

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 3:04 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Re: Comprehensive Calls update

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

Monday is better anyway.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov' <JilotyLC@state.gov>; H  
Sent: Thu Aug 26 15:02:15 2010  
Subject: Re: Comprehensive Calls update

[Redacted]

Otherwise, his staff suggested monday.

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

From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>  
To: H  
Cc: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Thu Aug 26 14:57:16 2010  
Subject: RE: Comprehensive Calls update

Ok got it. [Redacted]

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

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2010 2:54 PM  
To: Jiloty, Lauren C  
Cc: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Comprehensive Calls update

Thx. Let's do Armitage at 3.15 today, Menendez at 7pm today, Wexler at 6:30 today and Blair on Sat am but I will have to call him btw 9-noon since I don't know my schedule yet.

[Redacted]

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

From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>  
To: H  
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
Sent: Thu Aug 26 14:41:59 2010  
Subject: Comprehensive Calls update

MS - I've heard back from Armitage and Wexler offices Here are all of your pending calls in one e-mail:

- Tony Blair. asking to speak with you btw 11AM-12 Noon tomorrow (Friday), or sometime Saturday morning

- Fmr. Dep. Sec Armitage: Available at 3:15 PM today or 12 noon tomorrow (Friday).

- Menendez: Available between 5-5:30 PM today, or after 7:00 PM today.

- Robert Wexler: Available anytime after 4:30 PM today, or anytime tomorrow

Just let me know if you would like for me to lock anything in.

###

RELEASE IN  
FULL

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 8:14 PM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

---

Rich Armitage called me about speaking to the Turkish Council and, if I do, the FM Dav will come. I can't remember what we decided about this but he sounded like he hadn't gotten a response yet.

What does EUR and others think?

He also went to Af w Sandy Berger and I invited them to come see about their trip. I'd like to schedule after Labor Day.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 11:15 AM  
**To:** 'feltmanjd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** MEPP prep materials

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Sandy Berger told me that he and Steve Hadley had USIP prepare several papers, including a matrix prepared by Scott Laczinski(?) of everyone's position on every issue since Oslo. He thinks it would be helpful, and I agree. I'd like to see all papers. Can you be sure I get copies? Thx.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 1:06 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok. Where are you in the world?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Aug 28 13:05:25 2010  
Subject:

You have some classified papers, including middle east stuff being dropped off at house in afternoon.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 1:25 PM  
**To:** 'valenzuelaaa@state.gov'  
**Cc:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: From Arturo re Bolivia

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

Arturo-- Will you be in next week? I'd like to discuss w you so I'm copying Lona who will begin looking for a time. Thx

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

From: Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>  
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
Cc: Gonzalez, Juan S <GonzalezJS@state.gov>  
Sent: Fri Aug 27 16:18:18 2010  
Subject: From Arturo re Bolivia

Madame Secretary:

I'd like to update you on our efforts to enagee with Bolivia.

B5

You engaged personally and through Maria Echaveste as we've tried to think and act creatively to extract positives from a difficult starting point. Echaveste visited Bolivia in June and September 2009, and I traveled there this June to underline our commitment to better relations; you met with FM Choquehuanca at the OAS GA in Lima later that month; and Labor Secretary Solis and Maria Otero traveled to President Morales' inauguration in January 2010.

Best Regards,

Arturo

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 1:28 PM  
**To:** 'verveerms@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Recommendation

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Do you know [REDACTED]? She worked in my campaign and knows Heather King from there.  
She gets rave reviews and I was asked to pass on her interest, which I am doing!

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 5:14 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Monday

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Let's say call at 8:30 and we leave here at 6.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Aug 28 17 12:59, 2010  
Subject: Re: Monday

I set up that time. Did a long call with everyone talking about all the big stuff and the little stuff. I gave times for stuff all of next week. Call can be anytime in the evening. So its really up to you.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Aug 28 14:54:39 2010  
Subject: Monday

I just rec'd paper for next week and there's a prep call at 8pm Monday night which I can't do if we don't leave until 7 so let's leave at 6:30. Does that call have to be secure?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, August 28, 2010 5:15 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Monday

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Yes, he has. I am still unhappy about the dinner. I don't like the family dining room and I think they need both more people and food there! Can I influence this or not?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Aug 28 17:13:37 2010  
Subject: Re: Monday

I assumed Jake has been downloading everything we have been discussing on daily calls.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Aug 28 14:54:39 2010  
Subject: Monday

I just rec'd paper for next week and there's a prep call at 8pm Monday night which I can't do if we don't leave until 7 so let's leave at 6:30. Does that call have to be secure?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, August 29, 2010 4:56 PM  
**To:** 'Thomas\_E\_Donilon' [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'Laurenjiloty' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Monday Call

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

B6

[REDACTED]

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 1, 2010 7:16 AM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Lois Quam wants to come see me. Pls reach out to set up.

