB **Filformat** .jpg

Bildmått 2048 x 1508 pixlar

Fotograf/Källa PMU/Dag Bohlin

Om PMU

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Noomi Lind

Press- och medieansvarig
noomi.lind

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B6

From: Feldman, Daniel F <feldmandf@state.gov> on behalf of Feldman, Daniel F
Sent: Thursday, January 13, 2011 4:53 PM
To: Huma Abedin; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Subject: RE: Follow up

B6

Thanks so much.
- Msg delivered to Susan, via Eric Pelofsky.
- Great. CDM is still planning to meet him tomorrow.
- Paper will be resent to you tonight from Peggy McKean on trilat planning.

Welcome home!

-----Original Message-----
From: Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 13, 2011 9:12 AM
To: Feldman, Daniel F; 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Follow up

B6

Dan to follow up on your email

B5

[redacted]
- haven't gotten any paper on dialogue but would like to discuss

From: aclb [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 7, 2012 10:15 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Re Mid East

B6

B1
1.4(D)

[redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Jake Sullivan [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2012 03:05 PM
To: aclb
Subject: Re: Re Mid East

B6

HRC's blackberry has been down -- I will make sure to get this to her.
And yes, last night was a heck of a night....

On 11/7/12, aclb [redacted] wrote:
> Oh and great news on election !!

B6

> ----- Original Message -----
> From: aclb
> Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2012 08:51 AM
> To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>;
> 'jake.sullivan [redacted]'
> Subject: Re Mid East

B6

> [redacted]

B1
1.4(D)

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B1,1.4(D),B6

From: Coleman, Claire L <colemancl@state.gov> on behalf of Coleman, Claire L
Sent: Wednesday, November 7, 2012 10:08 AM
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: RE: Re Mid East

Will do

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

From: Jake Sullivan [mailto:]
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2012 10:06 AM
To: Coleman, Claire L
Subject: Fwd: Re Mid East

B6

Pls print for S

On 11/7/12, aclb [] wrote:

B6

> Oh and great news on election !!

>

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

> From: aclb

> Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2012 08:51 AM

> To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>;

> 'jake.sullivan []

B6

> Subject: Re Mid East

>

[Redacted]

B1
1.4(D)

>

> _____

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>

B1,1.4(D),B6

From: acb [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 7, 2012 4:47 PM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re [redacted]

B6

[redacted]

B1
1.4(D)

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Declassify on: 11/06/2037

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: PIR <preines [redacted]> on behalf of PIR
Sent: Wednesday, November 7, 2012 3:12 PM
To: CDM; Lona Valmoro; Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin
Subject: Coming Days

B6

- Here we are, right back where we started: Dem Prez, Dem Senate, R House, "Deeply divided America" - can Obama bring it together, deliver the Hope & Change he didn't over the last four years?
- Gloria Borger: Does this constitute a mandate? Paul Begala: Yes; David Gergen: No
- How Obama did it/Chicago chest thumping
- How Romney blew it/Boston Infighting & handwringing/Romney was the wrong man
- Bill Clinton still has the touch
- 105% of African Americans voted for the President/White Males are an endangered species
- Did Citizens United & SuperPacs even matter?
- What does this mean for the courts? Will liberal justices on death's doorstep step down? This President could have another 2, 3, 9 Scotus nominations
- Wow, look at how accurate our polls were - aren't we so smart?
- Winners (Jim Messina, Bill Clinton, Nate Silver - what's next for him?) & Losers (Sheldon Adelson, Donald Trump, Candy Crowley)
- Cabinet & staff turnover/profiles of Jack Lew, Jim Messina (Chief of Staff? He has deep Hill experience, which paid off SO well during health care, Valerie Jarrett (for no good reason)
- The President's ritual of playing basketball with staff, his brother-in-law Craig Robinson, and Reggie Love made the difference; only time he didn't was NH primary in '08, and look what happened.
- Something about the Nesbitts, unclear what. How they always vacation together. And they take Valerie. How they are the President's tight circle, keep him normal, call him "Barack" (yet somehow every word this tight circle says to the President ends up in books)
- Republican party soul searching/what will it take to ever win again?
- Ryan/Rubio fight for the future of the GOP/or is it Jeb?
- Joe Biden - he for real?
- Can anyone beat Hillary in 2016?/Nobody can beat Hillary in 2016/Does Libya tarnish her 2016 chances?/Libya tarnishes her chances in 2016/Hillary is inevitable/no seriously, this time she's really inevitable

Wash
Rinse
Repeat

RELEASE IN PART
B1,1.4(D),B6

From: aclb [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 7, 2012 12:23 PM B6
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com; haledm2@state.gov; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: Catherine Rimmer
Subject: Re Mid East Peace B1
1.4(D)



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Declassify on: 11/06/2037

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RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Friday, November 9, 2012 4:57 PM
To: lvalmorc [redacted]; cheryl.mills [redacted]; preines [redacted];
jake.sullivan [redacted]; nora.toiv [redacted]
Subject: Re: rumor on petraeus link

B6

Omg. We were supposed to have the oscar de la renta exhibit opening tonight in Little Rock. Oscar canceled a month ago because there is a big bday gala honoring petraeus tonight in NYC. Wow.

From: Lona Valmoro [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, November 09, 2012 03:43 PM Eastern Standard Time
To: Cheryl Mills [redacted]; Philippe Reines [redacted]; Jake Sullivan [redacted];
[redacted]; Huma Abedin; Nora Toiv [redacted]
Subject: rumor on petraeus link

http://www.penguinspeakersbureau.com/speakers/page/paula_broadwe !!

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2012 12:15 PM
To: cheryl.mills [redacted] jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: H: been working with Jane. fyi. read. S

B6

Fyi

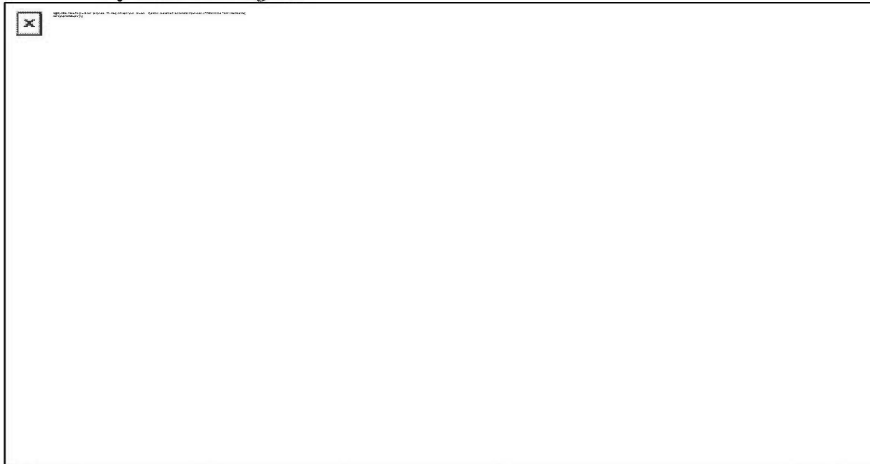
From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2012 12:07 PM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: H: been working with Jane. fyi. read. S

NEAR
DUPLICATE

November 11, 2012

A Petraeus Puzzle: Were Politics Involved?

Posted by *Jane Mayer*



The director of the C.I.A. has resigned over an extra-marital affair two days after a Presidential election in which the Agency's role in Libya was of burning concern—what is really going on here? There seem to be some potentially fascinating political aspects of this story that have yet to be explored. Why, for instance, did this news explode publicly when it did? Both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* report that the F.B.I. had found, after months of investigation, that neither retired General David Petraeus, now the former director of the C.I.A., nor the woman with whom he was evidently involved, his biographer Paula Broadwell, had broken any laws. Congressional intelligence officials reportedly want to know why they were not informed earlier that the F.B.I. was investigating Petraeus. But what I am wondering is why, if the F.B.I. had indeed concluded that they had no criminal case, this matter was brought to anyone's attention at all.

The investigation apparently began when another woman Petraeus knew—the A.P. identified her as Jill Kelley, a Florida woman with connections to the military—complained about harassing e-mails,

which turned out to have been from Broadwell. It's not yet clear how directly the e-mails involved Petraeus. As an official told the *Wall Street Journal*, "This investigation wasn't about the C.I.A. director, it was about what looked like a cyber crime." In this case, like any other, the official went on, "There are strict rules, there is a wall, about sharing information on ongoing criminal investigations." According to the *Times*, approximately two weeks ago, F.B.I. investigators confronted Petraeus personally about the matter. After talking to him, they were satisfied that there were no breaches of national security or other crimes involved. It was then, the *Times* reports, that Petraeus certainly became aware of the investigation, if he had not known of it before. Interestingly, he did not offer his resignation at once, raising the question of whether he would have resigned at all if he hadn't been asked to when the issue was about to become public. With the election two weeks away, and the C.I.A.'s potential intelligence failures in the fatal ambush of American's diplomats in Libya a campaign issue, Petraeus surely recognized that if he resigned, the scandal would shake the Obama Administration, perhaps giving more fodder to its Republican critics in what appeared to be an extremely close election.

The *Times* uses the word "murky" to describe what happened next, and there are many puzzling aspects. But according to the *Times*, at the end of October, a week or so after the F.B.I. investigators confronted Petraeus, an unidentified F.B.I. employee took the matter into his own hands. Evidently without authorization, he went to the Republicans in Congress. First he informed a Republican congressman, Dave Reichert of Washington state. According to the *Times*, Reichert advised this F.B.I. employee to go to the Republican leadership in the House. The F.B.I. employee then told what he knew about the investigation to Eric Cantor, the House Majority Leader. Cantor released a statement to the *Times* confirming that he had spoken to the F.B.I. informant, whom his staff described as a "whistleblower." Cantor said, "I was contacted by an F.B.I. employee who was concerned that sensitive, classified information might have been compromised." But what, exactly, was this F.B.I. employee trying to expose? Was he blowing the whistle on his bosses? If so, why? Was he dissatisfied with their apparent exoneration of Petraeus? Given that this drama was playing out in the final days of a very heated Presidential campaign, and he was taking a potentially scandalous story to the Republican leadership in Congress, was there a political motive?

According to the *Times*, Cantor said he took the information, and "made certain that director Mueller"—that is Robert Mueller III, the director of the F.B.I.—"was aware of these serious allegations, and the potential risk to our national security." This is a strange way to explain his contact with the F.B.I. on this matter, because it is almost inconceivable that director Mueller was not already aware that the bureau he runs had examined the e-mail account of the director of the C.I.A., and, further, confronted him in person. Such a meeting between the bureau and head of the C.I.A. would have been extraordinary, and it is fairly unthinkable that Mueller wouldn't have been consulted. So what information was Cantor conveying when he got in touch with Mueller?

One obvious point of the call would have been to inform the F.B.I. director that Republicans on the Hill knew about Petraeus's vulnerability, and also about the investigation. If the F.B.I. had ever entertained hopes of keeping it secret, the odds of doing so were fast diminishing. The same message would have become clear to Petraeus, who was due to testify in front of a House panel next week. If Cantor spoke with Mueller on Halloween, as the *Times* chronology suggests, what happened between then and November 6th, which is when the F.B.I. reportedly informed James Clapper Jr., the Director of National Intelligence, about Petraeus's extra-marital affair? The internal pressure must have been enormous on Petraeus during this period. Perhaps he tried to outlast the election in order to shelter Obama from the fallout of his own personal foibles. Perhaps the F.B.I. director, Mueller, who has a reputation for integrity, tried to keep the scandal from political exploitation by keeping it under wraps until Election Day. Cantor, too, appears to have kept quiet, despite the political advantage his party might have gained from going public. Why? It is possible that, because the investigation had national-security implications, those in the know needed to tread carefully for legal reasons.

A final question, at least from my standpoint, is whether Petraeus had to resign at all. It appears that Clapper, who like Petraeus is a military man, saw it as a no-brainer. Within the military, there are

rules about adultery. But within civilian life, should there be? The line of the day on the morning talk shows in Washington seemed to be that Petraeus did the “honorable” thing, or “he had to resign.” The old saw that, if he wasn’t squeaky clean, he could be subject to blackmail by his enemies, thus endangering national security, was mentioned again and again. To me, the whole Victorian shame game seems seriously outdated. Something like half the marriages in the country now end in divorce, and you can bet a great many of those involved extra-marital affairs. Is it desirable to bar such a large number of public servants from top jobs? It certainly seems fair to question Petraeus’s judgement, ethics, and moral fibre in this matter. But if infidelity wasn’t treated as career-threatening, its value to black-mailers would be much reduced (the fear of a spouse is another matter). In this instance, evidently, there were no crimes. So why again did this blow up as it has? Fans of thrillers, like me, are waiting for more answers.
Photograph by AP Photo/ISAF.

Read more: <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/newsdesk/2012/11/dav-id-petraeus-paula-broadwell-were-politics-involved.html?printable=true¤tPage=all#ixzz2C1rdEAyt>

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted] on behalf of Cheryl Mills
Sent: Saturday, December 1, 2012 7:21 PM
To: Amitabh Desai
Cc: huma@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan [redacted]; mfuchs [redacted]
mr.brockjohnson [redacted]
Subject: Re: WJC at Saban (readout)

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

Thanks.

cdm

On Dec 1, 2012, at 7:05 PM, Amitabh Desai [redacted] wrote:

> - big riff that US should not be so arrogant and we should try to stop really bad things from happening and try to help do more good things, but not judge ourselves by whether we predict every eventuality. Then we can do freedom agenda. But don't agree with bush and others using freedom as pretext to invade places. US got freedom but then took more than 100 years to recognize black people and women to vote, and aren't we lucky british didn't invade us because we weren't using our freedom correctly in their view?
>
> - I would be in favor of arming the opposition in Syria
>
> - he went very strong on how palestinians have gotten a raw deal in his view for doing the right thing and not being rewarded for that
>
> - question - if asked, would you be bho's mideast envoy?
> WJC basically said it wouldn't be a good idea at this time. "I hope he doesn't ask me"
>
> - we (US) need to back up and create a strategy. Right now we don't have one.

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, December 27, 2012 5:08 PM
To: cheryl.mills [redacted] preine [redacted] Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro
Subject: S accomplishments
Attachments: Secretary Clinton.docx

B6

Attached I tried to fit all of her major accomplishments on one page, as a sort of tic-
list. Let me know what I'm missing or if you would organize differently.

RELEASE IN PART B5

Secretary Clinton's Greatest Hits



B5

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <sullivanjj@state.gov> on behalf of Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sunday, February 13, 2011 11:44 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: egypt and china -- something worth reading

B6

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter <[redacted]>
To: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Feb 13 11:41:03 2011
Subject: egypt and china -- something worth reading

This is from The Atlantic on line, from one of their reporters in Shanghai. Worth the read, particularly re Chinese efforts to censor Egypt news. Again, as protests spread to sub-Saharan Africa, the Chinese are going to have real trouble.

Howard French

The View of Cairo from Authoritarian International (Atlantic.com)

FEB 11 2011, 7:04 PM ET

For unsurprising reasons, the people's uprising in Egypt has been widely cast as an epochal event for Arab political culture, and somewhat more widely, for the entire Middle East.

To limit our understanding of these events in this way, however, is to lose sight of a story playing out against an immensely larger backdrop. The putative and much discussed decline of the United States in recent years has been cast against the perceived successes, or at least the argued attractiveness, of an authoritarian other.

In books like *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, by Martin Jacques; *The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-First Century*, by Stephen Halper; *The End of the Free Market: Who Wins the War between States and Corporations*, by Ian Bremmer; and in many other recent writings, we have been warned of an almost unfair unfolding contest between the world's messy and often paralyzed democracies, and a rising cohort of efficient, businesslike authoritarian states. They portray those states steadily accounting for more and more of the global GDP, and at the same time convincingly delivering the goods to their peoples: gleaming new airports, high-speed rail systems, seamless new highways, and dependable and often free wireless internet, to name just a few of the typical benefits. Citizens, in turn, happily go

about the business of pursuing prosperity and leave the business of government to the mandarin classes to whom such rights and privileges properly belong. Such is, or so we are given to understand, the nature of a winning social contract.

At the apex of this phenomenon, its leading edge in power of example and in power outright, supposedly sits China. Its economic miracle story has recently loomed so large in our imaginations that it has convinced many Americans that its rise at our expense, indeed its eventual overtaking of the United States, is a foregone conclusion.

There are few places, however, for which the disgraced exit of Egypt's Hosni Mubarak carries greater relevance, or where the nature of that country's popular uprising warrants shaking up a conventional wisdom that was shallow stale to begin with and has become badly outdated.

Immediate evidence of this has been provided by the response of China's censors, who have worked furiously to contain news of the events in Egypt within their country, and as that has become less and less practical, to spin the news to fit an unthreatening or even self-reinforcing narrative. For days, Chinese readers have been preposterously treated to stories about evacuation flights put on by their government to bring Chinese nationals back from Egypt, along with residents of Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan.

Nowhere have these stories attempted an honest explanation of why an evacuation was needed in the first place. To do so would require getting into some deeply messy topics in post-Tiananmen China about popular demands for democracy and accountability and about the military's ambivalent relationship to the political leadership. For the most part, the Chinese media has ended the discussion about Egypt with bromides about how unrest equals instability and about how instability hurts growth, and by familiar inference how growth is the only thing that matters.

It is hard, though, to overstate the difficulties of spinning the Egypt situation from the perspective of the star of the Authoritarian International, in the delightful phrase of Chrystia Freeland, of Reuters. Things were so much simpler when so-called Color Revolutions swept a number of constituent parts of the former Soviet Union and the Balkans in the early 2000s. Beijing could indulge in the paranoid or cynical fantasy that this was a case of the West using its insidious non-governmental organizations and funding for civil society to undermine authoritarian regimes that had traditionally been in the socialist orbit. This was cast as a hostile takeover, and Beijing used this as an excuse to tighten controls on association both real and virtual. It also spread its word of caution in the non-democratic world: "Beware. If you let your guard down, this is what the West will do to you."

But Hosni Mubarak looked in vain for a Western plot to take over Egypt, and so will Chinese propagandists. The revolution in Tahrir Circle was homegrown, and moreover from the people's perspective, at least, it was peaceful. This presents the second huge headache for the authoritarian spin on events. China strives to present democracy as something inappropriate for many peoples,

starting of course with the Chinese themselves. Whenever the subject of democracy in Taiwan is highlighted in the news in China it is to exhibit footage of brawls in the parliament. Disorder in China, it is implied, would not be so easily contained as a legislative shoe fight. It could engulf the entire country, leading to great violence and destruction, such as China has already experienced in living memory. The unsubtle idea here is to say that democracy leads to disorder. Better to keep your nose down, to maintain "harmony" and to pursue growth.

The thing is that despite repeated provocation by the police and by a president who, reluctant to depart, played with expectations and all but taunted the huge crowds in Cairo, those crowds refused to become a mob. The democratic revolution that is just beginning in Egypt has so far handsomely resisted becoming anything like the Cultural Revolution, which employed mass violence to overturn an existing order.

How then to disparage what is going on in Egypt? It is not an easy challenge, and the dangerous messages for the Authoritarian International, and its putative leader, China, have only just begun to be unpacked.

As hard as it has worked to discredit the universal applicability or appeal of democracy, Beijing has worked just as hard to conjure an alternate moral universe, one in which economics trumps all. Some Western analysts have even naively bought into the notion that if you just take care of growth, people will be willing to suspend all manner of other demands and happily leave governance to the mandarins.

In its beautiful complexity, Egypt gives the lie to all of this. A society in its entirety, from the lowliest workers to the privileged professional class, wants a cluster of goods: economic growth, transparency, accountability, and a say in who governs it. There are no either-ors in this formula, no contradictions. But there is a name. When you add it all up, you can call it dignity.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted] on behalf of Cheryl Mills
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 10:01 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted] Philippe Reines; Huma Abedin-Personal
Subject: From The Washington Post: EPA IG probes Lisa Jackson 's private e-mail account, named for family do g

B6

A friend shared this article with you from The Washington Post:

House Republicans pressed for inquiry, EPA calls practice routine.

<http://wapo.st/RCErEU>

cdm

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: PIR <preines [redacted]> on behalf of PIR
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 12:42 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Cc: Lona Valmoro; Jake Sullivan
Subject: Re: Diane Sawyer

B6

Efforting

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

From: Huma Abedin
To: PIR
Cc: Lona Valmoro
Cc: Jake Sullivan
Subject: RE: Diane Sawyer
Sent: Mar 21, 2011 12:39 PM

[redacted]
so get us a photog

B6

From: PIR [redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 12:22 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Cc: Lona Valmoro; Jake Sullivan
Subject: Re: Diane Sawyer

Ok, let me check.

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

From: Huma Abedin
To: PIR
Cc: Lona Valmoro
Cc: Jake Sullivan
Subject: RE: Diane Sawyer
Sent: Mar 21, 2011 12:18 PM

she will be pretty tomorrow so make it happen
but wait till i confirm the other thing

From: PIR [redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 12:15 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Cc: Lona Valmoro; Jake Sullivan
Subject: Re: Diane Sawyer

- HRC

I don't know, we never discussed doing so soon. And would be photo only, not interview
(reporter is away)

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

From: Huma Abedin
To: Evergreen

To: PIR
Cc: Lona Valmoro
Cc: Jake Sullivan
Subject: RE: Diane Sawyer
Sent: Mar 21, 2011 12:12 PM

can we do new yorker photo tomorrow too then??

From: H
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 12:09 PM
To: 'preines [redacted]'
Cc: Huma Abedin; 'lvalmoro [redacted]'; 'jake.sullivan [redacted]'
Subject: Re: Diane Sawyer

B6

Ok--when? And I'll need [redacted] early because I have breakfast w VP.

B6

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

From: PIR [mailto:preines [redacted]]
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 12:04 PM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro [redacted] Jake Sullivan
[redacted]
Subject: Diane Sawyer

Diane Sawyer will be in Washington tomorrow (Tuesday) to broadcast World News Tonight. She's requesting an interview with you and we think it's a good opportunity. Could be taped anytime and would be short.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Thursday, January 10, 2013 1:36 PM
To: Ami Desai; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: cheryl.mills [redacted]; mfuchs.mike [redacted]
Subject: RE: David Milliband?

B6

as suspected, hrc facilitated and knows about discussion.
she also said the call happened early this week, she thinks monday and we dont need to worry about it..

From: Amitabh Desai [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 09, 2013 9:08 PM
To: Huma Abedin; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: cheryl.mills [redacted]; Mfuchs [redacted]
Subject: Re: David Milliband?

Thanks.

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

From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
To: Jake Sullivan [redacted]; Amitabh Desai [redacted]
Cc: Cheryl Mills [redacted]; Michael Fuchs [redacted]
Sent: Wed Jan 09 20:00:51 2013
Subject: RE: David Milliband?

I am surprised he hasn't been in touch with hrc about this.
He may be
Let us talk to her before you return the call. She may have suggested this.

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 09, 2013 6:32 PM
To: Ami Desai
Cc: Cheryl Mills; Huma Abedin; Michael Fuchs (Mfuchs [redacted])
Subject: Re: David Milliband?

he should talk to hrc about this.

On 1/9/13, Amitabh Desai [redacted] wrote:
> ... asked to speak with WJC about career advice and he's now on WJC's call
> list. Not sure if this has to do with rumors about David possibly being
> invited to be Shadow Chancellor; and not sure what official or unofficial
> USG view is on David becoming Shadow Chancellor. If there is a USG view, or
> if there's anything else you'd want WJC to have as background or talking
> points, we'd be happy to include it in his briefing. Thanks.
>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Friday, March 11, 2011 9:56 AM
To: preines [redacted] jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw:

B6

Want to be sure u see this.

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

From: Justin Cooper
Sent: Thursday, March 10, 2011 10:06 PM
To: Huma Abedin; 'aurena' [redacted]
Subject:

He made some comments at tina brown thing re no fly in libya It worked in iraq. Its a huma rights issue and they are bombing people.

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 7:00 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Japan

B6

NEAR DUPLICATE

LOL

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

From: Jake Sullivan [mailto:[redacted]@com]
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 05:22 PM
To: H
Cc: preines [redacted] <preines [redacted]>; Huma Abedin; lvalmoro [redacted]
<lvalmoro [redacted]>
Subject: Re: Japan

B6

was that a yes on #1? it wasn't clear...

On 3/21/11, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
> 1 is a nonstarter red herring so 2 it is.

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

> **From:** PIR [mailto:preines [redacted]]
> **Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2011 04:03 PM
> **To:** H
> **Cc:** Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro < [redacted]>; Jake Sullivan
> [redacted]
> **Subject:** Japan

B6

> Two options for you:

> 1) [redacted]

B5

> 2) [redacted]

> [redacted]

>
>
>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Monday, January 28, 2013 8:53 AM
To: Cheryl Mills; Lona J Valmoro - State; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: RE: Whitehaven

B6

yes. i gave brits podesta and strobe. both regretted dinner tonight.
we had asked for them to invite rich verma but they did not extend invite to him. he is
invited thurs.
anyone else, just send my way and will take care of

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 28, 2013 5:17 AM
To: Huma Abedin; Lona J Valmoro - State; Jake.Sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Whitehaven

John p asked if there was anything and then advised he was out all week so couldn't come
to anything. Was he invited to Hague thing? If not - can we invite to Whitehaven since
he will decline (leaves for Liberia tonight).

I made me think about the sges like rich, jp, strobe and others that did a bit more - are
they on list?

Sorry only thinking about now.

cdm

From: Amitabh Desai [redacted] > on behalf of Amitabh Desai
Sent: Wednesday, January 9, 2013 9:09 PM
To: huma [redacted]; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: cheryl.mills [redacted]; mfuchs.mike [redacted]
Subject: Re: David Milliband?

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Thanks.

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

From: Huma Abedin [redacted]
To: Jake Sullivan [redacted]; Amitabh Desai [redacted]
Cc: Cheryl Mills [redacted]; Michael Fuchs [redacted]
Sent: Wed Jan 09 20:00:51 2013
Subject: RE: David Milliband?

I am surprised he hasn't been in touch with hrc about this.
He may be
Let us talk to her before you return the call. She may have suggested this.

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 09, 2013 6:32 PM
To: Ami Desai [redacted]
Cc: Cheryl Mills; Huma Abedin; Michael Fuchs [redacted]
Subject: Re: David Milliband?

he should talk to hrc about this.

On 1/9/13, Amitabh Desai [redacted].org> wrote:
> ... asked to speak with WJC about career advice and he's now on WJC's call
> list. Not sure if this has to do with rumors about David possibly being
> invited to be Shadow Chancellor; and not sure what official or unofficial
> USG view is on David becoming Shadow Chancellor. If there is a USG view, or
> if there's anything else you'd want WJC to have as background or talking
> points, we'd be happy to include it in his briefing. Thanks.
>

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 5:23 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Cc: preines [redacted] lvalmoro [redacted]
Subject: Re: Japan

B6

[redacted]

B5

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

From: Jake Sullivan [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 05:22 PM
To: H
Cc: preines [redacted] <preines [redacted]> Huma Abedin; lvalmoro [redacted]
<lvalmoro [redacted]>
Subject: Re: Japan

B6

was that a yes on #1? it wasn't clear...

On 3/21/11, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:
> 1 is a nonstarter red herring so 2 it is.

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

> **From:** PIR [mailto:preines [redacted]]
> **Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2011 04:03 PM
> **To:** H
> **Cc:** Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro [redacted]; Jake Sullivan
> <[redacted]>
> **Subject:** Japan

B6

> Two options for you:

> 1) [redacted]

B5

> 2) [redacted]

> [redacted]

>

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 12:17 PM
To: preines [redacted]
Cc: lvalmoro [redacted] jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: RE: Diane Sawyer

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

she said yes to new yorker
let me see if we can lock beauty girls

From: H
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 12:09 PM
To: 'preines [redacted]
Cc: Huma Abedin; 'lvalmoro [redacted]; 'jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Diane Sawyer

Ok--when? And I'll need Isabelle and Barbara early because I have breakfast w VP.

----- Original Message -----
From: PIR [mailto:preines [redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2011 12:04 PM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro [redacted]; Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Diane Sawyer

Diane Sawyer will be in Washington tomorrow (Tuesday) to broadcast World News Tonight. She's requesting an interview with you and we think it's a good opportunity. Could be taped anytime and would be short.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Sunday, January 20, 2013 7:28 PM
To: Cheryl Mills; Philippe Reines; jake.sullivan[redacted]com; Lona J Valmoro - State
Subject: RE: MailOnline :: ABC News' Barbara Walters hospitalized after fall at inaugural party last night and will NOT contribute to Monday's ceremony

B6

crazy

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted]
Sent: Sunday, January 20, 2013 6:54 PM
To: Philippe Reines; Jake.Sullivan[redacted] Huma Abedin; Lona J Valmoro - State
Subject: MailOnline :: ABC News' Barbara Walters hospitalized after fall at inaugural party last night and will NOT contribute to Monday's ceremony

Another head injury!

ABC News' Barbara Walters hospitalized after fall at inaugural party last night and will NOT contribute to Monday's ceremony

The veteran ABC News correspondent, 83, tripped on a step at the house of British Ambassador Sir Peter Westmacott in Washington, D.C., cutting her forehead.

Full Story:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2265566/ABC-s-Barbara-Walters-injured-fall-inaugural-party-night-NOT-contribute-Mondays-ceremony.html>

[MailOnline](#)

cdm

From: PIR <preines[redacted]> on behalf of PIR
Sent: Monday, January 28, 2013 6:08 PM
To: CDM; Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro
Subject: Re: Fwd: brit hume

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

For Brit Hume to even manage to say this is a testament to how well she's done.

“She does her homework. There have been no gaffes or blunders, so I think she’s been a capable and hardworking Secretary of State.”

From: Cheryl Mills <[redacted]>
Date: Mon, 28 Jan 2013 17:51:42 -0500
To: <Jake.Sullivan[redacted]> Philippe Reines[redacted] Huma
Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>; Lona Valmoro[redacted]
Subject: Fwd: brit hume

Fyi

Brit Hume Slams Hillary Clinton’s Tenure At State With A Laundry List Detailing Her Mediocrity

by [Noah Rothman](#) | 2:31 pm, January 27th, 2013 [VIDEO](#) » [215 comments](#)

Fox News Channel **Brit Hume** contributor took issue with his colleagues on Sunday when he said the effusive compliments that Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton** has been showered with are largely unearned. He launched into a monologue in which he outlined why Clinton’s tenure at State has been decidedly mediocre – “competent,” but not great. After his detailed list, Hume was confronted by **Juan Williams** who accused him of underestimating Clinton and President **Barack Obama**’s first term accomplishments.

RELATED: Obama And Hillary Clinton To Sit Down For First Joint Interview With 60 Minutes

Wallace asked what the significance of the joint 60 Minutes interview with President Obama and Hillary Clinton could be for her 2016 prospects.

“The *60 Minutes* forum has been pretty friendly to him,” replied *New York Times* reporter **Jeff Zeleny**. “It’s not an endorsement per se, but it certainly, sort of, looks like that.”

Wall Street Journal editorial board member **Kimberley Strassel** said that Clinton's testimony this week before Congress regarding her knowledge of the Benghazi attacks was a political success for her. "I think this was an attempt to, kind of, build on that, move beyond it, talk about Hillary Clinton's legacy as a whole rather than that vent," she said.

Wallace noted that Clinton's Capitol Hill testimony was marked by praise of her service as the Secretary of State from both Republicans and Democrats.

Hume replied by saying that Clinton has a strong case to make for her competence but not greatness:

You look across the world now at the major issues: are Arabs and Israelis closer to peace? How about Iran and North Korea and their nuclear programs? Have they been halted or seriously set back? Has the 'reset with Russia,' which she so famously introduced with a photo op in Moscow with the reset button, has that led to a new and more cooperative relationship? Is there a Clinton doctrine that we can identify that she has articulated and formed as Secretary of State? Are there major treaties that she has undertaken and negotiated through to a successful conclusion? I think the answer to all those questions is that she has not, and those are the kind of things that might mark her as a great Secretary of State.

"She does her homework. There have been no gaffes or blunders, so I think she's been a capable and hardworking Secretary of State," Hume concluded. "But I think the case for her being a great Secretary of State is exceedingly weak."

Williams took issue with what Hume said, noting that Clinton has helped spread Democracy to the Middle East in the wake of the Arab Spring. She also helped assemble the alliance structure prior to the intervention in Libya.

"How's that working out for us," Hume asked, citing the chaos in Libya. Crosstalk followed.

Watch the segment below via Fox News Channel:

<http://www.mediaite.com/tv/brit-hume-slams-hillary-clintons-tenure-at-state-with-a-laudry-list-detailing-her-mediocrity/>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Thursday, March 31, 2011 11:52 AM
To: jake.sullivan[redacted] valmorolj@state.gov; cheryl.mills@[redacted]
Subject: Hrc offering to do econ. Speech next week. We ready?

B6

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/10/2017 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL
~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/10/2032

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

From: aclb <[redacted]> on behalf of aclb
Sent: Sunday, April 3, 2011 6:43 AM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan@[redacted]
Subject: Re Israel

B6

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Had another long session with BB. [redacted]

Looking forward to seeing you in DC. Best Tony

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Strobe Talbott <[redacted]> on behalf of Strobe Talbott B6
Sent: Wednesday, March 30, 2011 8:27 AM
To: H
Cc: jake.sullivan[redacted]; Cheryl Mills (State) B6
Subject: RE: Christopher memorial
Attachments: Warren Christopher eulogy as delivered.doc

Here's the final of the eulogy for Chris. As you'll see, I worked in your own message. Gore did one too. Regards, Strobe

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

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, March 26, 2011 5:04 PM
To: Strobe Talbott
Subject: Christopher memorial

Dear Strobe,

If appropriate, could you pls express regrets during your eulogy from both Bill and me that we could not be there? I spoke to Marie yesterday and she was very understanding, but I still feel bad about my absence. All the best, H

RELEASE IN FULL

Eulogy for Warren Christopher

By Strobe Talbott

Disney Concert Hall,

Los Angeles, California

March 28, 2011

As delivered

Like A. B. [Culvahouse] — and like so many of you — I feel blessed by Chris’s loyalty and generosity as a friend and mentor, and by the gentleness and good humor of his nature.

I went to work for Chris a little over 18 years ago, when he became our 63rd Secretary of State. I saw — up-close, day-in-and-day-out — the integrity, discipline, and dignity that he brought to public service. I also saw how much he relished the chance — the “chance of a lifetime,” as he called it in the title of his memoir — to advance America’s interests in the world.

