



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 29, 2016

Case No. F-2015-06322

Segment: IPS-02, IPS-04, IPS-05

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

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I refer to our letter dated March 31, 2016, regarding the release of certain Department of State material under the Freedom of Information Act (the "FOIA"), 5 U.S.C. §552.

Our review is ongoing and we have determined that 20 additional documents may be released in full and 84 may be released with excisions. All released material is enclosed.

An enclosure explains the FOIA exemptions and other grounds for withholding material. Where we have made excisions, the applicable exemptions are marked on each document. All non-exempt material that is reasonably segregable from the exempt material has been released.

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

Sincerely,

Susan C. Weimer for

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

Enclosures: As stated.

The Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552)

FOIA Exemptions

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

Other Grounds for Withholding

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

From: hr15@att.blackberry.net
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2009 9:20 PM
To: Miguel Rodriguez <miguel_rodriguez@clinton.senate.gov>
Subject: Re: Ledbetter

RELEASE IN FULL

Yeah! Well, that's only right

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

From: Miguel Rodriguez

To: Hillary Clinton

Sent: Jan 22, 2009 6:58 PM

Subject: Ledbetter

I know you have a new portfolio, but I thought you'd be interested to know that the Ledbetter bill just passed the Senate by a vote of 61-37. The House will pass the bill next week, likely permitting the President sign it into law shortly thereafter.

Congratulations on a great first day

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, January 30, 2009 5:06 AM
To: Huma Abedin <HAbedin@hillaryclinton.com>
Subject: Fw: Washington Post article on Administration's Iran policy

RELEASE IN FULL

Pls print.

From: "Mills, Cheryl D"
Date: Fri, 30 Jan 2009 04:38:14 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Fw: Washington Post article on Administration's Iran policy

Fyi

From: LaVine, Christopher M
To: NEWS-Mahogany
Cc: NEWS-NEA; SES-O; Knopf, Payton L; Hale, David M; NEWS-Iran
Sent: Thu Jan 29 22:50:25 2009
Subject: Washington Post article on Administration's Iran policy

Colleagues,

Ops thought you might be interested in this WPost article on the Administration's Iran policy. Thank you,

Regards,

Chris LaVine

Operations Center

Writings Offer Look at Administration Debate on Iran

By Glenn Kessler

Washington Post Staff Writer

Friday, January 30, 2009; A12

President Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton in the past week have sent repeated signals to Iran that the door is now wide open for direct talks between the two countries three decades after the Iranian revolution, but U.S. officials say the method, the pace and the tenor of that diplomacy still remain to be settled.

But while officials say a plan will not be in place for several months, key players in the discussions have outlined their views in papers they wrote before joining the administration, giving a unique window into the administration's debate.

Obama, during a private discussion with Jewish leaders a year ago, also provided a road map to his thinking.

HA 09/01/2015

"The time, I believe, has come to talk directly to the Iranians and to lay out our clear terms: their end of pursuit of nuclear weapons, an end of their support of terrorism and an end of their threat to Israel and other countries in the region," Obama said, according to a transcript. Bigger "carrots," he said, will give the United States more leverage to win support for sanctions if Iran rebuffs the approach.

One complicating factor is that Iran will hold a presidential election in June. American officials want to avoid taking steps that might bolster the stature of the current president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, whose anti-Semitic rants and hostile attitude toward the West make him a potentially difficult interlocutor for diplomatic outreach.

Another complicating factor is that the United States and five other powers have demanded that Iran suspend its uranium enrichment program before substantive talks can begin on its nuclear program. Any sudden change in that approach may alarm allies.

Finally, the government in Iran is so opaque that officials want to be sure they are communicating with the right power centers. "It is unclear who exactly that dialogue would be with in Iran," White House spokesman Robert Gibbs said yesterday.

Dennis Ross, the former Middle East envoy who will be Clinton's senior adviser on Iran, has recommended that the initial approach to Iran take place through a "direct, secret back channel," which would be one way to avoid empowering Ahmadinejad or publicly undercutting the ongoing nuclear negotiations.

"Keeping it completely private would protect each side from premature exposure and would not require either side to publicly explain such a move before it was ready," Ross wrote in a lengthy paper, titled "Diplomatic Strategies for Dealing With Iran," published by the Center for a New American Security in September. "It would strike the Iranians as more significant and dramatic than either working through the Europeans or non-officials -- something that is quite familiar."

Ross said the United States should ask the Iranian representative during the private talks to explain how his government sees U.S. goals toward Iran and how Iran thinks the United States perceives Iranian goals. The purpose of this dialogue, he wrote, is to "find a way to show the Iranians that we are prepared to listen and to try to understand Iranian concerns and respond to them, but ultimately no progress can be made if our concerns cannot also be understood and addressed."

Ross conceded that it may be difficult "to set up such a direct channel that is also authoritative," because in the Iranian system, the president has much less power than the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

Another top Obama adviser, Gary Samore of the Council on Foreign Relations, argued for a more public approach, without requiring Iran to suspend its enrichment activities: direct bilateral talks, preferably with a representative of the supreme leader, that would cover a range of issues, including the nuclear program, U.S.-Iranian relations, Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Samore, who will be the top nonproliferation official at the White House National Security Council, co-authored with Bruce Riedel of the Brookings Institution a paper published last month that outlined this concept.

The Bush administration had some secret contacts with Iranian officials before the Iraq war and held ambassador-to-ambassador meetings in Iraq and Afghanistan. But it never attempted a broad dialogue, despite an apparent effort by some Iranian officials to reach out after Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein was toppled in 2003. Samore recommended that the administration proceed "cautiously" and develop its negotiating strategy through "high-level bilateral and multilateral consultations" with the governments

seeking to negotiate with Iran -- Britain, France, Germany, Russia and China -- and with Middle Eastern allies.

It was important, Samore said, that the United States not be seen as abandoning the larger framework for nuclear talks; in fact, "opening a bilateral channel with Iran may help invigorate the multilateral process."

A top State Department official, Undersecretary William J. Burns, will begin such consultations when he meets with representatives to the Iran negotiating group in Europe next week. A senior European diplomat said yesterday that European leaders would welcome a U.S-Iranian dialogue but that it must be handled carefully. "The possibility of a dialogue with the U.S. is a very important card in our game" with Iran, he said. "We don't have many cards left."

A more provocative approach was advocated by John Brennan, Obama's White House director for counterterrorism, in a paper published in July. Brennan pressed for toning down rhetorical jabs at Iran and ignoring anti-American comments from Iranian officials, and also stressed the need for a presidential envoy to handle negotiations with Iran. In order to smooth the path for dialogue, he also argued for the "political courage" to admit that Iran has significantly scaled back its use of terrorism in the past decade. "It would not be foolhardy" to encourage greater assimilation of Hezbollah -- the armed political movement backed by Syria and Iran -- in the Lebanese political system, even though Washington officially considers Hezbollah a terrorist organization, Brennan wrote.

Another important policymaker, Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates, pressed for a carefully focused dialogue when he co-led a Council on Foreign Relations task force on Iran in 2004. "A 'grand bargain' that would settle comprehensively the outstanding conflicts between Iran and the United States is not realistic," the task force concluded. Instead, the United States should selectively engage Iran on issues where the U.S. and Iranian interests converge and build on incremental progress.

Gates, a holdover from the Bush administration, felt it was important such discussions begin before the nuclear concerns were resolved -- a position that puts him firmly in sync with Obama's approach.

HA 09/01/2015

From: Prameela Bartholomeusz [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2009 3:33 AM
To: hr15@att.blackberry.net
Cc: prameclarb [redacted]
Subject: Congratulations, Madam Secretary!

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

B6

Madam Secretary,

Congratulations and thank you! Many of us are truly grateful and relieved to know you will be such an integral part of American foreign policy going forward. And having read your books, volunteered in six states for your campaign and watched the confirmation hearings as well as your farewell speech, I know we can count on so much more.

I wanted to reach out to you for a few other reasons:

1) Please thank Chelsea for me, whom I met for the first time in person in Austin, TX at the after debate party (where I also met you for the first time). She listened to some ideas and requested I contact her chief of staff, Barie Lurie, so they could follow through and Chelsea followed through! With this contact, I was referred to Maggie Williams, Ameer Patel and Capricia Marshall and was able to really make a positive impact in Austin & Houston (where I was for three weeks as a volunteer for the campaign). Chelsea, thank you for hearing me. I believe this is one of the reasons I was selected to be on the Platform Committee. You are amazing and I think you should run for a House or Senate seat some day (soon).

2) Just following the below email is an article referring to a Commission for Change. President Obama indicated last August he would support it. It was the response to the controversies raised once again at the Platform Committee. I was the committee member that asked on the call with you the night before the meeting, whether I could raise the caucus issue. I did that as well as submitted the amendment regarding the primary calendar. As I know you agree, voter rights are sacred. I spoke with Jeff Berman regarding being a member of the commission. He suggested I contact my state party (CA). Chris Jennings, Ann O'Leary (met in Pittsburgh at Platform Committee) and Craig Smith (met at Rules Committee meeting in Denver) are all aware of my fight for amendments affecting voter rights. Anything you can do to verify my sincerity with Chris & Craig and recommend me to Sen Feinstein and Sen Boxer for this commission would be tremendous. You have my word that I will not look back with regard to these voter rights issues, but will look forward. (Lady Lynn de Rothschild knows me as well and I am sorry to say that I supported the McCain/Palin ticket in the final weeks-I truly believed Sen McCain was more likely to include you in his cabinet).

3) I joined The New Agenda as a founding member, a non-partisan group advocating women's rights <http://thenewagenda.net/>. There is much work to be done! I will remain devoted to this cause through this organization as long as it remains non-partisan and maintains the level of professionalism that such an organization warrants. Would like to see more women in government and would like to address domestic violence [redacted] We hope you will on occasion share your wisdom with us and make us aware of what more we can be doing.

B6

I hope you will respond to me through Capricia like you had done once before regarding the Commission for Change. Or maybe through Chris or Craig.

BTW, I would like to be on your campaign staff for the 2016 election!

God's speed and a tight hug,
Prameela Bartholomeusz
DNC Platform Committee Member
[redacted]

B6

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

From: Prameela Bartholomeusz [redacted]
Date: Sun, Nov 16, 2008 at 10:46 PM
Subject: Please accept SOS!
To: "hr15@att.blackberry.net" <hr15@att.blackberry.net>

B6

Dear Senator Clinton,

We pray you accept! The success of the Obama Administration is dependent on the team it is comprised of at the highest levels. You are an important part of the better future for America (sorry to place so much on your shoulders). We know how passionate you are about healthcare reform, addressing the economic crisis, education, women's rights and related legislation. As SOS, you will have the stage you need to be successful. You can do it all...you're Hillary Clinton! And I mean that with respect, confidence and sincerity. Our thoughts and prayers are with you.

HA 09/01/2015

Best,
Prameela Bartholomeusz
DNC Platform Committee Member for HRC
(with pride)

Obama responds with proposal for 2012 reform commission

Barack Obama has called for rule changes to be worked out for the 2012 primary/caucus season and to push back the start date. The timing of the announcement, coming just one week before the GOP convention takes up its own reform proposal, is clearly meant to encourage the Republicans to take action and for new bi-partisan cooperation on this most complex issue.

The Washington Post:

Obama Team Seeks Changes in Primaries

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer
Thursday, August 21, 2008; A03

Sen. Barack Obama's presidential campaign will call next week for the creation of a commission to revise the rules for selecting a presidential nominee in 2012, with a goal of reducing the power of superdelegates, whose role became a major point of contention during the long battle for the Democratic nomination between Obama and Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The commission also will be urged to redraw the nominating calendar for 2012 to avoid starting the primaries and caucuses so early, and also to look specifically at ensuring more uniform rules and standards for those caucuses.

Obama campaign manager David Plouffe said the campaign will ask delegates at the national convention in Denver to approve a resolution approving the establishment of a 35-member Democratic Change Commission. The charter would authorize the Democratic National Committee chairman to appoint the commission soon after the election and ask it to report back by January 2010.

The proposed changes grew out of discussions between Obama's campaign, officials at the Democratic National Committee and representatives from Clinton's campaign, Plouffe said.

The most important change involves superdelegates -- the elected officials and party leaders who have automatic seats at national conventions and are free to vote for any candidate of their choice.

Their role became hugely controversial during the long battle between Obama and Clinton. Obama supporters feared that the superdelegates could override the results of the primaries and caucuses and hand Clinton the nomination.

"The number of superdelegates has gotten too large in relation to overall delegates," Plouffe said. "We want to give more control back to the voters. . . . Everyone thinks there ought to be more weight given to the results of the elections."

The commission will be encouraged to consider either reducing the number of superdelegates eligible to attend the national conventions or increasing the number of pledged delegates -- those elected on the basis of caucus and primary results.

The other significant change is the call to redraw the primary and caucus calendar. The 2008 calendar received significant criticism both for the early starting dates for the Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary and also because so many states were crowded into the first month of what turned out to be a five-month battle.

Under the system envisioned by the Obama and Clinton campaigns, most contests could not be held before March, except for those in a handful of states authorized to go earlier -- presumably in February rather than January.

Plouffe also said the commission will be urged to look for ways to avoid the bunching of states on particular days. Almost two dozen states held Democratic contests on Super Tuesday, Feb. 5, and party officials hope to avoid a repeat in 2012.

The other major area the commission will be asked to examine is the operation of caucuses in states that choose that process rather than a primary. The caucuses drew criticism, particularly from the Clinton campaign, which said that they restricted participation and that in some states they lacked the necessary infrastructure to ensure fairness.

HA 09/01/2015

"We agree that we ought to make sure they're funded properly, staffed properly and run smoothly, and even see if people ought to be eligible to vote absentee," Plouffe said.

[Link to article.](#)

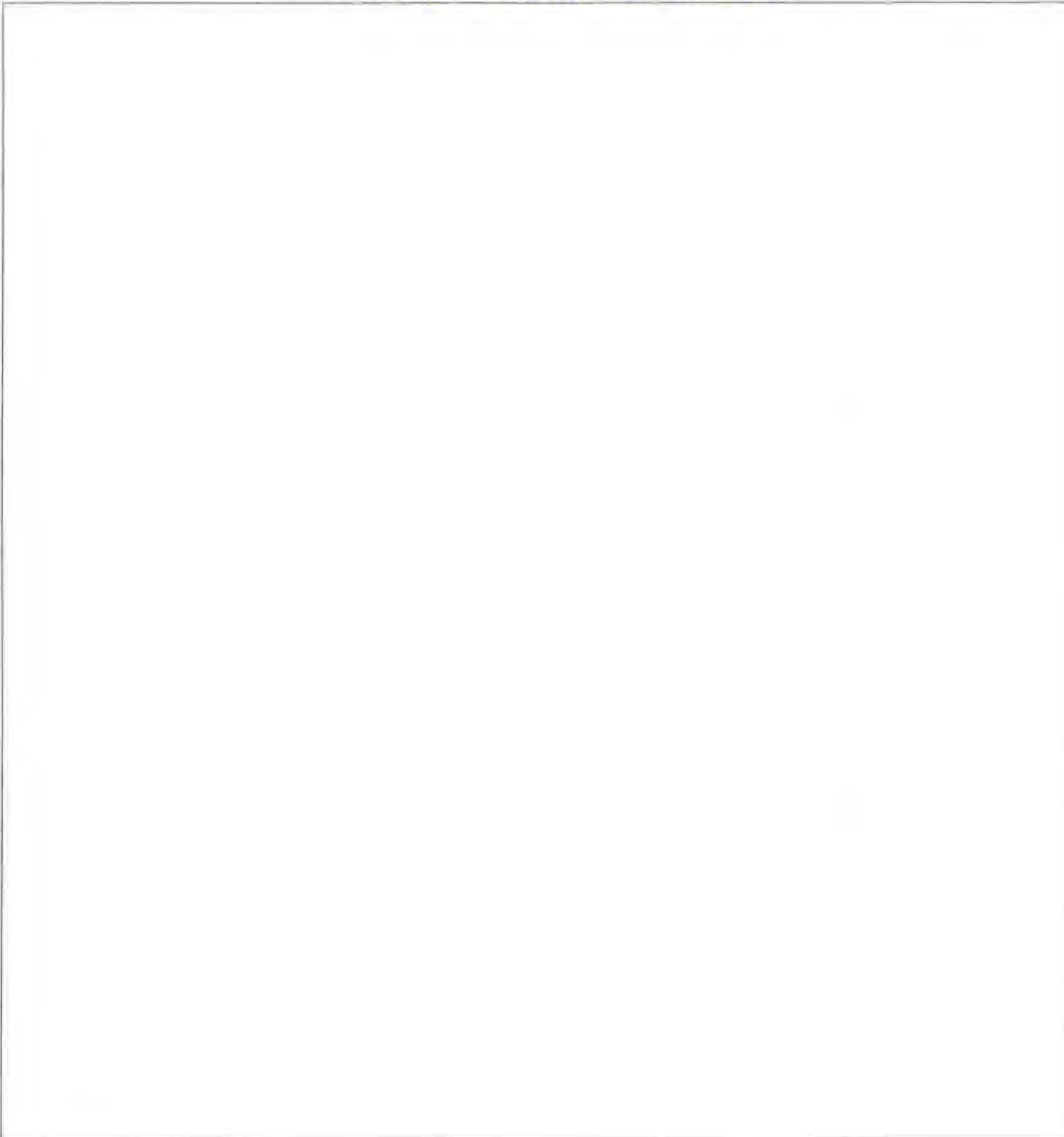
Submitted on August 21, 2008 - 8:24pm.