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 2, 2010 11:22 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED] B6  
**Subject:** Marina important to print  
**Attach:** QA for interview.docx; Mitchell Post-trilat press conference.docx

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

---

**From:** Jake Sullivan [REDACTED]  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Reines, Philippe I  
**Sent:** Thu Sep 02 23:08:21 2010  
**Subject:** Q&A for interview

Huma -- attached are two docs for HRC for first thing am -- a QA doc and a transcript of Mitchell's briefing today. Worth her reading both.

QA might be adjusted slightly in the am.



**Q&A FOR INTERVIEW**

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

B5



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

RELEASE IN FULL

**Mitchell Post-Trilat Press Conference**

**ON-THE-RECORD BRIEFING**

**Special Envoy for Middle East Peace George Mitchell**

**September 2, 2010  
Dean Acheson Auditorium  
Washington, D.C.**

**MR. MITCHELL:** Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. The parties have just concluded the first round of trilateral talks. The meeting lasted about an hour and a half. It began with a plenary session involving the full U.S., Israeli, and Palestinian delegations on the eighth floor of the State Department and then broke to a smaller meeting in the Secretary of State's personal office involving Prime Minister Netanyahu, President Abbas, Secretary Clinton, and myself. Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Abbas then went into a separate meeting for a direct discussion. That meeting is still going on right now.

In the trilateral meeting, there was a long and productive discussion on a range of issues. President Abbas and Prime Minister Netanyahu expressed their intent to approach these negotiations in good faith and with a seriousness of purpose. They also agreed that for these negotiations to succeed, they must be kept private and treated with the utmost sensitivity. So what I and they are able to disclose to you today and in the future will be limited, but I will now describe some of the key items that were addressed in the trilateral meeting.

Both Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Abbas condemned all forms of violence that target innocent civilians and pledged to work together to maintain security. They reiterated their common goal of two states for two peoples and to a solution to the conflict that resolves all issues, ends all claims, and establishes a viable state of Palestine alongside a secure state of Israel. President Abbas and Prime Minister Netanyahu agreed that these negotiations can be completed within one year and that the aim of the negotiations is to resolve all core issues.

The parties agreed that a logical next step would be to begin working on achieving a framework agreement for permanent status. The purpose of a framework agreement will be to establish the fundamental compromises necessary to enable them to flesh out and complete a comprehensive treaty that will end the conflict

and establish a lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians. The parties agreed that in their actions and statements they will work to create an atmosphere of trust that will be conducive to reaching a final agreement.

They agreed to meet again on September 14 and 15 in the region and roughly two weeks thereafter – every two weeks thereafter. Of course, continued interactions at other levels between the parties and also yet others involving the United States will take place between those meetings. In fact, a preparatory trilateral meeting to plan for that second meeting in the region has already begun at another location in this building and will continue here and in the region between now and September 14<sup>th</sup>, as is necessary.

As both President Obama and Secretary of State Clinton have said, the United States pledges its full support to the parties in these talks. We will be an active and sustained partner throughout. We will put our full weight behind these negotiations and will stand by the parties as they make the difficult decisions necessary to secure a better future for their citizens.

As we saw this week, there are those who will use violence to try to derail these talks. There are going to be difficult days and many obstacles along the way. We recognize that this is not an easy task. But as the President told the leaders, we expect to continue until our job is complete and successful.

And with that, I'll be pleased to take some of your questions.

**QUESTION:** Senator, I'm Jeff Napshin with CCTV News out of Asia. I would like to know what was their personal relationship. At times when you saw them next to each other, it seemed like they were kind of distant. Did they seem to interact? Did they seem to develop any kind of bond or relationship together?

**MR. MITCHELL:** The relationship was cordial. As you know, these men have known each other for a long time. This is not the first meeting between them. They are not in any way strangers politically or personally. And I felt that it was a very constructive and positive mood, both in terms of their personal interaction and in terms of the nature of the discussion that occurred.