But with that opportunity came a welter of challenges that was, even by today’s standards, daunting in the extreme. The Soviet monolith had disintegrated into 15 pieces, two of which—Russia and Ukraine—were nuclear-armed and spoiling for trouble. Iran, Iraq, and North Korea threatened their neighborhoods and our allies. The Middle East peace process was a dream more than a reality. Haiti was a humanitarian disaster and a political outrage just off our shores. The implosion of Yugoslavia had re-ignited war in Europe.

Contemplating all those tests of American power and responsibility, Chris had a portrait of Dean Acheson put on the wall of his office. He took inspiration from the legacy of that particular predecessor, another successful lawyer who had titled his own memoir “Present at the Creation,” which is how Acheson saw the transformative period after World War II when the U.S. was the master architect of a system that would keep the peace between antagonistic superpowers.

I remember a meeting with Chris, early in 1993, when he asked several of us to help him assess the trials ahead. Peter Tarnoff — who, along with other members of the Christopher team, is here today -- pointed to the Acheson portrait and drew a wan smile from our boss by remarking, “Well, Chris, I guess we’re present at the re-creation.”

Chris saw it that way too, and he rose to the task. In the years that followed, he made a substantial, enduring —and I would add, under-appreciated — contribution to the architecture of world peace. He did so by strengthening the post-cold-war rule-based international order and expanding it to include former adversaries.

He laid a foundation on which his successors could build. Two of them honor him by being here today — Secretaries Albright and Rice – and a third, Secretary Clinton, called me over the weekend to say that she would have been here if she didn't have to be in London for an emergency meeting on Libya.

A. B. spoke movingly about the credo that Chris crafted for O'Melveny & Myers — his vision for what he called a “values-driven... global” law firm. Chris brought a variant of that same commitment to his career at the other end of the country, in Washington. He believed that we Americans need a values-driven foreign policy that recognizes global interdependence as an organizing principle of statecraft.

In his earlier stint at the Department, as Cy Vance's deputy in the 1970s, Chris had led a sustained effort to make sure that all pertinent agencies of the U.S. government defended human rights around the world.

Returning as Secretary in the 90s, one of Chris's first acts was to create a senior management position at State responsible for ensuring that the U.S. government as a whole gave priority to transnational challenges: promoting democracy, fighting cross-border crime and the spread of infectious diseases, stemming the proliferation of lethal technologies, and reining in climate change.

These structural reforms are part of Chris's own legacy — institutionalized in the processes, priorities, and the organization chart of U.S. government. For him, institutions mattered. But staffing — recruiting people who met his high standards — mattered even more. The most conspicuous and consequential case in point, of course, was his recommendation, in 1992, that Governor Clinton pick Senator Gore as his running mate. But at lower levels too, Chris was a connoisseur and cultivator of talent, whether it was summer associates at O'Melveny or junior officers of the Foreign Service.

He also took very seriously the exercise of America's unique influence in filling top slots in institutions of regional and global governance. In that regard, the two most critical personnel decisions in which he played a vital role — were the selection of Javier Solana for the leadership of NATO and the elevation of Kofi Annan to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Had those two men not been in those posts, the combination of diplomacy-backed-by-force and force-backed-by-diplomacy in the Balkans would have been far more difficult, and far less successful.

Bosnia was one of several protracted crises that Chris — at great expenditure of energy and considerable strain on his legendary patience — helped defuse.

He did much of the heavy lifting in forging the Dayton Peace Accords.

Along with Vice President Gore, he mediated relentlessly between Moscow and Kiev to ensure the removal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine. Had that effort failed, Eurasia would be a far more dangerous continent than it is today.

Chris also worked with Madeleine, then our ambassador at the UN, on two innovations of profound and lasting importance. In response to genocide, they led in setting up and empowering an international tribunal to prosecute war criminals; and — in the context of Haiti — they persuaded the Security Council to approve the use of force to restore democracy in a country that had fallen victim to a military coup.

These two breakthroughs gave substance—and muscle — to the principle that all governments have a responsibility to protect their own citizens and are answerable to the international community if they fail to do so. That principle, which Chris helped pioneer a decade and a half ago, is crucial backdrop to the events we are seeing play out now in Libya, as Muammar Gaddafi's forces retreat from a citizenry that his own unrelenting and brutal abuse of power has turned against him.

And then there was Chris's heroic and sustained exertion in the Middle East. His doggedness and skill were vital in cementing peace between Israel and Jordan, and in securing a ceasefire between Israel and Lebanon. His 16 trips to Damascus and Jerusalem in search of an Israeli-Syrian deal left no doubt that here was U.S. Secretary of State prepared to go the last mile — and never, ever give up.... and, I might add, never, ever lose his cool or let the other guy get his goat.

Martin Indyk recalls a backbreaking trip to the region that ended with a visit to Rabat for an audience with the King of Morocco. Chris was willing to do a lot for his country, but not eat any more Middle Eastern cuisine than was absolutely necessary. So he declined a royal invitation to dinner and asked for a working meeting instead. The King was so offended that when he received Chris, he was wearing slippers and a velvet smoking jacket. (Imagine how Chris, in his Turnbull & Asser pinstripes, felt about *that*). Worse, His Majesty kept blowing cigarette smoke in Chris's face while haranguing him at length and repudiating an agreement for new ties between Israel and the kingdom that Martin and others had painstakingly negotiated.

Afterward, when Martin apologized to Chris for putting him through the embarrassment, Chris just smiled and said mildly, "Well, that's what kings do."

In addition to never raising his voice, Chris used attentive silence as an instrument of diplomacy. He was — to a rare degree, and to good effect — a superb listener. He was so clearly attuned to the subtleties of what he was hearing that the other parties at the table were more likely to trust him to make an honest, reasonable, and imaginative effort to find common ground.

These characteristics add up to a paradox: Chris's preference for working in quiet ways enhanced his effectiveness as a policymaker and diplomat, yet it tended to detract from public awareness of how much he achieved — and how skillfully he achieved it.

Bill Clinton said it best in a tribute to Chris published today in *Time* magazine: “Warren Christopher had the lowest ratio of ego to accomplishment of any public servant I've ever worked with. That made him easy to underestimate, but all Americans should be grateful that, along with great ability, he possessed the stamina and the steel to accomplish things that were truly extraordinary.”

I would conclude with one last thought, picking up on A.B.'s recollection of Chris's admonition to his partners that “it's acceptable to love a law firm.” Chris also regarded it as acceptable to love an agency of the U.S. Government -- the Department of State -- and the arduous, exhausting, sometimes dangerous, often thankless work that goes on there.

Chris loved his own chance to be at the helm of the Department and (just as at O'Melveny) to work harder than anyone else. He loved the experience because it allowed him to serve all of us, and, in doing so, it allowed him to make good, yet again, on those values he that A. B. told us he imbued at O'Melveny and that he so cherished in all aspects of his exemplary life: distinctive leadership, superior citizenship, and, above all, uncompromising excellence—as a man and as a statesman.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: aclb [redacted] on behalf of aclb
Sent: Tuesday, April 5, 2011 8:10 AM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re Libya

B6

Clear that Gaddafi does want a deal. And knows it will end in him going. I can tell you about it when we meet. Best Tony

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PART B6

From: PIR <preines[redacted]> on behalf of PIR
Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2013 9:29 PM
To: Evergreen; CDM; CPM
Cc: Lona Valmoro; Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan
Subject: Thank You

B6

Hrc, Cdm, and Cpm -

Thank you all so much for today. It was so very wonderful of you to do, and was such a moving experience. We're all strong personalities, but we were pretty dazed and completely humbled throughout. We just couldn't believe it was all for us, that those people who we respect so deeply were actually saying those things about US - or that we warranted the full Capricia treatment, which is always so extraordinary to see executed.

This is the most special group of people I've ever been a part of. I'm lucky to be part of this family.

Philippe

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Sunday, April 3, 2011 9:40 PM
To: jakesullivan[redacted]
Subject: Re: Notes for tomorrow's meeting

B6

Y

From: jake sullivan [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Sunday, April 03, 2011 09:29 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Notes for tomorrow's meeting

Attached are the notes for tomorrow's meeting. They reference two documents that the specials should have. Can you get to S?

From: Jake Sullivan <[REDACTED]> on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Sunday, April 17, 2011 11:10 AM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: U know she has potus weekly monday afternoon, right?

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

got it. thanks.

On Sun, Apr 17, 2011 at 9:29 AM, Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> wrote:

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <sullivanjj@state.gov> on behalf of Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Saturday, May 22, 2010 8:43 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Leadership Letters in support of DoS Budget
Attachments: Speaker Pelosi State Letter.pdf; Sen Reid State Letter.pdf

B6

NEAR DUPLICATE

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

From: Verma, Richard R
To: 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Lew, Jacob J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Fri May 21 13:57:08 2010
Subject: FW: Leadership Letters in support of DoS Budget

Quite incredible letters of support from Admiral Mullen for our FY11 budget.

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

From: [redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, May 21, 2010 1:41 PM
To: Verma, Richard R; Adams, David S
Cc: [redacted]

Subject: Leadership Letters in support of DoS Budget

Sir, per our conversation attached are the letters the CJCS signed to the Speaker and Leader. We will hand deliver the originals this afternoon. Please advise if we can be of further assistance.

Vr

Brenda





CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

RELEASE IN FULL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20318-9999

21 May 2010

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi
Speaker of the House of Representatives
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Madam Speaker,

As the Congress moves to finalize the budget for FY 2011, I want to offer my strong support for fully funding the Department of Defense and related agencies. I also want to reinforce the views expressed in Secretary Gates' letter of April 21 and Secretary Clinton's letter of April 20 (copies attached) to Senator Kent Conrad, requesting full funding of the Department of State and USAID. We are living in times that require an integrated national security program with budgets that fund the full spectrum of national security efforts, including vitally important pre-conflict and post-conflict civilian stabilization programs.

Diplomatic programs are critical to our long-term security. I have been on record many times since 2005 expressing my views of the importance of fully funding our diplomatic efforts. As Chief of Naval Operations, I said that I would hand over part of my budget to the State Department, "in a heartbeat, assuming it was spent in the right place." Diplomatic efforts should always lead and shape our international relationships, and I believe that our foreign policy is still too dominated by our military. The diplomatic and developmental capabilities of the United States have a direct bearing on our ability to shape threats and reduce the need for military action. It is my firm belief that diplomatic programs as part of a coordinated strategy will save money by reducing the likelihood of active military conflict involving U.S. forces.

I am told that the Senate Budget Committee reduced the international affairs budget by \$4 billion, and I respect and appreciate the tough choices the committee had to make. I would ask that as you finalize the spending outlines for FY 2011, you underscore the importance of our civilian efforts to the work of the Defense Department, and ultimately, to our Nation's security. Because of the increasingly integrated nature of our operations, a \$4 billion decrement in State and USAID budgets will have a negative impact in ongoing U.S. military efforts, leading to higher costs through missed diplomatic and developmental needs and opportunities. A fully-integrated foreign policy requires a fully-resourced approach. Our troops, Foreign Service officers and development experts work side-by-side in unprecedented and ever-increasing cooperation as they execute our strategic programs. We need to continue to

grow the important capabilities that are unique to our non-military assets, ensuring they have the resources to enhance our security and advance our national interests, in both ongoing conflicts as well as in preventative efforts.

As always, I appreciate your strong support of our men and women in uniform, and appreciate your considering my perspective as you finalize the FY 2011 budget.

The more significant the cuts, the longer military operations will take, and the more and more lives are at risk.
Sincerely,



M. G. MULLEN
Admiral, U.S. Navy

Copy to: Representative John Boehner
Minority Leader

Attachments
As stated



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 20, 2010

The Honorable Kent Conrad, Chairman
Committee on the Budget
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am asking your help in supporting the State and USAID budget request for FY 2011. I appreciate the difficult budget environment that confronts the Congress, but I strongly believe this budget request is critical to advancing U.S. national security and our interests around the world.

Our request totals \$52.8 billion – a \$4.9 billion increase over 2010. Of that increase, \$3.6 billion goes directly to “frontline states” – Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. All other State and USAID funding grows by \$1.3 billion or a 2.7 percent increase, and allows us to tackle the transnational problems of poverty, food insecurity, climate change, and disease that pose serious threats to American interests.

Our diplomatic and development tools enhance American leadership, strengthen our alliances, and build new partnerships to confront pressing global challenges. Full funding in FY 11 will allow us to continue making tangible progress in securing the hard fought gains achieved in Iraq, and to continue supporting and deploying hundreds of civilians in Afghanistan and Pakistan to help stabilize dangerous but improving situations.

The recent attacks on United States personnel and facilities from Juarez, Mexico, to Peshawar, Pakistan, reinforce what we already know – America’s diplomats and development professionals are on the front lines, protecting, and securing our vital national security interests around the world.

Congress has rightly demanded that we use all the tools in our national security tool belt; that we put more diplomats and development experts on the ground, shoulder-to-shoulder with our troops; and that we do everything possible to secure America’s interests around the world. We are doing our part at the State Department and USAID, but we need your help with the FY 11 request. Our



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

APR 21 2010

The Honorable Kent Conrad
Chairman
Committee on the Budget
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to express my strong support for full funding of the President's FY 2011 foreign affairs budget request (the 150 account) which, along with defense, is a critical component of an integrated and effective national security program.

I understand this year presents a challenging budget environment, with competing domestic and international pressures. However, I strongly believe a robust civilian foreign affairs capability, coupled with a strong defense capability, is essential to preserving U.S. national security interests around the world.

State and USAID partners are critical to success in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq. Our military and civilian missions are integrated, and we depend upon our civilian counterparts to help stabilize and rebuild after the fight. As U.S. forces transition out of war zones, the U.S. government needs our civilian agencies to be able to assume critical functions. This allows us, for example, to draw down U.S. forces in Iraq responsibly while ensuring hard-fought gains are secured. Cuts to the 150 account will almost certainly impact our efforts in these critical frontline states.

In other parts of the world, the work performed by diplomatic and development professionals helps build the foundation for more stable, democratic and prosperous societies. These are places where the potential for conflict can be minimized, if not completely avoided, by State and USAID programs -- thereby lowering the likely need for deployment of U.S. military assets.

In formulating his request for FY 2011, the President carefully considered funding needs for the budget accounts for both foreign affairs and national defense, taking into account overall national security requirements as well as economic conditions. I believe that full funding of these two budget accounts is necessary for our national security and for ensuring our continued leadership in the world. I hope you will take this into account when acting upon the President's FY 2011 budget request.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Robert M. Gates".



cc:
The Honorable Judd Gregg
Ranking Member

missions are increasingly integrated with those of our Defense Department counterparts, as we have seen demonstrated time and again in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other parts of the world. Cuts to the civilian components can no longer be seen in isolation or having little impact on our national security strategy.

Our investments in development and diplomacy are smart, cost-effective, and squarely in the best interests of American taxpayers and our national security. They are also relatively small compared to the cost of active military engagement, and they can end up delivering impactful savings. In Iraq, for example, our \$2.6 billion request for State and USAID will allow the Defense Department budget to decrease by about \$16 billion – a powerful illustration of the return on civilian investments.

I ask for your strong support of our budget request and you have my pledge that we will work diligently to ensure that this funding is used as efficiently and effectively as possible.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Hillary Rodham Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Hillary Rodham Clinton



CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20318-9999

21 May 2010

RELEASE IN FULL

The Honorable Harry Reid
Senate Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Majority Leader,

As the Congress moves to finalize the budget for FY 2011, I want to offer my strong support for fully funding the Department of Defense and related agencies. I also want to reinforce the views expressed in Secretary Gates' letter of April 21 and Secretary Clinton's letter of April 20 (copies attached) to Senator Kent Conrad, requesting full funding of the Department of State and USAID. We are living in times that require an integrated national security program with budgets that fund the full spectrum of national security efforts, including vitally important pre-conflict and post-conflict civilian stabilization programs.

Diplomatic programs are critical to our long-term security. I have been on record many times since 2005 expressing my views of the importance of fully funding our diplomatic efforts. As Chief of Naval Operations, I said that I would hand over part of my budget to the State Department, "in a heartbeat, assuming it was spent in the right place." Diplomatic efforts should always lead and shape our international relationships, and I believe that our foreign policy is still too dominated by our military. The diplomatic and developmental capabilities of the United States have a direct bearing on our ability to shape threats and reduce the need for military action. It is my firm belief that diplomatic programs as part of a coordinated strategy will save money by reducing the likelihood of active military conflict involving U.S. forces.

I am told that the Senate Budget Committee reduced the international affairs budget by \$4 billion, and I respect and appreciate the tough choices the committee had to make. I would ask that as you finalize the spending outlines for FY 2011, you underscore the importance of our civilian efforts to the work of the Defense Department, and ultimately, to our Nation's security. Because of the increasingly integrated nature of our operations, a \$4 billion decrement in State and USAID budgets will have a negative impact in ongoing U.S. military efforts, leading to higher costs through missed diplomatic and developmental needs and opportunities. A fully-integrated foreign policy requires a fully-resourced approach. Our troops, Foreign Service officers and development experts work side-by-side in unprecedented and ever-increasing cooperation as they execute our strategic programs. We need to continue to

grow the important capabilities that are unique to our non-military assets, ensuring they have the resources to enhance our security and advance our national interests, in both ongoing conflicts as well as in preventative efforts.

As always, I appreciate your strong support of our men and women in uniform, and appreciate your considering my perspective as you finalize the FY 2011 budget.

The more significant the cuts, the longer military operations will take and more and more lives are at risk!

Sincerely,



M. G. MULLEN
Admiral, U.S. Navy

Copy to: Senator Mitch McConnell
Minority Leader

Attachments
As stated



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

APR 21 2010

The Honorable Kent Conrad
Chairman
Committee on the Budget
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to express my strong support for full funding of the President's FY 2011 foreign affairs budget request (the 150 account) which, along with defense, is a critical component of an integrated and effective national security program.

I understand this year presents a challenging budget environment, with competing domestic and international pressures. However, I strongly believe a robust civilian foreign affairs capability, coupled with a strong defense capability, is essential to preserving U.S. national security interests around the world.

State and USAID partners are critical to success in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq. Our military and civilian missions are integrated, and we depend upon our civilian counterparts to help stabilize and rebuild after the fight. As U.S. forces transition out of war zones, the U.S. government needs our civilian agencies to be able to assume critical functions. This allows us, for example, to draw down U.S. forces in Iraq responsibly while ensuring hard-fought gains are secured. Cuts to the 150 account will almost certainly impact our efforts in these critical frontline states.

In other parts of the world, the work performed by diplomatic and development professionals helps build the foundation for more stable, democratic and prosperous societies. These are places where the potential for conflict can be minimized, if not completely avoided, by State and USAID programs – thereby lowering the likely need for deployment of U.S. military assets.

In formulating his request for FY 2011, the President carefully considered funding needs for the budget accounts for both foreign affairs and national defense, taking into account overall national security requirements as well as economic conditions. I believe that full funding of these two budget accounts is necessary for our national security and for ensuring our continued leadership in the world. I hope you will take this into account when acting upon the President's FY 2011 budget request.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Robert M. Gates".



cc:
The Honorable Judd Gregg
Ranking Member



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 20, 2010

The Honorable Kent Conrad, Chairman
Committee on the Budget
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am asking your help in supporting the State and USAID budget request for FY 2011. I appreciate the difficult budget environment that confronts the Congress, but I strongly believe this budget request is critical to advancing U.S. national security and our interests around the world.

Our request totals \$52.8 billion – a \$4.9 billion increase over 2010. Of that increase, \$3.6 billion goes directly to “frontline states” – Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. All other State and USAID funding grows by \$1.3 billion or a 2.7 percent increase, and allows us to tackle the transnational problems of poverty, food insecurity, climate change, and disease that pose serious threats to American interests.

Our diplomatic and development tools enhance American leadership, strengthen our alliances, and build new partnerships to confront pressing global challenges. Full funding in FY 11 will allow us to continue making tangible progress in securing the hard fought gains achieved in Iraq, and to continue supporting and deploying hundreds of civilians in Afghanistan and Pakistan to help stabilize dangerous but improving situations.

The recent attacks on United States personnel and facilities from Juarez, Mexico, to Peshawar, Pakistan, reinforce what we already know – America’s diplomats and development professionals are on the front lines, protecting, and securing our vital national security interests around the world.

Congress has rightly demanded that we use all the tools in our national security tool belt; that we put more diplomats and development experts on the ground, shoulder-to-shoulder with our troops; and that we do everything possible to secure America’s interests around the world. We are doing our part at the State Department and USAID, but we need your help with the FY 11 request. Our

missions are increasingly integrated with those of our Defense Department counterparts, as we have seen demonstrated time and again in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other parts of the world. Cuts to the civilian components can no longer be seen in isolation or having little impact on our national security strategy.

Our investments in development and diplomacy are smart, cost-effective, and squarely in the best interests of American taxpayers and our national security. They are also relatively small compared to the cost of active military engagement, and they can end up delivering impactful savings. In Iraq, for example, our \$2.6 billion request for State and USAID will allow the Defense Department budget to decrease by about \$16 billion – a powerful illustration of the return on civilian investments.

I ask for your strong support of our budget request and you have my pledge that we will work diligently to ensure that this funding is used as efficiently and effectively as possible.

Sincerely yours,



Hillary Rodham Clinton

From: PIR <preines[redacted]> on behalf of PIR
Sent: Monday, May 2, 2011 12:09 AM
To: CDM; Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin
Subject: Fw: Stmt

B6

**RELEASE IN PART
B6**

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

From: Evergreen
To: PIR
Subject: Re: Stmt
Sent: May 2, 2011 12:08 AM

NEAR DUPLICATE

Sounds right.

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

From: PIR [mailto:preines[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, May 02, 2011 12:07 AM
To: H
Cc: CDM <cheryl.mills[redacted]>; Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>; Huma Abedin
Subject: Stmt

Jake and I just got off the phone with Hammer, he relayed your thoughts on a statement. We'll forgo a written statement tonight and plan on you making an in person statement tomorrow morning in the Treaty Room. Schwerin working on TPs that will be circulated to senior team tonight, we'll have to you tomorrow morning.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/10/2017 ~ Class:
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:
02/10/2032

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: aclb [redacted] on behalf of aclb
Sent: Sunday, May 1, 2011 5:50 PM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Re Israel

B6

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1



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

From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.co m>; 'jake.sullivan [redacted]
<jake.sullivan [redacted]>
Sent: Sun May 01 20:31:00 2011
Subject: Re Israel

I'm going tomorrow to Israel for a few days. Then to Jordan and egypt. It would be good to speak tomorrow morning(your time) before I go.

DISCLAIMER

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Windrush Ventures No. 3 LP is a limited partnership registered in England and Wales with registered number LP012665. Its registered office is 50 Broadway, London SW1H 0BL. The members of Windrush Ventures No.3 LP are BDBCO No.819 Limited and Windrush Ventures No.2 LLP and the address at which each of these can be served is 50 Broadway, London SW1H 0BL.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: aclb [redacted] on behalf of aclb
Sent: Wednesday, April 27, 2011 1:47 PM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re Pal unity

B6

This is very tricky though interesting. Let me know if you want to speak.

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Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/10/2017 ~ Class:
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:
02/10/2032

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

From: aclb [redacted] on behalf of aclb
Sent: Monday, May 9, 2011 5:03 PM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re Palestinians

B6

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

[redacted] I've also sent you a paper.

Best Tony

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For more information please visit <http://www.message-labs.com/email>

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Sunday, April 17, 2011 9:34 AM
To: jake.sullivan [REDACTED]
Subject: U know potus weekly is monday? Only day he can do

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Monday, May 2, 2011 12:45 AM
To: jake.sullivan[redacted]
Subject: Assume this doesn't change fayyad and molho?

B6

From: sbwhoeop([redacted])
Sent: Monday, May 30, 2011 11:21 PM
To: jake.sullivan([redacted])
Subject: Re: Connecting

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

Jake: This is the problem at Harvard involving Derrick Bell that Obama solved simply by emerging there and that gave him the impression his identity had transcended past political conflict into a post-racial, post-ideological realm--identity as post-identity politics, or post-politics.

On Bell: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Derrick_Bell
<http://www.answers.com/topic/derrick-bell>

The fallacies are numerous, not least that it's academia.

I had heard from Khalifa earlier today about the defection of Qaddafi's generals. The TNC is exultant and over-confident. They have consistently believed in the deus ex machina.

Let me know about the matter we discussed if you can. thanks.

Cheers,
Sid

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

From: Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
To: Sidney Blumenthal <[redacted]>
Sent: Sun, May 29, 2011 5:53 pm
Subject: Fwd: Connecting

Hi Sid -- Happy to come by in an hour or so, if you shoot me your address.

----- Forwarded message -----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, May 29, 2011 at 5:48 PM
Subject: Connecting
To: "jake.sullivan([redacted])" <jake.sullivan([redacted])>
Cc: "sbwhoeop([redacted])" <sbwhoeop([redacted])>

Jake--I spoke w Sid and he would be happy to see you at his house (which is in Georgetown) in about an hour. I hope you two can use the email addresses I've used to connect on details. Thanks so much, Sid. Look forward to talking later.

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted] on behalf of Cheryl Mills
Sent: Saturday, June 12, 2010 7:00 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted] Philippe Reines; Evergreen
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: RE: FT

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

very nice

NEAR
DUPLICATE

From: jake.sullivan [redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, June 11, 2010 9:24 PM
To: Philippe Reines; Evergreen
Cc: CDM; Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: FT

I dont know what others think, but I quite enjoyed this. Go Dan.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

From: Philippe Reines <[redacted]>

Date: Fri, 11 Jun 2010 19:44:24 -0400

To: Evergreen <Hdr22@clintonemail.com >

Cc: CDM <cheryl.mills [redacted]>; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Jake Sullivan <jake.sullivan [redacted]>

Subject: FT

Our clips service doesn't have the license necessary to provide FT (or Reuters) content, so here's the long awaited FT profile – you'll be especially interested in the guest column David Milliband wrote:

An FT interview with Hillary Clinton
By Daniel Dombey
FT
June 11 2010 22:21

This is what it is like to be Hillary Clinton. The motorcade, twisting and skidding through rain-splashed streets for more than an hour; the public meetings and camera lights at journey's end; the spotlight that has not let up for two decades. It is almost as if the 2008 US presidential election – hailed as the most exciting for a generation – had never ended.

But this is a campaign without a vote. Today, Clinton's convoy is snaking through São Paulo, Brazil, not South Hampton, New Hampshire. She herself is no longer an aspirant for the White House, despite what the overnight flights, town hall meetings and strategy sessions that make up her gruelling schedule might suggest. Instead, she is in Latin America to shore up relations with the region and promote a new idea of US leadership, one very much built around herself.

She's had bigger and more ecstatic audiences than the 700-odd students and staff crammed into the hall tonight at Zumbi dos Pradares, an Afro-Brazilian university, but she's still greeted by a wave of raised arms as the audience snaps away at her with their mobile phones.

In the convoy moments before, she was wrapped in a shawl, suffering from a cold and angry at the delays that pushed us into the side streets speckled with box-like bars, warehouses and love hotels while Brazilian motorists sought to cut into our path. There is no sign of that now. With the metabolism of a born politician, she feeds off the energy of her audience and takes questions from students, teachers and local celebrities for an hour. Hillary Clinton never looks happier than when she is centre stage.

Most US secretaries of state wouldn't bother with this sort of event, much less initiate it and arrange for it to be screened on the biggest local channel. Yet this is what Clinton does on almost every foreign trip – and she seems to spend half her life on her official 727, crammed with long-time aides and armed bodyguards. The schedule is backbreaking and constantly shifting. She has notched up more than a quarter of a million miles since taking office.

On this Latin America trip, thrown into confusion by an earthquake in Chile, we have already visited four countries in 24 hours. We go to tiny Uruguay, where our stay is so brief we check into a hotel just for a shower; Argentina, where we spend almost all our time at the presidential palace; Chile itself, where we don't leave the airport; and Brazil, where we spend almost a full day.

So what exactly is Clinton trying to do on this never-ending world tour? Travelling with her for a week, talking to people inside and outside the administration, I tried to find out.

. . .

"We now have a case to make and it is not just a case that is made to the president or the prime minister or the foreign minister or an ambassador," she tells me a few weeks later, as she perches on a sofa in her expansive office, with its view of the Lincoln Memorial. "People now have a voice and an opinion and a vote in many instances on the direction that their own societies take ... I want to model a different kind of leadership that is open and willing to listen but [also] to stand our ground if necessary."

She argues that these trips of hers help to restore the US's image in the wake of the Bush administration – by making contact with public opinion abroad, and so boosting American power. Her aides say that, as a battle-hardened politician who also happens to be one of the most famous women in the world, she is ideally placed to carry out the task. But the deeper question is whether she is merely implementing the foreign policy crafted by Barack Obama, her boss and former rival, or whether her role – and ambitions – go beyond that.

Is she a kind of saleswoman-in-chief for the US, I ask? "Well, I think that is part of the job," she replies, toying with the napkin underneath her glass of water. "If you are making a case for American values and for American leadership, you have to make it where people now get information ... Given the bridges we had to build and some of the repair work we had to do, we had to travel."

As in São Paulo, her system is under strain – "I've been fighting this all day," she says as she masks a cough set off by her allergies (Washington's cherry blossom trees are shedding their flowers). Life is still hectic – the volcanic ash cloud has just all but paralysed Europe and televisions throughout the State

Department are showing the first British election debate. But Clinton remains enthusiastic, affable and unhurried, her speech peppered with exclamations such as "oh my gosh", even as she discusses issues of state. She politely asks if I have any updates for her about Europe's airspace shutdown and tells me she's been talking to Norway's foreign minister about it.

"He said that this dust gets into engines of any size, even Air Force One – it's chunky! I don't know how else to describe it," she says, an odd note of hilarity entering her voice as she pronounces the word "chunky".

Clinton often speaks in this eager, unvarnished way – a world away from the clipped, on-message manner of her immediate predecessor in the post, Condoleezza Rice. If anything, she is an undiplomat – known less for calibrated circumlocutions than for her plain speaking and sometimes her gaffes, a woman who retains both a formidable political constituency and a laugh she once admitted can send cats scurrying from a room.

Her staff point out she is only the third elected politician in 60 years to have served as secretary of state, and the first to come from outside the foreign policy establishment since James Baker, George H.W. Bush's right-hand man and perhaps her most illustrious recent predecessor. She may be the most substantive politician in the office since William Jennings Bryan, the three-time presidential candidate who served as secretary almost a century ago. "Her stature on the world stage, her almost presidential stature, has set her apart," Bill Burns, the top career diplomat at the State Department, tells me. "Leaders want to meet her. And the town hall meetings do make a difference with public opinion."

. . .

State visitor Hillary Clinton is greeted by Air Force Base Commander Colonel Celso de Araujo at São Paulo airport in March

Back in São Paulo, the meeting at the university ranges far from the confines and dramatis personae of traditional diplomacy. Annie, a young woman with red and blue dreadlocked hair, tells Clinton about her dance and percussion classes and asks how to study in the US without paying college fees. A nervous young man confesses himself lost halfway through an abstruse question about tariff policy; Clinton, smiling and nodding in that vaguely automatic way of hers, bears with him all the same. Another female student asks for an autograph. When answering, Clinton sometimes opens her eyes wide as she emphasises a phrase; at other moments, seemingly at random, she pulls her hands apart as if demonstrating the size of a fish.

Then a law student called Marina asks about abortion – which is illegal in Brazil – and Clinton moves into treacherous terrain. She speaks of the Brazilian hospital she visited in the 1990s that treated not just expectant mothers but women suffering from the consequences of backstreet abortions. "Wealthy women have rights in every country," she says. "And poor women don't." Her strength of feeling can't be hidden as she denounces "the great toll that illegal abortions take and the denial of women being able to exercise such a fundamental personal right".

Tom Shannon, the US ambassador to Brazil, tells me later: "I understand the possible concern that we might have come close to domestic issues. But she wasn't laying out a prescription for Brazil. She was sharing her experience as a woman in American politics and as secretary of state." It's true: Clinton doesn't quite cross the line. Onstage, she is controlled without seeming artificial, convivial without appearing over-effusive, what a previous age would call a real trouper. At the podium she looks straight ahead, her lips carefully expressionless. Still, the old competitive instincts haven't left her. Perhaps it is the lecterns at press conferences, reminiscent of the Democratic presidential debates, but on exiting the podium at a joint appearance with Argentina's president Cristina Fernández, Clinton makes clear her satisfaction at having had the last word. The expert debater who usually bested Obama has not left the stage.

Yet that competitive urge coexists with what one insider describes as her "almost inhuman loyalty" towards Obama. Her mastery of the facts – an "information carnivore" one of her officials calls her – comes despite the consensus in much of Washington that her role consists largely of implementing the

foreign policy Obama and his inner circle have framed, rather than helping frame it herself.

In São Paulo, she shows her loyalty in striking fashion when she is asked repeatedly about positive discrimination – another sensitive topic in Brazil – not least because, Clinton herself observes, Afro-Brazilians account for more than half the country's population but only 2 per cent of university students. "That suggests to me that some special steps need to be taken [in] recruiting and admitting students so that they can have a chance to succeed," she tells the hall, again inching towards domestic politics, before speaking of her pride in the progress the US civil rights movement has made in the past half-century. She says: "The election of Barack Obama, many believe, was the greatest accomplishment of all because it demonstrated that an African-American could be elected president of the United States."

Among the crowd, I catch my breath and scribble down her words. It's hard to think of a more fulsome statement from the woman who fought so hard against Obama – and who squandered a huge poll lead and millions of dollars in the struggle against him.

. . .

The great collaborator Clinton has established strong working relationships within the Obama administration

When I ask Clinton later about how she managed to move from the antagonism of the primary race to the obedience of office, she dismisses my question with an anodyne "that's politics". She adds: "We're working really hard and well together ... It just never comes up any more, it seems like ancient history to me." Not so ancient, I think, that she is willing to admit the failings of her campaign. "I always run inclusive and successful organisations," she retorts when I ask her whether she'd applied any lessons from that searing experience to her new post.

She admits she didn't want the job at State – she says she was exhausted by the election and missed the Senate – "but at the end of the day, I'm pretty old-fashioned and if the president asks you to do something, you'd better have a really good reason why you can't." Also, she adds: "Suppose I had won and I were asking him to be in my cabinet ... I would have wanted him to say yes."

Others say the relationship is more complex, that by dint of her loyalty and unflagging hard work, Clinton has moved closer to the charmed circle and made herself an even more formidable political force than before. "Quite simply, she gives good advice and the president over a year and a half has recognised that," says Anne-Marie Slaughter, head of the State Department policy planning unit. "The relationship is based on her performance in the job."