HA 09/01/2015

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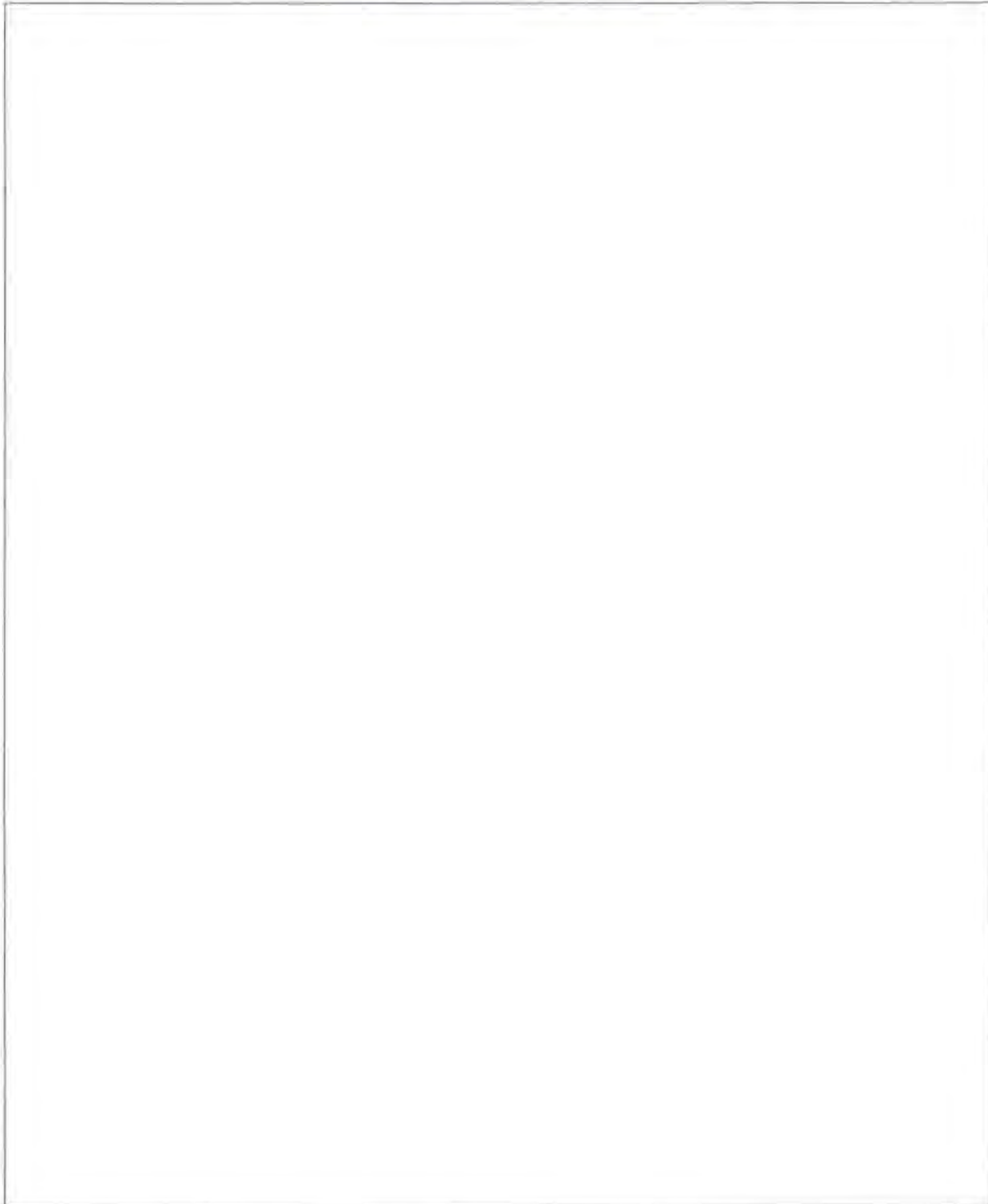
**Statement by Senator George J. Mitchell
Washington, DC
January 22, 2009**

B5



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HA 09/01/2015



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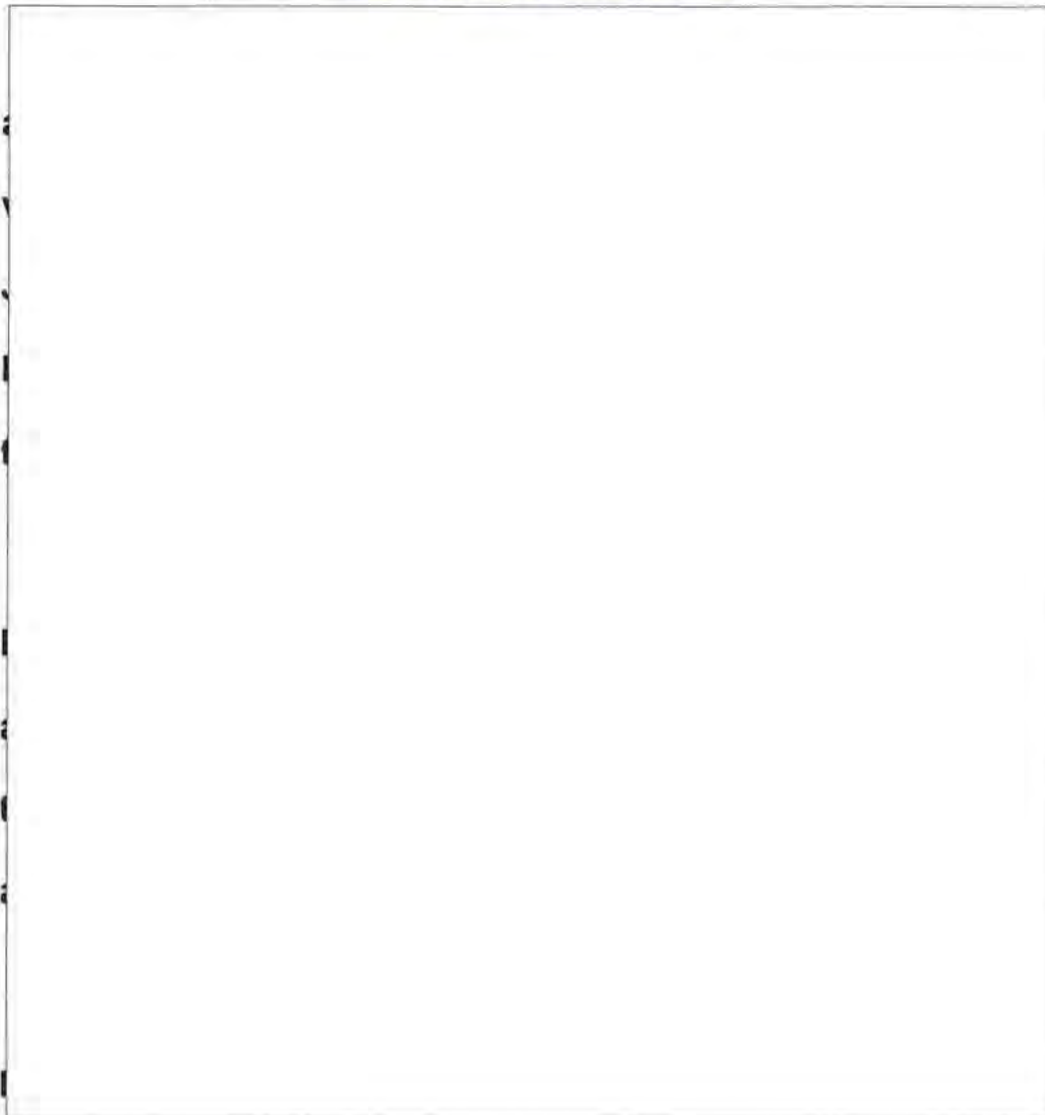
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HA 09/01/2015

From: Huma Abedin [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2009 8:39 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: PrintFw: Envoy announcement 8am version
Attach: Envoys Announcement 1 22.09 LM 8 am.doc

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

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

From: Bacr Daniel [REDACTED]
To: Huma Abedin [REDACTED]
CC: Lissa Muscatine [REDACTED]
Sent: Thu Jan 22 08:08:52 2009
Subject: Envoy announcement 8am version

<<Envoys Announcement 1 22.09 LM 8 am.doc>>.

This e-mail message may contain confidential and/or privileged information.

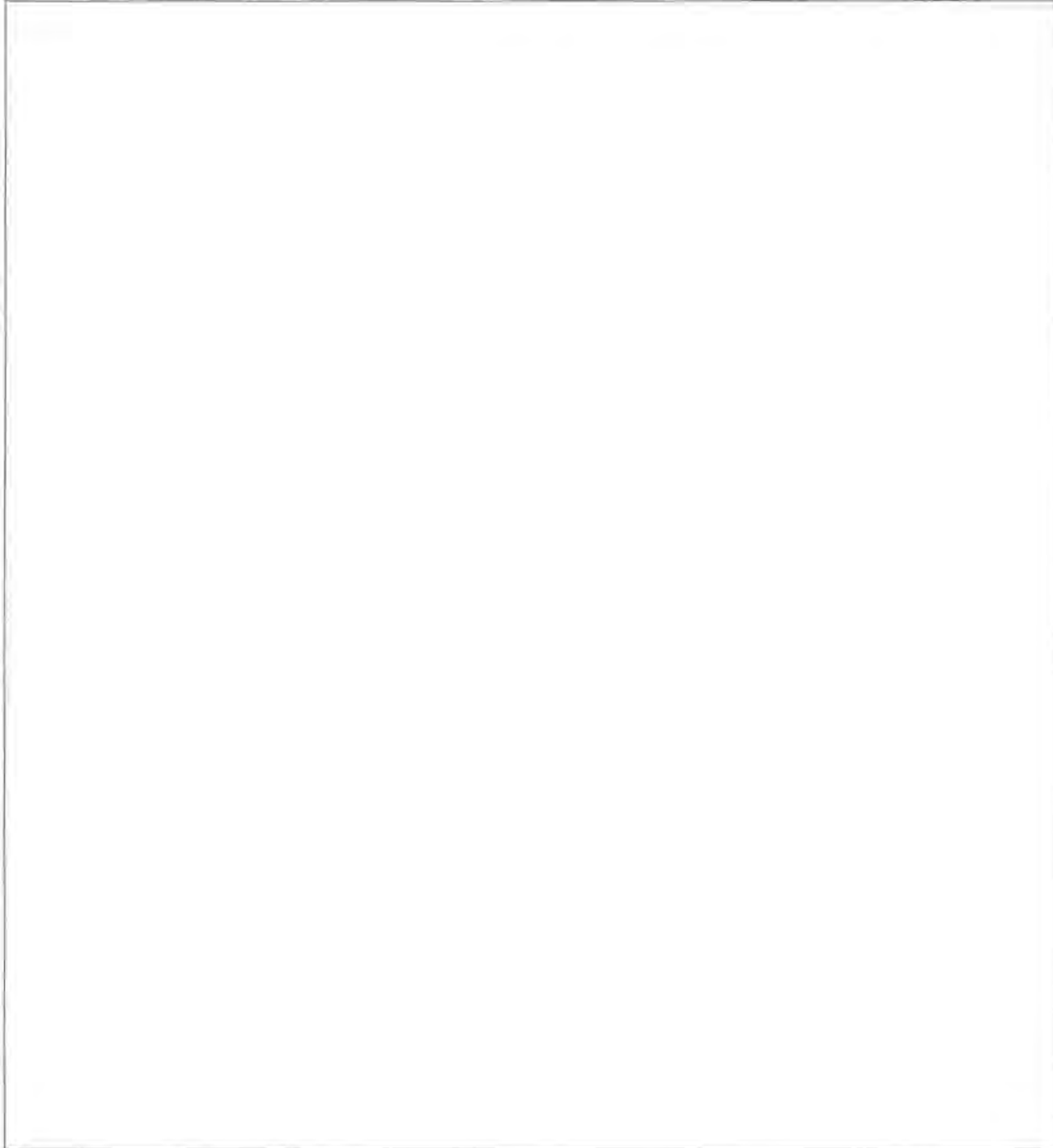
If you are not an addressee or otherwise authorized to receive this message, you should not use, copy, disclose or take any action based on this e-mail or any information contained in the message. If you have received this material in error, please advise the sender immediately by reply e-mail and delete this message. Thank you.

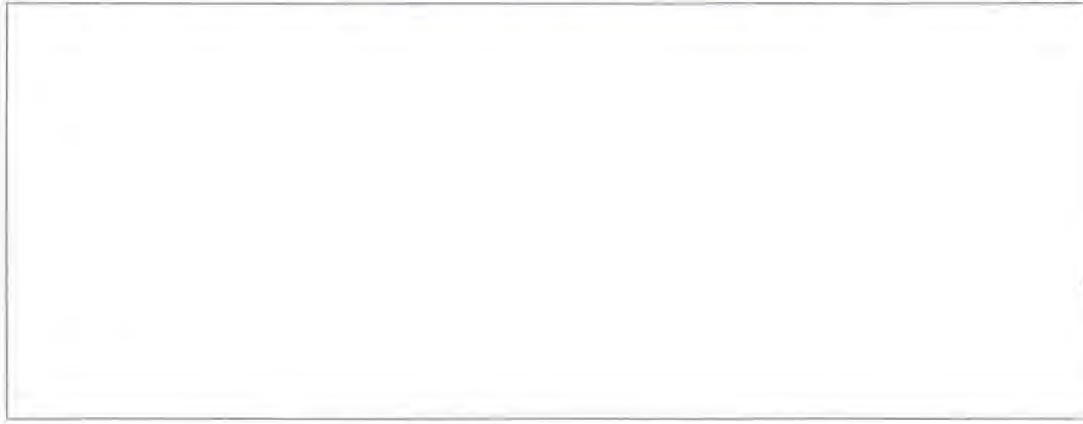
Draft
8 am

RELEASE IN PART B5

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ANNOUNCEMENT OF SPECIAL ENVOYS
THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, DC
JANUARY 22, 2009**

B5





From: hr15@att.blackberry.net
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2009 9:18 PM
To: Roy Spence
Subject: Re: Madame-Well done today-It seems they are so jazzed you are there! So is America and the world!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Well, so far so good, Bro. Now what do I do for an encore?

From: Roy Spence
Date: Thu, 22 Jan 2009 18:17:38 -0600
To: hr15@att.blackberry.net<hr15@att.blackberry.net>
Subject: Madame-Well done today-It seems they are so jazzed you are there! So is America and the world!

"Secretary of State Hillary Clinton received a rousing welcome this morning when she arrived at Foggy Bottom for the first time, as cheering foreign service and civil service employees packed every inch of the C Street lobby, including the balcony overlooking the flags of foreign nations."...

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From: hr15@att.blackberry.net
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2009 9:19 PM
To: Jake Sullivan
Subject: Re: So much for being careful about China and currency!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

Say what??? I just hope they keep buying our debt!! Thanks for all your help in getting us off to a good start

From: Jake Sullivan
Date: Thu, 22 Jan 2009 19:12:05 -0500
To: hr15@att.blackberry.net<hr15@att.blackberry.net>
Subject: So much for being careful about China and currency!

Geithner Says China Is Manipulating Its Currency

By JACKIE CALMES and DAVID STOUT
Published January 22, 2009

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HA 09/01/2015

From: Cheryl Mills [redacted] **B6**
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2009 9:22 PM
To: Kiki McLean [redacted] Philippe Reines [redacted] Caroline Adler
<cadler [redacted]> Lona Valmoro <lona_valmoro@clinton.senate.gov>; Robert Wood
<WoodRA@state.gov>
Cc: Huma Abedin [redacted]
Subject: RE: Couple of things

RELEASE IN PART
B6

agree – next week but early – Monday or Tuesday on press folks

From: Kiki McLean [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2009 7:57 PM
To: Philippe Reines1; Caroline Adler; Lona Valmoro; Cheryl Mills; Robert Wood
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Couple of things

Ageee

From: "Philippe"
Date: Thu, 22 Jan 2009 23:57:38 +0000
To: Caroline Adler [redacted] Lona Valmoro<lona_valmoro@clinton.senate.gov>; Cheryl Mills [redacted] Robert Wood<WoodRA@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Couple of things

I'd let USAID event and images do the talking tomorrow, she can stop by the briefing room next week - armed with some specific newsmaking announcement, rather than just taking questions (if she goes to the room, she has to take Qs)

If HRC agrees to next week, Robert could tell them tomorrow so they feel touched

From: "Caroline Adler"
Date: Thu, 22 Jan 2009 18:39:14 -0500
To: <Lona_Valmoro@clinton.senate.gov>; Cheryl Mills [redacted]
Subject: Couple of things

Hi all -

There are a couple of things that just came up in a conversation with Robert and I wanted to quickly ask you about them:

--Robert thinks it would be good for HRC to stop by the press briefing tomorrow, and if not tomorrow sometime next week. He said the press covered today's events, but it would go very far for hrc to spend even 10 minutes just with them. She could deliver remarks (3-5min) and then take 1-2 questions. The press will normally be briefed at 11am, but Robert says this can be at any time HRC is free.

--The other seems less time sensitive. Apparently the podium in the briefing room is very high tech and the technicians can create a podium/lighting scheme specific to HRC. Robert was wondering if - when HRC has 15 minutes in the next few weeks - she could go to the briefing room and have the settings configured for her.

Thanks!
Caroline

HA 09/01/2015

From: hr15@att.blackberry.net
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2009 9:23 PM
To: Cheryl Mills [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: susan rice was confirmed tonight so should likely send her note or call for congrats

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

What about Jack and Jim?

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

From: Cheryl Mills

To: Huma Abedin

Cc: Hillary Clinton

Sent: Jan 22, 2009 9:14 PM

Subject: susan rice was confirmed tonight so should likely send her note or call for congrats

HA 09/01/2015

From: hr15@att.blackberry.net
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2009 9:24 PM
To: Jona Valmoro <jona_valmoro@clinton.senate.gov>, Huma Abedin <Huma_Abedin@clinton.senate.gov>
Subject: Schedule

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

Since we couldn't do the scheduling today, I wanted to send you the following info for your followup:

B6

In no particular order:-

[redacted] His # is [redacted] Pls call to explore whether that's possible

B5

Pls keep track of Congressional recesses so we know when they occur for purposes of planning.

For the potential to-do list:

B5

[redacted]

[redacted]

B5

More to come when we meet

HA 09/01/2015

From: Abodin, Huma <AbodinH@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, January 30, 2009 6:53 AM
To: humamahedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Fw: Morning Press Briefing and Clips
Attach: 013009 Press Briefing doc; 013009 Press Clips doc

RELEASE IN
PART B6

B6

From: Bishop, Christopher W
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Macmanus, Joseph E; S_SpecialAssistants; Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Fri Jan 30 06:45:28 2009
Subject: Morning Press Briefing and Clips

Good Morning Huma—please let us know if you need anything else.

Christopher

Christopher W. Bishop
Special Assistant to the Secretary of State
202-647-9573

From: Burns Strider [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 4, 2009 9:54 PM
To: Clinton Hillary <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: this is just horrible:

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

One of your Veterans, Colonel Hal Donahue, wrote this for Huffington... he documents it with news clips and DoD links:

A Military Family Treated Shabbily -- a Demand for Accountability

Our fallen warriors' families should NEVER need a United States senator to find out how their loved one died. Yet, one did. Thank you, Senator Bob Casey for stepping in when no one else would to help an anguished mother and her family learn how her son died. Another thank you for exposing the weakness and decay developing in the military.

On January 2, 2008, Sgt. Ryan Maseth, a highly decorated Army ranger and a valuable national resource, stepped into the community shower of his Iraq building. Perhaps looking forward to a relaxing shower, young Maseth reached out to turn on the water and died, a victim of electrocution.

According to a CNN Special Investigations Unit story by Abbie Boudreau and Scott Bronstein from attorney statements, when fellow soldiers kicked down the door, they smelled burning hair, and they rushed over, saw Sgt. Maseth lying there unconscious, and one of the rescuers himself was shocked electrically and sustained a fairly good jolt because the water and the pipes were still electrified. The next day, Cheryl Harris, a mother with three sons serving in Iraq, was informed of his death. She had feared such news might come one day. An article shortly after his death demonstrates clearly both the anguish of Sergeant Maseth's family and a bit about the man.

"I did ask exactly, 'How did Ryan die? What happened to him?' And he had told me that Ryan was electrocuted," Ms Harris said. That was not the full story and after misleading statements, a US Senator, Robert Casey, D PA, was needed to uncover the complete answer to that question. What developed was a story of military officers betraying their troops; DOD civilians protecting private contractors rather than soldiers and very likely negligent homicide.

Now, I know the public has visions of soldiers dying "taking the hill" or "sweeping the skies in sleek fighters" but reality can be so horribly different, mundane even. Roads, of necessity, swept too quickly and soldiers die. A soldier on routine patrol takes off their helmet to wipe the sweat from brow and a sniper takes that moment to put a round through the soldier's skull. A soldier uses a latrine at a "safe" base and a stray round takes the soldier's life. These things happen. The US military was the leader in controlling these types of losses. Because, emotional and family feelings aside, the loss of Sgt Maseth hurt US military capability and reduced our ability to fight the Iraq war. This is the real bottom-line. This is one of the major reasons why we have Red Flag and Top Gun etc; so we can learn to prevent these losses in the confusion of actual war. Things appear to have changed.

According to a *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review* story; "Report: U.S. troops exposed to 231 shock incidents" by Robin Acton, January 29, 2009;

...The 45-page document -- a high-level request for corrective action generated last fall -- found that Texas-based military contractor KBR Inc. failed to properly ground and bond its electrical systems, which contributed to soldiers "receiving shocks in KBR-maintained facilities on average once every three days since data was available in Sept. 2006."

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... The report adds that government search results of a KBR-maintained database revealed that 231 electrical-shock incidents occurred in the period from September 2006 through July 31, 2008 -- indicating that the activity continued long after the death of Sgt. Ryan Maseth, 24, who suffered cardiac arrest after stepping into his Baghdad shower on Jan. 2, 2008.

A January 30, 2009, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* editorial, "Death by shower: Punish those who betrayed the troops in Iraq" acknowledges what came next.

.. Subsequently, his parents filed a wrongful death suit in Allegheny County, against Houston-based KBR Inc., alleging that KBR allowed U.S. troops to continue to use electrical systems that it knew to be dangerous. The soldier's mother, Cheryl Harris, also testified to Congress

For his part, Pennsylvania Sen. Bob Casey has been zealous in keeping this issue alive by demanding explanations from the Defense Department. The combined pressure seems to have paid off: The Associated Press reported last week that an Army investigation now deems the soldier's death a "negligent homicide" instead of an accident...

U.S. Senator Robert Casey (D-PA) kept the pressure on The Department of Defense (DoD) to determine that there were at least 18 deaths by electrocution in Iraq and he is working to eliminate the causes and to demand accountability from all involved. For the problem is not just employing unqualified, non government contractors but the integrity of officers and civilians throughout the Army and DoD. U. S. Senator Byron Dorgan (D-SD) said:

I believe DOD has been less than truthful to the families of soldiers who were electrocuted at military bases in Iraq because of shoddy contract work. It's time for some straight talk about accountability.