**QUESTION:** Thank you. Nadia Bilbassy with MBC Television. Senator, President Obama yesterday talked about some progress when asked, and I appreciate the fact that you don't want to divulge too many details, but today, Prime Minister Netanyahu talk about the Jewishness of the state, which is considered nonstarter issue for the Palestinian. Just generally, do you think that these issues can be – can you bridge the gap considering there is obviously so many difficulties? But since re-launching the negotiation today, do you think this is – could be an issue that could be an explosive for the whole issue – for the peace process?

**MR. MITCHELL:** First, I believe very strongly, deeply, and personally that this conflict can be resolved and that these negotiations can produce a final agreement that enables the establishment of a Palestinian state and peace and security for both peoples.

Secondly, it is, of course, self-evident that the reason for a negotiation is that there are differences. The differences are many, they are deep, they are serious, and it will take serious, good-faith negotiations, sincerity on both sides, a willingness to make difficult concessions on both sides if that agreement is to be reached.

But I don't think that any human problem can be solved if one begins by viewing the problems as insurmountable, as suggesting that the mountains are too high and the rivers are too wide, so let's not undertake the journey. There has to be a sincerity and a seriousness of purpose combined with a realistic appraisal and understanding of the difficulties, but a determination to overcome them.

I believe that exists. I believe these two leaders, President Abbas and Prime Minister Netanyahu, are committed to doing what it takes to achieve the right result.

**QUESTION:** Hello, Senator Mitchell. Major Garrett, Fox News. You remember well from your life on Capitol Hill the phrase, whenever a tough negotiation was going on, "Nothing is agreed to until everything is agreed to." Will that be the operative approach, you believe, for this process? And as a result, will you be reluctant to talk about anything that's agreed upon until everything is agreed upon? That's one process question.

The second one is you discussed the framework; is the deadline for the framework one year? Or is the framework something we're likely to see much earlier and the one year still governs the entire solution to all remaining issues?

**MR. MITCHELL:** In terms of process, that and other questions will be resolved by the parties. The – you cannot separate process from substance in these discussions. There is an interaction that affects both and we've made it clear that these issues are to be determined by the parties. We have had extensive discussions with them on that and many other issues, and those will continue.

Our goal is to resolve all of the frame – all of the core issues within one year. And the parties themselves have suggested and agreed that the logical way to proceed, to tackle them is to try to reach a framework agreement first. And as I said – and I think this ought to be made clear because there has been a good bit of misunderstanding or not a full meeting of minds publicly regarding a framework agreement – a framework agreement is not an interim agreement. It's more detailed than a declaration of principles, but is less than a full-fledged treaty. Its purpose is to establish the fundamental compromises necessary to enable the parties to then flesh out and complete a comprehensive agreement that will end the conflict and establish a lasting peace.

**MR. CROWLEY:** Charlie.

**QUESTION:** Thank you. Charlie Wolfson with CBS News. You mentioned that a number of issues were talked about today, but can you mention specifically that settlements was among them? And do you plan to be in the region for the talks that will take place on the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> and at the table as well? Though you said the U.S. would be a part of the talks, take an active role, do you plan to be there for those talks, and can you tell us where they're going to be?

**MR. MITCHELL:** As I said at the outset, what I will be able to disclose to you, that the parties will disclose will be limited. And so you've given me the first

opportunity to invoke that principle with respect to the first part of your question, for which I thank you. (Laughter.)

Secondly, both Secretary Clinton and I will be at the meeting in the region on September 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>, and one of the subjects now being discussed in the trilateral preparatory meeting that's ongoing in another room in this building, to which I must go in a few moments, is that subject. So a determination has not yet been made. That will be made, I believe, obviously in the near future and well in advance of the meeting.

**MR. CROWLEY:** Kirit, and then we'll go there and then come back.

**QUESTION:** Kirit Radia with ABC News. I would like to take another crack at it after Charlie. I understand and appreciate that you can't get into specifics about what was talked today, but I'm curious whether you could say – could speak about the scope of today's talks, whether they did involve any substantive discussions on any of the core issues or whether this was strictly to lay out the plan for the coming year. Thanks.

**MR. MITCHELL:** As I mentioned in my response to Major's questions, I don't think one can neatly characterize process and substance as though they're two separate things in these matters. They do interact and relate. You can't discuss a process issue in any meaningful way without some relations to the substance that's being discussed.