By all accounts, it's a collaborative partnership, though not perhaps a warm one. Clinton boasts a good working relationship with the main players of the administration – and has formed something of an alliance with defence secretary Robert Gates, although on life-and-death issues such as Afghanistan, it is Gates, not her, who has taken the lead. As one official told me, secretaries of state have often either been popular with their own department – Colin Powell comes to mind – or with the rest of the administration – as was Condoleezza Rice – but Clinton has managed to be both.

In truth, Clinton's language remains harder-edged than Obama's – she recently claimed that Iran's Revolutionary Guard had staged a slow-motion coup – and she has sometimes been more willing than he is to hint at using the military. "She seems to step up with a bit of spine just at the right time," says Kurt Volker, a US ambassador to Nato under George W. Bush.

She has also assumed an ever more prominent role in talking to leaders such as Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel and Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan – apparently because she is trusted both by them and Obama. Meanwhile, she has been careful to keep her husband, the former US president, in the background. Aides say they have barely seen him in the building – though Clinton herself says that behind the scenes Bill Clinton gives her strategic advice. "One of his favourite sayings, that I remind myself of all the time, is a kind of baseball saying," she says: "Don't major in the minors; keep your eye on not just the headlines but the trend lines."

It is her co-operative stance rather than any notable effort to set out a grand vision of her own that is the

chief theme of her time so far at State. When I ask Clinton to name her proudest achievement in office, she replies "the effective and collaborative approach that this administration has taken towards identifying and solving problems." A more process-oriented, less provocative answer would be hard to imagine.

. . .

But maybe, I think, the US has less scope for grand strategy than it did in the past couple of decades, when the country seemed to bstride the world colossus-style. Clinton herself suggests that so formidable are the tasks confronting the US that the administration has little scope to enter into internecine fights but needs instead to focus on the challenges to hand. Whatever the reason for her stance, it seems to be a smart decision – by all accounts she's overcome many of the suspicions the White House retinue had towards her.

"It's fair to say that she was not born into the administration's inner circle but slowly but surely, for the most consequential decisions, she now has a prime seat at the table," says one official. Praising what he calls her "Terminator-quality durability and determination," he adds: "She's done an amazing amount of work, judging that the way to build a strategic vision is bottom up, by mastering the details."

Indeed, Clinton's ability to master the most arcane foreign policy briefs is the marvel of her building. She has dropped into obscure working groups and shown an unnerving knowledge of their details. At her confirmation hearings last year she exchanged facts about the arctic with an Alaskan senator; at the meeting in São Paulo she becomes enthused about freight transport policy both in Brazil and the US. She herself acknowledges that finding her feet on foreign policy was something of a struggle, despite her campaign claims of expertise in the field. "It was so intellectually challenging, just to get our arms around all of these issues," she says. During her first year, she was criticised for apparent gaffes – including the way she called for Israel to halt all building of settlements on occupied territory only to hail a partial freeze a few months later as unprecedented. On an election campaign, she says, "you may be in a different city four times a day but you have a message you're trying to deliver that is repetitive and aimed at your audience. But here you might deal with 10 different countries' problems, six different regional or global challenges in the course of a day."

As the Latin America tour shows, she is now trying to do both – travel incessantly and solve an array of international issues. She is at the forefront of the US's efforts to consolidate relations with a number of important countries – predominantly Russia and China, but also rising powers such as Brazil, Turkey, Indonesia and South Africa – and to cool down anti-American feeling in hotspots, notably Pakistan. She says the push is working, hailing a "change in public opinion in places that were pretty negative about the US" – a reference to Russia and Pakistan. But it is far from smooth sailing. Differences about Iran and over Israel's raid on aid-bearing ships off Gaza have stoked tensions with Turkey and Brazil recently, amid questioning of the effectiveness of the Obama administration's policies.

During my time with her on the road, the stop in Brazil is the focal point – not surprising given the country's increased profile as Latin America leader. Clinton is now heading the administration's push to secure sanctions on Iran, and in Brasilia she tries and fails to win President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva to her cause. She employs an almost combative tone at a press conference with Celso Amorim, Brazil's foreign minister. At moments she appears to barely contain her irritation, as she denounces "an Iran that runs to Brazil" as well as other countries such as Turkey and China "telling different things to different people to avoid international sanctions". Amorim is spiky in his own way – drawing parallels to the 1990s sanctions on Iraq and the claims about weapons of mass destruction before the 2003 war. "Of course, I don't agree with everything the Secretary said," he says.

It is not a happy experience – indeed this past week both Brazil and Turkey voted against sanctions at the United Nations – yet Hillary Clinton is nowhere near giving up. Years ago, one of Bill Clinton's biographers described his approach to government as a "permanent campaign", and it appears to be his wife's preferred form of existence as well. If there is one constant in Clinton's life, it is that she never throws in her cards, whether what motivates her is power or public service.

"Never, never!" she exclaims, when I ask whether she ever thought of walking off into the wings after the frustrations and indignities of her time at the White House. "I have a very realistic sense of what high-

stakes politics requires and it took me a while to get there because it's shocking when you are in the arena ... but once you figure it out, you can take it seriously for purposes of analysis and understanding, but you can't take it personally." Such treatment seems to rankle all the same. She's been listening to coverage ahead of the British debate and is plainly irritated by the coverage of the leaders' wives. "Whether a woman's running for office or she's supporting her husband who's running for office and she gets criticised for wearing open-toed shoes or for the colour of her coat, there's just a lot of history that you bear if you are a woman who puts herself out in the political arena," she says.

...

Another country Clinton boards her official 727 to fly from São Paulo to Costa Rica
Injustice towards women appears to be the issue that most enthuses Clinton in this job – as in her many other incarnations in American public life, whether as First Lady or before. "I feel passionately it is in not just the American national security interests but the world's, that women be given the opportunities and the tools to make the most out of their own lives," she says.

In the 1990s she steered clear of reading the newspapers because of the way she was treated. Today, she says, "I certainly don't read coverage of me, I read what else is going on that I need to know about to do my job." "It's all baloney," says Philippe Reines, her press adviser, who set up the meeting with her and is sitting to one side in her office.

"Yeah, yeah, right, that's what he tells me," Clinton responds.

I wonder. She may not read the stories about her, but she has boosted her domestic profile still further by talking to American magazines such as Esquire, Vogue and Parade. To what end? Clinton has said she will only serve one four-year term as secretary of state – understandable, given the grind of the job. When I ask whether she expects a woman president in the next decade or so, she responds: "I'd love that, obviously I would love that. I want to be front and centre when it happens."

"Any chance it would be you?" I ask.

"No, no, I don't think that's in the cards," Clinton says. She's given more categorical denials in the past. "I think that there's a whole generation of young women and not so young, but mature, seasoned women who are earning their stripes and recognising how tough it is out there. It is not for the faint of heart to run for president, and I believe it is harder for women, it just is, and that's just a fact." But, says one US official, "all the profiles and all this media treatment undercut the argument that she is finished with electoral politics. Why do all this stuff? She's already Hillary Clinton. You have to ask: 'What's the idea behind raising her domestic profile still further?'"

Indeed she is now, by some counts, the most popular politician in America and some in Washington say she could be a good fit for the vice-presidential slot in the 2012 elections.

Back in São Paulo, once the town hall meeting is over, Clinton faces a seven-hour flight to Costa Rica. The journey goes on and on, and as saleswoman-in-chief for the US in an unruly world, she faces a long, hard road. Today the US sometimes struggles to assert itself on the world stage. But the obstacles are rather fewer if the product she is pitching is herself. A secretary of state like none before her, Hillary Clinton, long one of the most formidable figures in US politics, is looking stronger than ever.

Daniel Dombey is the FT's US diplomatic correspondent

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David Miliband: "Hillary is a rock star ... she has a great sense of fun, and a great sense of humour"

It's too early to start chalking up a scorecard because Hillary Clinton, and the Obama administration, is laying the foundations for long-term change in America's foreign policy. The challenges are immense – probably more difficult than the inheritance of any previous administration. But American leadership is

essential and a commitment to multilateralism – in fact multi, multilateralism using different and overlapping forums – is real and right.

You also have to remember that Hillary is a rock star. When I arrived at the Nato Foreign Ministers meeting in March 2009, it was a nice surprise that all the staff, never mind the press, seemed to have turned out in droves for my arrival. Then I realised that Hillary was 10 minutes behind me.

That said, the thing that most surprised me about working with Clinton was not her intelligence or her hard work, all of which are well known, but that behind the serious exterior is someone who has a great sense of fun, and a great sense of humour. She has seen politics from all sides, and can laugh at herself as well as at others.

She's a remarkably good listener, always synthesising ideas and opinions to develop her own. She thinks strategically as well as tactically. She's also very, very un pompous. Hillary is a very political person but in a particular way, she honours politics and public service and believes that democratic politics is not a necessary evil, but a calling of value and vocation. She knows you win some and you lose some, but it's essential to take part.

There's one other thing. Hillary is a people person in that she thinks deeply about the psychology of the people she's dealing with. Their motivation, their loyalties, their culture. It's real emotional intelligence in trying to understand why people disagree and how you can get them to agree. I think that must be why so many other members of the administration say she is a very good colleague.

David Miliband is shadow foreign secretary

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Gideon Rachman: "Relations between the White House and the State Department are not particularly close"

A school teacher asked to write a report on Hillary Clinton's stint as secretary of state would have to give her 10/10 for effort but a rather more modest mark for actual achievements – maybe a six or a seven.

Secretaries of state are generally judged on two criteria. First, how have they done in the endless bureaucratic turf wars that characterise Washington politics? Second, how effective have they been in promoting US foreign policy in the wider world? Success in one area usually helps in the other. Henry Kissinger was a superb Washington infighter – and his close relationship with President Nixon made him all the more effective overseas. Colin Powell, George W. Bush's first secretary of state, was widely admired outside the US – but came out on the wrong side of many of the Washington battles, which limited his ability to get things done in the wider world.

Hillary Clinton has skilfully avoided being sucked into the debilitating Washington struggles that so damaged Powell. Despite the often poisonous rivalry between the Obama and Clinton camps during the campaign, Clinton has a good working relationship with the president. But while relations between the White House and the State Department are cordial, they do not seem to be particularly close. Clinton appointed many loyalists from her own campaign to the State Department, with the result that State is rather detached from Obama's inner circle. Obama's penchant for making high-profile speeches in foreign capitals such as Cairo, Prague, Tokyo and Istanbul means that the president himself has done more than anyone else to define his administration's approach to the world.

That still leaves a role for Clinton to fill in the crucial details of policy. But special representatives have been appointed to deal with Afghanistan and the Middle East – and the Treasury is critical to China policy. Asked about Clinton's impact as secretary of state, one senior European policymaker purses his lips and says: "She's done some great trips, and she's highly professional. But it's hard to see any particular area where she has really driven policy."

Gideon Rachman is the FT's chief foreign affairs columnist

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David Rothkopf: "When she has been asked to deliver tough messages, she has done so unflinchingly"

Hillary Clinton has been a cautious secretary of state: she has protected the president well and pursued his agenda without upstaging him – an early concern, given her stature. She has worked very well with other members of the cabinet, and is reconsidering the role and structure of the State Department.

That includes a review of the role of diplomacy going forward. Clinton has not only acknowledged the rise of new powers and a changing global power structure but has taken steps to reshape US foreign policy structure accordingly. An important part of that has been recognising the importance of co-operating with private and non-state actors such as NGOs, as well as dealing with non-state threats.

When the administration has called upon her to deliver tough messages, she has done so unflinchingly. This has allowed the president to articulate a strategic vision which Clinton then goes about implementing. Still, neither the secretary of state nor the president determines the global situation. The US may be the most powerful country in the world but it is one among many powerful countries, and many aspects of the situation we face today are beyond our control. The Obama administration has been dealt an extremely difficult hand: not only Iraq and Afghanistan, but Iran and North Korea's nuclear programmes, the rise of emerging powers and a complex and still unfolding series of financial crises.

We have gone from a world in which the US thought it had limitless resources and unbounded options to one where the limits are clear; from a world in which you could work in the G8 to one where you have to work in the context of the G20; a world where new technologies and new powers play a bigger role. All of those things would dictate a change in foreign policy regardless of who is in office.

Hillary Clinton has established a very solid foundation. The next step is to identify a couple of signature issues – and have a couple of signature successes. That will take her to the next level.

David Rothkopf is a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace with expertise in national security

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Tuesday, June 14, 2011 3:50 PM
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: RE: FW: Steph Gent

RELEASE IN PART
B6

nice

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 14, 2011 3:49 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Fwd: FW: Steph Gent

B6

what do you think?

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Button, Case <ButtonWC@state.gov>
Date: Tue, Jun 14, 2011 at 3:38 PM
Subject: FW: Steph Gent
To: jake.sullivan@state.gov, "Sullivan, Jacob J" <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: "McAuliffe, Marisa S" <McAuliffeMS@state.gov>

Do you want to push back on this?

Just please don't forward this email if you do!

Safe travels

From: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Tuesday, June 14, 2011 3:36 PM
To: Button, Case
Subject: RE: Steph Gent

She can come for a photo.

From: Button, Case
Sent: Tuesday, June 14, 2011 3:06 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Steph Gent

Her last day is next Friday and we're doing cupcakes for her in 7311 in the afternoon on behalf of Jake and S/P. Is there a time that S could come by to say goodbye for 3 min? She's worked for S since 2007. I'm happy to do the BCL!

From: sbwhoep[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, June 8, 2011 6:28 PM
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Re: Connecting

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

[redacted] See you around 7 or so

Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless

-----Original message-----

From: Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
To: Sidney Blumenthal [redacted]
Sent: Sun, May 29, 2011 21:53:04 GMT+00:00
Subject: Fwd: Connecting

Hi Sid -- Happy to come by in an hour or so, if you shoot me your address.

----- Forwarded message -----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com >
Date: Sun, May 29, 2011 at 5:48 PM
Subject: Connecting
To: "jake.sullivan[redacted]" <jake.sullivan[redacted]>
Cc: "sbwhoep[redacted]" <sbwhoep[redacted]>

Jake--I spoke w Sid and he would be happy to see you at his house (which is in [redacted]) in about an hour. I hope you two can use the email addresses I've used to connect on details. Thanks so much, Sid. Look forward to talking later.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <sullivanjj@state.gov> on behalf of Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sunday, June 12, 2011 4:09 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Best piece I have seen recently on Syria (from Foreign Policy blog)

B6

NEAR DUPLICATE

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Sunday, June 12, 2011 10:19 AM
To: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Best piece I have seen recently on Syria (from Foreign Policy blog)

This suggests US should be making much more of the ways in which Syrian regime is *simulating* sectarian violence. Can't we call for a meeting of the UNSC where we do not call for action but simply present information along the lines of what is recounted below so as to "bring it to the attention of the Council" in a way that then has greater credibility globally? Making the point repeatedly that the regime *wants* this to look like/turn into sectarian violence? At the very least that can be broadcast back into Syria in various ways that will encourage protesters. There is an information war going on; we can do much more to elevate and legitimate the truth.

The Fall of the House of Assad

It's too late for the Syrian regime to save itself.

BY ROBIN YASSIN-KASSAB | JUNE 10, 2011

"*Selmiyyeh, selmiyyeh*" -- "peaceful, peaceful" -- was one of the Tunisian revolution's most contagious slogans. It was chanted in Egypt, where in some remarkable cases protesters defused state violence simply by telling policemen to calm down and not be scared. In both countries, largely nonviolent demonstrations and strikes succeeded in splitting the military high command from the ruling family and its cronies, and civil war was avoided. In both countries, state institutions proved themselves stronger than the regimes that had hijacked them. Although protesters unashamedly fought back (with rocks, not guns) when attacked, the success of their largely peaceful mass movements seemed an Arab vindication of Gandhian nonviolent resistance strategies. But then came the much more difficult uprisings in Bahrain, Libya, and Syria.

Even after at least 1,300 deaths and more than 10,000 detentions, according to human rights groups, "selmiyyeh" still resounds on Syrian streets. It's obvious why protest organizers want to keep it that way. Controlling the big guns and fielding the best-trained fighters, the regime would emerge victorious from any pitched battle. Oppositional violence, moreover, would alienate those constituencies the uprising is working so hard to win over: the upper-middle class, religious minorities, the stability-firsters. It would push the uprising off the moral high ground and thereby relieve international pressure against the regime. It would also serve regime propaganda, which against all evidence portrays the unarmed protesters as highly organized groups of armed infiltrators and Salafi terrorists.

The regime is exaggerating the numbers, but soldiers are undoubtedly being killed. Firm evidence is lost in the fog, but there are reliable and consistent **reports**, backed by YouTube videos, of mutinous soldiers being shot by security forces. Defecting soldiers have **reported mukhabarat** lined up behind them as they fire on civilians, watching for any soldier's disobedience. A tank battle and aerial bombardment were **reported** after a small-scale mutiny in the Homs region. Tensions within the military are expanding.

And a small minority of protesters does now seem to be taking up arms. Syrians -- regime supporters and the apolitical as much as anyone else -- have been furiously **buying smuggled weapons** since the crisis began. Last week for the first time, anti-regime activists **reported** that people in Rastan and Talbiseh were meeting tanks with rocket-propelled grenades. Some of the conflicting reports from Jisr al-Shaghour, the besieged town near the northwestern border with Turkey, describe a gun battle between townsmen and the army. And a *mukhabarat* man was **lynched** by a grieving crowd in Hama.

The turn toward violence is inadvisable but perhaps inevitable. When residential areas are subjected to military attack, when children are tortured to death, when young men are randomly rounded up and beaten, electrocuted, and humiliated, some Syrians will seek to defend themselves. Violence has its own momentum, and Syria appears to be slipping toward war.

There are two potential civil-war scenarios. The first begins with Turkish intervention. Since Syrian independence in 1946, tensions have bubbled over into Turkey's Hatay province, known to Syrians as Wilayat Iskenderoon, the Arab region unjustly gifted to Kemal Ataturk by the French. War almost broke out in 1998 over Syria's hosting of Kurdish separatist leader Abdullah Ocalan, who now sits in a Turkish prison. Yet since the ascension of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey and Bashar al-Assad's inheritance of the Syrian

presidency, relations have dramatically improved. Turkey invested enormous financial and political capital in Syria, establishing a Levantine free trade zone and distancing itself from Israel.

Erdogan extracted promises of reform from Bashar at the onset of the protests and then watched with increasingly visible consternation as the promises were broken. He warned Syria **repeatedly** against massacres and their consequences (on June 9, he described the crackdown as "**savagery**"). Syria's response is reminiscent of Israel's after last year's Mavi Marmara killings: **slandering** its second-most important ally with petulant self-destructiveness.

Turkish military intervention remains unlikely, but if the estimated **4,000 refugees** who have crossed the border thus far swell to a greater flood, particularly if Kurds begin crossing in large numbers, Turkey may decide to create a safe haven in north or northeastern Syria. This territory could become Syria's Benghazi, potentially a home for a more local and credible opposition than the exile-dominated one that recently met in Antalya, Turkey, and a destination to which soldiers and their families could defect. A council of defected officers might then organize attacks on the regime from the safe haven, adding military to economic and diplomatic pressure.

The second scenario is sectarian war, as seen in neighbouring Iraq and Lebanon. Although most people choose their friends from all communities, sectarianism remains a real problem in Syria. The ruling family was born into the historically oppressed Alawi community. The Ottomans regarded Alawis as heretics rather than as "people of the book," and Alawis -- unlike Christians, Jews, and mainstream Shiite Muslims -- were therefore deprived of all legal rights. Before the rise of the Baath and the social revolution it presided over, Alawi girls served as housemaids in Sunni cities. Some Alawis fear those times are returning and will fight to prevent change. The social stagnation of dictatorship has made it difficult to discuss sectarian prejudice in public, which has sometimes kept hatreds bottled up. Some in the Sunni majority perceive the Assads as representatives of their sect and resent the entire community by extension.

None of this makes sectarian conflict inevitable. Class and regional cleavages are perhaps more salient than sect in Syria today. Sunni business families have been co-opted into the power structure while disfavored Alawis have suffered as much as anyone else. The protesters, aware of the dangers, have consistently chanted slogans of national unity. And in Lebanon and Iraq the catalysts for civil war were external interventions, not internal upheaval.

The catalyst in Syria may be the regime itself. Simulating sectarian war is one of the regime's preferred tactics. In March, Syrian friends have told me, its *shabiha* militia tried to spark social breakdown in Latakia by pretending to be a Sunni mob while it shot up Alawi areas and an Alawi mob as it terrorized Sunni neighborhoods. Syrians say the regime is arming Alawi villages and wishfully thinking of a repeat of the 1980s, when it faced a genuinely violent sectarian challenge in the form of the Muslim Brotherhood, which it defeated at the Hama massacre in 1982.

The danger of the simulacrum is that it could become reality. If the regime doesn't disintegrate quickly, the state will disintegrate gradually, and then the initiative could be seized by the kind of tough men who command local loyalty by providing the basics and avenging the dead. If violence continues at this pitch for much longer, it's easy to imagine local and sectarian militias forming, with the Sunnis receiving funding from the Persian Gulf.

Such a scenario would be a disaster for Syrians of all backgrounds. The ripple effects would be felt in Lebanon (which would likely be sucked into the fray), Palestine, Iraq, Turkey, and beyond. It could also give a second life to the Wahhabi-nihilist groups currently relegated to irrelevance by the new democratic mood in the region.

Let's hope the boil bursts before either of these wars occurs. The economy may collapse catastrophically, at which point almost every Syrian would have to choose between revolution and starvation. Under continued pressure, the regime may destroy itself through internecine conflict, or it may surrender when mass desertions make the military option unfeasible. The manner of bringing the boil to eruption remains obscure. What seems certain is that the regime will not be able to bring Syria back under its heel.

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Sunday, May 29, 2011 6:27 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Connecting

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

So much for Princeton's cautious hopefulness. See latest NYT report:

Sudan Threatens to Occupy 2 More Disputed Regions
By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN and JOSH KRON
Published: May 29, 2011

JUBA, Sudan — The northern Sudanese Army is threatening to seize two more areas along the combustible north-south border, risking war just weeks before southern Sudan is due to split off as an independent country, Western and Sudanese officials said Sunday.

Tensions shot up last week when northern forces stormed into Abyei, a contested region that straddles the border and is claimed by both the northern and southern governments.

Now, according to a letter from the Sudanese military's high command, the northern army, in the next few days, plans to take over Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan states, two disputed areas with a long history of conflict that are still bristling with arms.

Analysts, local leaders and Western diplomats fear that if the northern army carries through on its threat to push out or forcibly disarm the thousands of fighters allied to the south in these two areas, it could set off a much bigger clash between the northern and southern armies, who have been building up their arsenals for years in anticipation of war.

Malik Agar, Blue Nile's governor, said Sunday night that northern forces had recently moved "dangerously close" to the bases of southern-allied fighters and that he didn't think the southern-allied forces would surrender.

"It's like putting a cat in a corner," Mr. Agar said. "They will fight."

Sudan's border is a dizzyingly complex mosaic of ethnic groups and political loyalties. It is also home to the bulk of the country's crude oil and some of the most fertile land in the country, making the question of how exactly to draw a line across Sudan one of the most explosive issues the nation confronts as it prepares to split in two.

Under peace agreements signed several years ago, joint forces were supposed to patrol some of these disputed areas. The two sides had agreed that Abyei would hold a referendum to decide if it were to join the north or south, a compromise that was essentially blotted out on May 21 when thousands of northern Sudanese soldiers marched into Abyei. Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile were supposed to conduct a less formal, vaguely defined "popular consultation" process that southerners say has not been completed.

Southern Sudan is just weeks away from attaining independence, a goal that has taken more than 50 years and millions of lives. The region, one of the poorest and least developed places on earth, where four out of five adults cannot read, defied expectations in January by holding an orderly, organized referendum on

independence, in which nearly 99 percent voted to split off. In the past week, southern leaders have absorbed the loss of Abyei, complaining bitterly about it but deciding not to respond with military force, saying that could jeopardize all that they had sacrificed for.

On Sunday, southern leaders indicated that they would not fight over Blue Nile or Southern Kordofan either.

“It is not our priority now to get involved in a war,” said Barnaba Marial Benjamin, the information minister for the government of southern Sudan. He also said high-level negotiations were about to begin in Khartoum, Sudan’s capital, over several of these border issues.

But what may be more dangerous this time is that there are many more southern-allied fighters stationed in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan than there were in Abyei — possibly tens of thousands, compared with a few hundred in Abyei who quickly retreated last weekend when faced with a clearly superior northern Sudanese force.

From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
Sent: Friday, June 10, 2011 8:38 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Connecting

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

Jake: There's some glitch in my email sent by my phone awhile ago. In any case, if you have a minute, give me a call sometime today: [redacted] or [redacted] Sid

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

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
To: sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted]>
Sent: Fri, Jun 10, 2011 3:12 am
Subject: Re: Connecting

Sid -- for some reason I just got a number of your emails that you sent several days ago.

The short answer on this approach is that we have decided to sit on it, after doing some more digging on Ziad. We have had similar approaches through other channels and are sitting on those as well, for the time being.

On Wed, Jun 8, 2011 at 6:27 PM, sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted]> wrote:
Parking in the lot across the street

Sent via DROID on Verizon Wireless

-----Original message-----

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
To: Sidney Blumenthal [redacted]
Sent: Sun, May 29, 2011 21:53:04 GMT+00:00
Subject: Fwd: Connecting

Hi Sid -- Happy to come by in an hour or so, if you shoot me your address.

----- Forwarded message -----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com >
Date: Sun, May 29, 2011 at 5:48 PM
Subject: Connecting
To: "jake.sullivan [redacted]" <jake.sullivan [redacted]>
Cc: "sbwhoeop [redacted]" <sbwhoeop [redacted]>

Jake--I spoke w Sid and he would be happy to see you at his house (which is in Georgetown) in about an hour. I hope you two can use the email addresses I've used to connect on details. Thanks so much, Sid. Look forward to talking later.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/10/2017 ~ Class:
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/10/2032

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

From: aclb [redacted] on behalf of aclb
Sent: Tuesday, June 7, 2011 5:41 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Re Israel

B6

Fyi. Forgot to put you in on this ! Best Tony

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

From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.co m>
Sent: Sun Jun 05 17:29:47 2011
Subject: Re Israel

Saw Israeli PM. Put the concept of a Q statement. He was receptive. Palestinians interested too. I know there are discussions also you guys are having. And the French initiative. [redacted] Would be good to speak in next few days before I go back again. Tony

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

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From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, May 31, 2011 12:25 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Connecting

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

I have been sent one more number for Georges Ghosn: [redacted]

Sid

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

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
To: Sidney Blumenthal [redacted]
Sent: Sun, May 29, 2011 5:53 pm
Subject: Fwd: Connecting

Hi Sid -- Happy to come by in an hour or so, if you shoot me your address.

----- Forwarded message -----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com >
Date: Sun, May 29, 2011 at 5:48 PM
Subject: Connecting
To: "jake.sullivan [redacted]" <jake.sullivan [redacted]>
Cc: "sbwhoeop [redacted]" <sbwhoeop [redacted]>

Jake--I spoke w Sid and he would be happy to see you at his house (which is in [redacted] in about an hour. I hope you two can use the email addresses I've used to connect on details. Thanks so much, Sid. Look forward to talking later.

From: sbwhoeop[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, May 31, 2011 12:18 PM
To: jake.sullivan[redacted]
Subject: Re: Connecting

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

Jake: FYI, one additional piece of information sent to me today by my contact. The phone number of Georges Ghosn: [redacted]
[redacted]

Sid

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

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
To: Sidney Blumenthal [redacted]
Sent: Sun, May 29, 2011 5:53 pm
Subject: Fwd: Connecting

Hi Sid -- Happy to come by in an hour or so, if you shoot me your address.

----- Forwarded message -----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com >
Date: Sun, May 29, 2011 at 5:48 PM
Subject: Connecting
To: "jake.sullivan[redacted]" <jake.sullivan[redacted]>
Cc: "sbwhoeop[redacted]" <sbwhoeop[redacted]>

Jake--I spoke w Sid and he would be happy to see you at his house (which is in [redacted] in about an hour. I hope you two can use the email addresses I've used to connect on details. Thanks so much, Sid. Look forward to talking later.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <sullivanjj@state.gov> on behalf of Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sunday, June 20, 2010 7:23 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: [redacted]

B6
B5

NEAR DUPLICATE

----- Original Message -----
From: Sullivan, Jacob J
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Jun 19 23:41:21 2010
Subject: Fw: [redacted]

B5

----- Original Message -----
From: Kumar, Prem G. [redacted]
To: Donilon, Thomas E. [redacted]; Shapiro, Daniel B. [redacted]
[redacted]; McDonough, Denis R. [redacted]
Rhodes, Benjamin J. [redacted]; Ross, Dennis B. [redacted]
[redacted] Spence, Matthew J. [redacted] Pascal,
Alexander J. [redacted] Snyder, Rodney A.
[redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sat Jun 19 23:31:59 2010
Subject: [redacted]

B6

B5

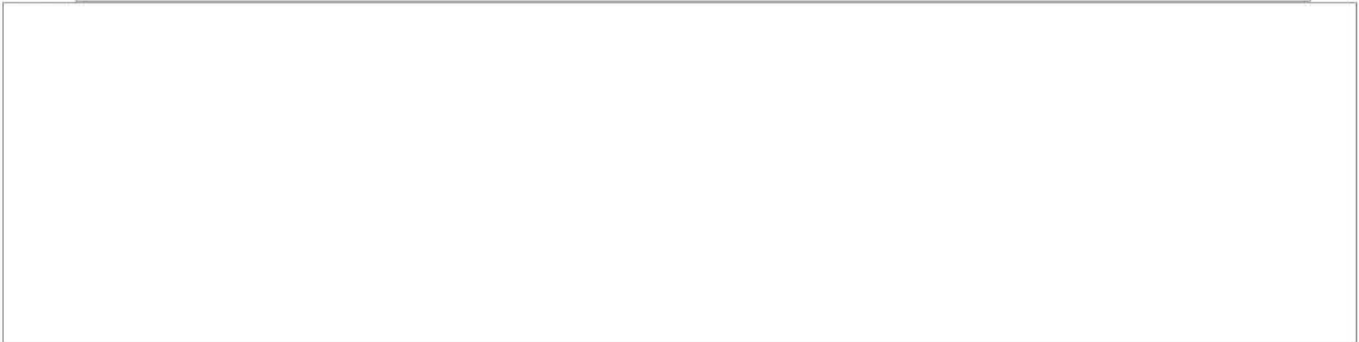
B5



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

From: Donilon, Thomas E.
To: Shapiro, Daniel B.; McDonough, Denis R.; Rhodes, Benjamin J.; Ross, Dennis B.; Kumar, Prem G.; Spence, Matthew J.; Pascal, Alexander J.; Snyder, Rodney A.; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov' <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sat Jun 19 22:43:53 2010
Subject: Re: Israel/Gaza Update

Dan--

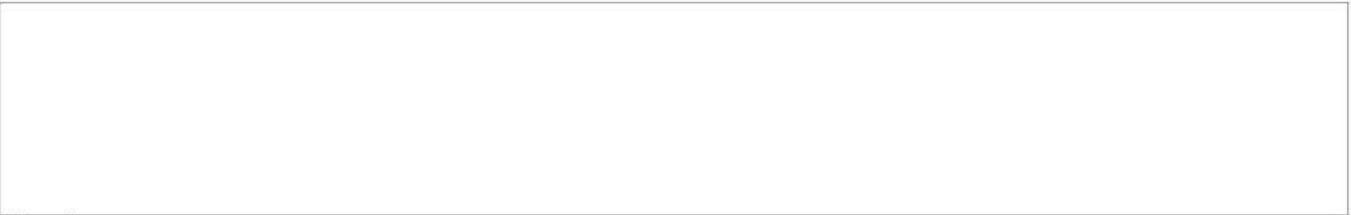


Tom.

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

From: Shapiro, Daniel B.
To: Donilon, Thomas E.; McDonough, Denis R.; Rhodes, Benjamin J.; Ross, Dennis B.; Kumar, Prem G.; Spence, Matthew J.; Pascal, Alexander J.
Sent: Sat Jun 19 20:28:21 2010
Subject: Re: Israel/Gaza Update

Heading to bed shortly.



Thanks,

Dan

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

From: Shapiro, Daniel B.

To: Donilon, Thomas E.; McDonough, Denis R.; Rhodes, Benjamin J.; Ross, Dennis B.; Kumar, Prem G.; Spence, Matthew J.; Pascal, Alexander J.