Last year Senator Dorgan chaired a Senate Democrat Policy Committee hearing into the electrocutions of soldiers in Iraq. Following that hearing, Senators Dorgan and Casey requested that the pentagon conduct a theatre-wide investigation into KBR's electrical work in Iraq. Astonishingly, the Army agreed, then used KBR to do much of the review. The result was continued work for KBR with a request for improved performance.

Now times are changing The same January 30, 2009, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* editorial said it better than I ever could:

"Sen. Casey is still pressing for answers -- and anyone who supports the troops should stand with him. He and Democratic Sen. Byron Dorgan of North Dakota, who has held hearings on contracting abuses, are demanding accountability for the death of Sgt. Maseth and others. It is overdue. Praise the heroes and punish those who hurt them."

Not just for just for our fallen but for the safety of our nation. If the military is unable to rely upon the honesty and integrity of its officers and NCO's, then the effectiveness of our military and the safety of our nation are in jeopardy

Burns Strider
Founding Partner
The Eleison Group

www.eleisongroup.com

HA 09/01/2015

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, February 4, 2009 10:19 PM
To: Cheryl Mills [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: just called you - got vox mail - got about 15 min in me

RELEASE IN
PART B6

B6

I'm calling your cell.

From: "Cheryl Mills"
Date: Wed, 4 Feb 2009 22:17:58 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: just called you - got vox mail - got about 15 min in me

HA 09/01/2015

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, February 4, 2009 10:21 PM
To: Cheryl Mills [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: just called you - got vox mail - got about 15 min in me

RELEASE IN
PART B6

B6

Your mailbox. Is full--pls call me again.

From: "Cheryl Mills"
Date: Wed, 4 Feb 2009 22:17:58 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: just called you - got vox mail - got about 15 min in me

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Burns Strider [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 5, 2009 4:15 AM
To: Clinton Hillary <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Shovel Ready Jobs Needed in Washington

B6

Posted at

Progressive Revival: <http://blog.beliefnet.com/progressiverevival/2009/02/shovel-ready-jobs-needed-in-wa.html>

And

Faithful Democrats: www.faithfuldemocrats.com

Shovel Ready Jobs Needed in Washington

By: Burns Strider
Thursday February 5, 2009

Cross Posted at www.faithfuldemocrats.com

Pungent piles of Republican nay-saying to the American jobs and stimulus package are getting so deep in Washington that shovel-ready jobs are needed to shovel it all to the dump. Could this be the Republican job creation package?

The rigid ideological orthodoxy leading Republicans to oppose the jobs bill ignores the pain of middle and working Americans. We have seen this approach already and we have suffered its outcome too deeply.

Their answer to the imploding economic situation is much like the answer they had to Katrina - unleash the awesome power of under-funding, inexperience and an unwilling, pervading philosophy that sees no possibility and allows for no creativity.

Consider some of the things they call waste:

- Resources to design and construct a boat for the Coast Guard. How in the world could we allow such? This would create jobs in places like the coasts of Virginia and Mississippi while adding to the ability of the Coast Guard to do their jobs
- Funding for housing the Department of Homeland Security. We can not allow construction jobs be created in order to create space for the agency charged with our safety.
- Money for screening and preventing STD's. What are the Democrats thinking? Health care jobs created while making Americans healthy? What?
- More support for the National Endowment for the Arts. Yes, I can see how creating jobs by putting more teachers in the schools to educate and teach our children is a nasty, horrible big government plot.
- Resources for putting computers in community colleges. Well, we certainly can not allow computers to

go to the community college students. People may have to be hired to make those computers and for who?
Community college students?

- Funding for flood reduction on the Mississippi River and canal inspection in urban areas. That is a bad idea, folks. Jobs to protect rural Americans along the River and make sure canals are safe running along places such as the Lower 9th Ward in New Orleans is just a bad idea.

Their list of "wasteful spending" is long. I could continue. And, yes, I have a problem with it. They have an agenda and it does not match up with the urgency for action in which our nation finds itself.

I do not have a problem with Republicans speaking their minds and assertively putting their markers down, and concerns on the table. Heck, it's their job. They are part of the process and their input is needed. But, they are doing themselves a disservice and the American people additional pain when they readily and without thought revert to the same old tone death and ideological-based attacks they have been using over the past 25 years

In their attempt to "im-Palín" the Democrats with the divide and conquer approach, ripping off constituency after constituency by trying to find the various hot buttons that add up to sizeable opposition and disengagement they are really further impaling the American people through inaction.

Creating jobs can and should have multiple positive results such as jobs that teach our children, jobs that build boats and jobs that make Americans healthier. Our families and communities deserve no less. Enough of narrow agenda-driven approaches that have proven results - failure.

Sometimes rigid ideological orthodoxy gets so caught up in its own hubris, its own rules and beliefs that no one notices, anymore, the baby in the manger.

American families and communities need help. Shovel ready jobs should be about more than shoveling away the failed agendas of the past.

Burns Strider
Founding Partner
The Eleison Group

www.eleisongroup.com

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From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, February 5, 2009 6:28 AM
To: humamahedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Marina print
Attach: 020509 State Clips doc, 020509 State Briefing.doc

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Davis, Jennifer L (S Staff)
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Sent: Thu Feb 05 06:24:05 2009
Subject: Press Items, 020509

Good morning, Huma!

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, February 5, 2009 8:38 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: PrintFw: Huma --

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Andrew Tobias
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Feb 01 17:52:46 2009
Subject: Huma --

Hey, so I asked if I could send you two ideas and you immediately said yes --

... but then it was literally the Inauguration and then the confirmation and then and first week's madness and now the Super Bowl.

So on the theory that you NEVER have a slow time, here is my first idea:

=====

The US should lead the world in adopting a global minimum wage treaty, requiring each signatory to establish a minimum wage -- however low -- and requiring "best efforts" to raise that wage each year until it reaches the median minimum wage for all the signatories.

All voluntary, but a matter of national pride and -- when quantified this way -- something to shoot for.

The idea is for us, as the once and future moral leader of the world, and economic engine, to acknowledge the dignity of work and attempt to kick off a virtuous cycle.

E.g., Bangladesh might set its wage at 2 cents a day -- but take pride in growing it faster than anyone else in the world, up 50% (reaching 3 cents) within just 5 years.

Morocco might have a slower *percentage* improvement, but be able to say that in absolute terms, its wage grew faster in a particular period than any other African country.

There can be lots of ways to show progress. The point is to get everyone trying to show it.

- Mathematically, you can't actually have all countries reach the median -- as the median would keep rising as they approached it. But what a great problem to have!
 - Zero cost to the U.S. treasury.
 - Shows respect to U.S. labor movement -- attempt to break the "race to the bottom."
 - Gives people at the bottom a fairer shake, but also helps employers who WANT to give that fairer shake, yet can't now because doing so unilaterally would put them at a competitive disadvantage.
 - If all the competitors in an industry must raise wages, no one competitor is disadvantaged. The price of a burger might go up a nickel; the cost of a hotel room, a dollar ... but people will not abandon fast food for home cooking over a nickel or sleep in their car over a dollar.
 - If it's not overdone, raising the minimum wage should have far more positive effects than negative. It enhances the value of work and personal dignity. It creates more spending power, which ultimately enriches the entire national economy, including the wealthy few.
- =====

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So that's it. I had a chance to mention this to President Clinton this fall and he liked it, but I wasn't sure how to follow up.

With appropriate spadework, perhaps The Secretary of State -- standing with President Obama and the Secretary of Labor, John Sweeney and the rest -- could unveil the text of this Treaty ("Whereas, the dignity of human labor . . .") in time for Labor Day Weekend?

Or even sooner, given the need to change global psychology and give people hope for the future?

Idea #2 follows in next email.

Hug,

Andy

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From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, February 5, 2009 8:41 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED] B6
Subject: PrintFw: Huma - idea #2

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PART B6

From: Andrew Tobias
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Sun Feb 01 17:56:46 2009
Subject: Huma - idea #2

Here is my second idea, equally tied to our relations with the rest of the world.

I'm sure you know the endless horror stories of how we treat foreign visitors to our country.

It's really cut down on potential tourism (and business travel and students wanting to study here).

Even with the US was "on sale," with a plummeting dollar, our tourism numbers weren't nearly as good as, say, the UK.

So the idea is to spend \$1 billion a year to generate an extra \$30 billion a year in revenue – at the same time generating substantial international good will.

Imagine the speech:

"Over the past eight years," the President and Secretary of State and Secretary of Transportation could say on a world stage, "it became distressingly cumbersome and sometimes even unpleasant for visitors to enter our country.

"Yes, we need to protect our citizens by careful screening at customs – and will. But no longer will we do this at the expense of hospitality.

"The following steps will be taken to improve the welcome of visitors to our shores:

- First, the number of customs agents will be increased as needed to cut the standard wait time at our major ports of entry to 20 minutes or less.
- Second, while our visitors ARE standing in line, they will be offered complimentary hot chocolate and tea in the winter; complimentary lemonade and iced tea in the summer. Folding or rolling chairs will be provided to those desiring them. Multilingual volunteers – a Greeter Corps, proud to show our hospitality – will be available to answer visitor questions while in line.

"We anticipate the added cost per incoming visitor to be less than \$25 – a small price to pay to create a favorable first impression on people who, on average, spend \$2,000 while they are our guests.

"We will do this, first, because we are a warm and welcoming people. Second, as a small but real signal to the world that 'we're back' – we are rejoining the community of nations. And third, because we want the word to spread that America is once again, and as it has always been, a great place to vacation, a great place to study, a great place to do business."

#

So that's it. I just pulled the \$2,000 figure out of the air, but it has to be something vaguely like that. I think it has to be a good investment.

A huge hug to you and your boss. Please let me know your thoughts (I'm a big boy; I can take straight talk).

Your fan,

Andy

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, February 5, 2009 8:51 AM
To: humamabedin
Subject: Jin printFw Memo for HRC

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Jin Chon
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Tue Feb 03 17:52:01 2009
Subject: Fw: Memo for HRC

Hi Huma - I sent this to your FOH account but it bounced back. It was great to see you last night. I mentioned the memo below to HRC last night and she asked me to get it to her.

Let me know if you have any downtime coming up soon. Would be great to get lunch and catch up.

Cheers!

Jin

Draft Memo

To: Secretary of State-Designate Hillary Clinton Transition Team

From: Jin Chon

Date: January 18, 2009

Re: Specialty Media in the Age of Secretary Clinton

Specialty media played a major role in this year's presidential election during both the primary and general campaigns by providing information on key issues to niche audiences. The public hunger for news and information about the candidates and their positions ensured that the campaign got regular coverage from media sources as diverse as daytime talk shows like *The View* to Country Music Television to ethnic outlets like *La Opinion*, *India Abroad* and the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA)*. The heightened interest from specialty media is unlikely to abate as the Obama administration takes over the reins of government and begins to address the multitude of challenges facing the nation at home and abroad.

As Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton should tap into this heightened media interest and the enormous well of goodwill she has developed with many of these specialty media outlets through her time in the Senate and especially from her presidential campaign. Unlike the elite, Inside-the-Beltway reporters who are constantly on the hunt for controversy and internal friction within the administration, specialty media outlets are more focused on substantive policy issues and want to find ways to connect these complex issues to a human face. Further, the thirst for access from these outlets puts the State Department in a position of strength in negotiating amount of coverage and topics to be discussed. Many will agree to do a written Q&A or restrict questioning to previously approved topics. These outlets can create vital support for official policy or pending legislation among key domestic constituency groups but also create momentum for policy abroad. As the media environment continues to become more and more globally interconnected, it will be critical for the leadership of the State Department to leverage all

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of these media opportunities to amplify and deliver messages that advance policymaking.

For the most part, specialty media outlets have been vastly underutilized by the leadership of the State Department, instead relying heavily on the Sunday shows and network and cable news to communicate the administration's foreign policy agenda. For example, of the over 550 media interviews Secretary Rice conducted during her tenure (does not include media availabilities or press conferences) only a handful of those can be considered to be with specialty media. In fact, she only did five interviews with outlets that reach the African-American community (2 with *Ebony*, 1 each with *Essence*, *American Urban Radio*, and *Tavis Smiley*) and even though many ethnic specialty media outlets have operations in the U.S., she rarely did interviews with them stateside and instead, would do brief interviews during a trip to that region. Most of the specialty media that Secretary Rice did was in the world of sports, demonstrating her devotion to sports like football and golf.

Unlike previous Secretaries of State, Hillary Clinton will come to the State Department with a national constituency who can be grassroots voices to their Members of Congress and the White House. She will have unparalleled star power and abilities to use her brand to turn good policy ideas into concrete programs. Specialty media can be an important tool in achieving this vision. This memo provides an analysis of the specialty media interviews conducted by Secretary Rice and outlines opportunities for the incoming leadership of the State Department to fully leverage the unique opportunities presented by specialty media outlets.

Women

Even though Secretary Rice is only the second woman to be appointed Secretary of State, she had relatively little interaction with media that reaches women. And while she spoke about various women's issues throughout her tenure, Secretary Rice did little to engage the public at large to advance important policy issues like microfinance and human trafficking. In fact, she only did three interviews that specifically reach women: *PEOPLE Magazine* in December 2008, *Girl Scout Magazine* in September 2008, and *iVillage.com* in May 2007.

Hillary Clinton has made it clear that she will be a strong advocate for women's rights and economic and educational opportunity. But in order to increase funding for these types of programs, she will need the help of supporters from around the country to secure Congressional approval. Here are a few ways that Hillary Clinton can use specialty media to build support for her agenda:

- **Daytime Talk Shows** – Politics and public policy have become staple topics of daytime talk shows like no other time in history. The line between daytime talk shows and hard news becomes more and more blurred as headlines in one realm make headlines in the other
 - **Oprah** – In the world of daytime talk, Oprah continues to dominate and in the past few years, she has tackled many important foreign policy issues that are often ignored by mainstream press. For example, she has recently done shows dedicated to genocide in Darfur, the violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda. These shows are often led by special correspondents Lisa Ling and CNN's Anderson Cooper. Oprah's influence goes beyond the 8 million in the U.S. who watch her show daily but extends to the millions who watch her in 139 countries. In the past year, she has worked to incorporate her international audience by using Skype technology to have real viewers from around the world ask questions to her guests.
 - **Ellen** – While Ellen does not spend many shows dealing with serious foreign policy issues, she does use her show to support important causes and raise money for them. Further, her show is syndicated internationally to ten countries, including Canada, Australia, and India. She is a big supporter of Hillary Clinton and is willing to use her platform to help promote the agenda of the new Secretary of State.

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- The View – What The View lacks in international distribution, it makes up for it by creating a media echo chamber based on the intense discussions that take place every weekday during the Hot Topics segments. While, foreign affairs have only been an occasional topic on the show, now with Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State, that level is expected to spike dramatically. The influence of the show on Americans' understanding of foreign policy is already evident. For example, when President Ahmadinejad spoke at Columbia University, Whoopi Goldberg provided the audience with tips on how to pronounce his name [say I'M A DINNER JACKET] and in a recent show discussing Hillary Clinton's appointment to Secretary of State, Whoopi mentioned how she would like to be the Ambassador to Hungary. Later that day, the former Hungarian ambassador to the U.S. posted a YouTube video singing a song and inviting Whoopi to Hungary as his special guest and then The View showed the video during Hot Topics the next day.
- Entertainment News Shows – Coverage of politics exploded on all the entertainment news shows this year and they continue to cover the new administration regularly. Hillary Clinton did numerous interviews with Entertainment Tonight/The Insider, Access Hollywood, EXTRA, and Inside Edition during the campaign. Together these shows reach an audience of 25 million viewers everyday. Working with these outlets can help shape Americans' opinion of foreign policy and provide a human face to the issues that the State Department is promoting.
- National Radio – National radio shows are an easy and effective way to reach an enormous audience. Two shows in particular should be a target for the leadership of the State Department:
 - Delilah – The Delilah show broadcasts for four hours every weekday and reaches 10 million people in over 200 media markets. Delilah herself is a major advocate for adoption and foster care. She also has her own foundation called Point Hope which provides resources for Liberian refugees based in Ghana.
 - Ryan Seacrest Morning Show – As host of American Idol, E News, and his own nationally-syndicated morning show, an interview with Ryan Seacrest gets amplified many times over. He has also been active on important global issues, championing the annual Idol Gives Back show, which provides fund for charities, including Malaria No More, The Global Fund for HIV/AIDS, and Save the Children.
- Magazines – Many American women's magazines have international editions that share brand identity and monthly content. One idea would be to have Secretary Clinton author a monthly column in one of these magazines like *Glamour*, which has editions in the UK, Italy, Germany, France, Spain, Russia, Mexico, Greece, South Africa, Hungary, The Netherlands, Sweden, and Romania. Also, placing human interest stories that reflect specific policies in publications like *PEOPLE* and *US Weekly* will be important ways to reach American women.

Ethnic Media

While ethnic media played an important role in the campaign, the influence of these outlets among domestic constituency groups and in turn, audiences abroad cannot be understated as Hillary Clinton becomes the next Secretary of State and addresses the crises affecting their homelands. There are many opportunities to engage these publications beyond one-on-one interviews. These publications would be extremely happy to accept written Q&A interviews, op-eds, etc.

- Arab Media: In her four years as head of the State Department, Secretary Rice did 33 interviews with Arab television network, more than any other non-US network or cable station. She regularly did interviews with Al Arabiya, Al-Hurra, and BBC Arabic Television. She did not do any interviews with Al-Jazeera. However, as much as she provided access to Arab media overseas, she did not do any interviews with domestic Arab American media, which could have helped in building support for the administration's policies for a very complicated region. And while most Arab

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American media is local, there is a station call Middle Eastern Broadcasting Network (MBN) based in the Detroit-area that gets wider reach (distribution in MI, VA, and by satellite) and has much stronger penetration among this key constituency. Cultivating US-based Arab American media can be an important way to change the impression that Americans are largely anti-Arab/Muslim by demonstrating that there is a vibrant and thriving community here at home.

- **Jewish/Israeli Press:** Secretary Rice conducted eight interviews with Jewish or Israeli press – most of the interviews took place in Israel. But, it's important to note that domestic outlets like JTA and *The Forward* as well as Israeli newspapers like *Haaretz* and *Jerusalem Post* have a strong Washington presence.
- **Korean Press:** Even with the intense negotiations around the North Korean nuclear program, Secretary Rice only did four interviews with Korean television media and it all took place during her trips to Asia. She did not do any interviews with the Korean newspapers, *Korea Daily* or *Korea Times* even though they have wide circulation in several major American markets (New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, DC, etc.). Engaging the Korean American reporters in the U.S. on a regular basis can help shape the views of not only the Korean American community here but also impact public opinion on the peninsula.
- **Chinese Press:** Based on the transcripts on the State Department Web site, it does not appear that Secretary Rice did any interviews with Chinese or Chinese-American media outlets. That's unfortunate considering that newspapers like *Sing Tao Daily* and *World Journal* have reporters in Washington and regularly cover American foreign policy. *Sing Tao Daily* is Hong Kong's second largest newspaper and has 16 international editions. *Sing Tao Daily* has several U.S. bureaus, including Washington, DC, New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, just to name a few. *World Journal* is owned by UDN Group, one of the largest media companies in Taiwan, and has the highest readership of any Chinese newspaper in the U.S. with circulation in almost every major American city.
- **Indian/Pakistani Press:** In four years, Secretary Rice conducted only four interviews with Indian or Pakistani media. She did three interviews in March 2005 (Pakistani Television, India Today, and NDTV) and another one with Zee News in March 2006. Yet with the many challenges in the region, it will be important for the leadership of the State Department to engage the media in this region. The most important reporter to reach out to is Aziz Haniffa, Managing Editor for India Abroad, which is owned by the Indian Internet news site, rediff.com. Aziz has very good contacts within the Indian-American political community. The only high-level person that Aziz has interviewed at the State Department during the Bush administration was Nicholas Burns in January 2006. Aziz has already reported that Rahul Verna will be appointed to Assistant Secretary for State for Legislative Affairs.
- **Hispanic Press:** Secretary Rice did 15 interviews with Hispanic media, most of it with the international networks like Univision, Telemundo, Televisa, and CNN en Español. However, she largely avoided Hispanic print media and never sat down with a reporter from EFE, the fourth largest newswire in the world. In addition to the standard news shows for the major Spanish-language television networks, Hillary Clinton should also look at sitting down with prominent media figures like Don Francisco and Cristina Saralegui. In order to ensure that the Latino community in the U.S. knows all the work being done on the Latin American front, radio personalities like Piolin should be engaged and given access to the Secretary.
- **African American Press:** As mentioned earlier, Secretary Rice did few interviews with the Black press but as the new administration comes to power, it is clear that there will be heightened coverage of all its activities. For example, Ebony/JET and Essence have both announced that they will be hiring full-time White House correspondents, joining April Ryan of American Urban Radio Networks. In addition, it will be important to communicate with media from organizations like The Trotter Group and NNPA. Lastly, reaching out to radio hosts like Tom Joyner and Steve Harvey

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will be important ways to ensure that the State Department is getting its message out to the African-American community.