And so as I appreciate you said you're taking another crack at Charlie's question, and that gives me the chance to say for the second time that I'm not going to be able to get into the substance. But yes, there were discussions that touched on subject – on substance, although I don't want to suggest to you that the meeting was such that there was a detailed and extended discussion or debate on a specific substantive issue.

**MR. CROWLEY:** We'll move over here and then we'll wrap up.

**QUESTION:** Ron Kampeas from JTA. It appears from this morning that obviously there weren't any substantive concessions. There were – there have been rhetorical concessions. President Abbas talked about security, which is something that Netanyahu has wanted him to talk about, and Netanyahu yesterday at the dinner talked about recognizing the Palestinian claim that they're – that the Palestinians live there.



Is that something that you've noticed? Is that something that the Americans have been encouraging? Have you played a role in asking the leaders to get out those statements?

**MR. MITCHELL:** We have encouraged the parties to be positive in their outlook, in their words, and in their actions. Any realistic appraisal of the situation, including the recent history – by which I mean the last two decades – makes clear that there are very serious differences between the parties, that there are many difficulties which lay ahead both in terms of the substance of the issues, the impact on their domestic politics, the needs and interests of their societies. We have not, of course, attempted to prescribe what they can or should say about any issue. These are independent and extremely able leaders representing the interests of their societies.

What we have sought to convey in innumerable conversations that I have had personally with both leaders over many, many months is President Obama's conviction that despite all of the difficulties – near term, long term, political, substantive, personal, and otherwise – the paramount goal of making the lives of their citizens more safe, more secure, more prosperous, more full can best be achieved by a meaningful and lasting peace between the parties and in the region; that the alternative to that poses difficulties and dangers far greater to the individuals, to the leaders, to their societies, than those risks which they run in an effort to reach an agreement that brings about their lasting peace; that any realistic evaluation of the self-interest of the people of Israel and the Palestinian people must, in our judgment, conclude that they are far better off living side by side in two states in peace and security than in a continuation of the current situation.

**MR. CROWLEY:** Two last questions here (inaudible).

**QUESTION:** Yeah. Mohamed Ouasi of France 24 Washington. Senator, Prime Minister Netanyahu mentioned Iran this morning. Wouldn't that be making things more difficult for you to close the gap between the two parties?

**MR. MITCHELL:** In every aspect of human life, including your personal life and mine, the world is much different today than it was 10 years ago and vastly different than it was 20 years ago. And that is certainly true of the Middle East. It is an area of rapid change, of many conflicting currents that historians and analysts have described far better than I could in any exchange we have here.

But obviously, the actions and policies of the current Government of Iran have an effect in the region and in the wider world, and they influence what is occurring here. And in my judgment, they add another argument to those which I've already made and which many others have made as to why this conflict should be resolved. It is in the interests of the people involved, and in this respect, the word "comprehensive peace" is directly relevant. Please recall that when President Obama announced my appointment two days after taking office, he specifically identified comprehensive peace as the objective of U.S. policy in the region: Israel and the Palestinians, Israel and Syria, Israel and Lebanon, Israel at peace with all of its neighbors in normal relations.

And obviously, one of the factors that makes that desirable, in my judgment necessary, for all of these parties is, in part, the actions and policies that have been and are being taken by the Government of Iran. Yes, so it is a factor. Even if it didn't exist, there would be a compelling reason for peace between Israelis and Palestinians, but that's an additional factor.

**MR. CROWLEY:** Last question.

**QUESTION:** Senator, Laurie Ure, CNN. Peace negotiations between the parties have taken place, obviously, several times in the past. What is Secretary Clinton doing differently than her predecessors, including President Clinton?

**MR. MITCHELL:** Although my comment on that is not constrained by the agreement which I earlier described – (laughter) – there are other constraining factors – (laughter) – which come into play that somehow come right into my head as you completed the question. (Laughter.) Since I was not a part of the immediately preceding administration, although I did serve at the request of President Clinton and the then prime minister of Israel and the president of the Palestinian Authority as chairman of an international commission in 2000 and 2001 following the eruption of the second intifada, I'll tell you my own belief.

First, we can't be deterred by the fact that previous efforts didn't succeed. The cause of peace is so important, so just, indeed – I'm not trying to use hyperbole – so noble, that it must continue notwithstanding prior efforts at failure. Indeed, an argument can be made to the reverse that the prior failures create an even more compelling imperative to proceed now.