Sent: Sat Jun 19 18:23:18 2010

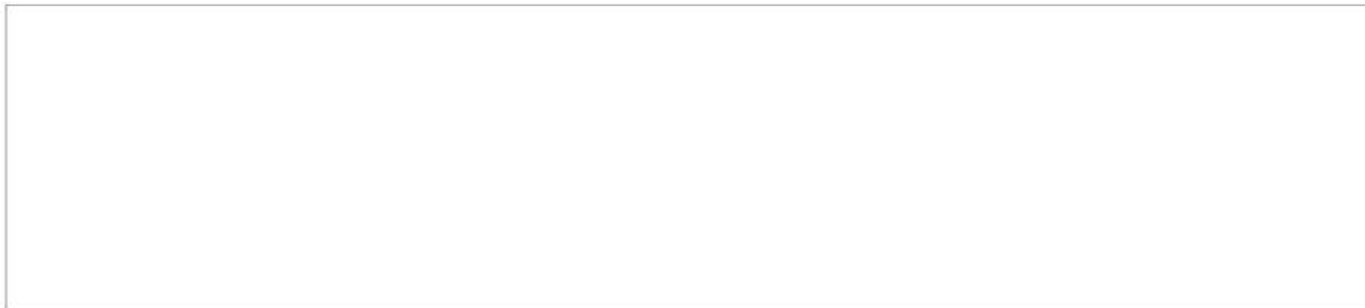
Subject: Israel/Gaza Update

Tom/Denis --

[Redacted]

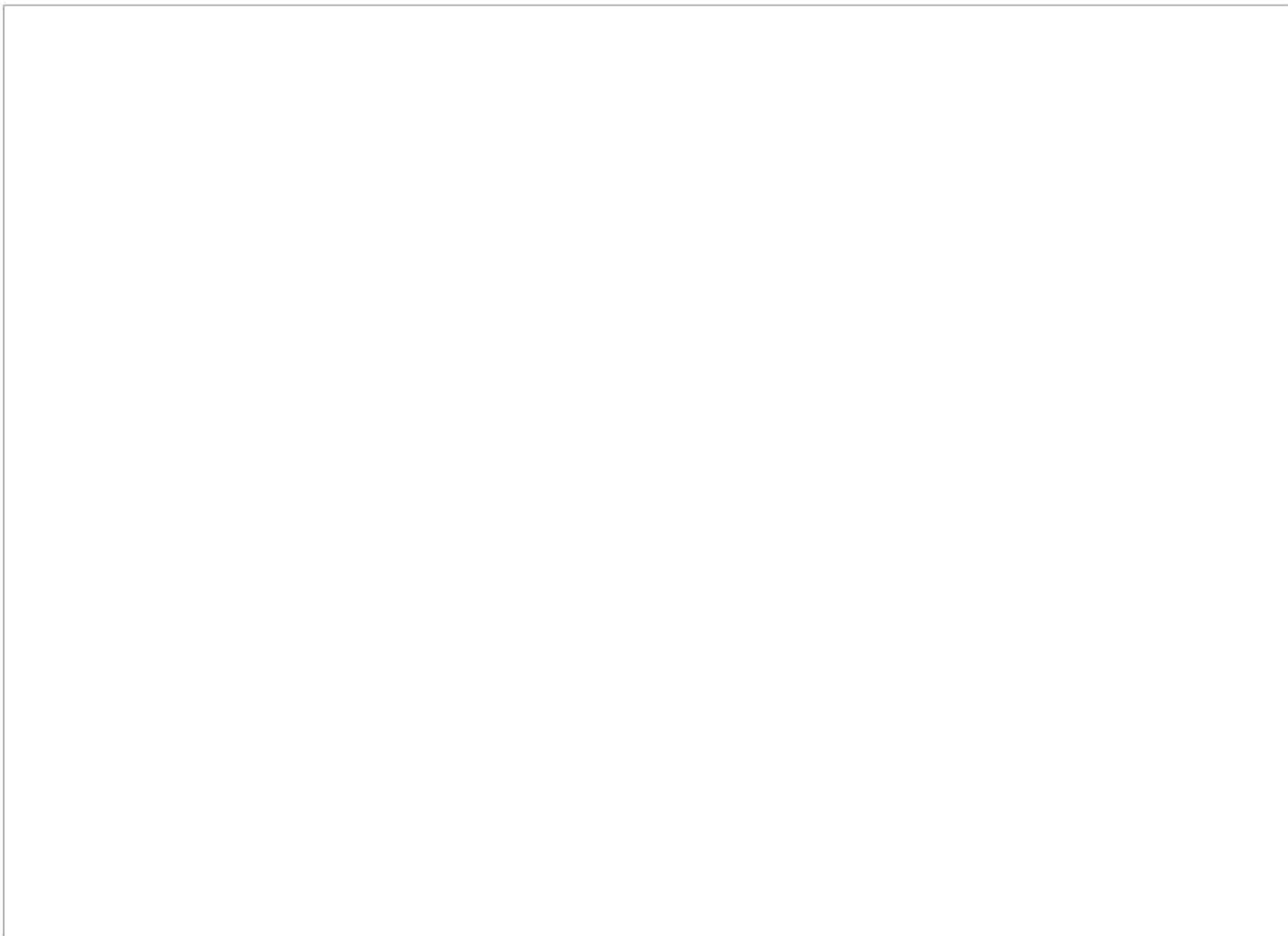
B5

B5

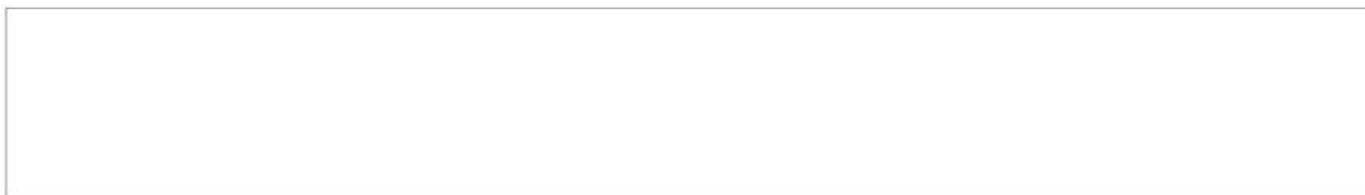


Dan

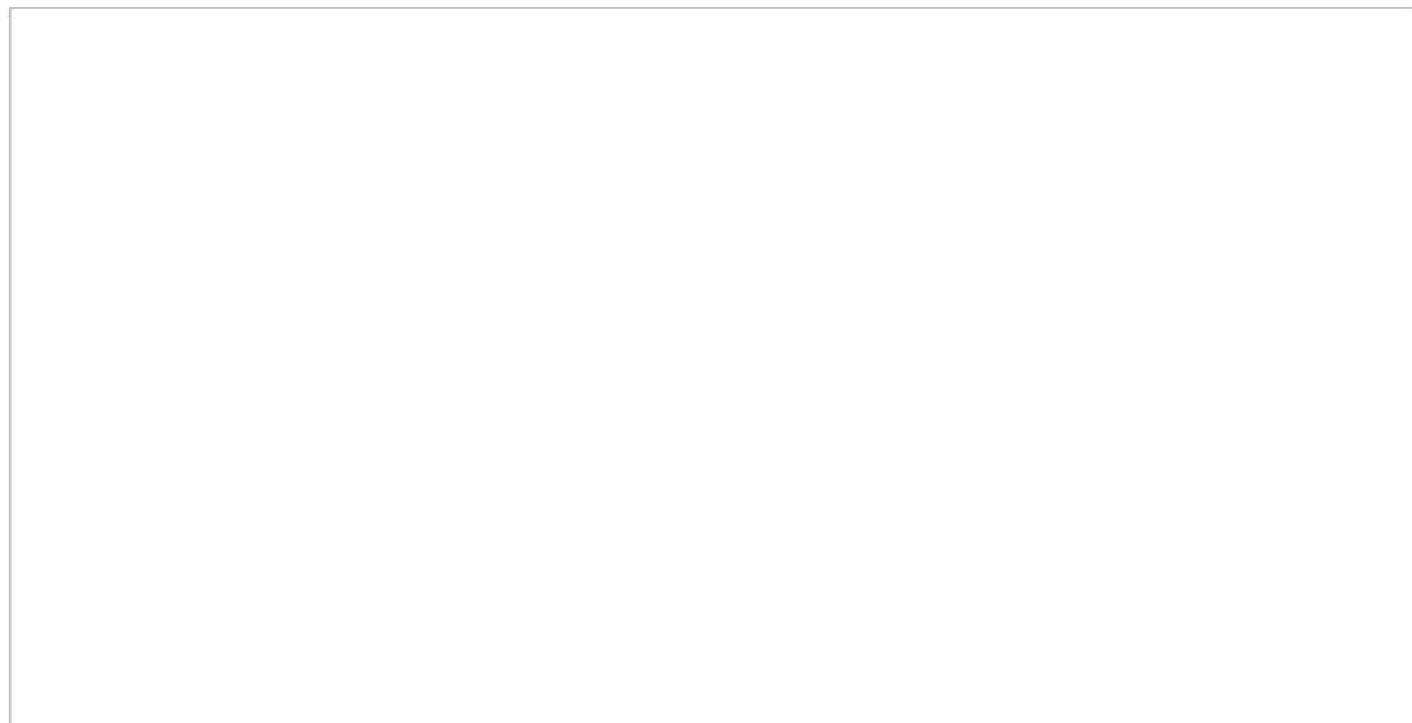
DRAFT STATEMENT



B5



PROPOSED STATEMENT



RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Thursday, July 14, 2011 11:18 AM
To: jake.sullivan()
Subject: FW: agreed language for statement

B6

pls look at this. idea is ihsanoglu would read this agreed oic/us/eu statement at end of meeting

From: Nossel, Suzanne F [NosselSF@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, July 14, 2011 11:13 AM
To: Huma Abedin; Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Quanrud, Pamela G; Schwerin, Daniel B
Subject: agreed language for statement

**Ministerial on Implementation of UN Human Rights Council Resolution 16/18 on
Combating Intolerance, Discrimination, and Violence Based on Religion or Belief**

Joint Statement by the Co-Chairs

Istanbul, Turkey

July 15, 2011

The Secretary of State of the United States, the Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs, together with foreign ministers and officials from [...], met on July 15 in Istanbul to give a united impetus to the implementation of UN Human Rights Council Resolution 16/18 on “Combating intolerance, negative stereotyping and stigmatization of, and discrimination, incitement to violence, and violence against persons based on religion or belief.” The meeting was hosted by the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and co-chaired by the OIC Secretary-General H.E Prof. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu and U.S. Secretary of State H.E. Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton.

They called upon all relevant stakeholders throughout the world to take seriously the call for action set forth in Resolution 16/18, which contributes to strengthening the foundations of tolerance and respect for religious diversity as well as enhancing the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms around the world.

Participants, resolved to go beyond mere rhetoric, reaffirmed their commitment to freedom of religion or belief as a universal human right. Participants emphasized the crucial need of implementing the specific, concrete measures called for in Resolution 16/18, which was adopted

by consensus in March 2011. The co-chairs of the meeting committed to work together with other interested countries and actors on follow up and implementation of Resolution 16/18 and to conduct further events and activities to discuss and assess implementation of the resolution. Participants are encouraged to consider to provide updates, as part of ongoing reporting to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, on steps taken at the national level on implementation of Resolution 16/18, building also on related measures in the other resolutions adopted by consensus on freedom of religion or belief and on the elimination of religious intolerance and discrimination.

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Friday, July 22, 2011 1:38 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Fwd: Draft High-Level Narrative and Work Plan [Note Use of Personal/Gmail]
Attachments: 2011-07-21 Draft High-Level Frame and Work Plan - for cir.docx

B6

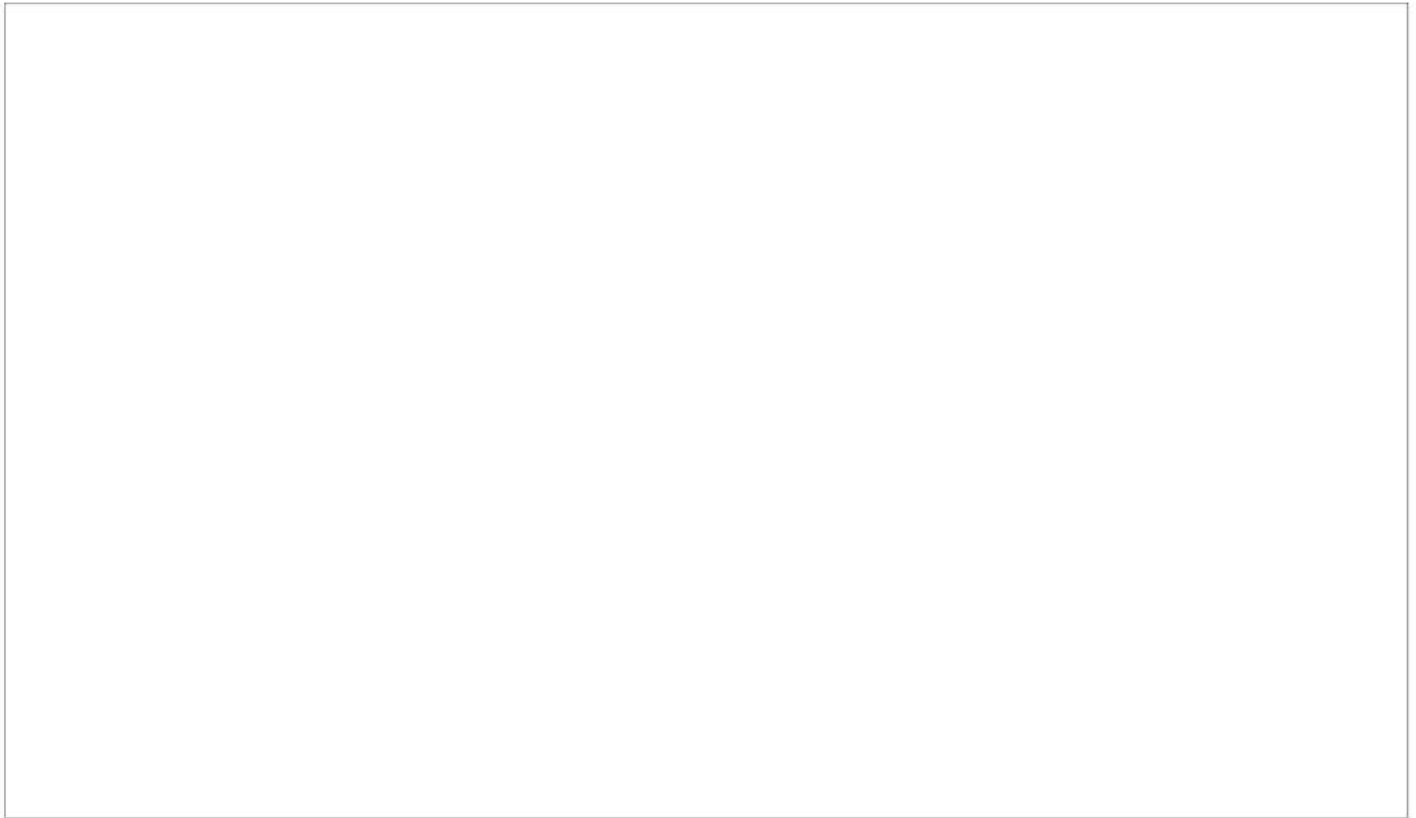
are you printing for her?

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted]
Date: Fri, Jul 22, 2011 at 5:38 PM
Subject: Draft High-Level Narrative and Work Plan [Note Use of Personal/ Gmail]
To: HRC <hdr22@clintonemail.com >
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com >, Jake.Sullivan [redacted]

B6

HRC



B5



[I will take Jake/Huma to access personal mail to print copy for you]

cdm

From: Burleigh, A. Peter <burleighap@state.gov> on behalf of Burleigh, A. Peter
Sent: Monday, July 18, 2011 10:27 AM
To: Huma Abedin; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: FW: Tonite

B6

Hi again: Dan Feldman is due in shortly, so he should be able to attend as well, Peter

RELEASE IN PART
B6

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Burleigh, A. Peter
Sent: Monday, July 18, 2011 7:49 PM
To: 'Huma Abedin'; jake.sullivan [redacted] Feldman, Daniel F; Blake, Robert L
Subject: RE: Tonite

Hi Huma: I will definitely be there (and will see you at the airport). Bob is arriving from Astana, scheduled arrival is 2115. I am trying to confirm now if it is on time. Will let you know if it is not; if on time, there should be no trouble with his joining the meeting as well, Peter

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, July 18, 2011 6:20 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted] Burleigh, A. Peter; Feldman, Daniel F; Blake, Robert L
Subject: Tonite

B6

Bob, Peter, Jake and Dan - hrc wants to meet the four of you tonite to go over issues for tomorrow. can you plan to be in her suite approx 15 min after arrival?

thanks

From: PIR [redacted] on behalf of PIR
Sent: Tuesday, June 29, 2010 3:46 PM
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Fw: RCH

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

NEAR DUPLICATE

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Tue, 29 Jun 2010 08:01:05
To: 'preines [redacted]' <preines [redacted]>
Cc: 'cheryl.mills [redacted]' <cheryl.mills [redacted]>; Huma Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>;
'jake.sullivan [redacted]' <jake.sullivan [redacted]>
Subject: Re: RCH

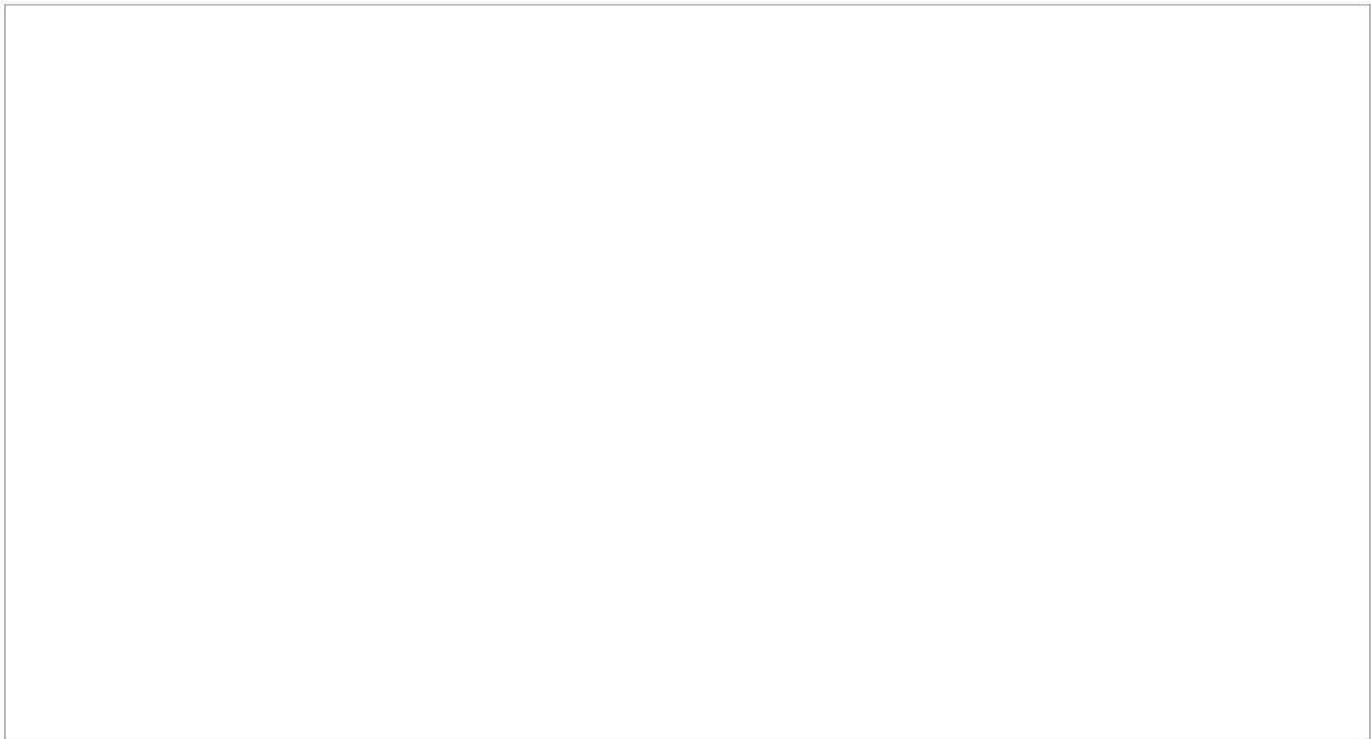
Agreed.

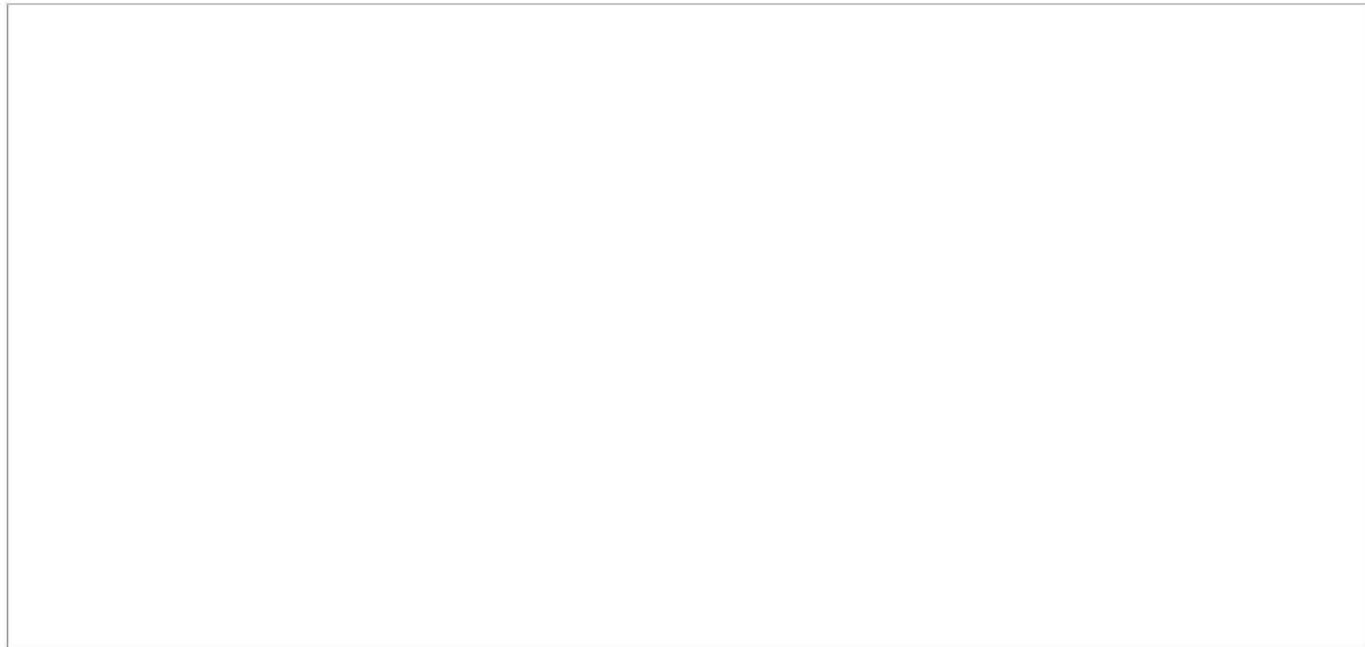
B6

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

From: PIR <preines [redacted]>
To: H
Cc: CDM <cheryl.mills [redacted]> Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Tue Jun 29 07:46:06 2010
Subject: RCH

B5





From: Feldman, Daniel F <feldmandf@state.gov> on behalf of Feldman, Daniel F
Sent: Monday, July 18, 2011 10:57 AM
To: huma@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan()
Subject: Re: Tonite

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

I just landed, but will be available as soon as I can get to the hotel.

From: Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, July 18, 2011 08:49 AM
To: jake.sullivan() <jake.sullivan()>; Burleigh, A. Peter; Feldman, Daniel F; Blake, Robert L
Subject: Tonite

Bob, Peter, Jake and Dan - hrc wants to meet the four of you tonite to go over issues for tomorrow. can you plan to be in her suite approx 15 min after arrival?
thanks

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/10/2017 ~ Class:
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/10/2032

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

From: aclb [redacted] on behalf of aclb
Sent: Thursday, July 14, 2011 1:48 PM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re Mid East

B6

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

I saw BB. [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Molcho will speak to David Hale. I can see Cameron and Sarkozy with David. [redacted]
[redacted]
I saw Egyptians. [redacted]
[redacted]

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Philippe Reines [redacted] on behalf of Philippe Reines
Sent: Monday, June 21, 2010 11:25 PM
To: Evergreen
Cc: Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan
Subject: Rolling Stone: "The Runaway General"
Attachments: R1109McChrystal.pdf

B6

Attached is the story in scanned form. Not sure if you can open/read on your berry, so will make sure Lauren has too

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. via FOIA

RELEASE IN FULL

the run away general

McCrystal works aboard a C-130 between visits to the battlefield in March.

RUNAWAY GENERAL



McChrystal visits an outpost in April. The outcome of the war, concedes a top adviser, "is not going to look like a win."

Suck at Fighting" or "In Sandals and Flip-Flops.") McChrystal banned alcohol on base, kicked out Burger King and other symbols of American excess, expanded the morning briefing to include thousands of officers and refashioned the command center into a Situational Awareness Room, a free-flowing information hub modeled after Mayor Mike Bloomberg's office in New York. He also set a manic pace for his staff, becoming legendary for sleeping four hours a night, running seven miles each morning, and eating one meal a day. (In the month I spend around the general, I witness him eating only once.) It's a kind of superhuman narrative that has built up around him, a staple in almost every media profile, as if the ability to go without sleep and food translates into the possibility of a man single-handedly winning the war.

By midnight at Kitty O'Shea's, much of Team America is completely shitfaced. Two officers do an Irish jig mixed with steps from a traditional Afghan wedding dance, while McChrystal's top advisers lock arms and sing a slurred song of their own invention. "Afghanistan!" they bellow. "Afghanistan!" They call it their Afghanistan song.

McChrystal steps away from the circle, observing his team. "All these men," he tells me. "I'd die for them. And they'd die for me."

The assembled men may look and sound like a bunch of combat veterans letting off steam, but in fact this tight-knit group represents the most powerful force shaping U.S. policy in Afghanistan. While McChrystal and his men are in indisputable command of all military aspects of the war, there is no equivalent position on the diplomatic or political side. Instead, an assortment of administration players compete over the Afghan portfolio: U.S. Ambassador Karl Eikenberry, Special Representative to Afghanistan Richard Holbrooke, National Security Advisor Jim Jones and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, not to mention 40 or so other coalition ambassadors and a host of talking heads who try to insert themselves into the mess, from John Kerry to John McCain. This diplomatic incoherence has effectively allowed McChrystal's team to call the shots and hampered efforts to build a stable and credible government in Afghanistan. "I jeopardizes the mission," says Stephen Biddle, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations who sup-

ports McChrystal. "The military cannot by itself create governance reform."

Part of the problem is structural: The Defense Department budget exceeds \$600 billion a year, while the State Department receives only \$50 billion. But part of the problem is personal: In private, Team McChrystal likes to talk shit about many of Obama's top people on the diplomatic side. One aide calls Jim Jones, a retired four-star general and veteran of the Cold War, a "clown" who remains "stuck in 1985." Politicians like McCain and Kerry, says another aide, "turn up, have a meeting with Karzai, criticize him at the airport press conference, then get back for the Sunday talk shows. Frankly, it's not very helpful." Only Hillary Clinton receives good reviews from McChrystal's inner circle. "Hillary had Stan's back during the strategic review," says an adviser. "She said, 'If Stan wants it, give him what he needs.'"

McChrystal reserves special skepticism for Holbrooke, the official charge of reintegrating the Taliban. "The Boss says he's like a wounded animal," says a member of the general's team. "Holbrooke keeps hearing rumors that he's going to get fired, so that makes him dangerous.

He's a brilliant guy, but he just comes in, pulls on a lever, whatever he can grasp onto. But this is COIN, and you can't just have someone yanking on shit."

At one point on his trip to Paris, McChrystal checks his BlackBerry. "Oh, not another e-mail from Holbrooke," he groans. "I don't even want to open it." He clicks on the message and reads the salutation out loud, then stuffs the BlackBerry y back in his pocket, not bothering to conceal his annoyance.

"Make sure you don't get any of that on your leg," an aide jokes, referring to the e-mail.

By far the most crucial – and strained – relationship is between McChrystal and Eikenberry, the U.S. ambassador. According to those close to the two men, Eikenberry – a retired three-star general who served in Afghanistan in 2002 and 2005 – can't stand that his former subordinate is now calling the shots. He's also furious that McChrystal, backed by NATO's allies, refused to put Eikenberry in the pivotal role of viceroy in Afghanistan, which would have made him the diplomatic equivalent of the general. The job instead went to British Ambassador Mark Sedwill – a move that effectively increased McChrystal's influence over diplomacy by shutting out a powerful rival. "In reality, that position needs to be filled by an American for it to have weight," says a U.S. official familiar with the negotiations.

The relationship was further strained in January, when a classified cable that Eikenberry wrote was leaked to *The New York Times*. The cable was as scathing as it was prescient. The ambassador offered a brutal critique of McChrystal's strategy, dismissed President Hamid Karzai as "not an adequate strategic partner," and cast doubt on whether the counterinsurgency plan would be "sufficient to deal with Al Qaeda." "We will become more deeply engaged here with no way to extricate ourselves," Eikenberry warned, "short of allowing the country to descend again into lawlessness and chaos."

McChrystal and his team were blindsided by the cable. "I like Karl, I've known him for years, but they'd never said anything like that to us before," says McChrystal, who adds that he felt "betrayed" by the leak. "Here's one that covers his flank for the history books. Now if we fail, they can say, 'I told you so.'"

The most striking example of McChrystal's usurpation of diplomatic policy is his handling of Karzai. It is McChrystal, not diplomats like Eikenberry or Holbrooke, who enjoys the best relationship with the man America is relying on to lead Afghanistan. The doctrine of counterinsurgency requires a credible government,

and since Karzai is not considered credible by his own people, McChrystal has worked hard to make him so. Over the past few months, he has accompanied the president on more than 10 trips around the country, standing beside him at political meetings, or shuras, in Kandahar. In February, the day before the doomed offensive in Marja, McChrystal even drove over to the president's palace to get him to sign off on what would be the largest military operation of the year. Karzai's staff, however, insisted that the president was sleeping off a cold and could not be disturbed. After several hours of haggling, McChrystal finally enlisted the aid of Afghanistan's defense minister, who persuaded Karzai's people to wake the president from his nap.

This is one of the central flaws with McChrystal's counterinsurgency strategy:

mcchrystal isn't justn charge on the battl efiel d: he al so call s the diPl omatic shots.

The need to build a credible government puts us at the mercy of whatever tin-pot leader we've backed – a danger that Eikenberry explicitly warned about in his cable. Even Team McChrystal privately acknowledges that Karzai is a less-than-ideal partner. "He's been locked up in his palace the past year," laments one of the general's top advisers. At times, Karzai himself has actively undermined McChrystal's desire to put him in charge. During a recent visit to Walter Reed Army Medical Center, Karzai met three U.S. soldiers who had been wounded in Uruzgan province. "General," he called out to McChrystal, "I didn't even know we were fighting in Uruzgan!"

growing up as a military brat, McChrystal exhibited the mixture of brilliance and cockiness that would follow him throughout his career. He fought in Korea and Vietnam, retiring as a two-star general, and his four brothers all joined the armed services. Moving around to different bases, McChrystal took solace in baseball, a sport in which he made no pretense of hiding his superiority: In Little League, he would call out strikes to the crowd

before whipping a fastball down the middle.

McChrystal entered West Point in 1972, when the U.S. military was close to its all-time low in popularity. His class was the last to graduate before the academy started to admit women. The "Prison on the Hudson," as it was known then, was a potent mix of testosterone, hooliganism and reactionary patriotism. Cadets repeatedly trashed the mess hall in food fights, and birthdays were celebrated with a tradition called "rat fucking," which often left the birthday boy outside in the snow or mud, covered in shaving cream. "It was pretty out of control," says Lt. Gen. David Barno, a classmate who went on to serve as the top commander in Afghanistan from 2003 to 2005. The class, filled with what Barno calls "huge talent" and "wild-eyed teenagers with a strong sense of idealism," also produced Gen. Ray Odierno, the current commander of U.S. forces in Iraq.

The son of a general, McChrystal was also a ringleader of the campus dissidents – a dual role that taught him how to thrive in a rigid, top-down environment while thumbing his nose at authority every chance he got. He accumulated more than 100 hours of demerits for drinking, partying and insubordination – a record that his classmates boasted made him a "century man." One classmate, who asked not to be named, recalls finding McChrystal passed out in the shower after downing a case of beer he had hidden under the sink. The trouble-making almost got him kicked out, and he spent hours subjected to forced marches in the Area, a paved courtyard where unruly cadets were disciplined. "I'd come visit, and I'd end up spending most of my time in the library, while Stan was in the Area," recalls Annie, who began dating McChrystal in 1973.

McChrystal wound up ranking 298 out of a class of 855, a serious underachievement for a man widely regarded as brilliant. His most compelling work was extracurricular: As managing editor of *The Pointer*, the West Point literary magazine, McChrystal wrote seven short stories that eerily foreshadow many of the issues he would confront in his career. In one tale, a fictional officer complains about the difficulty of training foreign troops to fight; in another, a 19-year-old soldier kills a boy he mistakes for a terrorist. In "Brinkman's Note," a piece of suspense fiction, the unnamed narrator appears to be trying to stop a plot to assassinate the president. It turns out, however, that the narrator himself is the assassin, and he's able to infiltrate the White House. "The President strode in smiling. From the right coat pocket of the raincoat I carried, I slowly drew forth my .32-caliber pistol. In Brinkman's failure, I had succeeded."

RUNAWAY GENERAL

After graduation, 2nd Lt. Stanley McChrystal entered an Army that was all but broken in the wake of Vietnam. "We really felt we were a peacetime generation," he recalls. "There was the Gulf War, but even that didn't feel like that big of a deal." So McChrystal spent his career where the action was: He enrolled in Special Forces school and became a regimental commander of the 3rd Ranger Battalion in 1986. It was a dangerous position, even in peacetime - nearly two dozen Rangers were killed in training accidents during the Eighties. It was also an unorthodox career path: Most soldiers who want to climb the ranks to general don't go into the Rangers. Displaying a penchant for transforming systems he considers outdated, McChrystal set out to revolutionize the training regime for the Rangers. He introduced mixed martial arts, required every soldier to qualify with night-vision goggles on the rifle range and forced troops to build up their endurance with weekly marches involving heavy backpacks.

In the late 1990s, McChrystal shrewdly improved his inside game, spending a year at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and then at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he co-authored a treatise on the merits and drawbacks of humanitarian interventionism. But as he moved up through the ranks, McChrystal relied on the skills he had learned as a troubleshooting kid at West Point: knowing precisely how far he could go in a rigid military hierarchy without getting tossed out. Being a highly intelligent badass, he discovered, could take you far - especially in the political chaos that followed September 11th. "He was very focused," says Annie. "Even as a young officer he seemed to know what he wanted to do. I don't think his personality has changed in all these years."

By some accounts, McChrystal's career should have been over at least two times by now. As Pentagon spokesman during the invasion of Iraq, the general seemed more like a White House mouthpiece than an up-and-coming commander with a reputation for speaking his mind. When Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld made his infamous "stuff happens" remark during the looting of Baghdad, McChrystal backed him up. A few days later, he echoed the president's Mission Accomplished gaffe by insisting that major combat operations in Iraq were over. But it was during his next stint - overseeing the military's most elite units, including the Rangers, Navy Seals and Delta Force - that McChrystal took part in a cover-up that would have destroyed the career of a lesser man.

After Cpl. Pat Tillman, the former NFL-star-turned-Ranger, was accidentally killed by his own troops in Afghanistan in April 2004, McChrystal took an active role in creating the impression that Tillman had died at the hands of Taliban fighters. He signed off on a falsified recommendation for a Silver Star that suggested Tillman had been killed by enemy fire. (McChrystal would later claim he didn't read the recommendation closely enough - a strange excuse for a commander known for his laserlike attention to minute details.) A week later, McChrystal sent a memo up the chain of command, specifically warning that President Bush should avoid mentioning the cause of Corporal Tillman's death because public, "he wrote, it could cause 'public embarrassment'" for the president.

McChrystal may have sold Obama on his strategy, but his own troops aren't buying.