Other Important Specialty Media

- Late Night Talk Shows – Shows like Late Night with David Letterman, The Tonight Show, and The Daily Show will be keeping close tabs on Secretary Clinton's activities and no doubt, find whatever they can for comedic value. With Conan O'Brien shifting to The Tonight Show slot in May 2009 and Jay Leno getting his own weekday prime time spot at 10 pm, there will even more opportunity to work with these shows to bring a of mix light and more serious topics to the American public.
- MTV – In February 2002, Secretary Colin Powell participated in a forum with young people around the world. That would be the last contact that MTV had with the Bush administration until Secretary Rice sat down with Gideon Yago in September 2006. Communicating with young people around the world should be a priority for Secretary Clinton and the State Department should consider working with MTV to host an annual global forum, like the one Secretary Powell did in 2002.

HA 09/01/2015

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, February 5, 2009 8:52 AM
To: humamabedin
Subject: PrintFw: Bono
Attach: Foward Thinking Profile.doc

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Lucy Matthew
To: Abedin, Huma
Sent: Wed Feb 04 11:30:57 2009
Subject: Bono

Huma, hi! How are you in the new digs... Please find below an email from Bono for the Secretary with attachment...
Thanks, and hope you are well, Lucy

Secretary Hillary,

How is the new job.... hope you are settling in ok... Chelsea keeps an eye on our Jordan in Colombia, what a delight she is.

This is very short notice and probably impossible, and I'd like to emphasize this is not my subject at all – but I found these people, Forward Thinking, who work on the Middle East, to be very inspiring. One of them is an Irish priest (of course)... They really do seem to have a relationship with the Israeli hard right as well as Hamas which is apparently unique for a western organization. I'm sure Gordon Brown knows of them through the UK Ambassador to the UN Jeremy Greenstock who is advising and and working with them.

It turns out that Sir Jeremy is in the capitol this Friday – Forward Thinking has asked if I would recommend him and them to you for a meeting. Its impossibly short notice, and I'm sure you must be inundated with people wanting to give you their take. You may know him anyway. If you as I suspect have zero time, or they do not check out, please ignore this request. I'm only writing at their request because they certainly seemed like the real deal to me, and what they said made a lot of sense.

I'm sending along some info and contact details and will leave with you do to as you please.

Next time I write it will be about our shared passion, justice for the poorest of the poor... or an invitation to a U2 gig...I promise.

Love,
Bono

PS hi to your hubby.

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FORWARD THINKING PROFILE

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B6

Oliver McTernan, Director

Email: [REDACTED]

B6

Office: +442077342303

Forward Thinking was founded in 2004 as an independent non-denominational UK registered charity. We are a demand-driven, facilitative organisation that works:

- To promote a more inclusive peace process in the Middle East.
- To facilitate a global dialogue between the religious and secular political worlds.
- To promote in the UK greater understanding and confidence between the diverse grassroots Muslim communities and the wider society including the Media and the British establishment.

Our Middle East Initiative is based on the belief that a durable peace agreement to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can only be achieved through the active participation of those who are regarded as political or religious hardliners. Whatever its achievements, a main shortcoming of the Oslo agreements was a steadfast failure to recognise the necessity of including religious and ideological conservatives on both sides in the process. This legacy has resulted in a situation in which significant players on both sides were not included in and definitely do not identify with the principles upon which these previous negotiations were based. Forward Thinking believes as long as the voices of non-convinced constituencies are not included in the dialogue, no long-term and sustainable solution can be reached. Our prime focus is to promote a more inclusive peace process through dialogue with key Israeli and Palestinian stakeholders and political/religious leaders who previously had been unengaged.

Over the past four years we have formed credible working relationships and trust with a number of key political players on both sides of the conflict. In the Israeli Knesset we have established a cross party group of members who represent mainly right wing constituencies that have not previously been part of the peace dialogue: these include Likud, SHAS, Kadima, Labour and Yisrael Beiteinu parties. On the Palestinian side we are in dialogue with the reform minded members of the Fatah movement as well as with the leaders of Hamas and Islamic Jihad. We have regular unilateral meetings, working on the principle of total transparency, each side knowing who our other partners are. Our experience suggests that behind the rhetoric of rejection currently voiced by both Palestinian and Israeli hard-liners, both recognise the need to deal with the other.

Our goal is to prepare both sides for direct engagement when the timing is appropriate. We hold regular meetings with policy makers from the international community to discuss the situation in the region. Our main achievement in the past year was to establish with the financial support of the Swiss Government The Palestinian Institute for the Study of Conflict Resolution and Governance in Gaza. The centre provides a neutral space for members of the various political factions to meet as well as training in conflict resolution theory and practice.

Our Global Dialogue Initiative is based on the belief that the resolution of some political conflicts that fuel Islamic-Western polarization may be impossible without a greater involvement of religious, social and political movements by more secular political leaders and policy-makers. We seek to foster deeper understanding, respect, and relationships of trust – which may subsequently form the basis for cooperative action - amongst leaders and activists from four sectors:

- European political leaders and policy-makers;
- American political leaders and policy-makers;
- Influential Muslim faith-based and faith-motivated social and political activists;
- Influential Christian faith-based and faith-motivated social and political activists (esp. American Evangelicals).

In partnership with the UN Alliance of Civilizations, the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, the Turkish Institute SETA and the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Forward Thinking took the lead in convening meetings in Nyon and Lisbon aimed at helping to bridge both secular-religious divides as well as perceived Muslim-Western divides. The Lisbon meeting was hosted by the Portuguese Government. The Spanish and Turkish governments have agreed to host future meetings.

FT UK Programme aims to help grassroots Muslim communities to engage with the Establishment and the wider British society without fearing the loss of their faith identity. We work in partnership with a large number of culturally and religiously diverse Muslim communities and groups across the UK. We do not claim to represent any particular group or community. We recognize the importance of Muslims retaining a strong faith identity whilst being engaged fully with the rest of British society. To achieve these goals we provide capacity building support to a number of Muslim charitable organizations working at a local and national level. As we enjoy unique access to many isolated communities we have been engaged by the Home Office to organize regular two day educational visits for senior government staff and policy decision makers to diverse grassroots communities. We hold regular meetings for young people and community leaders. We work in partnership with Muslim organizations in addressing issues of concern. We organize meetings for journalists and broadcasters to help create greater understanding of faith issues and community concerns.

Organizational Structure

To remain an effective demand driven organization Forward Thinking's goal is to remain lean and flexible. We operate from a rent free shared office space in central London with a small staff of six, two of whom are part time. We have a board of three trustees to whom the staff is accountable. We have a larger group of distinguished international advisors who are available to provide diplomatic, political, and theological guidance to the staff and the board of trustees as required.

OJ McTeman
Director
December 2008

From: williamsbarrett [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 5, 2009 10:52 AM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Subject: Re: State Department Paperwork

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

In a meeting all day but Robby and I have discussed please include him in discussions.

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: "H"
Date: Thu, 5 Feb 2009 14:28:16 +0000
To: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Maggie Williams <williamsbarrett [redacted]>; <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: State Department Paperwork

Let's discuss as soon as I get in.

From: "Mills, Cheryl D"
Date: Thu, 5 Feb 2009 08:26:34 -0500
To: <williamsbarrett [redacted]>; <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: FW: State Department Paperwork

HRC/Maggie:

FYI in case Tamera raises any issues or concerns.

I asked Heather to send her an email regarding staff who were getting paperwork because they were slated to come in the building.

There is a larger management issue I want to discuss with you.

cdm

From: Samuelson, Heather F
Sent: Wednesday, February 04, 2009 8:31 PM
To: 'Luzzatto [redacted]'
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; robbymook [redacted]
Subject: State Department Paperwork

Tamera,

I wanted to let you know that I plan to send the State Department's hiring paperwork to the following Senate staffers.

While we do not have start dates for them yet, nor do we know which office/ bureau they will be assigned to, we wanted to get them started on the hiring paperwork.

Please let me if you have any questions or concerns.

Many thanks,

Heather
[redacted] cell
(202) 647-0646 office

B6

HA 09/01/2015

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B6

HA 09/01/2015

From: Cheryl Mills [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, February 6, 2009 6:39 AM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Subject: FW: Quote of the Day

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

FYI (if they only knew . . . we're winging it too!)

From: DelPiano, Matt
Sent: Thursday, February 05, 2009 5:12 PM
To: Kives, Michael; O'Connor, David
Subject: Quote of the Day

"Obama is winging it. He has one hundred and forty people in the White House and none of them know what they are doing. The only person that is being smart, thoughtful and measured is....Hillary Rodham Clinton"

• *Karl Rove to Matt DelPiano*

February 5th, 2009

HA 09/01/2015

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, February 6, 2009 7:05 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED] B6
Subject: Maruna print
Attach: 020609 State Clips.doc; 020609 State Briefing doc

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Davis, Jennifer L (S Staff)
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Sent: Fri Feb 06 06:12:10 2009
Subject: Press Items 020609

Morning, Huma.

HA 09/01/2015

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, February 6, 2009 9:00 PM
To: Tamera Luzzatto <tamera_luzzatto@clinton.senate.gov>
Subject: Re: Update

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Congratulations [REDACTED]

B6

Hope you're well--H

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

From: Tamera Luzzatto

To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com'

Sent: Feb 5, 2009 3:43 PM

Subject: Update

Sorry for any repetition but my report from Senate Land is:

Good progress it seems for Gillibrand. [REDACTED] practically lives there, and not an easy process for everyone. Some of our staff like mail room are volunteering.

[REDACTED] will give them post March time [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] are now happy Gillibrand staff in DC.

[REDACTED] seems to making great progress in finalizing NYC and regional hires, roles, and salaries. KG's CoS is fine abt potential of some NYC pple going to State -- would rather get their help right away to get systems in place.

And related to State, [REDACTED] is a pleasure. Feels like virtually all staff are getting signals they need, hired by KG, hearing of good chance to be at State, or nearing something else.

[REDACTED]
Love, T

From: Luzzatto, Tamera (Clinton) <Tamera_Luzzatto@clinton.senate.gov>
Sent: Friday, February 6, 2009 9:40 PM
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com'; 'AbedinH@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Confidential

RELEASE IN PART B6

I doubt this was sent to just me, so checking if you got too

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

From: Bill White
Sent: Fri Feb 06 20:59:08 2009
Subject: Confidential

B6

B6



From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, February 7, 2009 6:41 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>; Chollet, Derek H <CholletDH@state.gov>; Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>; Muscatine, Lissa <MuscatineL@state.gov>
Cc: Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Forget State vs. Treasury -NY TIMES OP-ED
Attach: nytlogo153x23.gif, Op-Ed Contributors - Transitions - Forget State vs Treasury - NYTimes.com.htm

RELEASE IN
PART B6

FYI - See note and op ed below

B6

From: Hormats, Robert
Sent: Friday, February 06, 2009 5:27 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Forget State vs. Treasury -NY TIMES OP-ED

<<Op-Ed Contributors - Transitions - Forget State vs. Treasury - NYTimes.com.htm>> Hello Cheryl,

It was great to see you last night. I very much enjoyed our conversation.

One point that I wanted to follow up on was the discussion of countries looking inward to resolve their financial/economic problems. I think we need to be very careful on that issue. Doing that, especially if it involves even a little protection, invites others to do the same. And exports necessary for us to get out of our downward spiral.

The attached piece, which I mentioned in our discussion, focuses on this topic. I think that the history here is highly relevant to Hillary's trip and the crisis we face today.

I hope you and she find it of interest.

Have a great weekend.

Best regards,
Bob Hormats

The New York Times

Opinion

Forget State vs. Treasury

By ROBERT HORMATS and DAVID M. KENNEDY
Published: November 29, 2008

AMONG the parallels between our present financial turmoil and the Great Depression of the 1930s, few are more important to understand than the implications of economic upheaval for national security. One lesson from the Depression bears repeating loudly: Economic policy and foreign policy are not two distinct domains. They constitute a strategic nexus whose interconnections we ignore at our peril.

The perception that the United States was too enfeebled by its domestic travails to defend its interests emboldened Japan to invade Manchuria in 1931. The spectacle of Depression-era America continued to feed Japanese aggression, leading eventually to the brazen gamble that a single blow at Pearl Harbor might so demoralize the economically enervated Americans that they would throw in the towel and leave Asia to Japan.

In the 1930s, as now, in the face of severe economic affliction the temptation was strong to turn inward, to "put our own house in order" and tend to the international neighborhood later. That was Franklin Roosevelt's policy in 1933. "Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy," he said in his first inaugural address.

Accordingly, Roosevelt left unchallenged the Smoot-Hawley Tariff passed during the Hoover administration, and he added some nationalist measures of his own. Perhaps his worst decision was to scuttle London's World Economic Conference in 1933, convened to discuss international debt rescheduling, exchange-rate stabilization and the restoration of the gold standard. The conference afforded the last, desperate chance to deliver a concerted international counterpunch to the worldwide depression. Yet Roosevelt effectively withdrew the American delegation in July by declaring

that the United States would have no further truck with the "old fetishes of so-called international bankers."

Among those who drew malign conclusions was Hitler. Watching events from his Berlin chancellery, he calculated that the economic weakness of his adversaries opened vistas of opportunity for conquest. The inability of the democracies to cooperate economically portended their inability to cooperate militarily or diplomatically. And the ailing economy that was driving the United States inward removed America from Hitler's geopolitical calculus altogether.

On Nov. 5, 1937, having re-armed Germany in violation of its Versailles Treaty obligations, Hitler presented his senior political and military officials with an exhaustive blueprint for aggression. Over four hours, he analyzed in detail the probable reactions of other powers, including Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Japan, Belgium and Czechoslovakia. He did not even mention the United States, which he deemed incapable of offering serious resistance. By going AWOL in London in 1933, Roosevelt emboldened the man whose armed forces he would have to confront on the beaches of Normandy a decade later.

Depression and war were harsh teachers, but the lesson was learned. Surveying the economic chaos that had helped precipitate the war, Harry Dexter White, a Treasury Department official who was the principal architect of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, warned in 1942 that "the absence of a high degree of economic collaboration among the leading nations will, during the coming decade, inevitably result in economic warfare that will be but the prelude and instigator of military warfare on an even vaster scale."

At war's end, American leaders started initiatives that replaced the discredited policies of economic nationalism with new rules and institutions to avert protectionism and exchange-rate turmoil, and to foster expanded international trade and investment. For more than two generations, the IMF, the World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (later the World Trade Organization) did much to underwrite global political stability as well as America's and the world's prosperity.

To govern is to choose, but economic versus foreign policy is a false choice. The national security stakes are too high to allow aggressors or terrorists to conclude that America is too economically distracted to defend its interests. And global peace and prosperity, including economic growth in foreign markets and the flow of capital on which the United States is dependent, remain highly improbable without continued — indeed, renewed — American leadership, political as well as economic.

A crucial test of governing awaits the Obama administration. It must pursue economic recovery at home and around the globe and the reinvigoration of multilateral coordination abroad. Failure to revive the sagging domestic economy will make broader security and foreign policy goals more difficult to accomplish, as Americans seek refuge in economic nationalism and foreigners lose confidence in Washington's leadership. The political and economic cooperation needed to resolve the current crisis is as essential to America's domestic well-being as it is to the successful pursuit of our worldwide strategic interests.

The Depression and World War II were not two distinct events. Depression incubated war. The war, in turn, gave birth to the array of multilateral institutions that long served to avert another global economic crisis. Keeping that relationship in mind now can help this country to resist, and encourage others to resist, pressures for inward-looking trade and investment policies and withdrawal from international engagement.

It took a depression and a war to transform an older order. If we act swiftly and smartly, ours may be a happier fate. We have what may well be a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to build an international economic architecture for a new century and in the process bolster our security. If we don't seize it, we may be doomed to repeat some pretty nasty history.

Robert Hormats, a managing director of Goldman Sachs, is the author of "The Price of Liberty: Paying for America's Wars From the Revolution to the War on Terror." David M. Kennedy is a professor of history at Stanford and the author of "Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945."

More Articles in Opinion » A version of this article appeared in print on November 30, 2008, on page WK9 of the New York edition.

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> B6
Sent: Saturday, February 7, 2009 10:08 AM
To: Huma Abedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Re:

RELEASE IN PART B6

I'm talking to him now.

From: "Huma Abedin"
Date: Sat, 7 Feb 2009 09:58:00 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re:

Trying to track him down

-----Original Message-----
From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Feb 07 09:47:28 2009
Subject: Re

I tried but no answer. Can you track him down and connect to the house

-----Original Message-----
From: Huma Abedin
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Sent: Feb 7, 2009 8:41 AM
Subject:

Richard Holbrooke asking to speak.
He's on cell [REDACTED]

B6

From: Cheryl Mills [REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, February 8, 2009 7:23 AM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Subject: RE: Follow up

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

I will call you now

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

From: H (<mailto:hdr22@clintonemail.com>)
Sent: Sunday, February 08, 2009 5:48 AM
To: Cheryl Mills
Subject: Follow up

When can you talk this am?

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, February 8, 2009 9:48 AM.
To: Huma Abedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: Reminder

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

I did but I was never given a time and it was not on the schedule so I thought it couldn't be arranged

From: "Huma Abedin"
Date: Sun, 8 Feb 2009 09:28:43 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: Reminder

Claire and Lauren had arranged. My understanding is you agreed to do it today.

-----Original Message-----
From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sun Feb 08 09:23:48 2009
Subject: Re: Reminder

I did not know so thx for the heads up. Who should have told me? It's not on the schedule Lona sent me. The only thing on that is the shuttle

-----Original Message-----
From: Huma Abedin
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Oscar Flores
Sent: Feb 8, 2009 9:01 AM
Subject: Reminder

Just a reminder, you have your 11:30am call with ambassador Ryan Crocker today. Ops will connect call to house

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Sunday, February 8, 2009 5:54 PM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Subject: NYT story on Japanese layoffs

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

In case you hadn't seen:

http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/08/world/asia/08japan.html?_r=1&ref=world

February 8, 2009

In Japan, New Jobless May Lack Safety Net

By MARTIN FACKLER

OTTA, Japan — Koji Hirano said his "mind went blank" with disbelief when he and other workers at a Canon digital camera factory in this southern city were suddenly called into a cafeteria in late October and told they were being laid off.

The shock turned to fear when they were also ordered to vacate their employer-provided apartments, a common job benefit here. With no savings from his monthly take-home pay of as little as \$700, he said, he faced certain homelessness.

"They were going to kick us out into the winter cold to die," said Mr. Hirano, 47.

The current economic crisis has spread joblessness and distress across the world, and Japan has been no exception — with output plunging at historic rates, the unemployment rate leapt to 4.4 percent in December from 3.9 percent the month before. But what has proved more shocking has been the fact that so many of those laid off have been so vulnerable, with hundreds and perhaps thousands finding themselves cast into the streets.

Mr. Hirano and the others laid off by Canon are part of a new subclass of Japanese workers created during a decade of American-style deregulation. As short-term employees they have none of the rights of so-called salarymen or even the factory workers for Japan's legions of small manufacturers.

To make matters worse, they can expect little in the way of unemployment or welfare benefits. In Japan, a country with little experience of widespread unemployment until recently, there is an inadequate safety net for laid-off workers.

According to the Labor Ministry, about 131,000 layoffs have been announced since October. Of those, only about 6,000 were culled from the majority of Japanese workers who hold traditional full-time jobs, which are still often held for life. The overwhelming majority — some 125,000, the ministry says — are so-called nonregular workers, who are sent by staffing agencies or hired on short-term contracts with lower pay, fewer benefits and none of the legal protections against layoffs of regular full-time employees.

Mr. Hirano and other former temporary workers at Canon were allowed to stay in their apartments for a few extra months after a public outcry reached all the way to the prime minister. But others have not been so lucky. Over the New Year holiday some 500 disgruntled former temporary workers made homeless by layoffs built an impromptu tent city in a Tokyo park adjacent to the Labor Ministry.