Secondly, with respect to past efforts, as I said previously, not today but at an earlier briefing, we think that the best approach is to carefully review them, as we

have done, and to try to draw the best lessons out of each one, not be bound by any particular practice or process or procedure, and always trying to keep in mind the dynamic changes in the region that have occurred in what is, in historical terms, a very short period of time.

So we don't – I've been asked often, "Is this a continuation of Annapolis? Is it a continuation of some other process?" Our view is this is an effort that will try to learn from the lessons of the past, take the best and bring them forward, but not be bound by any label or category or previous process. Everything should be judged on the basis of what it will do to advance – help us advance to achieve the ultimate goal of peace in the region.

Now, one obvious difference is that President Obama is the only president in recent times, to my knowledge, to have established this as a high priority immediately upon taking office and to have acted immediately at that time. There have been many very well-written books on the history of the past 20 years. I think I've read most of them. And it's very clear that at least in a couple of instances, time ran out. Indeed, the authors of several of these books used exactly those words to describe the problem: They ran out of time at the end.

Well, this President, I believe, will succeed. But as he said yesterday, neither success nor failure is predetermined or guaranteed, but it isn't going to be because time ran out at the end. So that's a vast difference.

I have a high opinion of the men and women who served in these tasks in the past. I know most of them personally, and I don't think you can attribute inability to achieve a result to their individual or collective failures. They are the product of the difficulty and what many regard as the intractability of the problems and issues. But we believe that there are dynamic changes that occur. There are the more obvious difficulties that lie ahead for both sides if they don't reach agreement that may be even more obvious than they were five or eight or 12 years ago.

You have to remember that these leaders must weigh two things. They must weigh the difficulties they face in getting agreement and they must weigh the difficulties they will face if they don't get an agreement. And we believe it's a very powerful argument that if you subject these to careful, reasoned, and rational analysis, to conclude that the latter difficulties, if they don't get an agreement, will be much greater and have a much more profound impact on their societies than those they face in trying to get an agreement.

Thank you all very much. Been a pleasure to see you and I look forward to reporting to you on a regular basis.

###

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, September 3, 2010 6:02 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Do u want to do blair call now or some other time this weekend?

RELEASE  
IN FULL

Tell ops to put him thru to house.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Sep 03 18:01:31 2010  
**Subject:** Re: Do u want to do blair call now or some other time this weekend?

Yes

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Fri Sep 03 18:00:54 2010  
**Subject:** Re: Do u want to do blair call now or some other time this weekend?

Can I still do it now?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Sep 03 17:32:06 2010  
**Subject:** Do u want to do blair call now or some other time this weekend?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, September 4, 2010 3:00 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Kurt campbell wants to talk to you. And you have to visit [REDACTED] sometime.

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

Ok. Tell me about [REDACTED]

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Sat Sep 04 14:55:04 2010

Subject: Kurt campbell wants to talk to you. And you have to visit [REDACTED] sometime.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, September 6, 2010 7:09 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Natalegawa can do 10am but not earlier. He's traveing in malaysia. Can you do?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I can do 10:45

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Mon Sep 06 05:23:26 2010

Subject: Natalegawa can do 10am but not earlier. He's traveing in malaysia. Can you do?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, September 6, 2010 10:33 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Natalegawa running late with malaysian fm. Asking if 11:15 works?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Mon Sep 06 10:32:31 2010  
**Subject:** Natalegawa running late with malaysian fm. Asking if 11:15 works?



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 5:55 AM  
**To:** 'schwerind@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'muscatinel@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Speech

---

RELEASE IN FULL

When will I receive the final draft?

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 8, 2010 7:20 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Marina print  
**Attach:** CFR 2.0 draft - FINAL.doc

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

---

**From:** Davis, Timmy T  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Sent:** Wed Sep 08 06:48:20 2010  
**Subject:** CFR 2.0 draft - FINAL.doc

Good morning Huma,

Please find attached the formatted version of the Secretary's CFR speech. I am also sending out a hard copy with Otis this morning at approx. 0715.

Please let me know if you need anything else.

Thanks.