"The false narrative, which McChrystal clearly helped construct, diminished Pat's true actions," wrote Tillman's mother, Mary, in her book *Boots on the Ground by Dusk*. McChrystal got away with it, she added, because he was the "golden boy" of Rumsfeld and Bush, who loved his willingness to get things done, even if it included bending the rules or skipping the chain of command. Nine days after Tillman's death, McChrystal was promoted to major general.

Two years later, in 2006, McChrystal was tainted by a scandal involving detainee abuse and torture at Camp Nama in Iraq. According to a report by Human Rights Watch, prisoners at the camp were subjected to a now-familiar litany of abuse: stress positions, being dragged naked through the mud. McChrystal was not disciplined in the scandal, even though an interrogator at the camp reported seeing him inspect the prison multiple times. But the experience was so unsettling to McChrystal that he tried to prevent detainee operations from being placed under his command in Afghanistan, viewing them as a "political swamp," according to a U.S. official in May 2009, as McChrystal prepared for his confirmation hearings, his staff prepared him for hard questions about Camp Nama and the

Tillman cover-up. But the scandals barely made a ripple in Congress, and McChrystal was soon on his way back to Kabul to run the war in Afghanistan.

The media, to a large extent, have also given McChrystal a pass on both controversies. Where Gen. Petraeus is kind of a dweeb, a teacher's pet with a Ranger's tab, McChrystal is a snake-eating rebel, a "Jedi" commander, as *Newsweek* called him. He didn't care when his teenage son came home with blue hair and a mohawk. He speaks his mind with a candor rare for a high-ranking official. He asks for opinions, and seems genuinely interested in the response. He gets briefings on his iPod and listens to books on tape. He carries a custom-made set of nunchucks in his convoy engraved with his name and four stars, and his itinerary often bears a fresh quote from Bruce Lee. ("There are no limits. There are only plateaus, and you must not stay there, you must go beyond them.") He went out on dozens of night-time raids during his time in Iraq, uncredited for a top commander, and turned up on missions unannounced, with almost no entourage. "The fucking lads love Stan McChrystal," says a British officer who serves in Kabul. "You'd be out in Somewhere, Iraq, and someone would take a knee beside you, and a corporal would be like 'Who the fuck is that?' And it's fucking Stan McChrystal."

It doesn't hurt that McChrystal was also extremely successful as head of the Joint Special Operations Command, the elite forces that carry out the government's darkest ops. During the Iraq surge, his team killed and captured thousands of insurgents, including Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the leader of Al Qaeda in Iraq. "JSOC was a killing machine," says Maj. Gen. Mayville, his chief of operations. McChrystal was also open to new ways of killing. He systematically mapped out terrorist networks, targeting specific insurgents and hunting them down - often with the help of cyberbreaks traditionally shunned by the military. "The Boss would find the 24-year-old kid with a nose ring, with some fucking brilliant degree from MIT, sitting in the corner with 16 computer monitors humming," says a Special Forces commander who worked with McChrystal in Iraq and now serves on his staff in Kabul. "He'd say, 'Hey - you fucking muscleheads couldn't find lunch with - out help. You got to work together with these guys.'"

Even in his new role as America's leading evangelist for counterinsurgency, McChrystal retains the deep-seated instincts of a terrorist hunter. To put pressure on the Taliban, he has upped the number of Special Forces units in Afghanistan from four to 19. "You better be out there hitting four or five targets tonight," McChrystal will tell a Navy Seal he sees in the hall-

team of rivals

Gen. Stanley McChrystal isn't just fighting the Taliban - he's waging political battles both at home and abroad

ALLIES

ROBERT GATES



Nicknamed "Yoda" at the White House, the defense secretary engineered McChrystal's hiring and is retooling the military for more counterinsurgency fights. "He's the mastermind," says a McChrystal staffer.

ADM. MIKE MULLEN



As chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, helped Gates push Obama to hire McChrystal. A big defender of the counterinsurgency doctrine, he has even recommended it as a way to fight drugs in Mexico.

GEN. DAVID PETRAEUS



Wrote Army's field manual on counterinsurgency. As CENTCOM commander, is letting McChrystal take center stage in Afghanistan. A defeat would ruin his "win" in Iraq: "He's 1-0," says a McChrystal insider.

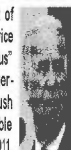
HILLARY CLINTON



The secretary of state has backed McChrystal to the hilt, even going against her own ambassador, Karl Eikenberry. Her get-tough stance is fueling talk that she might replace Gates as defense secretary.

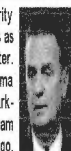
ENEMIES

JOE BIDEN



The biggest opponent of McChrystal's surge, the vice president argued for "CT-plus" - fewer troops, more counterterrorism. Look for him to push Obama to stick to his timetable for withdrawing troops in 2011.

GEN. JIM JONES



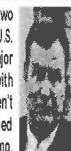
Obama's national security adviser; perceived by foes as an inept bureaucratic fighter. In March, contradicted Obama after a trip to Kabul, sparking an outcry by Karzai. Team McChrystal wants to see him go.

RICHARD HOLBROOKE



Insiders say Obama's envoy - a talented diplomat and notorious jerk - has lousy relations with Afghans and Pakistanis alike. Why he's staying: "White House fears a 'tell-all' more than his diplomatic blunders.

KARL EIKENBERRY



An ex-general who served two tours in Afghanistan, the U.S. ambassador should be a major player. But his relations with McChrystal and Karzai haven't recovered since he slammed them both in a leaked memo.

way at headquarters. Then he'll add, "I'm going to have to scold you in the morning for it, though." In fact, the general frequently finds himself apologizing for the disastrous consequences of counterinsurgency. In the first four months of this year, NATO forces killed some 90 civilians, up 76 percent from the same period in 2009 - a record that has created tremendous resentment among the very population that COIN theory is intent on winning over. In February, a Special Forces night raid ended in the deaths of two pregnant Afghan women and allegations of a cover-up, and in April, protests erupted in Kandahar after U.S. forces accidentally shot up a bus, killing five Afghans. "We've shot an amazing number of people," McChrystal recently conceded.

Despite the tragedies and miscues, McChrystal has issued some of the strictest directives to avoid civilian casualties that the U.S. military has ever encountered in a war zone. It's "insurgent math," as he calls it - for every innocent person you kill, you create 10 new enemies. He has ordered convoys to curtail their reckless driving, put re-

strictions on the use of air power and severely limited night raids. He regularly apologizes to Hamid Karzai when civilians are killed, and berates commanders responsible for civilian deaths. "For a while," says one U.S. official, "the most dangerous place to be in Afghanistan was in front of McChrystal after a 'civilian incident.'" The ISAF command has even discussed ways to make not killing into something you can win an award for. There's talk of creating a new medal for "courageous restraint," a buzzword that's unlikely to gain much traction in the gung-ho culture of the U.S. military.

But however strategic they may be, McChrystal's new marching orders have caused an intense backlash among his own troops. Being told to hold their fire, soldiers complain, puts them in greater danger. "Bottom line?" says a former Special Forces operator who has spent years in Iraq and Afghanistan. "I would love to kick McChrystal in the nuts. His rules of engagement put soldiers' lives in even greater danger. Every real soldier will tell you the same thing."

In March, McChrystal traveled to Combat Outpost JFM - a small encampment on the outskirts of Kandahar -

to confront such accusations from the troops directly. It was a typically bold move by the general. Only two days earlier, he had received an e-mail from Israel Arroyo, a 25-year-old staff sergeant who asked McChrystal to go on an mission with his unit. "I am writing because it was said you don't care about the troops and have made it harder to defend ourselves," Arroyo wrote.

Within hours, McChrystal responded personally: "I'm saddened by the accusation that I don't care about soldiers, as it is something I suspect any soldier takes both personally and professionally - at least I do. But I know perceptions depend upon your perspective at the time, and I respect that every soldier's view is his own." Then he showed up at Arroyo's outpost and went on a foot patrol with the troops - not some bullshit photo-op stroll through a market, but a real live operation in a dangerous war zone.

Six weeks later, just before McChrystal returned from Paris, the general received another e-mail from Arroyo. A 23-year-old corporal named Michael Ingram - one of the soldiers McChrystal had gone on patrol with - had been killed by an IED a day earlier. It was the third man the 25-member platoon had lost in a year, and Arroyo was writing to see if the general would attend Ingram's memorial service. "He started to look up to you," Arroyo wrote. McChrystal said he would try to make it down to pay his respects as soon as possible.

The night before the general is scheduled to visit Sgt. Arroyo's platoon for the memorial, I arrive at Combat Outpost JFM to speak with the soldiers he had gone on patrol with. JFM is a small encampment, ringed by high blast walls and guard towers. Almost all of the soldiers here have been on repeated combat tours in both Iraq and Afghanistan, and have seen some of the worst fighting of both wars. But they are especially angered by Ingram's death. His commanders had repeatedly requested permission to tear down the house where Ingram was killed, noting that it was often used as a combat position by the Taliban. But due to McChrystal's new restrictions to avoid upsetting civilians, the request had been denied. "These were abandoned houses," fumes Staff Sgt. Kenneth Hicks. "Nobody was coming back to live in them."

One soldier shows me the list of new regulations the platoon was given. "Patrol only in areas that you are reasonably certain that you will not have to defend yourselves with lethal force," the laminated card reads. For a soldier who has traveled halfway around the world to fight, that's like telling a cop he should only patrol in areas where he knows he won't have to make arrests. "Does that make any fucking sense?" asks [Cont. on 120]

RUNAWAY GENERAL

[Cont. from 97] Pfc. Jared Pautsch. "We should just drop a fucking bomb on this place. You sit and ask yourself: What are we doing here?"

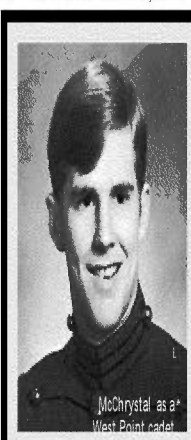
The rules handed out here are not what McChrystal intended - they've been distorted as they passed through the chain of command - but knowing that does nothing to lessen the anger of troops on the ground. "Fuck, when I came over here and heard that McChrystal was in charge, I thought we would get our fucking gun on," says Hicks, who has served three tours of combat. "I get COIN. I get all that. McChrystal comes here, explains it, it makes sense. But then he goes away on his bird, and by the time his directives get passed down to us through Big Army, they're all fucked up - either because somebody is trying to cover their ass, or because they just don't understand it themselves. But we're fucking losing this thing."

McChrystal and his team show up the next day. Underneath a tent, the general has a 45-minute discussion with some two dozen soldiers. The atmosphere is tense. "I ask you what's going on in your world, and I think it's important for you all to understand the big picture as well," McChrystal begins. "How's the company doing? You guys feeling sorry for yourselves? Anybody? Anybody feel like you're losing?" McChrystal says.

"Sir, some of the guys here, sir, think we're losing, sir," says Hicks. McChrystal nods. "Strength is leading when you just don't want to lead," he tells the men. "You're leading by example. That's what we do. Particularly when it's really, really hard, and it hurts inside." Then he spends 20 minutes talking about counterinsurgency, diagramming his concepts and principles on a whiteboard. He makes COIN seem like common sense, but he's careful not to bullshit the men. "We are knee-deep in the decisive year," he tells them. The Taliban, he

insists, no longer has the initiative - "but I don't think we do, either." It's similar to the talk he gave in Paris, but it's not winning any hearts and minds among the soldiers. "This is the philosophical part that works with think tanks," McChrystal tries to joke. "But it doesn't get the same reception from infantry companies."

During the question-and-answer period, the frustration boils over. The soldiers complain about not being allowed to use lethal force, about



McChrystal as a West Point cadet

watching insurgents they detain be freed for lack of evidence. They want to be able to fight - like they did in Iraq, like they had in Afghanistan before McChrystal. "We aren't putting fear into the Taliban," one soldier says.

"Winning hearts and minds in COIN is a coldblooded thing," McChrystal says, citing an oft-repeated maxim that you can't kill your way out of Afghanistan. "The Russians killed 1 million Afghans, and that didn't work."

"I'm not saying go out and kill everybody, sir," the soldier persists. "You say we've stopped the momentum of the insurgency. I don't believe that's true in this area. The more we pull back, the more we restrain ourselves, the stronger it's getting."

"I agree with you," McChrystal says. "In this area, we've not made progress, probably. You have to show strength here, you have to use fire. What I'm telling you is, fire costs you. What do you want to do? You want to stop the drug war in Mexico by occupying Arkansas and building Baptist churches in Little Rock. It's all

under the rules, any insurgent

who doesn't have a weapon is immediately assumed to be a civilian. "That's the way this game is," McChrystal says. "It's complex. I can't just decide: It's shirts and skins, and well kill all the shirts."

As the discussion ends, McChrystal seems to sense that he hasn't succeeded at easing the men's anger. He makes one last-ditch effort to reach them, acknowledging the death of Cpl. Ingram. "There's no way I can make that easier," he tells them. "No way I can pretend it won't hurt. No way I can tell you not to feel that. ... I will tell you, you're doing a great job. Don't let the frustration get to you." The session ends with no clapping, and no real resolution. McChrystal may have sold President Obama on counter insurgency, but many of his own men aren't buying it.

When it comes to Afghanistan, history is not on McChrystal's side. The only foreign invader to have any success here was Genghis Khan - and he wasn't hampered by things like human rights, economic development and press scrutiny. The COIN doctrine, bizarrely, draws inspiration from some of the biggest Western military embarrassments in recent memory: France's nasty war in Algeria (lost in 1962) and the American misadventure in Vietnam (lost in 1975). McChrystal, like other advocates of COIN, readily acknowledges that counterinsurgency campaigns are inherently messy, expensive and easy to lose. "Even Afghans are confused by Afghanistan," he says. But even if he somehow manages to succeed, after years of bloody fighting with Afghan kids who pose no threat to the U.S. homeland, the war will do little to shut down Al Qaeda, which has shifted its operations to Pakistan. Dispatching 150,000 troops to build new schools, roads, mosques and water-treatment facilities around Kandahar is like trying to stop the drug war in Mexico by occupying Arkansas and building Baptist churches in Little Rock. It's all

very cynical, politically," says Marc Sageman, a former CIA case officer who has extensive experience in the region. "Afghanistan is not in our vital interest - there's nothing for us there." In mid-May, two weeks after visiting the troops in Kandahar, McChrystal travels to the White House for a high-level visit by Hamid Karzai. It is a triumphant moment for the general, one that demonstrates he is very much in command - both in Kabul and in Washington. In the East Room, which is packed with journalists and dignitaries, President Obama sings the praises of Karzai. The two leaders talk about how great their relationship is, about the pain they feel over civilian casualties. They mention the word "progress" 16 times in under an hour. But there is no mention of victory. Still, the session represents the most forceful commitment that Obama has made to McChrystal's strategy in months. "There is no denying the progress that the Afghan people have made in recent years - in education, in health care and economic development," the president says. "As I saw in the lights across Kabul when I landed - lights that would not have been visible just a few years earlier."

It is a disconcerting observation for Obama to make. During the worst years in Iraq, when the Bush administration had no real progress to point to, officials used to offer up the exact same evidence of success. "It was one of our first impressions," one GOP official said in 2006, after landing in Baghdad at the height of the sectarian violence. "So many lights shining brightly." So it is to the language of the Iraq War that the Obama administration has turned - talk of progress, of city lights, of metrics like health care and education. Rhetoric that just a few years ago they would have mocked.

"They are trying to manipulate perceptions because there is no definition of victory - because victory is not even defined or recognizable," says Celeste Ward, a senior defense analyst at the RAND Corporation who served as a political adviser to U.S. commanders in

Iraq in 2006. "That's the game we're in right now. What we need, for strategic purposes, is to create the perception that we didn't get run off. The facts on the ground are not great, and are not going to become great in the near future." But facts on the ground, as history has proven, offer little deterrent to a military determined to stay the course. Even those closest to McChrystal know that the rising anti-war sentiment at home doesn't begin to reflect how deeply fucked up things are in Afghanistan. "If Americans pulled back and started paying attention to this war, it would become even less popular," a senior adviser to McChrystal says. Such realism, however, doesn't prevent advocates of counterinsurgency from dreaming big: Instead of beginning to withdraw troops next year, as Obama promised, the military hopes to ramp up its counterinsurgency campaign even further. "There's a possibility we could ask for another surge of U.S. forces next summer if we see success here," a senior military official in Kabul tells me.

courtesy of west point military academy

Back in Afghanistan, less than a month after the White House meeting with Karzai and all the talk of "progress," McChrystal is hit by the biggest blow to his vision of counterinsurgency. Since last year, the Pentagon had been planning to launch a major military operation this summer in Kandahar, the country's second-largest city and the Taliban's original home base. It was supposed to be a decisive turning point in the war - the primary reason for the troop surge that McChrystal wrested from Obama late last year. But on June 10th, acknowledging that the military still needs to lay more groundwork, the general announced that he is postponing the offensive until the fall. Rather than one big battle, like Fallujah or Ramadi, U.S. troops will implement what McChrystal calls a "rising tide of security." The Afghan police and army will enter Kandahar to attempt to seize control of neighborhoods, while the U.S. pours \$80 million of aid into the city to win over the civilian population.

Even proponents of counterinsurgency are hard-pressed to explain the new plan. "This isn't a classic operation," says a U.S. military official. "It's not going to be Black Hawk Down. There aren't going to be doors kicked in." Other U.S. officials insist that doors are going to be kicked in, but that it's going to be a kinder, gentler offensive than the disaster in Marja. "The Taliban have a jackboot on the city," says a military official. "We have to remove them, but we have to do it in a way that doesn't alienate the population." When Vice President Biden was briefed on the new plan in the Oval Office, insiders say he was shocked to see how much it mirrored the more gradual plan of counterterrorism that he advocated last fall. "This looks like CT-plus!" he said, according to U.S. officials familiar with the meeting.

Whatever the nature of the new plan, the delay underscores the fundamental flaws of counterinsurgency. After nine years of war, the Taliban simply remains too strongly entrenched for the U.S. military to openly attack. The very people that COIN seeks to win over - the Afghan people - do not want us there. Our supposed ally, President Karzai, used his influence to delay the offensive, and the massive influx of aid championed by McChrystal is likely only to make things worse. "Throwing money at the problem exacerbates the problem," says Andrew Wilder, an expert at Tufts University who has studied the effect of aid in southern Afghanistan. "A tsunami of cash fuels corruption, delegitimizes the government and creates an environment where we're picking winners and losers" - a process that fuels resentment and hostility among the civilian population. So far, counterinsurgency has succeeded only in creating a never-ending demand for the primary product supplied by the military: perpetual war. There is a reason that President Obama studiously avoids using the word "victory" when he talks about Afghanistan. Winning, it would seem, is not really possible. Not even with Stanley McChrystal in charge.

BACK STAGE PASS advertisement for Canon PowerShot digital camera, featuring a Canon camera image and promotional text.

From: Cheryl Mills <[redacted]> on behalf of Cheryl Mills
Sent: Monday, July 4, 2011 6:28 AM
To: Jake Sullivan; lachkey [redacted]; huma@clintonemail.com; lvalmoro [redacted]; nora.toiv [redacted]
Subject: Re: oh my

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Minnesotans always think folks can rock a scrunchie - and there in is the root of our challenge

On 7/3/11, Jake Sullivan <[redacted]> wrote:
> She made that scrunchie look good!
>
> On Sun, Jul 3, 2011 at 10:18 PM, <Lachkey [redacted]> wrote:
>
>> **
>> we have to help him help her...
>>
>> In a message dated 7/3/2011 9:52:27 P.M. Eastern Daylight Time,
>> cheryl.mills [redacted] writes:
>>
>> This is what happens when Jake is at the helm
>>
>> ----- Forwarded message -----
>> From: Nora Toiv [redacted]
>> Date: Sun, 3 Jul 2011 21:25:04 -0400
>> Subject: oh my
>> To: Lona Valmoro [redacted], Joanne Laszczych [redacted]
>> [redacted] Cheryl Mills [redacted]
>>
>> Hillary Clinton Breaks Out The Scrunchie (PHOTOS, POLL)
>>
>> http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/07/01/hillary-clinton-scrunchie_n_888948.html
>>
>> --
>> Sent from my mobile device
>>
>>
>

--
Sent from my mobile device

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: aclb [redacted] on behalf of aclb
Sent: Tuesday, July 5, 2011 4:57 AM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re Mid East

B6

Spoke both to David Cameron and to Juppe about next week and September and Libya. Happy to brief if you want. Best Tony

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For more information please visit <http://www.messagelabs.com/email>

From: Feldman, Daniel F <feldmandf@state.gov> on behalf of Feldman, Daniel F
Sent: Monday, July 18, 2011 12:21 PM
To: huma@clintonemail.com; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Tonite

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

I just got to the hotel before you, so am ready anytime S would like to talk.

From: Huma Abedin [mailto:Huma@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, July 18, 2011 08:49 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted] <jake.sullivan [redacted]>; Burleigh, A. Peter; Feldman, Daniel F; Blake, Robert L
Subject: Tonite

Bob, Peter, Jake and Dan - hrc wants to meet the four of you tonite to go over issues for tomorrow. can you plan to be in her suite approx 15 min after arrival?
thanks

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <sullivanjj@state.gov> on behalf of Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sunday, July 25, 2010 8:01 AM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Monday 10 AM Meeting

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sun Jul 25 07:14:44 2010
Subject: Fw: Monday 10 AM Meeting

NEAR DUPLICATE

We need to discuss today. Let me know what time would be good for you.

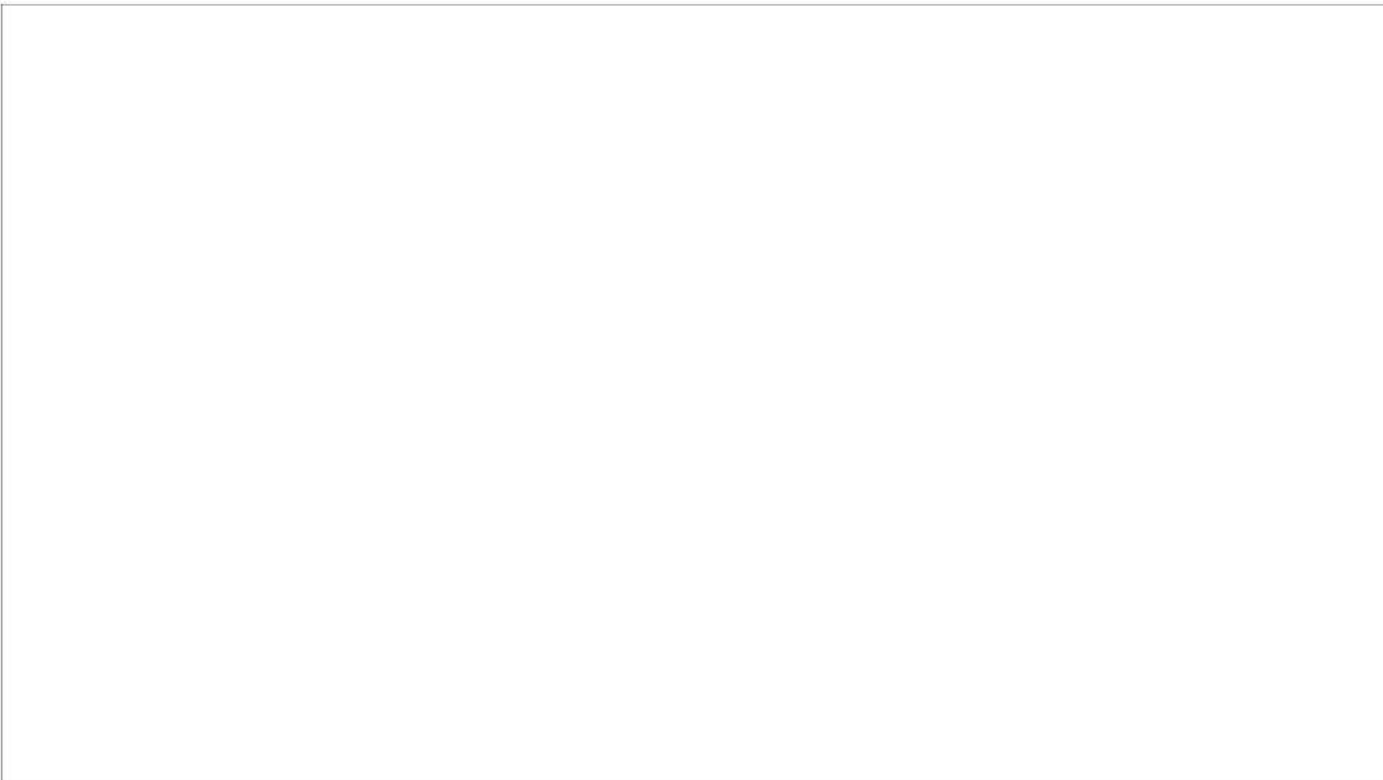
----- Original Message -----
From: Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sun Jul 25 04:30:57 2010
Subject: Monday 10 AM Meeting

Deliberative/Privileged Attorney-Client Communication

Madame Secretary:

I write because I will not see you before your 10 AM [redacted] meeting on Monday, where one of the issues will be the [redacted] that we have discussed, and which you raised overseas last week. [redacted]

B5



I am of course available anytime in case you want to discuss. Please let me know if there is any other way that I can help.

Best,

Harold

From: Jake Sullivan <[redacted]> on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Sunday, July 18, 2010 1:53 AM
To: H
Subject: Revenue collection

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

10.2 is latest figure based on end FY 09-10 data. (Pakistan fiscal year ends jun 30 so just finalized)

From: PIR <preines[redacted]> on behalf of PIR
Sent: Sunday, August 1, 2010 1:15 PM
To: CDM; Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro
Cc: AJS
Subject: Jews

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

We spend so much time talking about meetings with Jewish members, Andrew giving speeches, her at AIPAC

But nothing to date is better than the photo of Marc with the yalkmukah and talis

From: Megan Rooney <[redacted]> on behalf of Megan Rooney
Sent: Sunday, August 8, 2010 11:06 AM
To: preines <[redacted]>
Cc: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Re:

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

Doing now...

NEAR DUPLICATE

On Sun, Aug 8, 2010 at 11:05 AM, PIR <preines [redacted]> wrote:
Yes

B6

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com >
Date: Sun, 8 Aug 2010 11:05:13
To: 'preines [redacted]' <preines [redacted]>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan [redacted]' <jake.sullivan [redacted]>;
'megrooney [redacted]' <megrooney [redacted]>
Subject: Re:

[Redacted]

B5

Can you revise and send back?

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

From: PIR <preines [redacted]>
To: H
Cc: Jake Sullivan <jake.sullivan [redacted]>; megrooney [redacted] <megrooney [redacted]>
Sent: Sun Aug 08 10:59:33 2010

B6

MS -

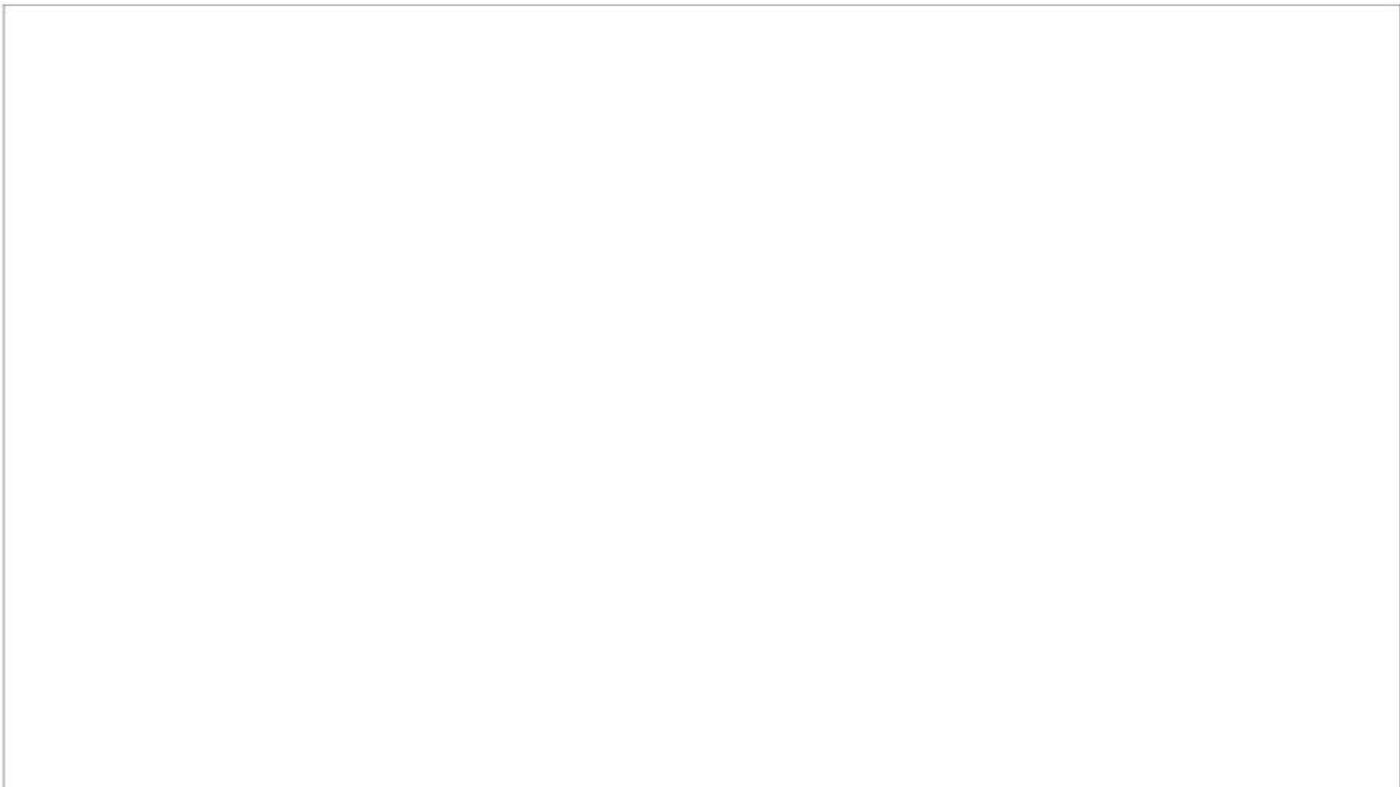
Below is a statement drafted by Megan, reviewed and edited by me, Jake, SRAP and others, and with your ok will go out immediately (pls ignore any spacing or formatting issues):

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

[Redacted]

B5

B5



###

From: Jake Sullivan <[redacted]> on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Thursday, September 22, 2011 2:05 AM
To: sullivanjj@state.gov
Subject: Fwd: cgi

B6

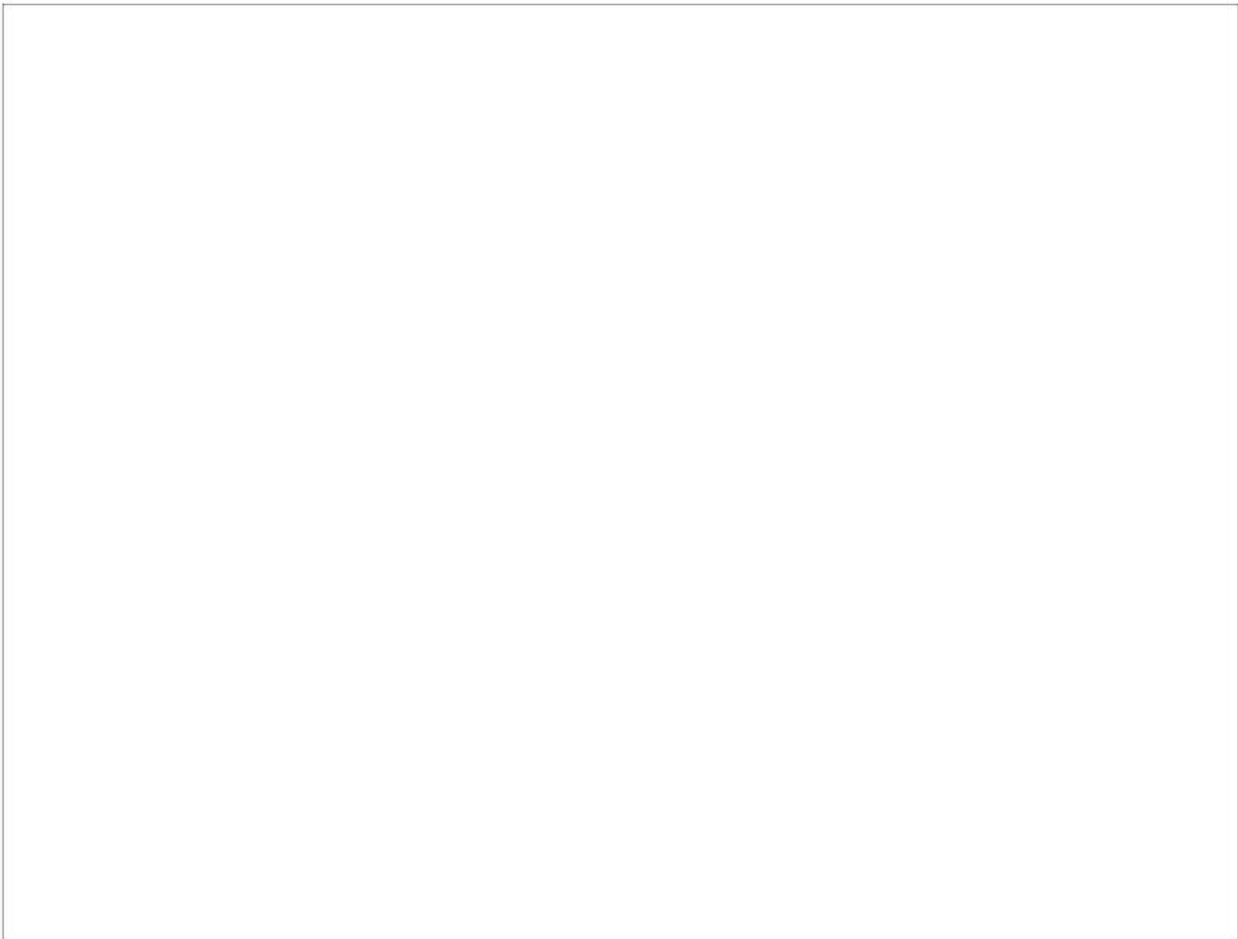
RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Jake Sullivan <[redacted]>
Date: Mon, 19 Sep 2011 18:29:24 -0400
Subject: Re: cgi
To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Cc: "MillsCD@state.gov" <MillsCD@state.gov>

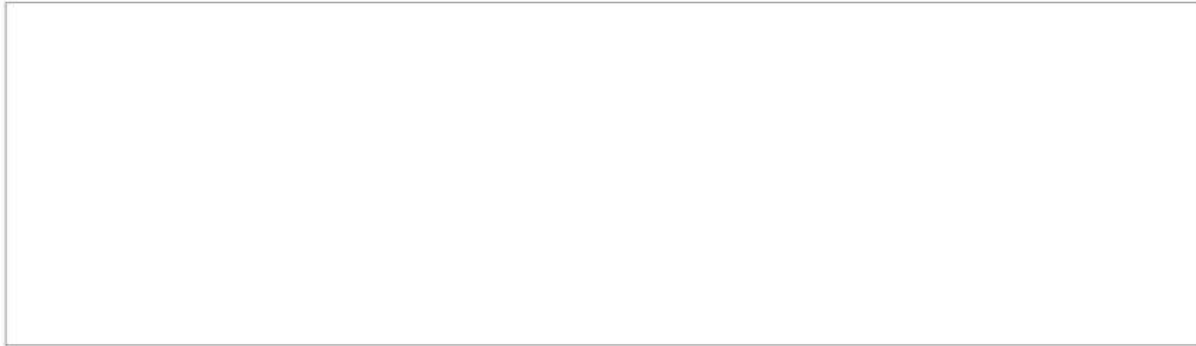
B6

Here are my proposed questions:



B5

B5



On Thu, Sep 15, 2011 at 8:54 PM, Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> i figured it wouldnt be good enough for u but wanted to send
>

> From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
> Sent: Thursday, September 15, 2011 8:42 PM
> To: Huma Abedin
> Cc: MillsCD@state.gov
> Subject: Re: cgi

B6

> i will work on this.