As never before, the global downturn has driven home how a decade of economic transformation has eroded Japan's gentler version of capitalism, in which companies once laid off employees only as a last resort.

"Thus recession has opened the nation's eyes to its growing social inequalities," said Masahiro Abe, a professor at Dokkyo University who specializes in labor relations. "There is a whole population of workers who are outside the traditional support net."

Until a decade ago, nonregular workers accounted for less than a quarter of Japan's total work force, and included subcontractors and others outside the lifetime employment system as well as students or homemakers working part-time jobs at restaurants or convenience stores.

But the number of nonregular workers took off after an easing of labor laws in 1999 and again in 2004 allowed temporary workers to work on factory lines and in other jobs once largely restricted to full-time workers. During Japan's economic recovery in this decade, companies added millions of less expensive temporary employees while continuing to reduce overall numbers of full-time staff.

Today, 34.5 percent of Japan's 55.3 million workers are nonregular employees, including many primary breadwinners for households, according to the Internal Affairs Ministry.

Under the nation's traditional company-centered social welfare system, created after World War II, companies were expected to look after employees until retirement and beyond, serving as the main conduit for pensions and other benefits, and keeping jobless rosters empty by not laying off workers.

Even the limited government job-loss benefits were devised with lifetime employees in mind. To receive unemployment insurance, for instance, workers must have held the same job for at least a year, effectively excluding most temporary workers, whose contracts can be as short as two months. This has left at least half of Japan's 17.8 million nonregular workers ineligible for unemployment aid, say labor experts and Labor Ministry officials.

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Japan spends about 0.3 percent of its gross domestic product on unemployment benefits, far below Western European countries and about the same as the United States, which tolerates far more social dislocation and poverty than Japan.

According to labor experts and Labor Ministry officials, Japan needs to revamp the system to fit a more dynamic labor market in which not all jobs are held for life, and to prevent layoffs from being so financially devastating.

"Japan's social safety net has failed to keep up with changes in the labor market," said Yusuke Inoue, a section chief in the Labor Ministry's bureau of stable employment. "We must build a safety net that suits this more deregulated working environment."

After a public outcry, Tokyo has promised to expand unemployment benefits to those who have worked six months or more. The government has also tried to shore up the traditional system by pressuring companies to elevate more nonregular workers to full-time status, with Prime Minister Taro Aso telling companies in December that "regular employment is best."

Some of the first layoffs to gain national attention were at two Canon factories in Oita, where some 1,100 temporary workers were let go, including Mr. Hirano.

As a temporary worker, Mr. Hirano was technically the employee of a staffing agency, and not of the factory where he worked. As a result, Canon executives even refused at first to accept a letter written by him and other laid-off temporary workers asking for their jobs back, Mr. Hirano said. After 30 minutes of discussion in front of the factory's gate, the executives finally took the letter, he said. He said he never got a response.

In a written response to questions from The New York Times, Canon said it had underestimated the difficulties faced by the laid-off temporary workers in the current economic downturn and would offer them more aid, including help in staying longer in their apartments.

Mr. Hirano and other laid-off temporary workers said their annual pay was about \$22,000 a year, below what many labor experts call Japan's poverty line of \$25,000 a year.

To make ends meet, even when employed, Mr. Hirano said he usually cooked a small stew of cabbages and carrots every night in the tiny kitchen in the corner of his one-room apartment. He added chicken to the stew only on days it was on sale at the supermarket, he said.

Mr. Hirano and others said they had applied for a dozen jobs each, with no luck in the current market. With their meager savings running out, they said, they had applied for welfare a half dozen times in two months, only to be rejected by officials who said they were not trying hard enough to find new employment. The officials said the former workers were ineligible for unemployment support because they had worked at Canon less than a year.

Just in case he gets kicked out of the apartment suddenly, Mr. Hirano has packed most of his belongings in a half dozen cardboard boxes that sit in a corner of his room, next to an unmade futon and a table covered in résumés.

Mr. Hirano and his co-workers said they felt betrayed. They said that they had believed that if they worked hard, Canon would reward them with an offer of direct employment, at higher pay.

"We did our best, so Canon should have taken care of us," said one 32-year-old laid-off worker who was so ashamed of his situation that he asked that only his family name, Murakami, be used. "That is the Japanese way. But this isn't Japan anymore."

From: H <hdr22@clintoncmail.com>
Sent: Saturday, February 14, 2009 10:43 PM
To: Huma Abedin <HAbedin@hillaryclinton.com>
Subject: Stationery

RELEASE IN
FULL

Is someone bringing any of my stationery? Can you ask Claire to have a supply available, including the long narrow cards I've been using.

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, February 20, 2009 6:57 AM
To: Cheryl Mills <CMills@hillaryclinton.com>
Subject: Just landed

RELEASE IN
FULL

In China. Will be at hotel soon. Any news to report?

From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, February 20, 2009 5:41 PM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Subject: No new voice messages

RELEASE IN
FULL

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Lauren Jiloty
Special Assistant to
Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2009 10:32 PM
To: Hillary Clinton <hr15@att.blackberry.net>
Subject: Fw: Hope all is well in your first global trip as SOS for "humanpotential"

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Roy Spence
Date: Sat, 14 Feb 2009 20:51:56 -0600
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com<hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Hope all is well in your first global trip as SOS for "human potential"

This e-mail is intended only for the named person or entity to which it is addressed and contains valuable business information that is proprietary, privileged, confidential and/or otherwise protected from disclosure. If you received this email in error, any review, use, dissemination, distribution or copying of this email is strictly prohibited. Please notify us immediately of the error via email to disclaimenquiries@deacity.com and please delete the email from your system, retaining no copies in any media. We appreciate your cooperation.
-----Ideacity.legal.disclaimer 01112008

From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2009 7:36 AM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Subject: no new voice messages, 7:36 AM EST

RELEASE IN FULL

###

Lauren Jiloty
Special Assistant to
Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2009 9:47 PM
To: Cheryl Mills <CMills@hillaryclinton.com>
Subject: Can you talk?

RELEASE IN
FULL

Call my house Thx.

From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2009 10:42 AM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Subject: no new voice mails

RELEASE IN
FULL

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From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, February 25, 2009 10:24 AM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Subject: RE: no new voice messages

RELEASE IN FULL

Im not sure. I just checked again and there is nothing there. I'll take a look at it when you are back. It's possible that they are text messages. I will figure it out.

From: H [mailto:hdr22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, February 25, 2009 10:18 AM
To: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Re: no new voice messages

Why does my phone say it has two messages?

From: "Jiloty, Lauren C"
Date: Wed, 25 Feb 2009 09:27:45 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: no new voice messages
###

Lauren Jiloty
Special Assistant to
Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton

HA 09/01/2015

Subcommittee Chairmen and Ranking Members

- Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health
Chairman Donald M. Payne
Ranking Member Christopher H. Smith
- Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and the Global Environment
Chairman Eni F. H. Faleomavaega
Ranking Member Donald A. Manzullo
- Subcommittee on Europe
Chairman Robert Wexler
Ranking Member Elton Gallegly
- Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade
Chairman Brad Sherman
Ranking Member Edward R. Royce
- Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight
Chairman Bill Delahunt
Ranking Member Dana Rohrabacher
- Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia
Chairman Gary L. Ackerman
Ranking Member Dan Burton
- Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere
Chairman Eliot L. Engel
Ranking Member Connie Mack

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Luzzatto, Tamara (Clinton) <Tamara_Luzzatto@clinton.senate.gov>
Sent: Thursday, February 26, 2009 11:54 AM
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com'
Subject: Fw: Visit

RELEASE IN FULL

Small FYI. Of all people, Idaho's new Sen's chief asked to visit with me. He noted they went on Foreign Relations and he's ranking on the middle east subcomm.

From: Sandy, John (Risch)
To: Luzzatto, Tamara (Clinton)
Sent: Thu Feb 26 11:12:15 2009
Subject: Visit

Tamera,

Thank you for giving me a bit of your time.

What a wonderful opportunity you have had during your service with Senator Clinton.

Please pass along to the Secretary that we from Idaho extend wishes to her for her upmost success.

I wish you the very best in the next phase of your life.

I fully realize that we have only know each other for a few minutes but I am very sincere in saying that if there is ever anything I can do for you please do hesitate to ask.

John

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, February 26, 2009 5:42 PM
To: Lauren Jiloty <JilotyLC@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: Aspirational Diplomacy

RELEASE IN FULL

Pls print.

From: Doug Hattaway
Date: Thu, 26 Feb 2009 12:06:41 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: RE: Aspirational Diplomacy

Hi. Your first trip seems to have been successful from a communications point of view. The images of you from abroad were very positive. You looked friendly and firm with foreign leaders, and engaging with the people. It sure seemed like you were having fun!

The US media coverage was pretty good overall. The positive analysis focused on your "straightforward" style, campaign-like events, and the enthusiastic reception you received. The overall theme was a new approach to the world, which was exactly what the world needed to see.

As you know, there was some negative reaction to the perception that you put human rights on a back burner with China. The analysis of it was mixed (not uniformly negative) from the human rights commentators I saw quoted.

If it would be helpful, I'd be glad to have my team work up a content analysis of the coverage and commentary about your trip and that issue. You may recall we produced media content charts on our campaign events, to show us what messages were breaking through. The quantitative data helps to evaluate the coverage objectively, and may suggest ideas for message moving forward.

I'm sure your team has discussed it, but for what it's worth I think it would be helpful to remain visibly proactive on the human rights front. As you know, it's a central component of how many people define America's "moral leadership."

A speech to amplify the Administration's approach and commitment to the issue would be useful to some extent. It would likely be seen as a reaction to criticism, which is okay if the content generates positive commentary.

The main thing is to have a consistent stream of substantive words and deeds that advance human rights over time, which is more important than lecturing foreign diplomats and will win over the human rights advocates.

Per our previous exchange, if you'd like to get together to discuss the democracy area, of course I'd be glad to do that.

All the best, Doug

From: H [mailto:hdr22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, February 14, 2009 8:57 PM
To: Doug Hattaway
Subject: Re: Aspirational Diplomacy

Doug,

This is very helpful and along the lines of what I've been thinking. I hope we can get together when I'm back to

talk about this whole area. All the best.

From: Doug Hattaway

Date: Thu, 12 Feb 2009 09:43:57 -0500

To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>

Subject: RE: Aspirational Diplomacy

Hi! Hope you're doing well. Things look to be going very well at State.

I wanted to pass along another thought, this time about our message and approach to supporting democracy around the world. This is based on my work with NDI in the Middle East and North Africa.

As you may recall, I worked with the government of Lebanon, political parties and NGOs in a number of countries. We kept running into problems with the way democracy assistance was viewed in the U.S. and abroad.

Because of Bush's belligerence and the way the Republicans talk about advancing democracy as "promoting American values" and "winning the ideological war," the word "democracy" itself was tainted.

People who should support democracy and democratic governance were suspicious or hostile. Democratic reformers in many countries were put on the defensive, and even put in danger.

The Republican approach was more about selling democracy. Karen Hughes went around delivering lectures. They ran advertising campaigns, which were not well received overseas. (That's not surprising, since polls show commercial marketing and Hollywood exports contribute to negative perceptions of America.)

This is not to belittle good work done in public diplomacy, but the general orientation toward selling democracy as a concept (particularly in the context of invading Iraq) was ineffective at best and counter-productive at worst.

In response, we developed a new way to talk about this work that would distinguish our (Democratic) approach from the Republicans.

We talked about it as "helping people build democratic institutions." This frames the U.S. as helping people on the ground, rather than lecturing them about abstract principles. "Democratic institutions" are fair elections, representative political parties, independent citizens' groups and government that is open and accountable.

We focused on the benefits to foreign publics: "Democratic institutions and processes can help people in any society resolve conflicts peacefully and improve their lives."

And to the American public: "Helping people build more democratic societies will contribute to greater peace and stability throughout the world."

This isn't to retreat from proactively advancing democracy, which Democrats have long embraced. It's framing the work in more concrete terms and focusing on the benefits to people's lives.

I hope that's useful food for thought. There's more to this, and I'm happy to chat about it if you're interested. We can also talk about the aspirational messaging, if you'd like to follow up on our previous exchange on that.

Keep up the great work, Doug

From: H [mailto:hdr22@clintonemail.com]

Sent: Wednesday, January 28, 2009 9:46 PM

To: Doug Hattaway

Subject: Re: Aspirational Diplomacy

Doug,

So good to hear from you and this was very useful. I'd love to talk about it further. I'll contact you about setting up a time to get together. Thanks so much. All the best, H

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, February 26, 2009 9:29 PM
To: Cheryl Mills <CMills@hillaryclinton.com>
Subject: I'm home

RELEASE IN FULL

If you want to call before 11. Thx

From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, February 14, 2009 9:13 PM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Subject: Re: Domestic Violence Forum in NYC - April 18th

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Pls respond to this invite.

Will do.

From: H
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Sent: Sat Feb 14 21:00:15 2009
Subject: Fw: Domestic Violence Forum in NYC - April 18th

From: Prameela Bartholomeusz
Date: Sat, 14 Feb 2009 12:38:52 -0800
To: hr15@att.blackberry.net<hr15@att.blackberry.net>
Subject: Domestic Violence Forum in NYC - April 18th

Madam Secretary,

It would be an honor and privilege to have you present at a Domestic Violence Forum that the bipartisan women's group, the New Agenda, is sponsoring in NYC on April 18, 2009. Since the election, I have been seeking a home and a voice to fulfill my personal goals of giving back and investing my energies towards women's causes. I have joined The New Agenda as a founding member with the goal of supporting women in government and being an advocate for women's rights/issues. We were one of the first women's groups to speak out in support of Kirsten Gillebrand's appointment, which we believe was a win for America.

Domestic Violence in America is an issue long ignored and the statistics are staggering:

- \$1.8 Billion of wages and productivity are lost to DV each year.
- 8 million workdays are lost by DV victims each year (it is equivalent to 32,000 full time jobs).
- \$4.1 billion is spent annually on medical and mental health care as a direct result of DV.
- DV is the # cause of homelessness in 44% of the cities surveyed.

These are the statistics provided by a women's group that will be represented on our panel at the DV Forum. We would like to invite you and will invite Kirsten Gillebrand to join us in recognizing this tragedy for what it is for women and draw attention to the need to address this issue as the economic downturn drives these statistics even higher. Next steps would be to call for President Obama to declare a month as Domestic Violence Awareness month as a part of the larger agenda of seeing a new Commission for Women's Issues formed in 2009 by the Obama Administration.

Please support these efforts by being our guest at the Domestic Violence Forum in NYC on April 18th. The exact timing will be coordinated based on your schedule and availability.

You will also be receiving this letter from a source closer to you to ensure receipt. I fear this will go to your spam inbox. I have received a response from Capricia Marshall on your behalf in the past but I no longer have her contact information.

Kind regards,
Prameela Bartholomeusz
The New Agenda

B6

From: Huma Abedin [redacted]
Sent: Saturday, February 14, 2009 10:19 PM
To: humamahedin [redacted]
Subject: PrintFw. From Vartan Gregorian

B6

RELEASE
IN PART B6

B6

-----Original Message-----
From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Feb 14 20:53:54 2009
Subject: Fw: From Vartan Gregorian

Pls print.

B6

From: williamsbarrett [redacted]
Date: Fri, 13 Feb 2009 16:58:34 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: From Vartan Gregorian

FYI

Vartan wanted you to see -- this is like to be published somewhere -- thought it was pretty interesting

An Opportunity Missed, But Not Lost: What President Bush Should Have Written to Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

This February marks the 30th anniversary of the Iranian revolution. In what may yet prove to be an historical milestone of another kind, on February 10, President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad of Iran <<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/iran/index.html?inline=nyt-geo>> appeared to reach out in the Obama administration, saying that Tehran was ready for "talks based on mutual respect and in a fair atmosphere." This possible overture in what has otherwise seemed to be an unbreachable divide between the United States and Iran during the administration of President George W. Bush reminded me that the possibility of rapprochement between our two nations arose just a few years ago, but was ignored. I am referring to the fact that in May 2006, President Ahmadinejad wrote a far-ranging, 18-page letter to President George Bush discussing religious values, history and international relations. The letter went unanswered. During Ahmadinejad's visit to the UN later that year, he expressed his deep disappointment that President Bush had not responded to his missive.

As a student of the region and of United States-Iran relations, I believed then, and I believe now, that this was a missed opportunity—one of many. Ahmadinejad's letter provided President Bush with an opportunity to address the Iranian people directly to highlight America's longstanding relationship with Iran and clarify the Bush administration's views on the U.S.-Iran relationship.

At the time, thinking about these issues, I drafted a letter that might have served as a response by President Bush to the Iranian people. I offer it here.

=0 A

Vartan Gregorian

Dear President Ahmadinejad,

Your letter and recent public utterances have prompted me to review Iran's many contributions to the world, its relationship with the United States and the outstanding issues that now confront our two countries.

Mr. President, let me begin by stating that Americans are deeply mindful and respectful of the renowned achievements and rich cultural legacy of Iranian civilization, which reflect a virtually unparalleled degree of historical continuity. We are especially cognizant of the role that religion has played in your country's development. Some 2,500 years ago, Iranians gave the world Zoroastrianism, which among its core tenets, affirmed man's absolute free will to choose between evil and a Divine Creator, and our common destiny to face a final Day of Judgment. Although manifested in many different forms, these ancient tenets have been shared by the world's great religions. They underscore the basic truth that human beings not only can decide for themselves what is right and wrong, but also are accountable for their actions.

In the sixth century 20BC, Iranians gave us the Achaemenid Empire, and its enlightened leaders, Cyrus and Darius. It was Cyrus the Great who decreed that "all should be free to worship their gods without impediments or persecution"—a proclamation unique, not only for its time, but for centuries to come. Ending the Babylonian captivity of the Jews, Cyrus allowed their return to Palestine, and supported their right to live by Biblical law. His respect for cultural diversity and rights for the empire's "many people of many tongues" was emulated by his successors, making the Achaemenid Empire one of the most tolerant and pluralistic in history. This far-flung empire also served as a bridge between East and West, as Iranian art and architecture adorned the great cities of the empire from Babylon to Persepolis. The Achaemonida's unique administrative system became a model for other empires, while its emphasis on the teaching of science and philosophy, further advanced by its successor, the Sassanid empire, greatly influenced the eventual development of universities throughout the region and beyond.

Iran has endured many trials and tribulations over the ensuing centuries. Although conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century and converted to Islam, Iranians, drawing on their own early beliefs, helped to develop and then adhered to Shi'a Islam. At the dawn of the 16th century, the Safavids, with the glorious city of Isfahan

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as their capital, unified Iran and adopted Shi'a Islam as their empire's official religion. In the process, Iran was not only able to retain its cultural distinctiveness but also to infuse Islam with its great humanistic traditions. Reviving Iran's ancient devotion to religious tolerance, the Safavid king, Shah Abbas, treated Iran's Christians and Jews benevolently, and welcomed those fleeing persecution from other lands. It was this reputation that prompted Europe's Christian powers to seek his collaboration.

In that connection, it is important to keep in mind that throughout history, Iran's greatest strength has not derived from its arms or material wealth alone, but from its rich and resilient culture. For centuries, Iran conquered and in turn was conquered by many invading armies, including Macedonians, Arabs, Turks and Mongols. Yet the invaders were ultimately won over by Iranian culture, which, in effect, made them its converts and brought about the continual rejuvenation of the Iranian state. In the pursuit of knowledge, Iranians actively sought contact with scientists and philosophers from different regions. Even during periods of foreign domination, Iran's artistic and scientific spirit flourished and its poets, mystics and philosophers produced one of the greatest bodies of literature in the Muslim world and created a remarkable cultural and scientific heritage that still resonates today.

Having noted Iran's great cultural and historical legacy, and its ability to both enrich and be enriched through its interaction with other civilizations, let me now turn to the issue of United States-Iran relations. It is my contention that, with a few notable exceptions, especially during the last three decades, Iranians and Americans have, on the whole, enjoyed remarkably positive relations. This strong legacy of mutual amity and respect provides reason for optimism that both our countries will be able to put aside our current differences and reestablish the goodwill that once served us both so well.