Tim

**FINAL**

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**  
**REMARKS AT COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**  
**WASHINGTON, DC**  
**SEPTEMBER 8, 2010**



B5

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 9, 2010 12:46 PM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Monday

---

RELEASE IN FULL

What time is the NSC mtg? And could I get to S el S if I left afterwards?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, September 10, 2010 7:17 AM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Today

---

RELEASE IN FULL

I'll just go straight to the WH so I can be there at 9:15.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, September 11, 2010 8:35 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE  
IN FULL

---

Ok. Thx--how was Oscar? How was the whole Fashion Night scene?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Sep 11 08:32:43 2010  
Subject:

Petreaus confirmed for 10:30 on cisco phone.  
And stoere confirmed for 11am.  
Also, there is classified fax re: hikers in iran that will be sent this am.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 7:47 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Today's calls

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Do we have times for Ross and Blair and Lugar?

RELEASE IN  
FULL

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 3:47 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls

---

Ok--closer to 5:30.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Sep 12 15:46:38 2010  
Subject: Calls

Holbrooke called again  
Also, can we give lugar 5-6 window tonite?



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, September 12, 2010 7:29 PM  
**To:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** More magazine

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

My friend, [REDACTED] is the subject of an article in the [REDACTED] Would you pls pick up a copy for me? Thx.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 14, 2010 2:31 PM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw:

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Pls check w Tamara to see if we can do dinner the 30th at her choice.

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

From: Tamara Luzzatto <[REDACTED]>

To: H

Sent: Sun Sep 12 08:30:17 2010

Subject: Re:

Hooray. 30th looks great (have to go to Edie's on the 29th for Gillibrand, but I can meet you after if that's better).

My other updates are:

With Gina, I'm hosting one of several dinner parties to welcome the new SEIU prez (yes a bit of an unstated message) to women leaders. I think Wendy S and Judy L are doing the others. It's another of Gina's great ideas.

And we're holding a fundraiser for Bennet on the 27th that is looking really good. [REDACTED]

Finally, finally, and hope I didn't say this already, I started yesterday am sending an anniversary greeting and ode to Team 9-11 Clinton to everyone there when we waited for you to come in (for the Mrs. Bush testimony coincidentally) and watched the 2nd plane, and of course the rest was our amazing journey together of work to be so proud of. I even included Ramon on the chain!!! [REDACTED] Impossible it now seems.

Done blabbing. Have a restful Sunday. Everyone, and I mean everyone despite what I recall about some, is singing your praises.

Xox

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>

Date: Sun, 12 Sep 2010 08:02:45

To: 'Luzzatto' <[REDACTED]>

Subject: Re:

I'm all updated now! So, I will offer up some dates and you will pick the place for a catchup dinner--sounds like a deal!

I'm looking at 9/29 or 9/30. Do either of those work for you?

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

From: Tamara Luzzatto <[REDACTED]>

To: H

Cc: Lauren Jiloty <JilotyLC@state.gov>; Lissa Muscatine <[REDACTED]>; Huma Abedin; Lona Valmoro <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>

B6

Sent: Sat Sep 11 10:43:58 2010  
Subject: Re:

Ps to all. My new work address is [redacted] and direct is [redacted]. The job is utterly fascinating and invigorating, and only major deficiency is not working with you. Am at 9th and E so great restaurants galore, hint hint.

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

From: "Tamera Luzzatto" <luzzatto [redacted]>  
Date: Sat, 11 Sep 2010 14:38:25  
To: H<hdr22@clintonemail.com>  
Reply-To: luzzatto [redacted]  
Cc: Lauren Jiloty<JilotyLC@state.gov>; Lissa Muscatine [redacted]; Huma Abedin-HRC<Huma@clintonemail.com>  
Subject: Fw:

Am forwarding this for you to see Al's appreciation to you, and for Lauren to print out his edited as given beautiful and touching eulogy.

Splendid to see you and hope for a fall visit.

Xoxo, T

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

From: Tamera Luzzatto <[redacted]>  
Date: Sat, 11 Sep 2010 10:10:37  
To: 'Tamera S. Luzzatto' <[redacted]>  
Subject: FW:

Sent by Good Messaging (www.good.com)

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

From: Mottur, Alfred E. [mailto:[redacted]]  
Sent: Saturday, September 11, 2010 09:18 AM Eastern Standard Time  
To: Tamera Luzzatto  
Subject:

[Large redacted area]

Al

B6

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 15, 2010 3:25 PM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** CA speech

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls be sure my friend, Susan Kennedy in SF gets info about my speech there in October.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, September 20, 2010 2:00 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** What's my schedule?

---

RELEASE IN FULL

When is Yang? I will leave as soon as I speak and Cheryl should sit in the chair.