>
> On 9/15/11, Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> wrote:
> > jake - cgi gave us following suggestions for conversation. what do you
> > think?
> >
> > Potential questions for Closing Plenary conversation between Secretary
> > Clinton and Chelsea Clinton:
> >
> > * The empowerment of girls and women continues to expand markets,
> > improve
> > health outcomes, and increase educational opportunity around the world.
> > What do you see as some of the key strategic opportunities for innovation
> > and growth on this issue in the coming years? What are some of the
> > unexpected hurdles you've encountered to date?
> > * What do you see as some of the most promising models of health care
> > delivery, both domestically and internationally? Is there enough
> > emphasis
> > being placed on children's health care?
> > * Could you give an update on some of the previous CGI commitments
> > you've
> > been involved with?
> > * 2009 Partnership for Food Security (USAID)
> > * 2010 Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves (State Department)
> > * What are some of your highest priorities at the State Department at
> > the
> > moment? What projects are you most excited about?
> > * In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, the need
> > for dialogue across cultures, nations, faiths, and even generations is
> > more
> > critical than ever. How could the CGI members in this room and those

> > watching this session around the world build a broader culture of
> dialogue
> > and diplomacy?
> > * What issue do you feel is most actionable for everyday citizens?
> What
> > are concrete, tangible steps they can take to have a meaningful impact on
> > this issue?
> >
> >
>

From: PIR [redacted] on behalf of PIR
Sent: Tuesday, August 3, 2010 7:17 PM
To: Evergreen
Cc: Huma Abedin; Lona Valmorro; Jake Sullivan
Subject: Pak

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

MS -

We're hoping you'll be ok with taking one of the videos you were going to record tomorrow - the one for the Pakistani audience - and instead deliver the remarks live in the Treaty Room, one of those things where you just pop out the side door, make a statement, vamanose back through the doors

You have the time in the morning, we'd be dropping a video, and it will have ten times the impact. And to sweeten the deal...

We can scrub BOTH flood related videos and merge their remarks into one live Treaty Room Statement

Please let us know so we can make the necessary changes and preparations.

PIR

From: PIR [redacted] on behalf of PIR
Sent: Sunday, August 8, 2010 9:36 AM
To: Evergreen
Cc: Jake Sullivan; Huma Abedin
Subject: AID Workers

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

We're preparing a statement to go out from you once it's confirmed that six of the deceased are Americans. Will send to you once otherwise fully cleared.

From: Cheryl Mills <[redacted]> on behalf of Cheryl Mills
Sent: Monday, September 19, 2011 12:01 PM
To: jake.sullivan@[redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Extending the life of the speech.

B6

**RELEASE IN PART
B6**

This is what i had sent you.

----- Forwarded message -----

From: <williamsbarrett@[redacted]>
Date: Sat, Sep 17, 2011 at 11:09 AM
Subject: Extending the life of the speech.
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com , cheryl.mills@[redacted]

NEAR DUPLICATE

I kind of heard that u were setting up or thinking about a foreign policy advisory council -- can't remember exactly. If you are--- pick ten of those people get on a conference call with them on Monday and ask them to find ways they can validate the points you made in the speech (they can validate it by putting it in their blogs, or newsletters or in up coming speeches.) -- especially pushing the "Participation Age" -- which should become a living legacy phrase for you -- got to get the phrase branded as your quickly. m

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted] on behalf of Cheryl Mills
Sent: Sunday, September 18, 2011 10:00 AM
To: Philippe Reines; jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Extending the life of the speech.

B6

**RELEASE IN PART
B6**

Fyi

----- Forwarded message -----

From: williamsbarrett [redacted]
Date: Sat, 17 Sep 2011 11:09:19 -0400 (EDT)
Subject: Extending the life of the speech.
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com, cheryl.mills [redacted]

NEAR DUPLICATE

I kind of heard that u were setting up or thinking about a foreign policy advisory council -- can't remember exactly. If you are--- pick ten of those people get on a conference call with them on Monday and ask them to find ways they can validate the points you made in the speech (they can validate it by putting it in their blogs, or newsletters or in up coming speeches.) -- especially pushing the "Participation Age" -- which should become a living legacy phrase for you -- got to get the phrase branded as your quickly. m

--
Sent from my mobile device

From: Melanne Verveer [redacted] on behalf of Melanne Verveer
Sent: Sunday, September 18, 2011 11:48 PM
To: H; preines [redacted]
Cc: cheryl.mills [redacted] williamsbarrett [redacted] jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Extending the life of the speech.

B6

Happy to talk to Gail. Just let me know when.

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 18 Sep 2011 20:37:19 -0400
To: 'preines [redacted]' <preines [redacted]>
Cc: 'cheryl.mills [redacted]' <cheryl.mills [redacted]>; 'williamsbarrett [redacted]' <willia msbarrett [redacted]>; 'pverveer [redacted]' <pverveer [redacted]>; 'jake.sullivan [redacted]' <jake.s ullivar [redacted]>
Subject: Re: Extending the life of the speech.

I spoke with Gail Collins last week, and sent her the speech. She was away and didn't have a column on Saturday - but we left it that we'd talk again tomorrow, and I offered to put you on the phone with her. That would obviously go a long way to giving the speech legs.

As far as owning the phrase, this may sound goofy but we should see if www.participationage.com is available, and secure it.

Great ideas--I'll talk w Gail and pls try to get domain name.

From: PIR [mailto:preines [redacted]]
Sent: Sunday, September 18, 2011 08:33 PM
To: H
Cc: CDM <cheryl.mills [redacted]>; Maggie Williams <williamsbarrett [redacted]>; Melanne Verveer [redacted]; Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Extending the life of the speech.

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 18 Sep 2011 20:02:24 -0400
To: 'preines [redacted]' <preines [redacted]>; 'jake.sullivan [redacted]' <j ake.sullivan [redacted]>; 'pverveer [redacted]' <pverveer [redacted]>
Cc: 'cheryl.mills [redacted]' <cheryl.mills [redacted]>; 'williamsbarrett [redacted]' <willia msbarrett [redacted]>
Subject: Fw: Extending the life of the speech.

What can we do to extend speech and to own the Participation Age?

From: williamsbarrett [redacted] [mailto: [redacted]]
Sent: Saturday, September 17, 2011 11:09 AM
To: H; cheryl.mills [redacted] <cheryl.mills [redacted]>
Subject: Extending the life of the speech.

I kind of heard that u were setting up or thinking about a foreign policy advisory council -- can't remember exactly. If you are--- pick ten of those people get on a conference call with them on Monday and ask them to find ways they can validate the points you made in the speech (they can validate it by putting it in their blogs, or newsletters or in up coming speeches.) -- especially pushing the "Participati on Age" -- which should become a living legacy phrase for you -- got to get the phrase branded as your quickly. m

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H
Sent: Monday, September 19, 2011 11:57 PM
To: burnswj@state.gov; feltmanjd@state.gov
Cc: jake.sullivan[redacted]; Huma Abedin
Subject: Tonight's dinner

B6

Anything to report out of the free-for-all reception/dinner? Let's catch up tomorrow.
Thx.

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Sunday, October 2, 2011 10:38 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Americans Elect

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

will do and copy you

On Sun, Oct 2, 2011 at 10:29 PM, Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> wrote:
Send her link. She can open. I can if u want

From: Jake Sullivan [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Sunday, October 02, 2011 10:11 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Americans Elect

Attached is a webpage S wanted to see. How to get to her?

http://www.americansselect.org/wh_o-we-are

From: Megan Rooney [redacted] on behalf of Megan Rooney
Sent: Sunday, August 8, 2010 11:22 AM
To: preines [redacted] Jake Sullivan
Subject: Fwd:

B6

**RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6**

----- Forwarded message -----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, Aug 8, 2010 at 11:18 AM
Subject: Re:
To: "megrooney [redacted]" <[megrooney \[redacted\]](mailto:megrooney [redacted])>

Ok. Thx.

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

From: Megan Rooney [redacted]
To: H
Cc: preines [redacted] <[preines \[redacted\]](mailto:preines [redacted])>; jake.sullivan [redacted] <[jake.sullivan \[redacted\]](mailto:jake.sullivan [redacted])>
Sent: Sun Aug 08 11:14:38 2010
Subject: Re:

Here you go -- changes in CAPS.

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

STATEMENT ON THE KILLING OF MEDICAL AID WORKERS IN AFGHANISTAN

On Friday, Afghan police officers discovered the bodies of 10 medical aid workers who were killed in the northern Badakhshan Province. Six were American. The Taliban has proudly claimed responsibility for this despicable act of wanton violence.

These men and women were in the region to deliver free medical care to impoverished Afghan villagers, according to the NGO they were working with. They were doctors, nurses, and medical technicians, AND THEIR MISSION WAS HUMANITARIAN AND WHOLLY INDEPENDENT FROM THAT OF ANY GOVERNMENT. Before their deaths, they had spent several days treating cataracts and other eye conditions in the Nuristan Province. At their next stop, they planned to run a dental clinic and offer maternal and infant

health care. They were unarmed. They were not being paid for their services. They had traveled to this distant part of the world because they wanted to help people in need. They were guests of the Afghan people.

The Taliban stopped them on a remote road on their journey from Nuristan, led them into a forest, robbed them, and killed them.

We are heartbroken by the loss of these heroic, generous people. We condemn in the strongest possible terms this senseless act. We also condemn the Taliban's transparent attempt to justify the unjustifiable by making false accusations about their activities in Afghanistan.

Terror has no religion, and these acts are rejected by people all over the world, including by Muslims here in the United States. The Taliban's cruelty is well-documented. Its members have assassinated tribal elders and thrown acid in the face of young girls. Earlier this summer, they accused a 7-year-old boy of spying and hung him. With these killings, they have shown us yet another example of the lengths to which they will go to advance their twisted ideology.

The murdered medical aid workers, as well as the volunteers from many nations and the international coalition working to establish stability in Afghanistan, represent exactly what the Taliban stands against: a future of peace, freedom, opportunity, and openness, where all Afghans can live and work together in harmony, free from terror.

That is what we are working to achieve in Afghanistan, in partnership with the Afghan people. AS WE MOURN THE LOSS OF THESE AID WORKERS, we will continue with our OWN efforts, inspired by their example.

On Sun, Aug 8, 2010 at 11:05 AM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

[Redacted]

B5

Can you revise and send back?

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

From: PIR <preines@clintonemail.com>

To: H

Cc: Jake Sullivan <jakesullivan@clintonemail.com>; megrooney <megrooney@clintonemail.com>

B6

Sent: Sun Aug 08 10:59:33 2010

MS -

Below is a statement drafted by Megan, reviewed and edited by me, Jake, SRAP and others, and with your ok will go out immediately (pls ignore any spacing or formatting issues):

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON



B5

###

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Sunday, October 2, 2011 10:39 PM
To: H; Huma Abedin
Subject: Americans Elect

B6

**RELEASE IN PART
B6**

Attached is the website link with the list of leadership of the new third-party group:

http://www.americansselect.org/wh_o-we-are

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: PIR <[redacted]> on behalf of PIR
Sent: Monday, August 16, 2010 11:48 PM
To: Evergreen
Cc: Huma Abedin; CDM; Jake Sullivan
Subject: "minister in a skirt"

B6

http://mobile.nytimes.com/article?_a=644869

North Korea Takes to Twitter and YouTube
By CHOE SANG-HUN
The New York Times
August 17, 2010

SEOUL, South Korea - North Korea has taken its propaganda war against South Korea and the United States to a new frontier: YouTube and Twitter.

In the last month, North Korea has posted a series of video clips on YouTube brimming with satire and vitriol against leaders in South Korea and the United States.

In one clip, it called Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton a "minister in a skirt" and Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates a "war maniac," while depicting the South Korean defense minister, Kim Tae-young, as a "servile dog" that likes to be patted by "its American master."

Such language used to be standard in North Korea's cold-war-era propaganda. Its revival is testimony to the increased chill in relations between the Koreas in recent months.

In the past week, North Korea also began operating a Twitter account under the name uriminzok, or "our nation."

Both the Twitter and YouTube accounts are owned by a user named "uriminzokkiri." The Web site www.uriminzokkiri.com is run by the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea, a propaganda agency in Pyongyang.

Lee Jong-joo, a spokeswoman for the Unification Ministry in Seoul, said, "It is clear that these accounts carry the same propaganda as the North's official news media, but we have not been able to find out who operates them."

The two Koreas agreed to stop their psychological war after their first summit meeting in 2000. But South Korea resumed propaganda radio broadcasts in May, when it accused the North of torpedoing one of its warships, killing 46 sailors.

North Korea, which denies involvement, has vowed to retaliate. It appears to have found a way with Twitter and YouTube, with their intended audience clearly South Koreans. (North Korea keeps its people isolated from the outside world.)

"YouTube and Twitter gave North Korea a high-tech detour for its propaganda," said Paik Hak-soon, an analyst at Sjong Institute. "But fundamentally, it's not new technology but rather political tension that drives the North to lash out desperately in the face of mounting international pressure."

During the cold war era, South Korea punished people caught listening to North Korean broadcasts. Several years ago, during the brief era of its "sunshine policy" of engaging the North, the South allowed its people access to North Korean Web sites. But today, when

a computer user in South Korea clicks on an item on the North Korean Twitter account, a government warning against "illegal content" pops up.

These blocks have triggered criticism here that the Seoul government does not trust its people to form their own opinions about the totalitarian North.

But the government says the North is using the Internet to spread conspiracy theories about who was behind the sinking of the South Korean warship, including one claim that an American submarine did so to foster a militant mood in the South.

The Twitter account, which provides links to the North Korean Web site, had 928 followers as of Monday. But a few YouTube video clips uploaded by the North commanded thousands of views.

In one such clip, North Korea attacked Yu Myung-hwan, the South Korean foreign minister, who recently criticized "pro-North Korean youths" who voted for the opposition in the June local elections, saying, "If they like the North so much, they should go and live under Kim Jong-il."

The clip's narrator calls Mr. Yu a "pro-American flunky" and advised Mr. Yu to earn a living "mopping the floor of the Pentagon."

Another clip claimed that North Korea would prevail in a war with the "American imperialists" because it was armed with nuclear-fusion technology; because of its *juche*, or ideology of "self-reliance"; and because of a philosophical treatise written by Kim Il-sung, the North's founding president and the father of Kim Jong-il, who died in 1994.

"I don't think this propaganda from the North will have any significant impact among South Koreans," said Yoo Ho-yeol, an expert on North Korea at Korea University here. "People watch this for fun, not to be influenced."

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

From: Cheryl Mills <[redacted]> on behalf of Cheryl Mills
Sent: Sunday, August 29, 2010 5:53 PM
To: jake.sullivan[redacted]; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Subject: Fwd: FW: [redacted] [PER CDM; DO NOT FORWARD]

B6

B5

resending

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Cheryl Mills <[redacted]>
Date: Thu, Aug 26, 2010 at 8:34 AM
Subject: FW: [redacted] [PER CDM; DO NOT FORWARD]
To: jake.sullivan[redacted], Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Cheryl Mills <[redacted]>

B6

B5

Huma/Jake:

B5

best.

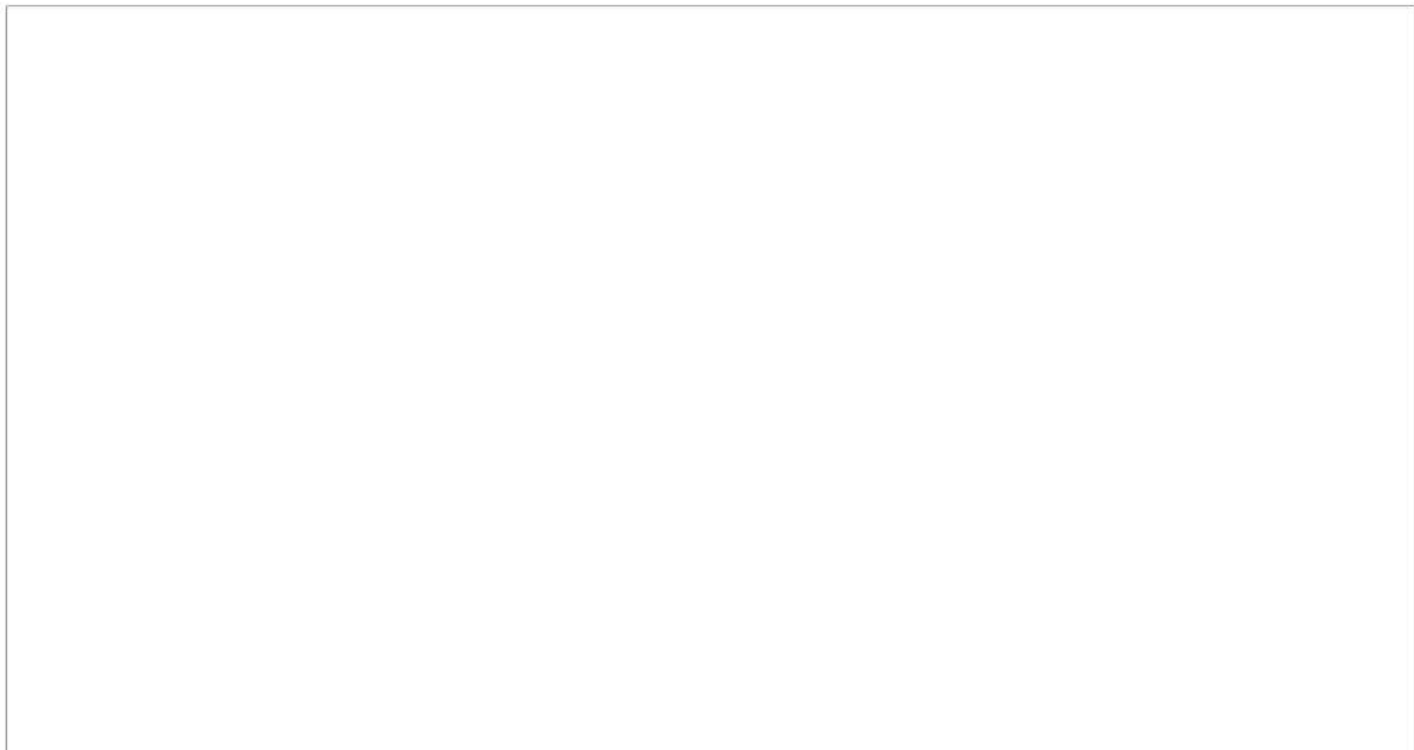
cdm

From: Kennedy, Patrick F
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thu Aug 26 08:10:06 2010
Subject:

B5

Cheryl

Following up on our discussions from Tuesday and before



B5

Regards

pat

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <sullivanjj@state.gov> on behalf of Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wednesday, August 25, 2010 12:46 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: New Version
Attachments: FA 22 Im ams.doc

**RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6**

B6

From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
To: 'H' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Muscatine, Lissa; Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Aug 25 12:10:40 2010
Subject: New Version

**NEAR
DUPLICATE**

Here it is – [redacted] But what is most important
[redacted] by far is for you really to engage and make it yours. It has a lot of great stuff in it, but too much, a reflection in part of the many great cooks we have in the kitchen. USAID sent over all the new stuff for the development section. Bill Burns helped rewrite the diplomatic section, although I think that still needs the most work. Jim and Jack both gave us overall comments. Jim in particular emphasized the need, I think rightly, to demonstrate that as with the QDR, the QDDR is an initiative designed to figure out what we need to stock up on today to have the right assets on hand for what we foresee as the problems and crises of tomorrow. Hence the new top, but we can certainly go back to the old one. I look forward to your reactions and your edits.

B5

AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter
Director of Policy Planning
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-2972

RELEASE IN FULL

DRAFT 22 lm ams

FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE

LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER

Today's world is a crucible of challenges testing American leadership. When I became Secretary of State, I immediately confronted the need for an increasingly civilian-led role in Iraq and an expanded development and diplomatic presence in Afghanistan. Stopping the proliferation of nuclear weapons loomed large in Iran and North Korea; the global economy was still flat on its back; the Copenhagen negotiations for a new climate change treaty and the need for a new START treaty with Russia were only a year away. And all these problems are interconnected. In just 18 months we have seen how the effects of a global health pandemic, an earthquake on a small Caribbean island, and floods of the Indus River can ripple across oceans and continents. And how a financial crisis in Greece, a torpedoed ship in the Yellow Sea, and a drought in Russia can cause jitters on Wall Street and worries about our future well-being.

As I look 5, 10, or 20 years down the road, I see the following trends. Power will continue to diffuse among states and non-state actors, even as global problems increasingly require collective solutions. Crises and conflicts between governments, the staple fare of traditional diplomacy, continue, but problems once confined to domestic politics such as economic and environmental regulation, health care, organized crime, and terrorist cells will evermore dominate the global agenda. The lawlessness and human suffering endemic in fragile and failing states will occupy more and more of our time. The importance of public opinion, even in authoritarian states, will grow. The link between the everyday lives of citizens and the decisions of their governments will steadily strengthen.

Facing this present and this future, I began my tenure by calling for an elevation of diplomacy and development alongside defense – a “smart power” approach to global problems that goes beyond the scope of the traditional diplomacy associated with the State Department. To make that approach work, we must build our civilian power and strengthen the synergies between diplomacy and development. Most of the problems we must address are not susceptible to military solutions, which is why Defense Secretary Robert Gates has argued in these pages that civilian and military power – both essential to our nation's security – must be brought into balance by strengthening our civilian institutions.

To build civilian power, we must modernize our diplomacy and not only elevate development but also take a much bolder approach aimed at high-impact results. We must train our diplomats and development professionals to work much more closely together. We must develop a new set of capabilities that allow us to deploy civilian teams rapidly in conflicts and crises, in insecure environments and often alongside our military. And we need *all* our assets on the civilian side.

We must overcome the stovepipes not only at State and USAID, but across the federal government. The good news is that we have a wealth of talent and capabilities in other civilian agencies, many of whom are already active abroad. But we must harness that power in an integrated and effective way.

The Obama Administration has already begun to build civilian power. Congress appropriated funds for 1,108 new foreign and civil service offers to bolster the State Department. At USAID, we are in the process of doubling development officers, hiring 1,200 new experts with the specific skills and experience now required. With this staff, and with more local hires at our overseas missions who have deep knowledge of their countries, we intend to rebuild USAID into the world's premier development organization, one that seeds long-term growth, includes its own research arm, shapes policy and innovation, and uses metrics to ensure that our investments are cost-effective and wise.

But we need to do more. We need not only to build, but also to rethink, reform, and recalibrate. This will not happen by itself. During my years on the Senate Armed Services Committee, I saw how the Department of Defense used the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) to look down the road and prepare today for what it saw coming tomorrow. No similar mechanism existed for modernizing the State Department or USAID. One of my first acts as Secretary of State was to appoint a new Deputy Secretary in charge of managing our systems and resources. And in July 2009 I launched the first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR), a wholesale review of State and USAID to recommend how we can better equip, fund, and organize ourselves to meet our current diplomatic and development priorities and how we can begin building the people, structures, processes, and resources today that we think we will need a decade from now.

A defining feature of the QDDR, in addition to the fact of the review itself, is its focus on the elevation of development and the ways in which diplomacy and development can and must reinforce each other. In some cases, our short-term goals are best served by diplomacy working in tandem with a longer-term vision which coordinates development policies and political engagement to gain senior-level foreign support. The global financial crisis, for instance, required an immediate diplomatic and economic response coordinated through the G-20. But the longer-term health of the global economy requires coordinated development and economic policies that create a better global balance between consumers and producers. Or when the H1N1 became an epidemic, our immediate response was to work with other nations and the World Health Organization to share information, inform publics, and coordinate the development and distribution of vaccines. But to prevent future pandemics we must strengthen local health systems around the globe.

In other cases, like Iraq, Afghanistan, and many other states around the world, the need for mutually reinforcing diplomatic and development strategies stems from the combined causes and effects of violent conflict, instability, and state fragility. Even at the heart of traditional diplomacy, the Middle East peace process, we have to think more broadly about how our diplomatic and development efforts intersect. The resumption of direct talks between the Israelis and the Palestinians this summer was the handiwork of talented and persistent diplomats. But

progress at the negotiating table is directly linked to progress building strong and stable institutions of a Palestinian state.

The two “D”s in the QDDR reflect the world as we see it today – but also as we envision it in the future. The review process relied on the wisdom and talent of exceptional people in both spheres -- State and USAID -- who worked tirelessly to produce a blueprint for reforms that will be implemented over the next four years but whose impact will stretch far beyond. The final report identifies new approaches and skill sets for diplomacy and development, sets budget priorities, establishes planning procedures, revises promotion incentives and reorganizes bureaucratic structures. It focuses on three main areas: modernizing and coordinating our diplomacy across U.S. government agencies; ensuring that our development work is high impact; and creating a stronger nexus of diplomacy and development in conflict zones and fragile states.

A GLOBAL CIVILIAN SERVICE

Effective civilian power requires integration and coordination of civilian experts across our government.

In our diplomatic missions overseas, our Ambassadors serve not as the representative of the State Department, but as the President's representative on the ground and chief of a multi-agency mission. Back in Washington, my role as Secretary is to ensure that within the State Department and throughout the world we are working smoothly together on a daily basis.

The complexity of our missions means that our Ambassadors must operate as CEOs of diverse enterprises, united in advancing U.S. strategic interests. Similarly, we must enlarge our concept of Foreign Service Officers as our sole civilian representatives abroad, and more effectively draw on the talented, innovative, and energetic people across the federal government already working beyond our borders. From the State Department, USAID, and MCC to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Export-Import Bank, the Department of Justice, the Centers for Disease Control, the Department of Agriculture, the Peace Corps, and many others, we must organize ourselves and act together as a global civilian service of the same caliber and flexibility as our military.

Our embassy in Islamabad exemplifies the diverse roles and portfolios of our civilians overseas. A large portion of our work there consists of traditional diplomacy – foreign-service officers issuing visas, taking care of Americans traveling or doing business in Pakistan who may need help, and engaging with their Pakistani civilian and military counterparts to manage a complex relationships. But of the approximately 500 U.S. personnel in the embassy, roughly are from the State Department, both diplomats and civil servants. They work with civilians from 11 federal agencies, including disaster relief and reconstruction experts from USAID helping to rebuild after August’s historic floods; USAID and other interagency specialists in health, energy, communications, finance, agriculture, and justice; and military personnel working with the Pakistani military to bolster Pakistani capacities and thwart the Taliban insurgency.

The new reality is that the men and women of today’s Foreign Service, and the many civil servants, technical experts, and political appointees who make up the State Department, are as likely to meet with a tribal elder in a rural village as a counterpart in a foreign ministry -- as likely to wear cargo pants as pin stripe suits. They must work not only with officials from other

governments but those outside the marble halls, and do so with broader expertise. They must work alongside our military, and also side-by-side with civilian government officials from dozens of federal agencies who now have business abroad. They must reach beyond governments to engage foreign publics, and beyond public initiatives to build public-private partnerships and collaborative networks of businesses, non-governmental organizations, civic groups, foundations, universities, and others working to solve a specific regional or global problem. And they must collaborate closely with development professionals from USAID, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, and countless foreign governments and multilateral organizations to provide political incentives for successful development programs and to run complementary programs supporting civil society, helping refugees, or training police and prosecutors.

These broader relationships are not accidental or anomalous. In the Strategic Dialogue that I launched with Pakistan, we are focusing on ten issues that bring together experts from different agencies in both governments. Our dialogue with India engaged [REDACTED] different agencies; and when Secretary Geithner and I traveled to Beijing in May for the second round of our new Strategic and Economic Dialogue with China we brought with us 200 people from over 30 agencies, all of whom committed in both Beijing and Washington to develop the relationships essential to working through differences on a wide range of issues. That is multi-agency diplomacy.

Civilian power also extends beyond government. Public engagement is now every diplomat's duty, through town halls and media interviews, organized outreach, events in provincial towns and smaller communities, student exchange programs, and virtual connections that bring together citizens and civic organizations, such as American and Pakistani students, artists, women's groups, scientists, and entrepreneurs. When I went to Pakistan for the first time as Secretary of State I held a town hall with students at [REDACTED], which afforded me the opportunity to hear directly from them, and them from me. This was something of a surprise to the Pakistani media, which was not accustomed to such direct exchanges between citizens and public officials. Public events like these are as much a part of my job as Secretary of State as my meetings in the Foreign Ministry.

In Washington, we are also re-shaping the way we conceive of and conduct public diplomacy. We are shifting away from traditional platforms and building connections to foreign publics in regions once considered beyond our reach. It makes no sense to allocate our greatest resources to parts of the world where our ties are already strong and secure, and to minimize our efforts in places where engaging the public is critical to our success in shoring up fledgling institutions or fragile states, or preventing conflict or instability from arising. This also forces us to streamline and modernize our public diplomacy efforts across the board. When public diplomacy staff was decreased at our embassy in Berlin to make resources available for outreach in Central Europe, Berlin used the opportunity to develop a leaner and more agile operation that has strengthened public diplomacy there overall.

Finally, while our USAID colleagues lead the development work in our embassies, State Department employees today, from Assistant Secretaries and Ambassadors to political and economic counselors to civil service experts, must be better versed, and more engaged, in development issues. In Afghanistan and Pakistan I called for a wholesale review of our aid programs in to ensure that they were aligned with our strategic objectives. Given the complexity

of the security and development needs on the ground, I also sent two of our most experienced ambassadors to serve as overall foreign assistance coordinators in both Islamabad and Kabul.

In Pakistan, the Kerry-Lugar-Berman bill authorizes 7.5 billion over 5 years as an investment in a long-term relationship with a stable and well-governed partner. Those funds will be spent for multiple purposes, including security assistance to strengthen the Pakistani government's efforts to establish and maintain civil security and defeat the Taliban insurgency. But we are also investing in Pakistan's development -- helping the government build stable and lasting institutions and a growing middle class that contributes to democracy, vibrant and open markets, and flourishing civil society. Our Strategic Dialogue includes a commitment of \$1.5 billion for joint US-Pakistani projects, most notably for water and electricity, which the Pakistani government identified as top priorities. This "country led" approach reflects our belief that the host countries themselves are the best judges of their country's needs, and that small, discrete projects, while important, do not pack as big a punch in terms of economic progress. This is not a case of either, or -- but both. And it takes diplomats working with development experts to cover all the terrain.

When the varied elements of our civilian power are working cohesively -- such as in Pakistan and many other embassies around the world, and on our best days in Washington -- we can see the potential impact of a global civilian service. There is no guarantee that our holistic approach will achieve every goal, especially in places like Pakistan where the challenges are entrenched and complex. But we believe that integrating diplomacy and development and using all the tools of our civilian strength is the best alternative we have, and one we must pursue.

Still, we have a long way to go. The culture, recruitment, training, organization, and resources of the State Department and USAID must evolve to ensure that we can both perform our traditional functions, strengthen the core of a broader and more integrated civilian service across the government, forge coalitions beyond government, and support a stronger nexus of diplomacy and development, especially in conflict zones and fragile states.

The QDDR offers specific reforms to advance these goals, beginning with bolstering the role of the ambassador as CEO of a multi-agency mission. It also recommends creating new public diplomacy positions, and providing training, more opportunities for Foreign Service Officers to intern with NGOs, corporations, and foundations, and pre-approved legal templates to make public-private partnerships a routine dimension of American diplomacy.

Our emphasis on reading future trends and building new capabilities to meet them does not minimize the importance of old-fashioned diplomatic elbow grease. Most of my time remains focused on diplomatic efforts to address major threats, such as Iran's nuclear ambitions, or to bring entrenched adversaries to the peace table, as with the Israelis and the Palestinians, and to help resolve longstanding disputes, such as between the Turks and the Armenians, which remain barriers to regional integration and development. After repairing many of our relations with key countries in the first 18 months of the Obama Administration, including starting or restarting **INSERT HOW MANY** strategic dialogues, I am determined to move beyond the tyranny of the in-box. We must build the longer-term architecture of global cooperation that will guide our engagement for decades to come.

Comment [AMS1]: For S from Anne-Marie: As important as these points are, they really don't belong in this article, but rather in the CFR speech. We have too much here already and this is strategy rather than capabilities, the subject of the QDDR. As Lissa notes, it is important to talk about your overall strategic dialogues, but we do that higher up in this section.

In this regard, I am focusing most on strengthening regional organizations. We will soon see a new NATO strategic concept; we are working closely with the new EU foreign policy institutions to build a strong trans-Atlantic coalition and participating in a process anticipating a possible reform of the Organization for Security and Cooperation. In Asia I have outlined a vision for a strong East Asian architecture with active U.S. participation. We are pleased at the growing strength of the African Union and the East African Community and hope to encourage further reforms. And in our own hemisphere, we are working actively for the streamlining of the OAS. However broad the spectrum of civilian power becomes, it is still exercised most effectively on a regional and global level in concert with others.