To begin with, we are proud that during the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, our missionaries worked throughout Iran. Although they converted few Muslims to Christianity, they did establish the first modern hospitals and the first modern educational institutions in Iran. In 1856, the United States granted Iran most favored nation trade status and welcomed Iranian students to its universities. When Iranians launched their constitutional revolution in 1906, Americans welcomed the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. The young American schoolteacher, Howard Baskerville, who joined the constitutionalists and was martyred in Tabriz in 1909, is still regarded as one of the heroes of the revolution. It was also an American, W. Morgan Schuster, who came to the aid of Iran and organized its customs to serve as a revenue source designed not to be controlled by either Great Britain or Russia, and wrote a classic, anti-colonial book, *The Strangling of Persia*.

When, despite its neutrality during World War I, Iran was invaded by Russian and Ottoman troops, the United States defended its territorial integrity. Americans later welcomed an Iranian delegation to Versailles, where President Woodrow Wilson was the lone world leader to support Iran's claim for compensation from Britain and Russia for the effects of their wartime occupation. During World War II, following the Allied occupation of Iran and the exile of Reza Shah Pahlavi, the United States and its allies retained the institution of the monarchy as a symbol of unity and continuity of Iranian statehood. During that period, Iran played a crucial role as a conduit for American assistance to the Soviet war effort. At the end of the war it was, once again, the United States that resolutely protected the territorial integrity of Iran and forced the Soviets to leave the northern part of the country without allowing a Soviet monopoly over its energy resources.

After the outbreak of the Cold War, the United States recognized the vital importance of Iran as a regional power. We helped build Iran's armed forces by providing training as well as over a billion dollars of modern armaments, and supported Iran's leadership of the Baghdad Pact and Central Treaty Organization. Between 1953 and 1978, we provided Iran with the most advanced weapons systems on a par with those available to our NATO allies. We were eager to help Iran become a modern economic and political superpower in the region and thus provided Iran with a broad range of economic assistance, as well, including support for the diversification of its energy resources.

American acceptance of Iran's decision to nationalize its oil industry in 1951, coupled with its successful resistance to Great Britain's plans to seize Iranian oil fields by force, was followed by U.S. assistance to modernize these operations. This assistance enabled Iran to raise its oil production and prices, which, in turn, gave the country the necessary revenues to modernize its economy, armed forces, and physical and social infrastructure.

During the height of the Cold War, the United States and its allies, as well as the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact partners, made various miscalculations and errors. Both camps were so obsessed with one another's seemingly monolithic doctrines and zero-sum policies that they misjudged the nature of such potent historic and cultural forces as religion and nationalism. After the departure of Soviet troops from Iran, the United States remained deeply concerned about possible Communist infiltration, especially during the premiership of Dr. Mohammed Mossadeq. Although Dr. Mossadeq was hosted at the White House by President Harry Truman, who compared him to American patriots Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine, and was hailed by Time Magazine as its "Man of the Year" in 1951, by the time a new American presidential administration took office in 1952, Cold War imperatives and mistrust were ascendant.

In 1953, the United States, assisted by local elements opposed to the Mossadeq government, including religious leaders such as Ayatollah Abolqasem Kashani, military officers, monarchists and others, precipitated its demise. We did not recognize that a nationalist, secular and democratic Iran would have been a great counterforce against Communism. Neither did we appreciate the sagacity of the Iranian national leadership and the power of nationalism. We were wrong. On the other hand, we were right in assisting with the modernization of the Iranian armed forces, which became one of the major factors that made Iran a great regional power and helped it defend itself against well-armed Iraqi aggression in 1979. It is a fact that the United States was a long-time supporter of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, who succeeded his father as Iran's ruler. As a pro-Western, secular nationalist, America viewed the Shah as an important bulwark against Communism. The United States supported the Shah's ambitions to make Iran a regional superpower and also considered it, as we do today, a key to regional stability. America welcomed Iran's efforts to promote economic ties among Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and other powers in an effort to avert conflict, which would only impede Iran's and the region's prospects.

Contrary to Iran's official propaganda, the United States did not break diplomatic relations in response to the Iranian Revolution, which we accepted and with which we endeavored to establish a working relationship. We broke our diplomatic ties only in 1979 when, in violation of international law, Iranian elements occupied the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, seized fifty-six American diplomats and held them hostages for 444 days.

Mr. President, no country, certainly no country in possession of the vast power of the United States, would have failed to act under such circumstances. But we restrained our response, because the powerful have the option not to exercise their power. The United States chose this option, not out of weakness, but out of a sense of responsibility. It distinguished between the Iranian government, and its people and their basic common sense and decency. With hopes that reason would eventually prevail, the U.S. reluctantly tolerated the situation because of the importance we placed on the long-term relationship between our countries. Given the history of this painful period, it is continually surprising that, when abroad, Iranian officials never mention the hostage crisis that triggered the breakup of our diplomatic relations.

Let me now turn to a more recent and vexing problem that has proven to be a major obstacle to the reestablishment of normal diplomatic relations and the resumption of our historically positive interaction. Notwithstanding your recent reaffirmation of Iran's adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which your country ratified in 1970, and your pledge that "all [your] nuclear activities are transparent, peaceful and under the watchful eye of International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA]," we continue to have grave concerns—not about Iran's official pledges but rather, about its actions and intentions.

Why, you ask, do we challenge what you view as your legally recognized rights under the NPT? To be clear, we have never been opposed to Iran's being able to enjoy

"the peaceful benefits of nuclear energy." However, as you well know, this is a qualified right, mandating that all signatories to the NPT meet certain requirements. In our opinion—and those of other countries and the IAEA, itself—you have given insufficient attention to such requirements. Let me remind you that the United States was the driving force behind the development of Iran's nuclear research capacity through the Atoms for Peace program and reached agreement with Iran as long ago as 1957 for cooperation on civil uses of atomic power. A decade later, it was the United States that supplied technical assistance and fuel for a nuclear reactor. America supported the establishment of the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran in 1974 and, in the following year, concluded a fifteen-year pact calling for the construction of eight nuclear reactors in Iran while encouraging the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to provide training for Iranian nuclear engineers. In 1978, just a year before the Iranian revolution, the United States signed yet another agreement with Iran to facilitate further cooperation in the field of nuclear energy. It was, in fact, Iran's revolutionary government that decided in 1979 to suspend the country's nuclear program, only to later seek its revival with external assistance from both state and non-state actors.

Although we welcomed Iran's supreme religious leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's fatwa against Iran's "stockpiling, production or use of nuclear weapons," given the disturbing revelations about your 18-year-long, mostly clandestine nuclear program, your unwillingness to respond satisfactorily to certain questions about your past nuclear activities and determined efforts to produce fissile material despite IAEA and UN Security Council demands to desist, it is not surprising that doubts remain about your ultimate intentions. Your own assertion that Islam, by its very nature, is incompatible with nuclear weapons is, unfortunately, not reassuring in view of the fact that we have witnessed the apparent alacrity with which Pakistan, an Islamic state, developed its own nuclear weapons. Perhaps the Shi'a Islam that guides Iran compels the country to hew more closely to the spirit of Islam, and under no circumstances would Iran consider following Pakistan's example. But, as you know, the international community, as expressed through various UN Security Council resolutions, is not prepared to take such a calculated risk. The issue, then, is not Iran's rights under the NPT; the issue is one of trust—whether certain elements in the Iranian government might be tempted to take the next step and develop a nuclear weapons program. The aim of America and its allies is to dissuade you from embarking on such a course.

Hence, the challenge is to balance Iran's exercise of its NPT-mandated rights with the need to ensure its compliance with legally binding treaty obligations. Let me reiterate that we have always welcomed consideration of a wide range of creative options for addressing Iranian concerns and those of the international community, including proposals for guaranteed supplies of nuclear fuel from specific countries such as Russia, or from the IAEA. The United States has expressed its readiness to end its decades-long policy not to have direct talks with Iran and is prepared to sit down with you and discuss all the issues that separate us, including Iran's current nuclear enrichment program and Iran's links with groups inimical to peace in the region. In the spirit of mutual respect, we also are ready to discuss your legitimate aspirations as a major regional power and to cease all talk of "regime change" in Iran as well as to provide your country with the security assurances it seeks to protect its sovereignty and independence. All of this is possible only if we find an internationally acceptable resolution to the problem posed by Iran's enrichment of uranium.

The primary obstacle to direct, bilateral dialogue—a goal that you yourself have affirmed in interviews with Western media—is your determination to continue with this enrichment in violation of UN Security Council resolutions. If your nuclear energy program leads to a nuclear weapons program, it will have a destabilizing effect on future developments in the Gulf Region by threatening to spur a nuclear race among other states with the knowledge and capacity—as well as the financial resources, which is the case with such countries as Saudi Arabia—to develop not only nuclear energy, but nuclear weapons in order to maintain parity and achieve a "nuclear balance of power." In addition, the actual development of a weapon is not necessary in order to have the world acknowledge the sophistication and ability of Iranian scientists; their knowledge has already brought Iran into the select group of forty states with nuclear capacity. Our hope is that Iran, even if it has the resources to develop a nuclear weapon, also will have the resolve and wisdom to refrain from doing so. In exchange for verifiable forbearance and compliance with international norms and legal obligations, Iran will not only be in a position to enjoy mutually beneficial relations with the United States, but also with the European Union, other regional and world powers and, potentially, with the broad membership of the World Trade Organization.

It is important to underscore that the United States is not against Iran or the Iranian people. If that were the case, the U.S. would not have helped defeat two of Iran's major, long-term adversaries, Saddam Hussein and the Taliban, whose demise has helped Iran reassert its regional power and influence. Regrettably, both the United States and Iran, suspicious of one another's aims, have missed several opportunities in recent years to normalize diplomatic relations. Following the tragic events of September 11, 2001, we were greatly impressed that two Iranian leaders, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and President Muhammad Khatami, were among the first world figures to condemn the dastardly assault on America and the killing of innocent civilians. As President Khatami said, "the horrific attacks, were perpetrated by [a] cult of fanatics who had self-mutilated their ears and tongues, and could only communicate with perceived opponents through carnage and destruction." Indeed, President Khatami described 9/11 as "one of the greatest calamities" of our time. Americans were also deeply moved by the spontaneous candlelight vigil held in Tehran to honor the victims of these attacks. Iran's assistance was welcomed during the struggle to dislodge the Taliban in Afghanistan as was the development assistance Iran provided to the Afghan government and people. Although this empathetic and collaborative spirit was not capitalized upon to establish a more lasting, positive relationship, such missteps do not have to determine our future path.

As we both know, Iran and the United States have many common interests in the region. In Iraq, both support the success of the duly elected government of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, the country's unity and territorial integrity, and the avoidance of sectarian strife that might incite a larger regional Shi'a-Sunni conflict. A strong, vibrant Iraq will also provide Iran with a reliable trading partner and assist in the broader economic development of the region, to the benefit of all concerned. Similarly, both countries support the unity, stability and development of Afghanistan, the repatriation of Afghan refugees now on Iranian soil, the defeat of a resurgent and militant Taliban, and the eradication of the country's opium crop, which has contributed to Iran's growing problems with heroin addiction and the spread of HIV/AIDS.

In our view, the potential for establishing a mutually beneficial, cooperative relationship between Iran and the United States has been diminished by persistent official Iranian hostility. Dismayingly, ever since the Iranians seized the U.S. Embassy in 1979, there have been periodic, well-orchestrated, officially inspired demonstrations throughout Iran against the United States, at which the dominant chant for some thirty years has been "Death to America." Iranian leaders also never seem to tire of calling America the very incarnation of the "Great Satan," without specifying whether they are impugning America's policies, its government, its people, or all of the above. When Americans take offense at these ritualistic, "spontaneous" denunciations, they are told by Iranians not to take such anti-American utterances seriously. But when the United States, after three decades of such provocations, describes Iran as part of an "Axis of Evil" for its support of anti-U.S., anti-Western, anti-Arab allies of the U.S. and Europe, and anti-Israeli activities—including those of militarist and terrorist groups—Iranian officials are offended because, unlike their own utterances, which they claim are only rhetorical, they paradoxically assert that only statements made by Americans must be taken at face value.

Other pronouncements by Iranian leaders and by you, personally, Mr. President, are equally troubling. Since Iran was one of the original signatories of the UN Charter, which affirmed the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states, a right that you reaffirmed in your address to the United Nations on September 19, 2006, your call for the elimination of the state of Israel, questioning of its validity and mockery of the Holocaust are an affront to both logic and human decency. After all, Iran was one of the first countries to sign the Genocide Convention and—directly to that point—in 1942, was refuge for an estimated 115,000 Jewish refugees, mostly Polish, fleeing Nazi persecution. In the poignant words of one Polish Jewish émigré, Helena Woloch, "Exhausted by hard labor, disease and starvation... we disembarked at the port of Pahlevi [where]... we knelt down together in our thousands along the sandy shoreline to kiss the soil of Persia. We were free at last and had reached our long-promised land." Iran has, in fact, one of the world's oldest Jewish communities. There is a mausoleum for the biblical figures Esther and Mordechai in Hamadan, and for David in Susa. One can disagree with Israeli policies and defend Palestinian rights without belittling the historical tragedy that befell the Jewish people.

In that connection, and in light of the current impasse in the region, the United States, together with leading Arab states, supports a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli dispute. Ultimately, it is up to the Palestinians to negotiate an agreement that they believe is just and that will allow them to realize their long-sought aspiration

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for statehood. Once they do, the United States, the Arab League, Turkey and other powers, including Iran, have an obligation to help ensure that such an agreement is long-lasting and provides the region with much needed peace and an opportunity to fulfill its great economic and social potential. The time has come to acknowledge that mature countries living in an increasingly interdependent world can no longer afford to communicate through slogans, recriminations and tendentious rhetoric. Investing the precious financial and human resources of Iran in posturing and in demonizing the United States and its allies is conducive neither to mutual understanding nor peace. Statesmen should eschew these affectations in favor of problem solving. The resolution of the endemic problems that divide the U.S. and Iran requires an honest, realistic and mutually respectful approach that lowers the temperature and volume of public oratory, and opens channels of quiet and discreet dialogue and diplomacy.

Despite Iran's roots in antiquity, it is, demographically, a young country, with more than two-thirds of the population under the age of thirty. Improved, normal relations with the United States and its allies will help Iran achieve its tremendous potential and fulfill the specific responsibilities spelled out in your 1979 Constitution, which states that its ultimate objectives are:

"...achieving the economic independence of the society, uprooting poverty and deprivation, and fulfilling human needs in the process of development while preserving human liberty. ...[including] ensuring conditions and opportunities of employment for everyone, with a view to attaining full employment. ...and [allowing for] all citizens of the country, both men and women, to equally enjoy the protection of the law and enjoy all human, political, economic, social and cultural rights."

These are rights that resonate deeply with Americans. The United States takes pride in the fact that, prior to, and even after the severance of diplomatic relations with Iran, American universities provided opportunities for higher education and training for over 100,000 Iranian students, including doctors, engineers, architects and scholars in the humanities and social sciences. Americans also are gratified that there are an estimated one million Iranian-Americans living in the United States and fully integrated into American society. Having taken full advantage of the opportunities that a free society offers to all our citizens, they have made significant contributions in many areas and have achieved impressive academic, professional and financial success while retaining their cultural heritage.

The United States welcomes a new chapter in the history of both Iran and the U.S. that builds on the vibrant record of cooperation and goodwill that has long marked Iranian-America relations, and offers even greater opportunities for the people of both countries to prosper and live in peace. In the wise and timeless words of guidance from the great Hazrat Ali ibn Abi Talib, the fourth Caliph and son-in-law of the Prophet Mohammed, to the newly appointed governor of Egypt, "... Peace will bring rest and comfort to your armies, will relieve you of anxieties and worries, and will bring prosperity and affluence to your people."

I close this letter with another quote from Caliph Ali, who is revered in Iran. His words speak even more profoundly to the specific challenges and opportunities facing a great state, such as Iran, which seeks to follow the path of righteousness laid out by its founding spiritual leader, and recognizes the inherent fallibility, as well as redemptive potential, that marks the human condition.

"...There are two kinds of people, those who have the same religion as you [and] are brothers to you, and those who have religions other than yours. [who] are human beings like you. Men of either category suffer from the same weaknesses and disabilities that human beings are inclined to, they commit sins, indulge in vices either intentionally or foolishly and unintentionally without realizing the enormity of their deeds. Let your mercy and compassion come to their rescue and help in the same way and to the same extent that you expect Allah to show mercy and forgiveness to you."

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

Carnations mean admiration, Tulips mean love - what do Roses mean? Find out now! <<http://shopping.aol.com/articles/2009/02/02/flowers-by-meanings?ncid=AOLCOMMshopdspwebf0001>>

B6

From: Huma Abedin [REDACTED]
Sent: Saturday, February 14, 2009 10:19 PM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: PrintFw: State/Treas

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

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

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Feb 14 20:54:34 2009
Subject: Fw: State/Treas

Pls print.

From: Jake Sullivan
Date: Sat, 14 Feb 2009 20:09:37 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: State/Treas

B5

Again apologies -- not sure why these emails just arrived.

[REDACTED]

A paper laying out the basic structure we have proposed is in the binder you received tonight. Happy to discuss further tomorrow.

On Sat, Feb 14, 2009 at 2:26 PM, H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

B5

[REDACTED]

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, February 14, 2009 11:21 PM
To: Bill Owens
Cc: Huma Abedin <HAbedin@hillaryclinton.com>
Subject: Following up.

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

Dear Bill--

I enjoyed talking w you about my upcoming trip to China and appreciate, as always, your insights and advice.

I hope I will be able to see you in Beijing, and, by copy of this email, I am asking my Deputy COS, Huma Abedin, to advise you of my schedule so we can try to connect in person while I'm there.

In any event, I will follow up on the points you made in my meetings. All the best, Hillary

From: Capricia Penavic Marshall [REDACTED]
Sent: Saturday, February 14, 2009 11:25 PM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Subject:

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Please let me know if you still need to speak

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, February 15, 2009 6:51 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Marina print
Attach: StateBriefing090215[1].doc; StateClips090215[1].doc

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Diekman, Lauren M
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants; SES-O_OS; SES-O_SWO-Only
Sent: Sun Feb 15 06:00:51 2009
Subject: Daily Press Clips and News Briefing

Ms. Abedin,

Please see the attached Press Clips and News Briefing as requested.

Thank you,

Lauren Diekman
Operations Specialist
State Department Operations, S/ES-O

From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, February 15, 2009 9:58 AM
To: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: final schedule for monday -- attached
Attach: February.16.09.final.doc

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

HA 09/01/2015

SCHEDULE FOR SECRETARY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 2009

RELEASE IN PART B6

FINAL

TOKYO, JAPAN

SPECIAL ASSISTANT: LONA VALMORO

OFFICE (202) 647-9071

CELL

B6

STAFF ASSISTANT: LINDA DEWAN

OFFICE (202) 647-5733

CELL

TOKYO:

JASON MACK

CELL

JAKARTA:

EUGENE BAE

CELL

SEOUL:

JR LITTLEJOHN

CELL

BEIJING:

KATIE STANA

CELL

PREV RON En route Tokyo

7:30 pm
(5:30 am EST)

ARRIVE Haneda Airport, Tokyo

Greeters:

James Zumwalt, Charge d'Affaires

Ms. Ann Kambara, Tokyo American Center Director

Shintaro Ito, State Secretary For Foreign Affairs

Ambassador Ichiro Fujisaki, Japanese Ambassador to the U.S.

Mr. Kazuyoshi Umemoto, MFA DG First North American Bureau

Mr. Yoshinori Furukawa, Haneda Airport Administration

7:40 pm
8:00 pm

ARRIVAL CEREMONY IN TOKYO

VIP Imperial Room, Haneda Airport

OPEN PRESS

- HRC enters the room with Charge Zumwalt, Ms. Kambara, A/S Hill and GOJ Officials.

- State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Shintaro Ito makes welcoming remarks.

**SCHEDULE FOR SECRETARY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 2009**

- HRC makes brief remarks, takes group photos with the Special Olympians and astronauts, and departs.

8:05 pm

DEPART Haneda Airport
En route Hotel Okura
[drive time. 25 minutes]

Main: HRC, Huma
Spare Limo: Sullivan
Charge Limo: Zumwalt and Kambara
Staff Van 1: Bader, Selva, Stern, and Wood
Staff Van 2: Alston, Lumpkin, Macmanus, Muscatine, and Wohlers
Staff Van 3: Beale, Coleman, and Crosby
Press Van: Kiki McLean, Simon and Traveling Press

8:30 pm
(6:30 am EST)

ARRIVE Hotel Okura

Greeter: Mr. Noriyoshi Ogawa, President and General Manager,
Hotel Okura

HRC RON Hotel Okura
WJC RON

B6

Weather:

Tokyo, Japan: Partly cloudy, high 54, low 37.