**From:** Diane Reynolds <dreynolds@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 21, 2010 9:17 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'AbedinH@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Fw: state dept question

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Re below anyone I could refer her to? Thanks Huma

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

**From:** Yvonne Gavrilis <[REDACTED]>  
**To:** Diane Reynolds  
**Sent:** Tue Sep 21 18:48:24 2010  
**Subject:** state dept question

Hi dear,

Hope your week is shaping up well and we can all catch up this weekend. So sorry to have texted during break fast...I totally spaced until after I had pressed send! Sara mentioned you have a wedding on Saturday? Perhaps a Sunday rendez-vous if at all do-able?

I also have a random question which i HATE to ask. A family friend, George Petroutsas, who is in the middle of an int'l chuld custody battle called me today. Long story short, he is Greek American and his wife is a Greek citizen. They have been fighting over custody of their son Andoni since 2005. In April of this year the 9th District Court of San Jose determined that the U.S. is the Andoni's habitual home - a huge victory for George and pretty telling since typically courts award custody to mothers (or so I'm told but what do I know)

So here's the thing, he tells me this means he won a federal (Hague) case in which he has been awarded sole legal and physical custody of his son but his ex-wife has re-abducted Andoni to Greece. The kicker is that Greece is non-compliant wrt to the Hague decision. Big surprise about those Greeks.

I really don't want to get involved but he was [REDACTED] on the phone and from what I hear from all our mutual friends, he is devoting all his time right now to bringing Andoni back and ensuring the decision is upheld. Apparently the mom [REDACTED] Anyway, none of this is anything I want to bank on or can corroborate and it's really not my place....but he's asking...and I'm wondering if there is anyone in your mom's office I can refer him to? Just an email.. No need to go to bat for him or anything...I just want to give him an email and let him take it from there. Apparently he's not having much luck finding someone to connect with in the State Dept (He has already contacted Congressman Sam Farr and the US Attorney's office.)

I am so so sorry. This totally sucks :( Feel free to say no...

But on a happier, lighter note, I really hope we get to play this weekend. big xoxo.

Yvonne

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, September 22, 2010 9:59 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'abedinh@state.gov'  
**Cc:** 'hanleymr@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Schedule

---

RELEASE IN FULL

Can we do So Af bilat at UN or US-UN so we don't have to run back and forth to the Waldorf?

**From:** Lynn Forester de Rothschild <[REDACTED]>  
**Sent:** Friday, September 24, 2010 1:27 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; Lynn Forester de Rothschild <[REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** Re:

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Yes, I received the messages from Hillary and assured her that we understand. What you are doing really matters and our disappointment here does not amount to a hill of beans. Our prayers are with you. Now, I need to make sure that there is not any backlash here against Tony being a no-show. Love you guys. Oxoxxo Lynn

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

From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
To: Lynn Forester de Rothschild  
Sent: Fri Sep 24 11:47:12 2010  
Subject: RE:

Hi Lynn - thanks for your message. Just wanted to connect on Tony Blair needing to go to Israel at the last minute for Middle East negotiations. HRC felt very strongly that he needed to go immediately as well and said she would make sure you knew and that you understood why. I assume the message was already passed along but wanted to be sure

hope you are well!



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 4:53 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

I would love for M/P to come if they can.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Sep 25 16:12:56 2010  
**Subject:** RE: Schedule

eric is  
woodardEW2@state.gov  
also, susie wants to invite melanne and phil to bolinas which i assumed you were fine with

---

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 12:55 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Schedule

Do you have Eric's email address?

Also, have we fit in Lois Quam for a visit w me and Cheryl next week?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 4:55 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Does Eric have a personal email too?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Sep 25 16:12:56 2010  
**Subject:** RE: Schedule

eric is  
woodardEW2@state.gov  
also, susie wants to invite melanne and phil to bolinas which i assumed you were fine with

---

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 12:55 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Schedule

Do you have Eric's email address?

Also, have we fit in Lois Quam for a visit w me and Cheryl next week?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, September 25, 2010 4:56 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

I don't know about any [REDACTED] Could Eric send new calendars tomorrow?

B5

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Sep 25 16:10:15 2010  
Subject: RE: Schedule

lois is set for 11:45 on wednesday, she is also seeing cdm that day  
jack keane is out of town so that isnt confirmed  
you had mentioned a 6:30 [REDACTED] confirmed.

want to review the schedule with you, maybe monday i can show you

---

From: H  
Sent: Saturday, September 25, 2010 12:55 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Schedule

Do you have Eric's email address?