ACHIEVING HIGH IMPACT DEVELOPMENT

Over the last two decades, the world has made dramatic advances fighting poverty and disease and building more inclusive and prosperous economies. The number of children dying before their fifth birthday has fallen from 12 million a year in 1990 to less than 8 million today. In 2007, 40 million more children across the developing world were in school compared to just five years before. And despite the continuing devastation of HIV/AIDS, 1 million people are now receiving life saving anti-AIDS drugs compared to only 100,000 people just seven years ago.

Signs of progress are even evident in the poorest countries. Per capita income has doubled since 1990 in countries like Mozambique, Ethiopia, Ghana, Rwanda, and Tanzania. In Rwanda and Zambia, the numbers of recorded cases and deaths due to malaria have been cut in half. Mozambique and Tanzania have doubled primary school attendance rates to reach near-universal levels.

American development has contributed to many of the successes in health, wealth, and education, thanks in good measure to our nation's development agency. USAID pioneered oral rehydration therapy, a low cost and easy method of administering solution that has saved tens of millions of lives around the globe. It was USAID agriculture research that sparked the "Green Revolution" and generated the largest increases in agriculture yields and production in the history of mankind. Today, we are poised to build on this legacy and make progress toward our ultimate goal of creating the conditions where our work is no longer needed.

President Obama's National Security Strategy highlights development as "a strategic, economic, and moral imperative." Development dollars are dollars invested in our long-term security and prosperity even as they are a direct reflection of our values. To make the most of those dollars, we are committed to a new strategy of high impact development.

The Presidential Decision Directive on Development issued by President Obama in September emphasizes the importance of coordinating assistance with trade, finance, investment credits and other economic policies to spur widespread economic growth. Ultimately, our ability to promote economic development that helps build and strengthen the middle class around the world will influence our success in bolstering our security and advancing our interests and values globally. The State Department and USAID, under the transformative leadership of Dr. Rajiv Shah, are focusing on how to increase the impact of the assistance we provide.

We start by thinking about development as a process of assisted self-help. A developing country must be in charge and set its own goals for meeting the needs of its people. Americans come to the table as partners, not patrons, lending our resources and expertise and, eventually, putting ourselves out of business when a host country is fully self-sustaining.

We are putting a partnership model into practice in two signature initiatives the Obama Administration has announced over the past year: the Global Health Initiative and the Feed The Future Program. The Global Health Initiative starts from the recognition that the landscape for health in many developing countries has improved over the years, in part due to President George W. Bush's Presidential Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and his malaria initiative and in part due to the contributions of many other countries and organizations. But this more crowded landscape does not necessarily improve health outcomes efficiently or sustainably.

Consider the life of a woman in a remote African village. Within walking distance is a clinic supported by PEPFAR, where she finds out that she has HIV and then receives the antiretroviral drugs that keep her healthy. If she makes a longer journey by bicycle or bus, there is another clinic offering prenatal care and immunizations for her children. Sometimes health services come right to her door, in the form of health volunteers bringing bed nets to protect her family from malaria. Yet if she has trouble giving birth, the nearest facility equipped to perform emergency surgery is hundreds of miles away. And while her home has been sprayed for mosquitoes, she has no access to clean water, so her children may escape malaria only to die from diarrheal disease. □□

There is too little coordination among countries and organizations, including our own government, that deliver health services. And when governments cannot afford or don't have the expertise to ensure that health care gets to local populations, donor countries and outside NGOs have stepped in. That is the right response to an emergency, but in too many places, it has turned into a long-term solution. As a result, the African woman's current access to care is erratic, and her future access to care is uncertain. She is vulnerable to the vicissitudes of funding cycles and development trends in places far from where she lives. The fundamental purpose of the Global Health Initiative is to address these problems by tying individual health programs -- PEPFAR, the President's Malaria Initiative, maternal and child health, family planning, neglected tropical diseases, and other critical health areas -- together in an integrated, coordinated, sustainable system of care, *with the countries themselves in the lead.*

Our Feed The Future Initiative is based on the same principles. To give one example from a partner country, the Government of Bangladesh developed its own food security investment plan, which was reviewed and discussed in a public forum with more than 500 representatives. The resulting strategy was reviewed for technical quality by independent experts from top universities and international institutions. We are now developing our own U.S. government investment plan in support of Bangladesh's strategy, in full collaboration with other government and international donors.

This is what partnership looks like in practice. The governments involved will almost certainly choose to do things differently than we might, or to outline different priorities. Vetting and investing in the government's plan may take longer than delivering services ourselves. But the result is a sustainable strategy that will move ahead even after our assistance has ended. This

approach reflects the consensus of the international community on principles for effective foreign assistance. The QDDR embraces these principles and recommends a detailed set of mechanisms for implementing them in the field.

The QDDR also focuses on the diplomatic side of effective development policy, building much stronger and more systematic links between State and USAID both in Washington and in the field. It is worth examining how our diplomatic outreach moved the needle on a stalled humanitarian effort in Nigeria. Although billions of dollars in US and international aid had flowed to Nigeria to address AIDS, polio, and malaria, a patchwork of health programs had not yet been stitched together into a comprehensive health system, and vaccination rates remained low.

In 2008, Northern Nigeria suffered a major polio outbreak, the result of years of suspicions in the Muslim community about the vaccine that led many to forgo getting immunized. But steady engagement by representatives of the State Department, USAID, the CDC, and PEPFAR, along with the World Health Organization and international organizations, culminated in a decision by the influential Emir of Kano to vaccinate his grandson in 2009. By July 2010, Nigeria reported only three cases of polio, down from 798 in 2008. Last summer, the head of GHI, Deputy Secretary Jack Lew, and our Global AIDS Coordinator, Eric Goosby, visited the Emir to thank him for his role in suppressing the polio scourge and discuss building a stronger health system. They were also able to seek his support for Nigeria backing U.N. sanctions against Iran, a significant benefit to our diplomacy given Nigeria's position on the U.N. Security Council.

To partner effectively with others, we need to get our own house in order. We start by coordinating ourselves to use the full talents of our government. The Global Health Initiative is being jointly led by the USAID Administrator, the U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator, and the Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Their agencies, along with the Departments of Health and Human Services, the National Institutes of Health, and the Peace Corps, work together under the overall guidance and direction of the Deputy Secretary of State. This is a unique leadership structure that embeds our commitment to coordination at every level, from the White House down.

Within USAID, Dr. Shah has laid out an aggressive set of operational priorities called "USAID Forward" that are designed to make the Agency more effective, accountable and transparent. Guided by the QDDR and in coordination with the State Department, USAID Forward concentrates on procurement, people, and policy.

Procurement reform may sound like an arcane subject removed from the realities of helping people on the ground. While procurement done badly can become a bureaucratic burden, it can be an opportunity for progress when it's done well. Our goal is to build local capacities in the countries where we work by drawing on the talent and expertise of small businesses and NGOs. Senegal, for instance, has 1,427 health huts, where volunteers selected by their communities are trained by USAID to provide basic – and often lifesaving -- treatments. By training local health workers and hiring local staff for project management, the program lowers costs while saving more lives. And it moves us closer to the day when our aid will no longer be necessary.

To reform personnel, our goal is to attract and retain the best development professionals we can find. They should reflect the diversity of our country and share a common trait: the ability to

solve problems. Dr. Shah and I have observed firsthand how our best USAID staff members work as development entrepreneurs—identifying opportunities and finding solutions that meet people’s needs. We want to capitalize on this wealth of talent and build on its strong base. The QDDR is focusing particularly on how to recruit and retain locally hired staff, the backbone of our USAID missions worldwide.

To reform policy, USAID has already created a new Bureau of Policy, Planning and Learning. Evidence-based development must be more than a notion—it must become our reality. That is the way that we can make smart, informed decisions and promulgate cutting-edge development policies. We are seeding a culture of research and knowledge-sharing, with a particular focus on monitoring and evaluation. We will measure our investments in ways that matter – not the number of programs run, but the number of children nourished or vaccines delivered, and the number of people who benefit from clean water, electricity, teachers, medicine or jobs. We will also make sure our taxpayer dollars are well spent – by gathering baseline data, surveying development indicators *before* we launch projects, and then measuring those same indicators over the life of the project. Where our approaches are successful, we will replicate them and scale them up. Where they are not, we will admit it, learn from our failures, and come up with a better idea.

The evolution of development is one of the most exciting changes enhancing our foreign policy agenda. Twenty years ago, the “development community” didn’t exist far beyond the walls of USAID. Today, that community has expanded to include corporate leaders, philanthropists, foundations and advocates, all of whom bring new skills and perspectives from different disciplines. But perhaps most important are the grassroots leaders in our communities: the church groups who advocate for humanitarian relief, the Baby Boomers who forego a comfortable retirement to join the Peace Corps, and the college students who oversubscribe to courses on development.

We must tap into the energy and engagement of this 21st century development community to make real change. It is time to be bolder, to reach beyond our comfort zone, and to be imaginative about how we can work better, cheaper, and faster in the pursuit of high impact development. That means encouraging, celebrating, and disseminating innovation. The QDDR endorses USAID’s creation of the Development Innovation Ventures Fund where creative solutions will be funded, piloted and brought to scale.

Thinking big in development also means embracing science and technology in ways that accelerate problem-solving and broaden the impact of effective solutions. In July, USAID hosted “the Grand Challenges for Development” to create an overarching strategy for development based on transformational, scalable, and sustainable change. This strategy includes prizes, challenges, as well as building capacity and institutions to carry out those challenges, investing in research, and leveraging our federal science dollars. In this way, science and technology can serve as powerful way to leapfrog development, moving away from the idea that we must recreate the last 200 years of development. We want to transfer scientific knowledge and use new technologies to connect people in remote villages to the world outside, improve agricultural production, strengthen democratic institutions, and support citizen efforts to hold governments accountable.

It makes sense for an American development agency to invest in game-changing solutions. We should not be content with the tools we have. Just recently, USAID funded the trial of a vaginal microbicide that reduces the transmission of HIV/AIDS by 30 percent, a major breakthrough in HIV transmission that will give women more control over their reproductive health. The State Department recently hosted a conference on mobile money, looking at all the ways that mobile phone technology can be used to help people receive, keep, spend and invest their money. Now we are inviting top scientists and entrepreneurs to help us find cost-effective, simple ways to provide clean water, vaccines, inexpensive but durable computers, micro-generators, medical kits, and applications for cell phones.

High impact development will have a high impact on our security, diplomatic, and economic environment. It is one of the best investments we can make for a more stable, prosperous, and healthier future.

BUILDING PEACE AND STRENGTHENING FRAGILE STATES

American civilians have long operated in conflict zones and fragile states. But today, our diplomats and development experts are being asked to undertake simultaneous missions of a scale and scope never seen before. Our task in Iraq is to lead a large-scale U.S. peace-building mission. In Afghanistan we are responsible for helping win a war and sustaining and strengthening a peace well after our troops return home. In Pakistan, we are supporting a counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency campaign, while assisting a government and society buffeted by the global economic recession, natural disasters, and regional instability. Beyond the sheer magnitude of these roles, we are being asked to undertake them in countries where institutions are still struggling to serve local populations, populations are ethnically and religiously divided, and security is an ongoing challenge. Twenty percent of our diplomatic corps is now stationed in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Beyond those countries, we are actively stabilizing, building capacity, and trying to prevent conflict in zones of instability from Somalia and Sudan to Haiti and Kyrgystan.

In Iraq, we had 170,000 troops during the surge: Today our troops stand at 50,000 assigned to supporting Iraqi government forces. On the ground are 1000 civilians – diplomats, stabilization and reconstruction experts and development professionals in charge of helping Iraq develop into a stable and prosperous democracy. Similarly in Afghanistan, the US contribution to reconstruction and redevelopment is now led by [REDACTED] diplomats and civilian experts who will remain there long after our troops are gone. These numbers say something important about civilian power and leadership. Properly trained and equipped, civilians are force-multipliers. One effective diplomat or development expert can leverage as many as ten local partners, and we have learned that when these local partners build their own capacities and networks, communities stronger and more resilient.

Civilian leadership in conflict and instability also depends on our ability and commitment to marshaling and leveraging the diverse assets of the interagency and ensuring those with the capabilities are key players. Under the leadership of strong Ambassadors and agency representatives, unprecedented USG collaboration is occurring in Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan, Haiti and elsewhere that combines not only State and USAID expertise, but also the knowledge and skills of DoJ, Commerce, Treasury, DHS, HHS, CDC, and other agencies. The United States cannot succeed in countering insurgencies, responding to natural disasters, building peaceful

societies or mitigating conflict without these and other agencies working together under a common vision and more unified effort. Even the way we are organizing ourselves internally indicates our focus on integration, cohesion, and solving problems. The appointment of a Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan was an innovation that we made to overcome stove-piping and to achieve a comprehensive strategy. At his weekly “shura” at the State Department, Ambassador Holbrooke counts representatives from over INSERT agencies.

The QDDR recognizes both the scale and the scope of the problem of conflict and state fragility. It builds upon the lessons learned and capabilities built over the past decade, but goes further to identify new requirements that will make us more effective. We will build upon and expand the skills of the Civilian Response Corps, which has identified hundreds of civilian experts across the federal government who can be quickly deployed to conflict zones or fragile states. The CRC is a great asset; its members were the first Americans on the ground in southern Sudan. But it could be deployed much more frequently and effectively.

We will also provide more effective operational solutions across more missions, so that when we encounter an acute or persistent crisis, including those in East and West Africa, Iraq and Afghanistan, we show up in adequate numbers with the right strategies, tools, skill sets and partners for that situation. Among other things, the QDDR recommends expanding the number of State and USAID personnel capable of operating effectively amidst conflict and instability, consolidating relevant capabilities and building new ones in a new bureau for complex peace operations in the State Department, and developing a joint council and operating framework for the relevant personnel and offices from State, USAID, and other parts of the federal government.

Although Afghanistan and Iraq have taken much of the world’s attention for the past eight years, they are not the only places where diplomats and development experts are responsible for helping to shore up fragile and failing states, deal with the consequences of political, economic, and social instability, or join in common cause to prevent conflicts in the first place. Indeed, since the end of the Cold War, the State Department and USAID have steadily taken on more missions asking us to difficult things in dangerous places, from Lebanon to Bosnia to East Timor. Two current examples include Sudan and Yemen. In Sudan we are mounting a civilian surge around the southern capital of Juba to prepare for the January 2011 referendum that will determine whether South Sudan secedes from the North.

In Yemen, our embassy is working to build capacity and pursue development in a country that is facing a secessionist movement in the south, a rebellion in the north, and a persistent threat from al Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula. Through the diplomatic Friends of Yemen and concentrated efforts to stabilize fragile local communities and create opportunities for economic growth, we are trying to help the Yemeni government provide better services for its citizens and prevent conflict. The QDDR anticipates more situations requiring rapidly deployable civilian teams of diplomats, stabilization and reconstruction experts, and development professionals that can meet our needs in circumstances like Sudan or Yemen while also mounting larger efforts in other countries at once.

Strengthening the capabilities of a new generation of diplomats, development professionals, and peace-building experts is an investment in our future security and stability by strengthening weak, fragile or violent states and offering opportunities and hope to their citizens. Poverty and repression do not automatically engender terrorism but countries that are impoverished, corrupt,

lawless or mired in a recurring cycle of conflict are more prone to becoming havens for terrorists and other criminals. Al Qaeda first operated out of Sudan and bombed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania before migrating to Afghanistan, then a country notable for its poverty, high infant mortality and repressive Taliban government. It is no coincidence that al Qaeda is most active today in underdeveloped nations such as Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen, Mali, Mauritania and Niger.

Beyond terrorism and violent extremism, the world already has witnessed too many tragic examples of what happens when government is toothless, corrupt, brutal or absent. We have seen the tyranny of drug cartels that have exploited the absence of strong governing institutions to push countries on several continents to the brink of becoming narco-states. Elsewhere, countries rich in minerals and diamonds have become epicenters of violence – including gender-based sexual violence -- because the central government is incapable of regulating legitimate business or investing natural resources wealth in the country's infrastructure and people. And too often, conflicts in fragile and weak states spill over borders, creating humanitarian crises and spawning grounds for terrorists and global criminal networks elsewhere.

On the positive side, however, we have also seen the effectiveness of civilian power working with our military to impede conflict and contribute to stability. In Liberia, when fighting between rebel groups and government forces under the leadership of Charles Taylor intensified and the humanitarian situation had deteriorated, the United States undertook intense diplomatic efforts, including public calls for Taylor's resignation, as well as military deployments to the region to help shore up peacekeeping efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Taylor's resignation paved the way for a comprehensive peace agreement which led to the end of Liberia's conflict and set the stage for Liberia's stabilization and reconstruction efforts. Both the United Nations and the United States continue to partner with the Government of Liberia as it rebuilds social and economic infrastructure destroyed by years of conflict.

Put bluntly, our future depends on the success of all these types of missions – from Iraq and Afghanistan to West Africa -- and our ability to mount more of them. That success, in turn, depends on whether we are genuinely serious about investing in civilian power. If we care about what happens in Iraq, if we want to prevent another Afghanistan and avoid further expenditures of American blood and treasure, we must provide the resources, training, and support for the diplomats and development experts working in these dangerous and complicated arenas to keep our country and our people safe. This cannot be done by small, incremental changes. Rather, we need to begin now to institute the QDDR's vision for a civilian capacity to prevent and respond to conflict and crises. This is a vision that requires collaboration and support from many USG agencies and from Congress.

Getting serious requires more than words. The American people must understand the necessity and the cost-effectiveness of spending taxpayer dollars on diplomacy and development. Congress, too must come to the table with the resources required to complete the mission. The House and Senate have appropriated hundreds of billions of dollars for the military missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. The diplomatic and development missions can be funded for a fraction of that cost, yet securing such funding is difficult and often gets bogged down in the old debates over foreign aid. We have to move beyond the past. It is time for Congress to treat diplomacy and development as national security priorities and smart investments in our future stability and security. We can succeed, but only with the necessary Congressional leadership and support.

Perhaps no one understands the urgency of this as much as Secretary Gates. As he said last August: “Congress is part of the problem. When I sent my budget to the Hill for roughly \$550 billion, the Senate voted me \$550 billion as the budget allocation. That's not what I got out of the appropriators, but that's what the allocation was. Hillary Clinton sent up a budget of about \$50 billion, and they whacked four or five billion dollars out of it. So there has to be a change in attitude in the recognition of the critical role that agencies like State and AID play . . . [for them to play the leading role that I think they need to play in most of these situations.]”

* * * * *

Our emphasis on civilian power is in keeping with America's history and traditions. The Marshall Plan was a civilian development initiative undertaken in partnership with European governments. President Kennedy founded the Peace Corps to show the world a different face of America decades before the term “soft power” was coined. American diplomats helped negotiate the reunification of Europe in 1991 without a shot fired. Meanwhile, American civilians have enjoyed the world's admiration because of their spirit of innovation, abundant goodwill, and the audacious belief that technological, social and political advances can and must be used to improve the lives of human beings around the world.

The men and women who volunteer for our armed forces exemplify this spirit. But so too do the growing number of Americans who find ways to engage in civilian public service, from the State Department and USAID to the Peace Corps to CARE, the Ford Foundation, or the Acumen Fund. They are the face of American civilian power. We need more of them in government and we need civilian government institutions that can put them to work in the most innovative and productive ways.

With strong civilian power and continued strong military power we can advance America's interests and values in the world. We can lead and support other nations in solving global problems. We can forge strong diplomatic and development partnerships with traditional allies and newly emerging powers. And we can build a global architecture of cooperation that will bridge North and South as well as East and West. Diplomacy, development, and defense are the foundation of a world order for the 21st century in which all the world's people can flourish.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <huma@clintonemail.com> on behalf of Huma Abedin
Sent: Saturday, October 22, 2011 2:39 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: a few edits in case she hasn't closely read

B6

She's in bed with lights off
So will show her tomorrow am

From: Jake Sullivan [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Saturday, October 22, 2011 02:25 PM
To: Abedin, Huma <abedinh@state.gov>; Huma Abedin
Subject: a few edits in case she hasn't closely read

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <sullivanjj@state.gov> on behalf of Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Sunday, September 5, 2010 11:14 PM
To: jake.sullivan[redacted]
Subject: Fw: Final foreign affairs article w/ their proposed cuts and our proposed responses
Attachments: 2010-09-05 FA Article Final w FA cuts.docx

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sun Sep 05 21:58:08 2010
Subject: RE: Final foreign affairs article w/ their proposed cuts and our proposed responses

Sending to you only – if you forward, take out my comment to you.

cdm

From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sunday, September 05, 2010 9:35 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com'
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Muscatine, Lissa; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Final foreign affairs article w/ their proposed cuts and our proposed responses

Attached is the final version that we sent in with all their proposed edits and our responses marked in track changes and explained in comments. I have also included 2 additional small edits that I think will help immunize us from complaints by the human rights/democracy crowd. If you can let me know by early tomorrow whether you approve or what you want to change I can then make the necessary changes on the document they sent back to us and send it in my the deadline late tomorrow. Jim Hoge likes the piece and told me that he took a personal hand in the editing. AM

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter <[redacted]>
To: Slaughter, Anne-Marie
Sent: Sun Sep 05 09:27:18 2010
Subject:

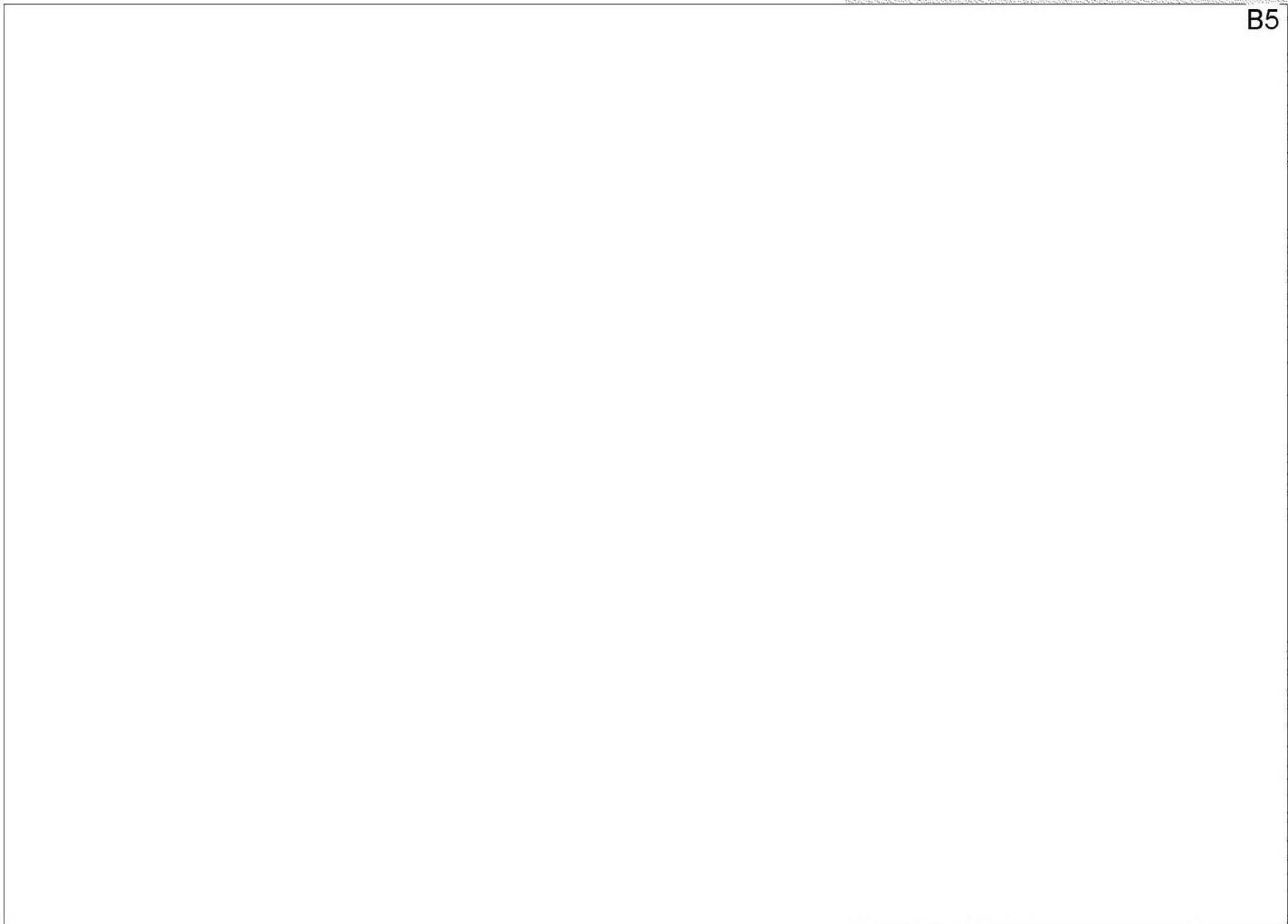
August 30, 2010

RELEASE IN PART
B5

LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

B5



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From: Sullivan, Jacob J <sullivanjj@state.gov> on behalf of Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2011 11:28 AM
To: Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma; Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan
Subject: RE: here are the pending action memos for next week

RELEASE IN PART
B5

[Redacted]

B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2011 10:24 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; 'Huma Abedin'; 'Jake Sullivan'
Subject: here are the pending action memos for next week

Huma/Jake – [Redacted]

1. FM Al-Khalifa of Bahrain – Wednesday or Thursday
2. PM Lerner of Peru – Tuesday or Wednesday
3. FM Lambrinidis of Greece – Thursday or Friday
4. DG Amano, International Atomic Energy Agency – [Redacted]
[Redacted]
5. Edward R Murrow Program for Journalists on Tuesday – [Redacted]
[Redacted]
6. Iraqi National Security Advisor Falah Fayyad – apparently the action memo is en route, asking for Thursday or Friday.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

202-647-9071 (direct)

From: PIR <preines[redacted] on behalf of PIR
Sent: Thursday, September 9, 2010 8:33 AM
To: Evergreen; Jake Sullivan
Subject: Re: Correction

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Yes, I'll go back and watch and listen and have fixed as necessary

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

From: Evergreen
To: PIR
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Correction
Sent: Sep 9, 2010 7:45 AM

Not that it matters, but several of the articles quote me as saying that the Koran burning is "distrustful". I'm not sure that's a word, and I thought I said "distressful". Can we fix?

From: PIR <preines[redacted]> on behalf of PIR
Sent: Sunday, October 30, 2011 10:09 PM
To: Evergreen; Jake Sullivan
Cc: CDM; Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: WaPo

**RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6**

B6

NEAR DUPLICATE

Both items now fixed

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Date: Sun, 30 Oct 2011 22:08:36
To: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]' <jake.sullivan[redacted]>
'preines[redacted]' <preines[redacted]>
Cc: 'cheryl.mills[redacted]' <cheryl.mills[redacted]>; Huma Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: WaPo

B6

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

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

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

B6

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

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

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

> Jake and I will review, and flag for Joby

B6

>

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

> From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
> Date: Sun, 30 Oct 2011 21:01:35
> To: 'preines[redacted]' <preines[redacted]>
> Cc: 'cheryl.mills[redacted]' <cheryl.mills[redacted]>
> 'jake.sullivan[redacted]' <jake.sullivan[redacted]>; Huma
> Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>
> Subject: Re: WaPo

B6

> There are a few factual errors--biggest is that the 4-way call was w Juppe
> not Sarkozy. Did I talk for 90 minutes w HBJ? Can you review for other
> issues? [redacted]

B5

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

> From: PIR [mailto:[redacted]]
> Sent: Sunday, October 30, 2011 08:27 PM
> To: H
> Cc: CDM <cheryl.mills[redacted]>; Jake Sullivan <jake.sullivan[redacted]>
> Huma Abedin

B6

> Subject: WaPo

> Below is the front page of tomorrow's Washington Post.

B5

> Clinton's key role in Libya conflict

> By Joby Warrick

> Washington Post

> Sunday, Oct 30, 2011

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

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

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

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

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

> Some Republicans derided the effort as "leading from behind" while many
> others questioned why President Obama was entangling the nation in another
> overseas military campaign that had little strategic urgency and scant
> public support. But with NATO operations likely ending this week, U.S.
> officials and key allies are offering a detailed new defense of the approach
> and Clinton's pivotal role — both within a divided Cabinet and a fragile,
> assembled-on-the-fly international alliance.

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

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

> From skeptic to advocate

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

> From the first armed resistance on Feb. 18 until March 9, the disorganized
> opposition movement appeared to be on a roll, taking control of Libyan

> cities from Benghazi to Brega and Misurata on the Mediterranean coast. But
> in a single, bloody week, Gaddafi loyalists turned rebel gains into a rout,
> crushing resistance in towns across Libya before marshaling forces for a
> final drive against Benghazi, the last opposition stronghold.
>
> With Gaddafi threatening to slaughter Benghazi's population "like rats," the
> rebel leaders pleaded for Western intervention, including a no-fly zone. The
> appeal garnered support in Europe, particularly among French and British
> officials who began working on the text of a U.N. Security Council
> resolution that would authorize the use of military against the Libyan
> autocrat.
>
> But the idea of a no-fly zone drew skepticism from within the Obama White
> House. Some officials, most notably then-Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates,
> opposed military intervention. And Clinton, during two trips to Europe in
> early March, made clear that Washington was not eager to lead a politically
> risky military campaign against yet another Muslim country.
>
> She was loath to see Gaddafi trouncing aspiring democrats in his country and
> menacing fledgling governments in neighboring Egypt and Tunisia. But Clinton
> told aides, who later described the administration's inner workings on the
> condition of anonymity, that the hard reality was that a no-fly zone, by
> itself, might make things worse.
>
> "We were opposed to doing something symbolic - that was the worst of both
> worlds," said one of the aides. "We would have crossed the threshold [of
> intervention] without accomplishing anything."
>
> Clinton had drawn up a list of conditions that included a formal request by
> Arab states for intervention. On March 12, the 22-nation Arab League did
> exactly that, voting to ask for U.N. approval of a military no-fly zone over
> Libya.
>
> The next day, on March 13, Clinton traveled to Paris for a meeting with
> foreign ministers from the Group of 8 countries. In the marbled conference
> rooms of Paris's Westin Hotel, she sat down for the first time with Mahmoud
> Jibril, the interim leader of Libya's fledgling Transitional National
> Council. She also met privately with Gulf diplomats to gauge Arab
> willingness to send warplanes to enforce a possible no-fly zone. And she
> huddled with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, whose country's veto
> potentially could block any intervention effort at the United Nations.
>
> "When she went to Paris, there were no instructions from the White House on
> whether to support strong action in Libya," said a senior State Department
> official. Yet, within three days, the official said, Clinton began to see a
> way forward.
>
> "This was an opportunity for the United States to respond to an Arab request
> for help," the official said. "It would increase U.S. standing in the Arab
> world, and it would send an important signal for the Arab Spring movement."
>
> By March 15, when Clinton spoke with President Obama by phone to brief him
> on the meetings, she had become a "strong advocate" for U.S. intervention,
> one administration official said. The president, who had been weighing
> arguments from a sharply divided Cabinet for several days, sided with his
> secretary of state.
>
> Clinton was halfway across the Atlantic on March 17 when a resolution went
> before the U.N. Security Council authorizing a Libyan intervention with "all
> necessary means" - U.N. code for military force. From the plane, Clinton
> worked the phones while the administration's ambassador to the United
> Nations, Susan Rice, met with counterparts to line up votes and to ensure

> that both Russia and China would withhold their vetoes.
>
> The resolution passed, 10 to 0, with five countries abstaining.
>
> Keeping alliance together
>
> The French air attack that so angered the Italians two days later grew from
> French President Nicolas Sarkozy's desire to launch an early, symbolic
> strike before the official start of the campaign. The White House did not
> object - Sarkozy had been a key advocate of military intervention, and
> French leadership on Libya had boosted the president's popularity at home.
>
> But the other allies were wary. France had floated the idea of a command
> structure distinct from NATO, that would include some Arabs while excluding
> Germany and other opponents of intervention. Italy and Turkey, meanwhile,
> insisted on NATO control and threatened to boycott any other arrangement.
> The early French attack deepened suspicions by the two countries that
> Sarkozy harbored "hidden agendas and different agendas," as Turkish
> President Abdullah Gul would later say.
>
> With the alliance threatening to unravel, Clinton focused on damage control.
> She spent hours on the phone and in person with Berlusconi and Italian
> Foreign Minister Franco Frattini, who eventually played crucial roles in
> providing air bases as staging grounds for attacks.
>
> The details of the military command were ultimately decided in a four-way
> conference call between Clinton and Sarkozy, British Foreign Secretary
> William Hague and Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu.
>
> Yet even as that conflict cooled, another one was erupting.
>
> Several Arab states, including Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Jordan,
> had agreed to supply warplanes and pilots to the coalition in a symbolic
> show of support by Muslim countries for military action against Libya.
>
> But three days into the bombing campaign, the Arabs appeared to be backing
> away, concerned by the possibility of a backlash in their own countries and
> angered by U.S. criticism of the Saudi-led military intervention in Bahrain
> to put down an uprising there. By March 24, Qatar's four promised jets still
> had not yet made an appearance over Libya, and the United Arab Emirates and
> Jordan had announced that they would provide only humanitarian assistance.
>
> In a bid to woo the Arabs back into the alliance, Clinton spoke for 90
> minutes by phone with Sheik Hamad bin Jassim Al-Thani, the Qatari foreign
> minister, while also making repeated calls to the UAE's Sheikh Abdullah bin
> Zayed Al Nahyan and to Jordan's King Abdullah II.
>
> "This is important to the United States, it's important to the president and
> it's important to me, personally," Clinton told Arab leaders, according to
> one of the State Department official.
>
> On March 25, Qatari-flagged Mirage 2000 jets flew their first sorties over
> Libya. All three countries eventually would supply military aircraft and
> experienced pilots to the Libyan campaign.
>
> Getting past stalemate
>
> The NATO-led air campaign quickly pushed Gaddafi's forces from Benghazi. But
> by May, the alliance's planes were patrolling front lines that barely moved.
>
> In Washington and in Europe, the word "stalemate" began to creep into
> opinion columns as lawmakers, skeptical of U.S. policy in Libya, began

> threatening to block funds for military operations there. Meanwhile, a cash
> crunch also loomed for the rebels, who were unable to sell oil and were
> legally blocked from tapping into Gaddafi's overseas bank accounts. By early
> July, they had run out of money for weapons, food and other critical
> supplies.