RON: Hotel Okura Tokyo
2-10-4 Toranomom
Minato-ku, Tokyo 105-001 Japan
Phone: + 81 (3) 3582-0111
Fax: +81 (3) 3582-3707

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, February 15, 2009 11:08 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: Fw: Last Asia trip pre-departure schedule
Attach: Secy Clinton Asia trip schedule 2-09 doc.docx

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B7(C),B6

From: Wohlers, Paul

To: Bennett, Virginia L; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; McLean, Lori A; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Burns, Deborah M; Valmoro, Lona J; Shapiro, Andrew J; Miotke, Jeffrey A (OES); 'Lissa Muscatine'; Lukens, Lewis A; D Duty Officer; SimB6
Jessica L (PACE); Coleman, Claire L; Macmanus, Joseph E; Wood, Robert A (PACE); Cook, Brian K; [REDACTED] B7(C)
(DS/P/SD); [REDACTED] Col JCS SJS ACJCS'; 'jbader'; Stern, Todd D

Cc: Beale, Courtney A Kramer; Crosby, John R; Ruggles, Taylor V; Smith, Daniel B; Merten, Kenneth H; Zeya, Uzra S; Thompson, Dean R; Sullivan, Stephanie S; SES-O_SWO-Only; Davis, Jennifer L (S Staff); Bishop, Christopher W; Russell, Daniel A; Crocker, Bathsheba N; Dewan, Linda L; Adler, Caroline E; Davies, Glyn T; Arvizu, Alex A; Marciel, Scot A; Scandola, JoAnn E; Norris, John J

Sent: Sat Feb 14 21:24:42 2009

B6

Subject: Last Asia trip pre-departure schedule

I also will be bringing copies to the plane tomorrow. From then on, final daily schedules will be coming from the advance officers.

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

HA 09/01/2015

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, February 15, 2009 9:42 PM
To: Cheryl Mills
Subject: Re: Any word from Kim?

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

I let me know I'm taking off. Bye.

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

From: Cheryl Mills
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Sent: Feb 15, 2009 9:40 PM
Subject: RE: Any word from Kim?

yes- tomorrow.

but we only have a cell that he indicates that he does not take messages from

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

From: H [mailto:hdr22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, February 15, 2009 9:40 PM
To: Cheryl Mills
Subject: Re: Any word from Kim?

Should I call him?

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

From: Cheryl Mills
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Sent: Feb 15, 2009 9:37 PM
Subject: RE: Any word from Kim?

not yet - he may take weekend to mean through Monday given it's a holiday

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

From: H [mailto:hdr22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, February 15, 2009 9:37 PM
To: Cheryl Mills
Subject: Any word from Kim?

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, February 19, 2009 11:05 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: PrintFw: U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom - 22 USC 6431

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com'
Sent: Thu Feb 19 09:36:49 2009
Subject: FW: U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom - 22 USC 6431

FYI - can't recall if she got this but shared the substance with her.

From: Kennedy, Patrick F
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tue Feb 17 19:08:41 2009
Subject: U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom - 22 USC 6431
Cheryl

Per discussion today

9 member body ? three appointed by POTUS, three by House, and three by Senate

Amb. at Large is ex-officio, non-voting member

Regards

pat

§ 6431. Establishment and composition

How Current is This?

(a) In general

There is established the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom.

(b) Membership

(1) Appointment

The Commission shall be composed of?

(A) the Ambassador at Large, who shall serve ex officio as a nonvoting member of the Commission; and

(B) Nine ⁽¹⁾ other members, who shall be United States citizens who are not being paid as officers or employees of the United States, and who shall be appointed as follows:

(i) Three members of the Commission shall be appointed by the President.

(ii) Three members of the Commission shall be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate, of which two of the members shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the leader in the Senate of the political party that is not the political party of the President, and of which one of the members shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the leader in the Senate of the other political party.

(iii) Three members of the Commission shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, of which two of the members shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the leader in the House of the political party that is not the political party of the President, and of which one of the members shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the leader in the House of the other political party.

(2) Selection

(A) In general

HA 09/01/2015

Members of the Commission shall be selected among distinguished individuals noted for their knowledge and experience in fields relevant to the issue of international religious freedom, including foreign affairs, direct experience abroad, human rights, and international law.

(B) Security clearances

Each member of the Commission shall be required to obtain a security clearance.

(3) Time of appointment

The appointments required by paragraph (1) shall be made not later than 120 days after October 27, 1998.

(c) Terms

(1) In general

The term of office of each member of the Commission shall be 2 years. The term of each member of the Commission appointed to the first two-year term of the Commission shall be considered to have begun on May 15, 1999, and shall end on May 14, 2001, regardless of the date of appointment to the Commission. The term of each member of the Commission appointed to the second two-year term of the Commission shall begin on May 15, 2001, and shall end on May 14, 2003, regardless of the date of appointment to the Commission. In the case in which a vacancy in the membership of the Commission is filled during a two-year term of the Commission, such membership on the Commission shall terminate at the end of that two-year term of the Commission. Members of the Commission shall be eligible for reappointment to a second term.

(2) Establishment of staggered terms

(A) In general

Notwithstanding paragraph (1), members of the Commission appointed to serve on the Commission during the period May 15, 2003, through May 14, 2005, shall be appointed to terms in accordance with the provisions of this paragraph.

(B) Presidential appointments

Of the three members of the Commission appointed by the President under subsection (b)(1)(B)(i) of this section, two shall be appointed to a 1-year term and one shall be appointed to a 2-year term.

(C) Appointments by the President pro tempore of the Senate

Of the three members of the Commission appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate under subsection (b)(1)(B)(ii) of this section, one of the appointments made upon the recommendation of the leader in the Senate of the political party that is not the political party of the President shall be appointed to a 1-year term, and the other two appointments under such clause shall be 2-year terms.

(D) Appointments by the Speaker of the House of Representatives

Of the three members of the Commission appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives under subsection (b)(1)(B)(iii) of this section, one of the appointments made upon the recommendation of the leader in the House of the political party that is not the political party of the President shall be to a 1-year term, and the other two appointments under such clause shall be 2-year terms.

(E) Appointments to 1-year terms

The term of each member of the Commission appointed to a 1-year term shall be considered to have begun on May 15, 2003, and shall end on May 14, 2004, regardless of the date of the appointment to the Commission. Each vacancy which occurs upon the expiration of the term of a member appointed to a 1-year term shall be filled by the appointment of a successor to a 2-year term.

(F) Appointments to 2-year terms

Each appointment of a member to a two-year term shall identify the member succeeded thereby, and each such term shall end on May 14 of the year that is at least two years after the expiration of the previous term, regardless of the date of the appointment to the Commission.

(d) Election of Chair

At the first meeting of the Commission after May 30 of each year, a majority of the members of the Commission present and voting shall elect the Chair of the Commission.

(e) Quorum

Six voting members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum for purposes of transacting business.

(f) Meetings

Each year, within 15 days, or as soon as practicable, after the issuance of the Country Report on Human Rights Practices, the Commission shall convene. The Commission shall otherwise meet at the call of the Chair or, if no Chair has been elected for that calendar year, at the call of six voting members of the Commission.

(g) Vacancies

Any vacancy of the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made. A member may serve after the expiration of that member's term until a

successor has taken office. Any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring before the expiration of the term for which the member's predecessor was appointed shall be appointed only for the remainder of that term.

(h) Administrative support

The Administrator of General Services shall provide to the Commission on a reimbursable basis (or, in the discretion of the Administrator, on a nonreimbursable basis) such administrative support services as the Commission may request to carry out the provisions of this subchapter.

(i) Funding

Members of the Commission shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence at rates authorized for employees of agencies under subchapter I of chapter 57 of title 5 while away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission.

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, February 19, 2009 11:05 AM
To: humanabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: PrintFw: NOTE to HRC from J Prince (you can print attached if easier)
Attach: 2009-02-18 Memo for S from JPrince - draft.docx; ATT61682.txt

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5, B6

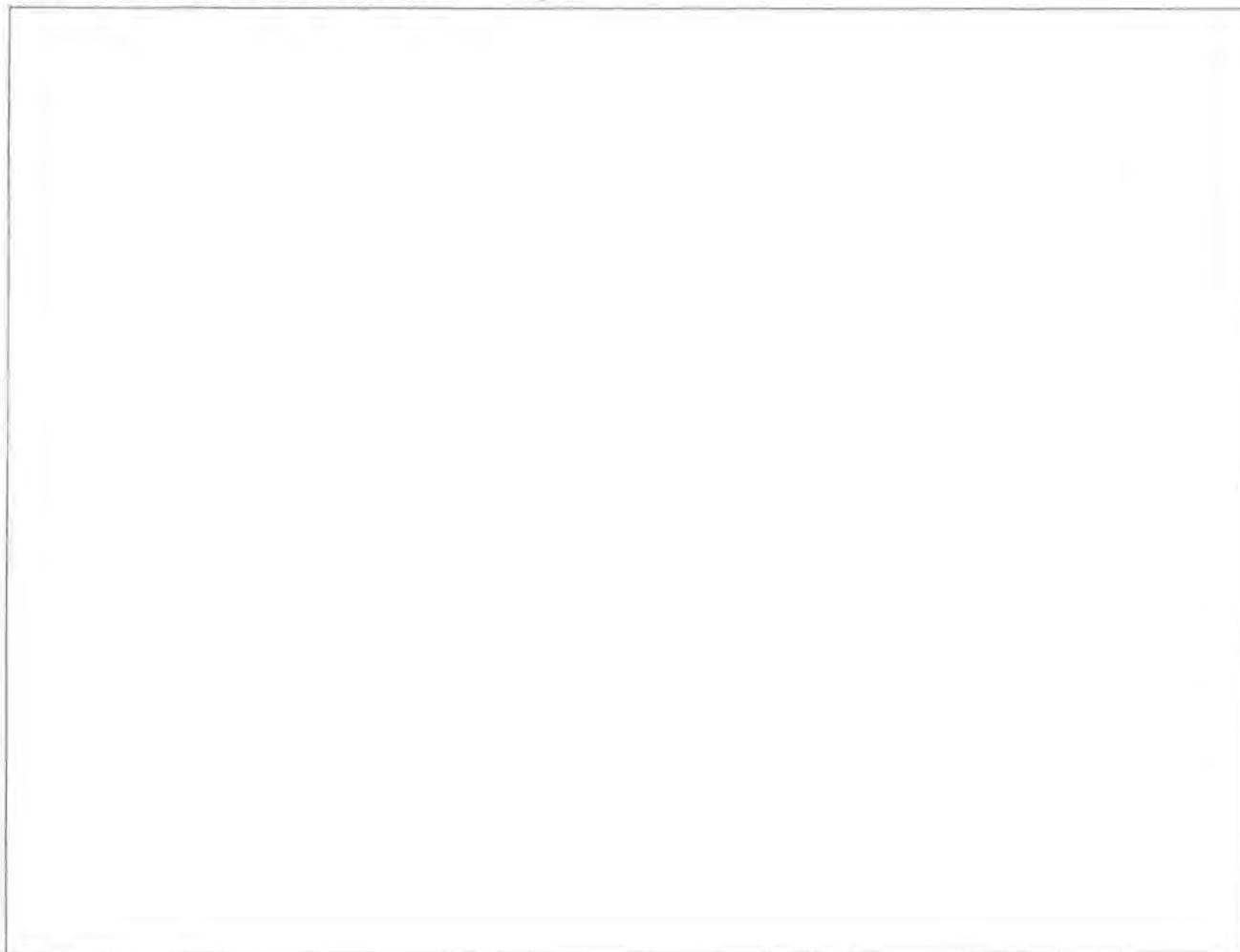
----- Original Message -----

From: Mills, Cheryl D
To: Abedin, Huma
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thu Feb 19 09:30:37 2009
Subject: FW: NOTE to HRC from J Prince (you can print attached if easier)

NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY
February 18, 2009

B5

FROM: Jonathan Prince
SUBJECT: Putting the diplomacy back in public diplomacy



-----Original Message-----
From: Jonathan Prince [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 18, 2009 3:28 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: note

B6

Here you go, I bolded a few sentences too, the ones that were essentially recs, and [redacted]

B5

From: Burns Strider [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, February 19, 2009 5:50 PM
To: hdr22@clintonemail.com
Subject: RE: YOU GO!!!

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

You would have to travel to all my old "20-something" stomping grounds for your first trip... it totally exacerbates my envy! The Baptist Mission offices for Japan are in the area of Tokyo that houses many of the foreign embassies and legations... the Mission has marvelous quarters for guests... [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

I always found the silence around the legislative building in Tokyo (isn't it called the Diet or something like that?) pretty analogous to how little is really known of how things are moved to reality and fruition in their governmental processes... Japan is more of an enigma to me than China... there's something basic, core-like about China (not always good) that I felt and understood...

Beijing is a remarkable city... one of my favorites on the globe... there's a hill on the backside of the Forbidden City... the hill is called Jingshahn... its man-made with a massive open pagoda at the top... it was made to keep the evil spirits from the north out of the Forbidden City... [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

BTW: the news coming out of your trip is refreshing... it's a very American trip you are carrying out... how long has it been since Americans have been able to open the paper and see their voice to the world lecturing at a foreign university... talking about Democratic ideals and the human experience as seen through the American dream... its really cool what you are doing...

Hang in there...

Burns Strider
Founding Partner
The Eleison Group

www.eleisongroup.com

From: H [mailto:hdr22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, February 18, 2009 11:56 AM
To: Burns Strider
Subject: Re: YOU GO!!!

Thanks for keeping up w me! This is sent all the way from Jakarta.

From: "Burns Strider"
Date: Tue, 17 Feb 2009 13:17:32 -0500
To: Clinton Hillary<hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: YOU GO!!!

"Clinton's remarks came in response to a question about the "prejudice" in the United States against Muslims because of terrorism, a term she rejected forcefully, pointing to the history of Christians. 'I am a Christian,' she said. 'Through the centuries we have had many people who have done terrible things in the name of Christianity. They have perverted the religion.'"

This is one of your strongest areas when discussing faith, if I may say so, boss . . . Not knocking your brand but honestly assessing the perversions wrought by human dictate vs the authentic, pure and lofty ideals taught and exemplified by God... You do it naturally when talking about your own denomination and when talking about faith writ large...

There's an intrinsic value found in the world's holy teachings that is found nowhere else. The Golden Rule abounds across the spectrum, for example... Beyond the shadows of human failure there's a common purpose and good that inspires all the nations...

Burns Strider
Founding Partner
The Eleison Group

www.eleisongroup.com

From: Huma Abedin [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, February 20, 2009 10 27 AM
To: hcr22@clintonemail.com
Subject:

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

Steinberg's office thinks you are trying to reach him. Ops can connect you if you do.
I tried to knock on your door to check [REDACTED]
Will wake you at 7am

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, February 21, 2009 11:48 PM
To: Huma Abedin <HAbedin@hillaryclinton.com>
Subject: Fw: Fwd: A case of great minds perhaps????Capitalizing on Connectivity

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Pls print.

B6

From: williamsbarrett [redacted]
Date: Sat, 21 Feb 2009 18:32:03 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>; <cmills [redacted]>
Subject: Fwd: A case of great minds perhaps????Capitalizing on Connectivity

B6

Note from Judith after having read this article - (thanks for this Cheryl - was Anne-Marie preparing a more formal memo on public diplomacy

I swear I did not read this before I wrote the memo I just sent!!! However, it does support the proposition I described. Nice to know many of us are on the same page. Now all we have to do its make it happen, and fast!

JM

How to Succeed in the Networked Century

By Bradley W. Bloch, Huffington Post

Posted February 20, 2009 | 10:12 AM (EST)

A large part of the reason Barack20Obama defeated Hillary Clinton in last year's Democratic primary can be reduced to the fact that he mobilized his bottom-up network better than she mobilized her top-down one. So it was notable that even before formally taking over the State Department, Clinton named Anne-Marie Slaughter, Dean of Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School, to lead the department's internal think tank, the Policy Planning Staff. Slaughter has been a vocal advocate of viewing the world through a network lens. Most recently, her article in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, "America's Edge: Power in the Networked Century," argues that America's best future lies in positioning itself as the world's most networked nation, the hub of information, ideas, and resources flowing though the global economy

I couldn't agree more, having argued here that the White House, rather than focusing on illusory conflicts of interest involving the Clinton Foundation, should be encouraging the State Department to steal what they can from the Clinton Global Initiative and similar groups -- organizations that facilitate innovation by acting as the network broker between innovators, governments, and private enterprise. Slaughter's article extends this argument to important policy arenas, but in the process raises an important issue that will need to be addressed if networks are to play a substantial role in securing America's place in the world.

As Slaughter points=2 0out, the ability to innovate, seize opportunity, and marshal resources to advance an agenda boils down to managing and orchestrating networks. Slaughter cites a number of examples of what can be achieved through what is sometimes called "network entrepreneurship": multinational collaboration regarding the financial crisis; the success of a coalition of NGOs in working to ban the use of land mines; and an improved response to public health threats through a network established by the Centers for Disease Control. Unfortunately, these success stories are more the exception than the rule. The fact is that even in the upper echelons of decision-making, we are notoriously poor at managing and orchestrating networks. Indeed,

HA 09/01/2015

immeasurable opportunities are lost and efforts needlessly duplicated in areas ranging from global health to business development because our network skills are rooted in a less complex, more hierarchical, top-down past. For the United States to position itself as the most powerful player in "the networked century," those capabilities will have to evolve significantly. That will require two broad developments:

First, we need to take a more holistic, dynamic view of the people within our -- and everyone else's -- networks. We tend to think of people in terms of three attributes: their job title, where they have worked, and where they were educated. In an earlier time, this may have been sufficient to understand a person's place in a network and to fairly well guess their skills, who they might be connected to, and what their priorities might be. In today's more fluid world, however, people cross borders, change careers, and recast alliances much more readily, each stage in their trajectory potentially expanding and reshaping their network -- and certainly reshaping who they are and what they have to offer.

This is the basis of Slaughter's contention that we need to view immigrant communities and the emerging generation of "First Globals" (18- to 29-year-old Americans who are inclined to live and study abroad in greater numbers than their predecessors) as potential links to new markets and opportunities around the globe. But in order to do this, you need to know the various facets of a person's life -- where they've lived, what they're interested in personally and professionally, who their mentors have been and so on. In a networked world powered more on personal initiative, skill sets and relationships than hierarchical position, a person's job title and other résumé details no longer are as reliable indicators of a person's potential to effect change in the global network and the resources he or she commands.

Second, we need to become more methodical and data driven in our approach to networks. Professional sports like baseball and basketball have been in the midst of a data revolution that is reshaping how players are evaluated. Instead of relying merely on received wisdom and personal experience, coaches and scouts are using reams of data that are questioning old assumptions about what makes for a star player, and using that insight to build teams. (So it was that Nate Silver, whose political web site has set new standards for election forecasting, actually began as a baseball analyst.) There needs to be a similar data revolution in networks. Rather than manage them in an ad hoc fashion with instinct and imperfect memories as we do now, we need to develop and use analytical tools that will allow us to track more complex networks, see patterns over time, and identify key players who act as the gateway to different clusters of ideas, resources, and support. Many components of these analytical tools exist, but they need to be further developed and brought into the mainstream.

Anne-Marie Slaughter is correct to see network entrepreneurship as the critical capability for the twenty-first century, in the same way that trade (itself a specialized example of network entrepreneurship) was in the mercantile period. But maintaining oneself as a trading power required more than just ships and goods. It also required better navigation tools, most notably the discovery of a reliable means of measuring the longitude of ships at sea. The old method of dead reckoning -- and the risks it brought of inefficient routing if not catastrophic shipwreck -- was no longer acceptable. Solving the problem was considered so critical to the national interest that Britain established the Longitude Prize to spur on a solution.

=0 A

We don't need a similar "Network Prize"; many of the tools we need to understand networks already exist. Instead, we need public and private-sector decision makers to see that competitive advantage in the networked century goes to those who develop the most sophistication in using those tools and the networks they illuminate.

America's Edge: Power in the Networked Century

By Anne-Marie Slaughter

From *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2009

Summary: The United States' unique ability to capitalize on connectivity will make the twenty-first century an American century.

ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER is Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and Bert G. Kerstetter '66 University Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University.

We live in a networked world. War is networked: the power of terrorists and the militaries that would defeat them depend on small, mobile groups of warriors connected to one another and to intelligence, communications,

HA 09/01/2015

and support networks. Diplomacy is networked: managing international crises -- from SARS to climate change -- requires mobilizing international networks of public and private actors. Business is networked: every CEO advice manual published in the past decade has focused on the shift from the vertical world of hierarchy to the horizontal world of networks. Media are networked: online blogs and other forms of participatory media depend on contributions from readers to create a vast, networked conversation. Society is networked: the world of MySpace is creating a global world of "OurSpace," linking hundreds of millions of individuals across continents. Even religion is networked: as the pastor Rick Warren has argued, "The only thing big enough to solve the problems of spiritual emptiness, selfish leadership, poverty, disease, and ignorance is the network of millions of churches all around the world."

In this world, the measure of power is connectedness. Almost 30 years ago, the psychologist Carol Gilligan wrote about differences between the genders in their modes of thinking. She observed that men tend to see the world as made up of hierarchies of power and seek to get to the top, whereas women tend to see the world as containing webs of relationships and seek to move to the center. Gilligan's observations may be a function of nurture rather than nature; regardless, the two lenses she identified capture the differences between the twentieth-century and the twenty-first-century worlds.

The twentieth-century world was, at least in terms of geopolitics, a billiard-ball world, described by the political scientist Arnold Wolfers as a system of self-contained states colliding with one another. The results of these collisions were determined by military and economic power. This world still exists today. Russia invades Georgia, Iran seeks nuclear weapons, the United States strengthens its ties with India as a hedge against a rising China. This is what Fareed Zakaria, the editor of *Newsweek International*, has dubbed "the post-American world," in which the rise of new global powers inevitably means the relative decline of U.S. influence. The emerging networked world of the twenty-first century, however, exists above the state, below the state, and through the state. In this world, the state with the most connections will be the central player, able to set the global agenda and unlock innovation and sustainable growth. Here, the United States has a clear and sustainable edge.

THE HORIZON OF HOPE

The United States' advantage is rooted in demography, geography, and culture. The United States has a relatively small population, only 20-30 percent of the size of China's or India's. Having fewer people will make it much easier for the United States to develop and profit from new energy technologies. At the same time, the heterogeneity of the U.S. population will allow Washington to extend its global reach. To this end, the United States should see its immigrants as living links back to their home countries and encourage a two-way flow of people, products, and ideas.

The United States is the anchor of the Atlantic hemisphere, a broadly defined area that includes Africa, the Americas, and Europe. The leading countries in the Atlantic hemisphere are more peaceful, stable, and economically diversified than those in the Asian hemisphere. At the same time, however, the United States is a pivotal power, able to profit simultaneously from its position in the Atlantic hemisphere and from its deep ties to the Asian hemisphere. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans have long protected the United States from invasion and political interference. Soon, they will shield it from conflicts brought about by climate change, just as they are already reducing the amount of pollutants that head its way. The United States has a relatively horizontal social structure -- albeit one that has become more hierarchical with the growth of income inequality -- as well as a culture of entrepreneurship and innovation. These traits are great advantages in a global economy increasingly driven by networked clusters of the world's most creative people.

On January 20, 2009, Barack Obama will set about restoring the moral authority of the United States. The networked world provides a hopeful horizon. In this world, with the right policies, immigrants can be a source of jobs rather than a drain on resources, able to link their new home with markets and suppliers in their old homes. Businesses in the United States can orchestrate global networks of producers and suppliers. Consumers can buy locally, from revived local agricultural and customized small-business economies, and at the same time globally, from anywhere that can advertise online. The United States has the potential to be the most innovative and dynamic society anywhere in the world.

LIFE IN A NETWORKED WORLD

In 2000, Procter and Gamble made a decision that reinvented how the company would do business in the twenty-first century. Instead of closely guarding its secret recipes for everything from soaps to potato chips, Procter and Gamble chose to open up its patent portfolio, making virtually all its formulas available to anyone willing to pay a licensing fee. At the same time, it asked its top managers to bring in half of their ideas for new

products and services from outside the company. They now look to far-flung groups of inventors around the world and online, where innovators gather at sites such as InnoCentive, an auction Web site for ideas. Don Tapscott and Anthony Williams, the authors of *Wikinomics: How Mass Collaboration Changes Everything*, call businesses like InnoCentive "ideagoras," modern-day public squares that join people looking to sell their ideas with businesses seeking to buy them. In 2006, Samuel Palmisano, the head of IBM, predicted in these pages that corporations would move from being multinational, with small, self-replicated versions of themselves in every market, to being what he calls "globally integrated enterprises." Today, IBM funnels tasks to wherever they will be done best.

Consider the experience of Li and Fung, the world's largest and most successful export sourcing company. Its clients are retailers of virtually every kind of product known to man, or at least made by man. The job of Li and Fung is to identify suppliers from over 40 countries around the world and connect them in order to fill specific orders. The resulting networks must be fast, flexible, and able to work to a common high standard. According to William and Victor Fung, two of the current owners of the family business, the secret of sourcing is "orchestrating networks." It is the managerial equivalent of creating a system in which one can select a destination on a Paris metro map and see a possible route light up with a connecting web of differently colored lines -- except, of course, that riders at each station might have their own ideas about how best to travel. At first, these global webs may seem to be just the next generation of outsourcing. But something much deeper is going on. Outsourcing requires a central command that specifies precisely what and how much should be produced and then, through an established hierarchy, communicates those decisions to producers in multiple nations. In contrast, under a system of peer production, supply chains become "value webs," in which suppliers become partners and, instead of just supplying products, actually collaborate on their design. Boeing is a particularly striking example, given how it could be seen as the heart of old-style manufacturing. It has shifted from being simply an airplane manufacturer to being a "systems integrator," relying on a horizontal network of partners collaborating in real time. They share both risk and knowledge in order to achieve a higher level of performance. It is not simply a change in form but a change in culture. Hierarchy and control lose out to community, collaboration, and self-organization. At its core, a company can be quite small, often no more than a central node of leaders and manager-integrators. But with the right networks, it can reach anywhere. Innovators, factories, and service providers can be found. In this world, as Tapscott and Williams write, "only the connected will survive."

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), too, have realized the power of connections. An early example was the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, which began in 1991 as a coalition of six NGOs from North America and Europe. It eventually grew to include over 1,100 groups in some 60 countries, and with this breadth came clout. After it won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997, the network successfully pushed for a global treaty banning the use of land mines (although China, Russia, and the United States, among others, have refused to sign it). NGOs pursuing other causes have followed suit. In 1995, a small group of human rights organizations began calling for the creation of an international criminal court to try war criminals. They succeeded in convincing governments to establish a permanent court in 1998. Today, the Coalition for the International Criminal Court includes over 2,000 organizations from every corner of the world, which are now working to expand the court's jurisdiction. More recently, a global alliance of NGOs has been instrumental in pushing for action to stop the ongoing violence in Darfur.

In each of these cases, NGOs gained leverage over otherwise reluctant states. They formed transnational networks that multiplied their lobbying power and put their message on the agendas of international institutions. As Francis Sejersted, then chair of the Nobel Committee, noted when he recognized the land-mine campaign, "The mobilisation and focusing of broad popular involvement which we have witnessed bears promise that goes beyond the present issue. It appears to have established a pattern for how to realise political aims at the global level."

Governments have been slower to understand twenty-first-century challenges and to reform themselves accordingly, but they, too, are gradually moving toward a more networked structure. A report entitled *The Embassy of the Future*, issued by the Center for Strategic and International Studies in 2007, calls for U.S. diplomats to be "decentralized, flexible, and mobile," as well as "connected, responsive, and informed." U.S. embassy staff would have a more "distributed presence," both virtually and physically, if they worked at multiple locations and with a wide range of different groups in their host countries.

Similarly, Julie Gerberding, director of the Centers for Disease Control, realized after the anthrax scare in 2001 and the SARS crisis in 2002 that the CDC needed to create a network of public and private actors from around

the world. Managing this network would, in turn, require a much more flexible and horizontal organization at the CDC's headquarters, in Atlanta. Gerberding was expected to get results but lacked the authority necessary to produce them. For Gerberding, the solution was to find partners around the world and to connect them in ways that would allow for the creation and sharing of knowledge during a crisis. Many judges and government regulators have had a similar insight. Bankruptcy judges, for example, now communicate with one another around the world, signing agreements to manage together the bankruptcies of multinational corporations. The current financial crisis could have been even worse if the world's central bankers had not already been connected and able to coordinate their actions.

Power can also flow from connections across different sectors. In his book *Superclass: The Global Power Elite and the World They Are Making*, David Rothkopf explains how leaders connect across different power structures, from the worlds of business and finance to those of politics and the arts. "In fact," he writes, "such linkages are as distinguishing a characteristic of the superclass as wealth or individual position." In other words, it is connectivity, more than money or stature, that determines individual power. This dynamic can even extend to terrorist groups such as al Qaeda. John Robb, a former air force colonel and military strategist, has observed that Mohamed Atta was the leader of the 9/11 hijackers because, although no formal hierarchy existed in the group, "Atta had twenty-two connections to other people in the network, much more than any other, which gave him control of the operation."

The power that flows from this type of connectivity is not the power to impose outcomes. Networks are not directed and controlled as much as they are managed and orchestrated. Multiple players are integrated into a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts -- an orchestra that plays differently according to the vision of its conductor and the talent of individual musicians. Obama's team-based campaign, with its relatively flat structure and emphasis on individual organizers, is a model of the twenty-first century's management style.

Most important, networked power flows from the ability to make the maximum number of valuable connections. The next requirement is to have the knowledge and skills to harness that power to achieve a common purpose. The United States is already following this model in a few specific ways. In combating terrorism, it has been able to stop planned attacks thanks to a dense global network of law enforcement officers, counterterrorism officials, and intelligence agencies. The U.S. government dramatically improved its standing in the Muslim world due to its swift and effective relief effort in Asia following the December 2004 tsunami. It coordinated an emergency-response strategy among government agencies and aid workers in Australia, India, Japan, and the United States itself. More recently, when the global financial crisis hit this past fall, the United States first reached out to central banks around the world to coordinate a monetary response and then reached out to central banks in key emerging markets to make sure their foreign currency needs were being met.

From this vantage point, predictions of an Asian century -- such as those made by Kishore Mahbubani, a foreign policy scholar and dean of the Lee Kwan Yew School of Public Policy, in Singapore -- seem premature. Even Zakaria's argument about "the rise of the rest" takes on a different significance. If, in a networked world, the issue is no longer relative power but centrality in an increasingly dense global web, then the explosion of innovation and entrepreneurship occurring today will provide that many more points of possible connection. The twenty-first century looks increasingly like another American century -- although it will likely be a century of the Americas rather than of just America.

MORE PEOPLE, MORE PROBLEMS

Demography is often cited as the chief factor behind the relative decline of the West. China and India make up over a third of the world's population, while Europe and Japan are actually shrinking and the United States is suddenly a relatively small nation of 300 million. This argument, however, rests largely on assumptions formed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Throughout most of human history, territory and population translated into military and economic power. Military power depended on the number of soldiers a state could put into the field, the amount of territory an enemy had to cross to conquer it, and the economy's ability to supply the state's army. Population size mattered for economic power because without trade a state needed a domestic market large enough for manufacturers and merchants to thrive. With trade, however, small mercantile nations such as the Netherlands and Portugal were able to punch far above their weight. In the nineteenth century, to increase their power, small countries expanded their territory through colonization. But by the twentieth century, as political unrest in the colonial world grew, the advantages of trading rather than ruling became increasingly clear. Although the United States and the Soviet Union, two great continental powers, dominated the second half of the twentieth century, the countries that grew the richest were often the smallest. In 2007, the ten countries with the highest per capita GDPs all had populations smaller than that of New York City, with one

notable exception: the United States.

In the twenty-first century, less is more. Domestic markets must be big enough to allow national firms to obtain a foothold so as to withstand international competition (although such markets can be obtained through free-trade areas and economic unions). But beyond this minimum, if trade barriers are low and transportation and communication are cheap, then size will be more of a burden than a benefit. When both markets and production are global, then productive members of every society will generate income across multiple societies. Business managers in one country can generate value by orchestrating a global and disparate network of researchers, designers, manufacturers, marketers, and distributors. It will remain the responsibility of government, however, to provide for the less productive members of society, namely, the elderly, the young, the disabled, and the unemployed -- think of them as national overhead costs. From this perspective, the 300 million citizens in the United States look much more manageable than the more than a billion in China or India.

A shrinking population can actually act as a catalyst for innovation. In China, the answer to many problems is simply to throw people at them -- both because people are the most available commodity and because the Chinese government needs to provide as many jobs as possible. In Japan, by contrast, the answer is to innovate. Nintendo, the Kyoto-based gaming giant, is bringing much of its manufacturing back to Japan from China and other parts of Asia. How can it possibly compete using high-cost Japanese labor? It will not have to -- its new factories are almost entirely automated, with only a handful of highly skilled employees needed to run them. This approach uses less energy, costs less, and guarantees a higher standard of living for the Japanese population. As the priority shifts from economic growth to sustainable growth, the formula of fewer people plus better and greener technology will look increasingly attractive.

Finally, size carries its own set of political challenges. Over the past four centuries, the arrow of history has pointed in the direction of national self-determination. Empires and multiethnic countries have steadily divided and subdivided into smaller units so that nations, or dominant ethnic groups, could govern themselves. Ninety years after Woodrow Wilson laid out his vision of self-determination for the Balkan states, the process continues in Kosovo. In many ways, the breakup of the Soviet Union was another round of the decolonization and self-determination movement that began in the 1940s. It continues today with the conflicts over Abkhazia and South Ossetia, as well as with the potential for conflict on the Crimean Peninsula and in eastern Ukraine. Much of China's 5,000-year history has been a saga of the country's splitting apart and being welded back together. The Chinese government, like the Indian government, legitimately fears that current pockets of instability could quickly translate into multiple secessionist movements.

The United States faces no threats to its essential unity, which has been forged by a political and cultural ideology of unity amid diversity. The principal alternative to this ideology is the solution employed by the European Union and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), in which individual states come together as larger economic and, gradually, quasi-political units. The most promising dimension of recent Chinese politics has been its adoption of a version of this solution with regard to Hong Kong and Macao -- and one day Beijing may apply this model to Taiwan.

The United States benefits not only from its limited population but also from who makes up that population. It has long attracted the world's most entrepreneurial, creative, and determined individuals. A vast mixing of cultures has created an atmosphere for a fruitful cross-fertilization and innovation. These arguments still hold. In San Francisco, for instance, a new municipal telephone help line advertises that it can talk with callers in over 150 languages. This diversity, and the creativity that it produces, is visible everywhere: in Hollywood movies, in American music, and at U.S. universities. At Princeton University this past fall, five of the six student award winners for the highest grade point averages had come from abroad: from China, Germany, Moldova, Slovenia, and Turkey.

In the nineteenth- and twentieth-century era of nation-states, the United States absorbed its immigrants and molded them into Americans, thereby creating the national cohesion necessary to build military and economic strength. Today, diversity in the United States means something more. Immigrant communities flourish not only in large cities but also in smaller towns and rural areas. A mosaic has replaced the melting pot, and, more than ever, immigrants connect their new communities to their countries of origin. Along the southern border of the United States, for instance, immigration experts talk about "transnational communities," about clusters of families in the United States linked with the villages of Mexico and Central America. Now, where you are from means where you can, and do, go back to -- and whom you know and trust enough to network with.

Consider, for example, how valuable the overseas Chinese community has been to China. Alan Wang, a former student of mine, was born in China, moved to Australia with his family at the age of 12, and went to college and

law school there. He later came to the United States to pursue a graduate degree at Harvard. For a while, he practiced law with a large British firm in London, and then moved to its Shanghai office. When I asked him how he identified himself, he replied, "overseas Chinese." Millions of people similar to Wang have spread out from China throughout Southeast Asia, Australia, the United States, and Canada, creating trading and networking opportunities for people in all those places. Similarly, the United States must learn to think of its ethnic communities as the source of future generations of "overseas Americans." Already, young Chinese Americans and Indian Americans are heading back to their parents' homelands to seek opportunity and make their fortunes. Soon, the children of U.S. immigrants from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East will follow a similar path and return to their ethnic homelands, at least for a time. The key to succeeding in a networked economy is being able to harvest the best ideas and innovations from the widest array of sources. In this regard, the United States is plugged into all corners of the global brain.

Beyond its immigrant communities, the United States can also depend on a new generation to forge connections around the world. John Zogby, the influential pollster, calls Americans between the ages of 18 and 29 "the First Globals," a group he describes as "more networked and globally engaged than members of any similar age cohort in American history." More than half of the respondents aged 18 to 29 in a poll conducted in the United States in June 2007 by Zogby International said that they had friends or family living outside the United States, vastly more than any other U.S. age group. Other Zogby polls have shown that this generation holds passports in roughly the same proportion as other age groups but uses them far more frequently. A quarter of this group, according to Zogby's data, believes that they will "end up living for some significant period in a country other than America."

These young people spreading out around the world will be a huge asset to the United States. Children born abroad who acquire U.S. citizenship as a result of their parents' heritage or life decisions will add to this number. A college classmate of mine was born to Hungarian immigrants in Canada and later acquired U.S. citizenship. After graduation, he moved to China and then Japan, where he gained a Japanese residency permit while also applying for Hungarian citizenship. He now lives with his Chinese wife in Beijing, where his daughter was born. Not long after her birth, he took her to Tokyo so that she could register as a U.S. citizen and reenter China on a U.S. passport. These stories are legion in any large global city -- couples from two different countries who are raising their children in a third or fourth or even fifth country. For many people who orbit in this floating cloud of nationalities, a U.S. passport, particularly now that the United States has relaxed its rules on dual citizenship, has become a new kind of reserve currency. With one, even the most venturesome and peripatetic have the guarantee of the political and cultural stability of the West. The United States must devise the incentives and conditions that will allow it to both encourage this phenomenon and profit from it.

THE WORLD IS ROUND AGAIN

For most of modern history, the Eurocentric view of the world has placed North and South America in a hemisphere of their own -- the Western Hemisphere. Today, the world is mapped in the round, with Asia in the East and Africa, the Americas, and Europe in the West. That, at least, is how some Asians increasingly think of themselves. In his recently published book, *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East*, Mahbubani argues that the era of "Western domination of world history is over" and that the world is witnessing an "Asian march to modernity."

But if half of the world is now "the East," defined as the Asian hemisphere, then the other half is the Atlantic hemisphere, made up of Africa, the Americas, and Europe. It is quite a promising neighborhood, home to a wealth of human, economic, material, and natural resources. Politically, Europe and North America constitute a spreading community of liberal democracies that accounts for one-sixth of the world's population, almost 60 percent of global GDP, and the two primary global reserve currencies. More trade and direct investment pass over the Atlantic Ocean than any other part of the world -- over \$2 trillion in cumulative foreign direct investment alone. The potential for further integration of the hemisphere is enormous.

Even more important is the potential for deeper economic integration within the Americas. On energy questions, Canadian oil sands and Brazilian sugar cane are more promising than depending on Russian pipelines or Sudanese oil. Markets for renewable energy -- such as from biomass, wind, geothermal technology, and other sources -- are growing in Latin America. Miami is already a financial center for Latin America, and the steady growth of the Latino population in the United States will only deepen intra-American investment. The rise of Brazil and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Mexico will create an emerging counterbalance to the United States south of its border. But any initiative for strengthening economic ties must come from the United States itself. It first must address its immigration policy and then, similar to the economic and political assistance it provided

HA 09/01/2015

From: Huma Abedin <habedin [REDACTED]>
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2009 12:15 AM
To: humamabedin [REDACTED]
Subject: PrintFw: Fwd: Memo for the Secretary of State
Attach: Memo to the Secretary of State 02.18.09.doc

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

From: H <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
To: Huma Abedin
Sent: Sat Feb 21 23:47:51 2009
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P <<Memo to the Secretary of State 02 18.09.doc>> Is print.

From: williamsbarrett [REDACTED]
Date: Sat, 21 Feb 2009 18:26:59 -0500
To: <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
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