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

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

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

>
> Still, no hero's welcome

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

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

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

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

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

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

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/10/2017 ~ Class:
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:
02/10/2032

RELEASE IN PART
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),B6

From: aclb [redacted] on behalf of aclb
Sent: Saturday, September 25, 2010 3:48 PM
To: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Re: Info for you

B6

[redacted]

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

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

From: jake.sullivan [redacted] <jake.sullivan [redacted]>
To: aclb
Sent: Sat Sep 25 20:43:48 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

B6

[redacted]

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

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

From: aclb [redacted]
Date: Sat, 25 Sep 2010 20:26:55
To: 'jake.sullivan [redacted]' <jake.sullivan [redacted]>
Subject: Re: Info for you

B6

[redacted]

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

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

From: jake.sullivan [redacted] <jake.sullivan [redacted]>
To: aclb; 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sat Sep 25 20:18:55 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

B6

We have pitched this to [redacted]

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

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

From: aclb [redacted]
Date: Sat, 25 Sep 2010 19:56:19
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan [redacted]' <jake.sullivan [redacted]>
Subject: Re: Info for you

B6

[Redacted]

1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B1

Best Tony

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

From: aclb
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.co m>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]' <jake.sullivan[redacted]. com>
Sent: Fri Sep 24 15:49:27 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

B6

Hi Hillary. Just spent 3 hours with BB. Ready to speak when convenient but should do it on secure line. Best Tony

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: aclb
Cc: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]' <jake.sullivan[redacted]. com>
Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

B6

Tony---

Message delivered. Pls read all the way down. Also, I'm copying Jake Sullivan because I've asked him to arrange a call w you once you land so you can be fully briefed before seeing BN. We are on a fast moving train changing direction every hour but determined to reach our destination.

Thx again for jumping into action this week. It's great having you on the team. All the best, H

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

From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild [redacted]
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

B6

Hillary,
We of course understand and thank you for personally reaching out to us. It is a big loss for the weekend but as we know it does not add up to a hill of beans. You are the best, and we remain your biggest fans.
Sweet dreams and Godspeed with everything you are doing.
Oxoxo
Lynn

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
Sent: Thu Sep 23 22:30:45 2010
Subject: Info for you

Lynn,

I was trying to reach you to tell you and Teddy that I asked Tony Blair to go to Israel as part of our full court press on keeping the Middle East negotiations going. He told me that he had a commitment in Aspen w you two and the conference, but after we talked, he decided to go and asked me to tell you. He is very sorry, obviously, but I'm grateful that he accepted my request. I hope you all understand and give him a raincheck.

If you were interested, he might be able to satellite in if you have the technology available.

He should land around 5am Aspen time. Let me know what penance I owe you. And pls explain to Teddy. As ever, H

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For more information please visit <http://www.message-labs.com/email>

B6

From: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, September 28, 2010 3:49 PM
To: aclb
Subject: Re: re

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Thanks - making sure S sees.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

NEAR DUPLICATE

From: aclb [redacted]
Date: Tue, 28 Sep 2010 16:05:26 +0100
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@c_lintonemail.com>
Cc: 'jake.sullivan' [redacted] <jake.sullivan [redacted]>
Subject: re

Here is the paper I am sending GM after my visit. I remain firmly of the view that we can get this agreed. I am now back in London. Happy to talk at any time. Spent long time with both BB and Barak before leaving. Have also spoken to some of Arabs. Best Tony

DISCLAIMER

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B6

From: aclb <[redacted]> on behalf of aclb
Sent: Friday, September 24, 2010 4:58 AM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Cc: jake.sullivan <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Info for you

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Thanks - that's really good of you. I will speak to Jake and let you know how I'm getting on. Best Tony.

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: aclb
Cc: 'jake.sullivan <[redacted]>' <jake.sullivan <[redacted]>
Sent: Fri Sep 24 05:16:14 2010
Subject: Fw: Info for you

Tony---

Message delivered. Pls read all the way down. Also, I'm copying Jake Sullivan because I've asked him to arrange a call w you once you land so you can be fully briefed before seeing BN. We are on a fast moving train changing direction every hour but determined to reach our destination.

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From: Lynn Forester de Rothschild <[redacted]>
To: H
Sent: Thu Sep 23 23:58:37 2010
Subject: Re: Info for you

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Sweet dreams and Godspeed with everything you are doing.
Oxoxo
Lynn

----- Original Message -----
From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild
Sent: Thu Sep 23 22:30:45 2010
Subject: Info for you

Lynn,

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He should land around 5am Aspen time. Let me know what penance I owe you. And pls explain to Teddy. As ever, H

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For more information please visit <http://www.messagelabs.com/email>

From: jake.sullivan[redacted].com
Sent: Thursday, September 23, 2010 10:55 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Blair

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

Copy

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

From: H
To: 'jake.sullivan[redacted]'
Subject: Blair
Sent: Sep 23, 2010 10:52 PM

Be sure he knows I've been trading calls w Lynn de Rothschild and hope to connect late tonight.

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

From: jake.sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Friday, September 24, 2010 3:24 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Pls let me know when Dennis and Dan return.

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

I will - we haven't heard any word.

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

From: H
To: 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]
Subject: Pls let me know when Dennis and Dan return.
Sent: Sep 24, 2010 2:45 PM

Sent from my BlackBerry® smartphone with SprintSpeed

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted] on behalf of Jake Sullivan
Sent: Saturday, October 2, 2010 3:16 PM
To: H
Cc: steinbergjb@state.gov
Subject: Re: Pls email back if you receive.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

Received. Just out of a [redacted]

B5

On Sat, Oct 2, 2010 at 2:31 PM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Elizabeth Bibi [redacted] on behalf of Elizabeth Bibi
Sent: Sunday, December 18, 2011 7:25 PM
To: Doug Band - PC; Matt McKenna President Clinton; Angel Urena; Hannah Richert - PC; Laura Graham; Emily Feder; Valerie Alexander; Ana Maria Coronel; Justin Cooper; Oscar Flores - PC; Elizabeth Bibi; Lauren Pruneski; twincookny [redacted]; Jon Davidson - President Clinton
Cc: Huma Abedin; wbutton [redacted] jake.sullivan [redacted] joshdan [redacted] schwerin [redacted]
Subject: 12.19.11 MEMO: Statement on the passing of Vaclav Havel
Attachments: 12.18.11 Havel memo.docx

B6

B6

Below and attached, find a joint statement on the passing of Vaclav Havel. If possible, please send edits as soon as possible so we can send the statement out.

Thank you!



OFFICE OF

WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: President Clinton
FROM: Press Department
CC: Doug Band
Laura Graham

Matt McKenna

Valerie Alexander

Angel Urena

Elizabeth Bibi

RE: Vaclav Havel Statement

DATE: December 18, 2011

Mr. President,

As YOU know, Vaclav Havel passed away today. Below, find YOUR joint statement with Secretary Clinton on his passing.

Thank you!

We were deeply saddened to learn of the death of our friend Vaclav Havel. He was a towering figure in the world of human rights and a force for progress in Eastern Europe. He lived his life by the slogan he promoted, “may truth and love triumph over lies and hatred.”

Through his involvement with the human rights manifesto Charter 77 he exposed an oppressive political ideology. As president, he presided over Czechoslovakia's transition to democracy and a free-market economy. Until the day he died he continue to speak out and stand up for those who were underprivileged and underrepresented.

We were delighted to host him in the White House and were inspired by his words and ideas. As people gather in Wenceslas Square, throughout the Czech Republic and in places around the world, know that we are mourning with you. President Havel is irreplaceable and his passing reminds us of the work that remains to give more people opportunities to fulfill her or his God given potential. Our thoughts and prayers are with his family, friends and loved ones.

RELEASE IN FULL



OFFICE OF
WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: President Clinton

FROM: Press Department

CC: Doug Band
Laura Graham
Matt McKenna
Valerie Alexander
Angel Urena
Elizabeth Bibi

RE: Vaclav Havel Statement

DATE: December 18, 2011

Mr. President,

As YOU know, Vaclav Havel passed away today. Below, find YOUR joint statement with Secretary Clinton on his passing.

Thank you!

We were deeply saddened to learn of the death of our friend Vaclav Havel. He was a towering figure in the world of human rights and a force for progress in Eastern Europe. He lived his life by the slogan he promoted, “may truth and love triumph over lies and hatred.”

Through his involvement with the human rights manifesto Charter 77 he exposed an oppressive political ideology. As president, he presided over Czechoslovakia's transition to democracy and a free-market economy. Until the day he died he continue to speak out and stand up for those who were underprivileged and underrepresented.

We were delighted to host him in the White House and were inspired by his words and ideas. As people gather in Wenceslas Square, throughout the Czech Republic and in places around the world, know that we are mourning with you. President Havel is irreplaceable and his passing reminds us of the work that remains to give more people opportunities to fulfill her or his God given potential. Our thoughts and prayers are with his family, friends and loved ones.

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H
Sent: Saturday, September 25, 2010 8:02 AM
To: jake.sullivan[redacted] sullivanjj[redacted]
Subject: Blair

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Any report this am from him? Do I need to call him?

Opened by Judicial Watch, Inc. via FOIA

From: "Valmoro, Lona J" <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: 10/24/2009 4:02:14 PM +00:00
To: H <FIRST ORGANIZATION/EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/RECIPIENTS/HDR 22>
CC: christinefalvo [redacted]
Subject: Re: Schedule

B6

Of course!

RELEASE IN PART B6

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>

To: Valmoro, Lona J

Cc: 'christinefalvo [redacted]' <christinefalvo [redacted]>

Sent: Sat Oct 24 11:55:42 2009

Subject: Schedule

Pls ask Chris Falvo to come see me sometime.

From: "Jiloty, Lauren C" <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: 6/3/2010 11:09:31 AM +00:00
To: H <FIRST ORGANIZATION/EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/RECIPIENTS/HDR 22>
Subject: Re: Call list

RELEASE IN FULL

Ok

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Sent: Thu Jun 03 07:01:30 2010
Subject: Call list

Pls schedule a call for me w Sec Geithner today if possible.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. via FOIA

From: "Abedin, Huma" <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: 5/31/2010 2:47:01 PM +00:00
To: H <FIRST ORGANIZATION/EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/RECIPIENTS/HDR 22>
Subject: Re: Conf call

RELEASE IN PART
B5

On it.

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Mon May 31 10:41:54 2010
Subject: Conf call

W Jake, Cheryl, Jeff, Phil, Bill B, Steinberg asap--know it will be hard given weekend.

[Redacted]

B5

From: "Abedin, Huma" <AbedinH@state.gov>

RELEASE IN PART B5,
B6

Sent: 9/26/2010 3:57:27 PM +00:00

To: Oscar Flores <FIRST ORGANIZATION/EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/RECIPIENTS/Osc ar>

CC: H <FIRST ORGANIZATION/EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/RECIPIENTS/HDR 22>

Subject:



B5

Attachments:

Another one

From: Deyo, Justin A

To: Mitchell, George J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Hale, David M; Feltman, Jeffrey D

Cc: SES-O; S_SpecialAssistants; Reed, Julia G

Sent: Sun Sep 26 11:42:54 2010

Subject: Additional document



Esteemed Colleagues:

Attached, an additional document for your attention.

Thank you,

Justin Deyo

U.S. Department of State

Operations Center (S/ES-O)

202-647-1512

From: Awrich, Leah R. [mailto:]
Sent: Sunday, September 26, 2010 11:36 AM
To: SES-O
Cc: #WHSR
Subject: RE: State Operations: Please forward these documents []

B6

B5

State Operations – here is one more document for distribution [] Thank you for all your help.

-WHSR

From: Spence, Matthew J.
Sent: Sunday, September 26, 2010 11:23 AM
To: Zimmerman, Thomas; DL-NSS-WHSR; Harley, Jeffrey A.
Cc: McDonough, Denis R.; 'Sullivan, Jacob J'; Shapiro, Daniel B.; Ross, Dennis B.
Subject: Could you email and distribute these to the participants of the call ASAP?

Two documents attached:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

B5

Page Denied

Page Denied

Page Denied

From: Louis Susman [redacted]

B6

Sent: 9/29/2009 6:59:02 AM +00:00

To: "Adams, Kelli C (London)" <adamskc3@state.gov>

RELEASE IN PART B6

Subject: Fwd: Thank you

----- Forwarded message -----

From: [redacted]
Date: Mon, Sep 21, 2009 at 11:12 AM
Subject: Thank you
To: Louis Susman [redacted]

Dear Ambassador Susman,

Thank you, again, for taking the time to consider a possible role for me at the Embassy.

I appreciate your candor and sincerity in explaining your circumstance and needs, and in advising me on alternative paths to take.

I have already followed up with [redacted] and am looking forward to joining the [redacted] I'll also get back in touch with you in 6 or 7 weeks, as we discussed, and very much look forward to meeting Sally when she comes to town.

I hope that whether in an official capacity or not, you consider me as part of your team. It's been a privilege meeting you, especially during this busy time of settling in, and please don't hesitate to call if I can ever be of any assistance. The Court of St James is lucky to have you.

Looking forward to seeing you again soon.

Best,



B6

From: "Pomper, Stephen E" <PomperSE2@state.gov>

RELEASE IN FULL

Sent: 8/14/2009 8:57:19 PM +00:00

To: "Pomper, Stephen E" <PomperSE2@state.gov>

Subject: FW: BM - Letter to Court

Attachments: 140809 Letter from David Mackie TSol to Lord Justices Thomas and Lloyd Jones re BM.pdf

From: "Mills, Cheryl D" <MillsCD@state.gov>

RELEASE IN FULL

Sent: 7/12/2010 11:47:27 AM +00:00

To: H <FIRST ORGANIZATION/EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/RECIPIENTS/HD R22>

Subject: If not jp - what about brian atwood?

From: "Mills, Cheryl D" <MillsCD@state.gov>

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Sent: 8/11/2010 9:17:06 AM +00:00

To: H <FIRST ORGANIZATION/EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/RECIPIENTS/HD R22>

CC: "Sullivan, Jacob J" <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; "Reines, Philippe I" <reinesp@state.gov>

Subject: Fw: Fwd: Secretary Clinton's Remarks on the Killings in Afghanistan

Fyi - from [redacted] below

B6

From: Toiv, Nora F

To: Mills, Cheryl D

Sent: Tue Aug 10 21:56:58 2010

Subject: Fw: Fwd: Secretary Clinton's Remarks on the Killings in Afghanistan

See below

From: [redacted]

To: Toiv, Nora F

Sent: Tue Aug 10 21:54:48 2010

Subject: Fwd: Secretary Clinton's Remarks on the Killings in Afghanistan

Nora,

This is from a trusted friend [redacted]

Perhaps you can pass it on to Cheryl Mills for the Secretary's briefing, as appropriate.



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

From: [Redacted]

To: [Redacted]

Cc: [Redacted]

Sent: Tue, Aug 10, 2010 6:48 pm

Subject: Secretary Clinton's Remarks on the Killings in Afghanistan

Dear [Redacted]

Secretary of State Clinton delivered an eloquent and forceful statement regarding the killing of the team of medical workers.

<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/08/145820.htm>

They were associated with the NOOR Eye program. Here is the home page of the NOOR Eye program that has been active in Afghanistan since 1966.

<http://www.iam-afghanistan.org/what-we-do/eye-care/noor-eye-care>

In almost all articles, it is reported that these were dedicated Christians "but not proselytizers."

It is widely believed, by most people who have worked in Afghanistan, that NOOR was engaged in proselytizing. This has been going on for more than 40 years. Secretary Clinton needs to be careful in commenting about the NOOR group. One of the claims of our enemies in Afghanistan is that the United States is there to convert everyone to Christianity. Laws against proselytizing have been on the books in Afghanistan for perhaps a century. It is behavior that is deeply offensive to all Afghans.

While condemning an extremely heinous crime, which can weaken the Taliban, the Secretary of State should not appear to be condoning efforts to convert the Afghan people to Christianity - a position that can strengthen the Taliban.

I thought that these comments might be useful, since there seem to be no news reports, from any source, on what I view, as the real nature of what was transpiring in Nuristan.

Regards,



B6

=

From: hr15@att.blackberry.net
Sent: 1/19/2009 12:30:30 PM +00:00
To: Diane Reynolds
Subject: Re: salon

RELEASE IN PART
B6

[Redacted]

B6

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

From: "Diane Reynolds" <dreynolds@hillaryclinton.com>

Date: Mon, 19 Jan 2009 07:11:44
To: <hr15@att.blackberry.net>
Subject: RE: salon

[Redacted]

B6

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

From: hr15@att.blackberry.net [mailto:hr15@att.blackberry.net]
Sent: Mon 1/19/2009 6:46 AM
To: Diane Reynolds; Chelsea Clinton
Subject: Fw: salon

B6

[Redacted]

From: "Cheryl Mills"
Date: Mon, 19 Jan 2009 06:02:30 -0500
To: <hr15@att.blackberry.net>
Subject: FW: salon

FYI

B6

From: Jim Kennedy [mailto:jkennedy2006@att.blackberry.net]
Sent: Sunday, January 18, 2009 11:47 PM
To: Cheryl Mills; Maggie Williams; Lissa Muscatine; Kiki McLean; Tom Freedman; Philippe Reines1; Jonathan Lovett
Subject: salon

really nice article in salon, just now - this lots of right notes about her.

Hillary is back

At the EMILY's List gala, Hillary Clinton is her old feminist self once again -- only better.

By Rebecca Traister

AP/Evan Vucci

Secretary of State-designate Hillary Rodham Clinton waves during a luncheon for the political action committee Emily's List Sunday, Jan. 18, 2009 in Washington.

Jan. 19, 2009 | WASHINGTON, D.C. -- When feminists gathered on Sunday afternoon for the gala luncheon celebrating EMILY's List and the inauguration of our new president, it could have been a little awkward. EMILY's List, after all, is the 24-year-old organization dedicated to increasing the presence and power of women in politics. And the new president is not the woman many of these supporters had worked and sweated and cheered and campaigned and donated through the nose for over the past two years. He is not the woman they had hoped to be feting this January.

Yet thanks to to Ellen Malcolm (perhaps the political world's most cheerful ball-buster), a roster of 2008's biggest lady winners and a rousing speech by Hillary Clinton herself, the luncheon turned out to be a feel-good celebration. And even without much mention of the failed presidential march of the still-senator from New York, the event was yet another in a string of recent moments in which we got to see the new Hillary Rodham Clinton: Toughened, burnished and somehow fortified by her loss, she is taking on the role not only of Secretary of State, but of a reanimated, reborn, rollicking feminist superhero.

The luncheon was hosted by Malcolm, a deeply appealing political macher who somehow managed -- through gusto, denial, wheedling, or simple gut-busting -- to convince even her most disgruntled post-Hillary compatriots to get out to the polls. And vote they did. As Malcolm slyly reminded her audience, 8 million more women marked the ballot for Barack Obama than did men.

And while those ladies were at the polls, they also voted for some of the newly elected female officials, who helped make the 2008 elections one of the best years for female candidates (executive branch excluded) in 16 years. Twelve new pro-choice Democratic women joined the House of Representatives this month, while long shot candidates Jeanne Shaheen in New Hampshire and Kay Hagan in North Carolina both won Republican seats in the Senate, both becoming the first women to represent their states.

Malcolm's event was a testament to these advances, with a politically star-studded roster of speakers that demonstrated the power and reach of EMILY's List.

The luncheon began with a video that carefully told the story of this election year, beginning with the voice and image of Barack Obama inspiring a crowd, then moving through a series of women's victories. When Clinton appeared on the screen, the crowd cheered, but the clip showed her not as a candidate, but vigorously endorsing Barack Obama and Joe Biden.

Then Malcolm took the stage: "George W. Bush is going back to Texas and Barack Obama is president of the United States," she shouted. The crowd roared; it felt good. Even when Malcolm cautioned, "Make no mistake...for every woman in Congress there are still more than five men," the energy was positive and forward-looking -- to the Lily Ledbetter equal pay legislation, and the SCHIP program that will insure millions of American children.

<http://sacdcad03.salon.com/Real_Media/ads/click_lx_ads/www.salonmagazine.com/news/content/large.html/852854745/Right/default/empty.gif/52326f6d51306c30424b4d4142365a52> House Speaker Nancy Pelosi warmed up the crowd with her trademark "Isn't this exciting?" purr of low-grade girl-power. After acknowledging many of her house colleagues in the audience, Pelosi pointed out that "without so many women members of college, there would never have been, at this time, the first woman Speaker of the House." (That's her!) Following Pelosi, Secretary of Homeland Security designate Janet Napolitano (described by Malcolm as "the kind of person you'd like to have a beer with") argued that "women's issues are everyone's issues."

Wisconsin congresswoman Gwen Moore knocked the hushers on their asses with a heart-felt tribute to Pelosi, whom she said "is not only stomping out injustice, but stomping it out in four-inch heels!" before banging a high-heeled shoe on the podium. Malcolm paid tribute to departing EMILY's List executive director Ellen Moran, who is leaving to become the White House Communications Director, by showing a spoof video of the West Wing credits.

In a terrific speech, brand new North Carolina governor Bev Perdue told a story of goggle-eyed media interest in her, "the first pro-choice female governor in the south since Ann Richards," and in a state where the first bill proposing to give women the right to vote, in 1897, "was consigned to the committee on insane asylums." At inaugural festivities, Perdue reported, a member of the press, "had the audacity to ask me about the redecorating plans." The crowd whooped. Perdue went on to describe a plaque, hanging outside the Governor's Mansion, that "welcomes visitors to the home that was recently renovated for the governors and first ladies of North Carolina." Perdue paused for effect. "I intend to redecorate that plaque."

But you could tell: Everyone was really waiting for Hillary. Really. She had flown in late from New York, and was now stuck in traffic, trying to get to the Hilton while Perdue, North Carolina senator Kay Hagan and New Hampshire senator Jeanne Shaheen vamped for time by telling stories of how they used to make their state troopers carry their pocketbooks (Shaheen) and their discoveries that only men are allowed to swim in the Senate gym's pool (Hagan).

And still, Clinton wasn't there. So Ellen Malcolm returned, commencing a remarkable off the cuff monologue that touched on redistricting, EMILY's List's plans for 2010, the importance of stopping filibusters, and the upcoming fights for Rahm Emmanuel and Hilda Solis's seats -- finally threatening to start telling summer camp stories.

"So listen, have I mentioned women voters yet?" Malcolm was joking when an aide yelled to Malcolm that Clinton "was walking." The image was suddenly very evocative of the inauguration 16 years ago, when the Clintons had gotten out of their car and walked part of the route to the White House. Could Hillary really be hoofing it up Connecticut Avenue to get to her crowd of women?

It was too cinematic to be true -- she was just walking into the ballroom. But when she did, the room practically levitated.

Introducing her very late guest, Malcolm called Clinton "an exceptional figure in American life," a "powerful role model for women for our country and for the world." And what's remarkable about that praise is that here in 2009, it is absolutely true. Hillary Clinton, who was a sore spot for so many feminists for so long, even through her presidential campaign, has made a glorious phoenix flight out of her failed presidential campaign.

Though few luncheon speakers had made mention of Clinton's presidential hopes during the lunch, it was clear that when the EMILY's List crowd stood to applaud her, they were not simply applauding a future Secretary of State, but a woman who made history, who banged against walls that would give the best of us headaches, who did the grueling, probably painful work of being the first female presidential candidate so that others who come after will not have to repeat it. After all of the sniping and anger and hurt that was unleashed during Clinton's campaign against Barack Obama, it felt somehow right to see a ballroom full of people stand up to honor her.

And Clinton knew it. Unlike candidates who crumble after bitter losses, Clinton's sense of herself and her politics and her priorities seems only to have grown stronger since her June concession. She nimbly shifted gears and became an Obama warrior, even when many of her supporters threatened not to follow her down the path. Now, as evidenced by her great testimony during her confirmation hearings last week, she is entering yet another phase of her political life -- rediscovering an older iteration of herself, one we haven't seen in full bloom since the late '90s: the Hillary Rodham Clinton dedicated to fighting for women around the world.

The Hillary Clinton who attended the women's conference in Beijing, the one who famously said that "women's rights are human rights," the one who spoke up against the treatment of women by the Taliban, the one who got lost in a muggy stew of sex and Ken Starr, the one who was discarded in favor of a slicker bi-partisan figure during her senate tenure: She's back! This time with fewer hairbands, and more confidence in herself.

Clinton did acknowledge her own presidential hopes, calling it an "honor to run for president," and thanking Malcolm for having changed "the face of American politics...and the wardrobe. Every year there are more pantsuits of all kinds." She also thanked the crowd, which contained many of her most die-hard supporters, for their kind wishes and messages, and noted that her famous "18 million cracks [in the glass ceiling] are very personal."

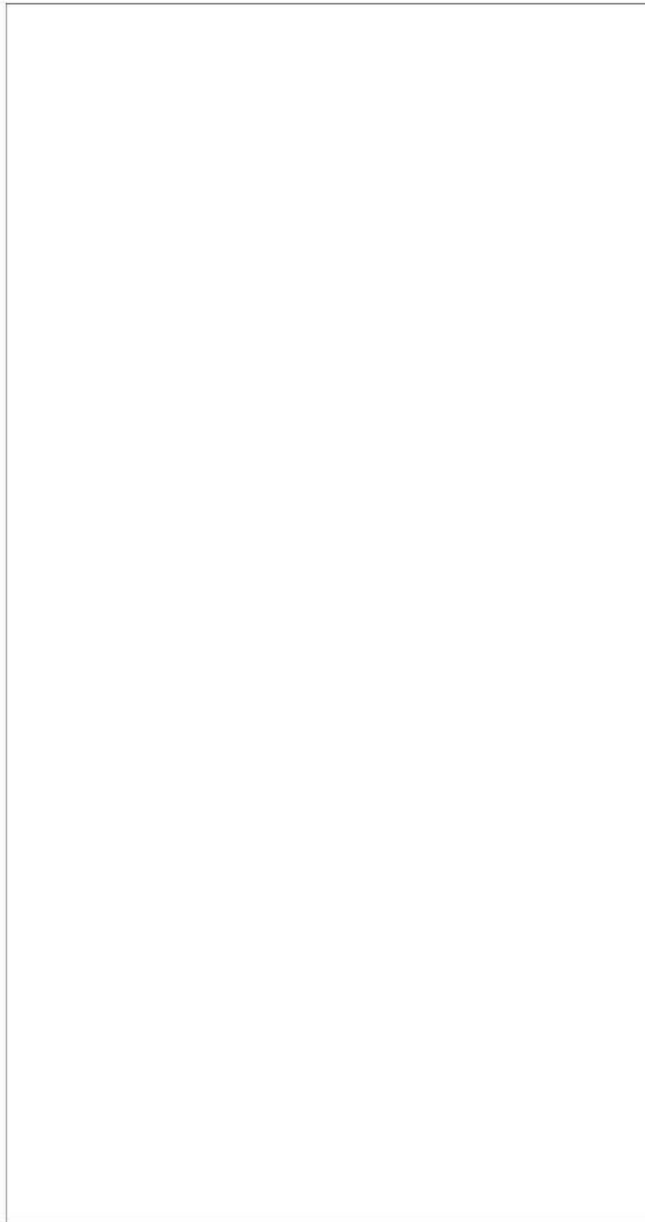
But she did not linger on her own recent history. She immediately jumped to other ceilings holding back women and girls around the world: "When women are vulnerable to economic, political, and social marginalization, the potential for advancing democracy, prosperity, and security is also vulnerable." This was the smart and fierce thinker who had moved into the White House with her husband in 1992 and immediately belly-flopped with a massive healthcare plan that is now a model for healthcare reform. "I believe it is essential in renewing America's leadership around the world, that we renew America's leadership on behalf of women and girls," said Clinton, and the audience bellowed their approval.

This was the woman who had long refused to take her husband's married name, who had made ungainly but honest comments about not staying home and baking cookies -- but now, all (or most) of the disjointed, ugly-duckling of the past was gone. This is a woman who knew she had just made history, that she had a crowd eating out of her hands, a woman who has finally come into herself in a blaze of popular, political feminist glory. And sure, it was a perfect crowd, but a lot of this was stuff she'd said to the whole country just last week <<http://jezebel.com/ta/g/this-is-what-a-feminist-looks-like/?skyline=true&s=t>> .

Speaking of the criticism she received from Taliban leaders for speaking out on behalf of women in Afghanistan in the '90s, Clinton said pointedly, "I wear that, along with much of the rest of the criticism I've received as a badge of honor." And so, with a happy crowd of cheering people, Clinton said "I am absolutely thrilled to stand with you in the fights we have waged together. We've won some and we've lost some."

And some of the losses are looking more like wins every day.

Message Headers:



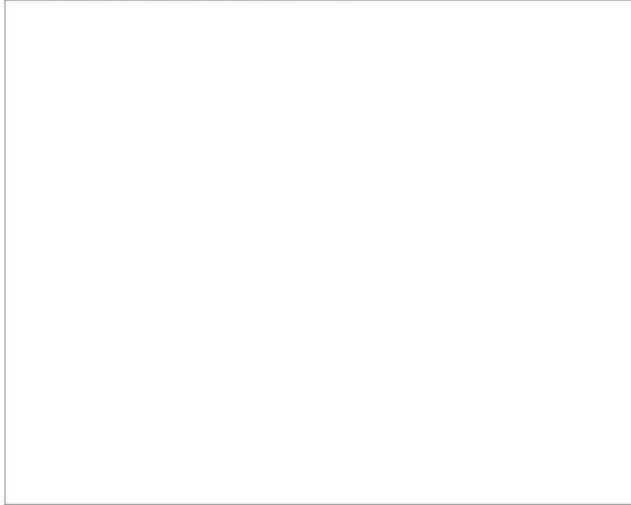
B6

To: "Diane Reynolds" <dreynolds@hillaryclinton.com>

Subject: Re: Saudi

From: hr15@att.blackberry.net

Date: Mon, 19 Jan 2009 12:30:30 +0000



B6

PR_RIM_PAGER_TX_FLAG: true

PR_RIM_MSG_REF_ID: -2028313696

PR_RIM_MSG_FOLDER_ID: -3

PR_RIM_DELETED_BY_DE true

VICE:

PR_RIM_MSG_ON_DEVICE true

_3_6:

PR_RIM_MSG_STATUS: 1

From: Diane Reynolds

RELEASE IN PART B6

Sent: 9/28/2011 12:00:51 AM +00:00

To: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>

NEAR
DUPLICATE

Subject: Re: something to advertise and expand globally --

This is great! Thank you for mentioning again!



B6

From: H

Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2011 07:12 AM

To: Diane Reynolds

Subject: Fw: something to advertise and expand globally --

Hi, Honey--do you know about this?



From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [mailto:

Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2011 06:12 AM

To: H

Cc: Cheryl Mills <MillsCD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>

Subject: something to advertise and expand globally --

I have sent this to Alec and to the GPI folks, but thought you should see something positive and SO in line with your vision of 21st century statecraft.

Startup Weekend Launches Startup Foundation Initiative in Partnership with Kauffman Foundation

Contact:

Nicole Provansal, 760-214-0731, Nicole@startupfdn.org, Startup Foundation
Barbara Pruitt, 816-932-1288, bpruitt@kauffman.org, Kauffman Foundation

Board of directors is named to Startup Weekend to help steer mapping and development of regional entrepreneurial ecosystems worldwide

(KANSAS CITY, Mo.), Sept. 27, 2011 - Startup Weekend, a global grassroots network of entrepreneurs and leaders, today announced an initiative in partnership with the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation that will lead to the creation of vibrant startup communities in cities across the nation. Called the Startup Foundation, the program is a grassroots initiative that helps cities build and establish ecosystems that will support more high-growth entrepreneurs, startups, and ultimately, jobs.

"We know from our experiences with local Startup Weekends that entrepreneurship is best supported at the grassroots level," said Marc Nager, CEO of Startup Weekend. "The Startup Foundation will ensure that community leaders across the country have a sustainable platform for which to effect real change within their local communities."

Startup Weekends are events in cities around the world where aspiring founders and startup supporters meet to share ideas, form teams, build products and launch companies. With funding from the Kauffman Foundation, the Startup Foundation will focus on researching and mapping the ecosystems of participating cities to identify influential leaders, programs and gaps in community resources; supporting local initiatives that drive the creation of more entrepreneurs, startups, and jobs; and raising funds for local entrepreneurship support initiatives.

The Startup Foundation currently has eight pilot member cities: Boston; Des Moines; Detroit; Las Vegas; Los Angeles; New York City; Seattle; and Sao Paulo, Brazil. Foundation co-founders in each city are mapping their local entrepreneurial ecosystem and interviewing community leaders.

The Startup Foundation already has hosted local startup summits in its eight pilot cities to bring leadership together to discuss their visions for entrepreneurial ecosystems and to identify opportunities and obstacles. These summits have led to the launch of more than 40 new initiatives that directly address community needs and are estimated to support more than 7,200 entrepreneurs, 840 startup teams and 800 jobs.

Startup Weekend also named its board of directors consisting of these entrepreneurship leaders: Carl Schramm, president and CEO of the Kauffman Foundation; Steve Blank, serial entrepreneur, author and entrepreneurship lecturer at U.C. Berkeley and Stanford University; Greg Gottesman, managing director at Madrona Venture Group; Brad Feld, co-founder of TechStars and managing director of the Foundry Group; Laura McKnight, president and CEO of the Greater Kansas City Community Foundation; and Nick Seguin, manager of entrepreneurship at the Kauffman Foundation.

To join the Startup Foundation initiative, a city leader must apply and be accepted to the program. This leader will manage the Startup Foundation's local activities and be required to raise \$100,000 in capital dedicated completely to local operations and initiatives. At least 10 additional cities are expected to join the Startup Foundation in the next year.

For more information about the Startup Foundation, to get involved or to contribute to ongoing initiatives, visit: www.StartupFDN.org

About Startup Weekend

Startup Weekend supports the development and expansion of entrepreneurship by events worldwide that educate aspiring entrepreneurs by immersing them in the process of moving an idea to market. Startup Weekend has built a network of more than 25,000 alumni, 150 volunteer organizers and 60 trained facilitators spread across more than 175 cities in 100 countries. For more information, visit www.startupweekend.org. @StartupWeekend

Startup Foundation is a major initiative of Startup Weekend that works at a grassroots level to empower community leaders to create and support educational events and activities that foster early-stage startup activities in key local regions. Initial regions include Boston; Des Moines; Detroit; Las Vegas; Los Angeles; New York City; Seattle; and Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Bert G. Kerstetter '66 University Professor of Politics and International Affairs

Princeton University

PR_RIM_PAGER_TX_FLAG: false

PR_RIM_MSG_REF_ID:

B6

PR_RIM_MSG_FOLDER_ID: -5

PR_RIM_MSG_ON_DEVICE_3_6: true

PR_RIM_MSG_STATUS: 1