Also, have we fit in Lois Quam for a visit w me and Cheryl next week?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 3:02 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'woodardEW2@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Tomorrow

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

What time do I start tomorrow? Can you send my schedule?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>

RELEASE IN PART B6

**Sent:** Sunday, September 26, 2010 5:11 PM

**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'eric  
'woodardEW2@state.gov'

B6

**Subject:** Tomorrow

---

Will I get a schedule soon? Not sure my previous email reached either of you.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 30, 2010 7:45 AM  
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; 'Laurenjiloty [REDACTED]'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> B6  
**Cc:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Proposal to DOS

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Lauren--Pls print.

Huma--what do you know about this?

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

From: haroldnaughton [REDACTED] <haroldnaughton [REDACTED]>  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Sep 13 10:14:01 2010  
Subject: Fwd: Proposal to DOS

As mentioned. Thank you.

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

From: haroldnaughton [REDACTED]  
To: HaroldNaughton [REDACTED]  
Sent: Mon, Sep 13, 2010 10:00 am  
Subject: Fwd: Proposal to DOS

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

From: haroldnaughton [REDACTED]  
To: abedinh@state.gov  
Sent: Thu, Aug 5, 2010 12:18 pm  
Subject: Fwd: Proposal to DOS

Huma, I shot this to you a few weeks ago, but I know you've had a few extra things going on in addition to the normal madness. I hope all as well. Please provide me with any guidance you can re: the below proposal

Thanks, all the best and again congratulations.

Hank Naughton

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

From: haroldnaughton [REDACTED]  
To: abedinh@state.gov  
Sent: Mon, Jul 19, 2010 9:03 am  
Subject: Fwd: Proposal to DOS

Huma,

I hope you are well. Congratulations on your marriage and best wishes for everything wonderful. I am not sure if you are back from your honeymoon yet, but I thought I would give this a try.

I was hoping to see the Secretary at Dave Stone's service at Arlington last week, but our House is in session and we are finished at the end of the month, so it is tough to miss votes in an election year. I attended the service at Annapolis earlier this year.

I tried to get ahold of you a few times before the 4th to pick your brain on a potential proposal. Realizing how busy you constantly are, I figured an email might have to work for now.

BG Gil Beck, Commander of the US Army Legal Reserve Command in Gaithersburg, MD has asked me to informally approach Secretary Clinton to gauge interest in the possibility of a new liaison program between the Office of the Secretary of State and US Army Reserve JAGS

If there is an interest, the basic proposal would be for the Legal Command to periodically cut orders placing a Reserve JAG on active duty and assigned to the Office of the Secretary of State to observe operations there

The benefits to the JAG Corps are many fold. As we have all been told, the ultimate tool of American foreign policy is the military. In today's deployed environment, commanders at every level rely heavily on JAG advice for everything from rules of engagement to negotiations with local leaders and other armed forces. For an officer to have observed the making and implementation of American foreign policy at this level, and then be able to return and share this experience with his colleagues could be potentially invaluable.

The Army Reserve has become a full partner in our nation's military strategy, and the JAG Corps is a central prong in that. Reserve JAGs bring a tremendous variety of life, civilian and military experience when placed on active duty.

The benefits to the DOS would be shared experience and a different perspective. Building a pool of officers who have been exposed to the workings of the Office of the Secretary could provide long term benefits, including but not limited to easing bureaucratic tension between the military and civilian staff down range. A great majority of reserve JAGs have been in deployed environments and could impart lessons learned during those duties. The JAG Liaison could complement DOS Staff without affecting DOS budget or personnel requirements.

Every JAG has at least a secret, if not top secret clearance. Legal Command personnel strength is about 1,600 soldiers and paralegals, all with diverse capabilities. A number of Reserve JAGs currently serve the DOS in civilian capacities.

The length of assignment could be anywhere from a month to six months to a year, varying with the duties assigned. The proposal would be that I could be the first officer assigned to act as a template or test case to determine the potential success of this program. Possible start date could be this coming January.

If the program proved successful, it could be expanded to other services. We are, after all, often working in a purple environment.

I realize these are very preliminary details, but it would be greatly appreciated if you could give me some thoughts as to the possibility of implementation of this program and the forwarding of a formal proposal to the Secretary.

I can always be reached at

Thank you for your time and I hope you are enjoying the summer

Hank Naughton



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, October 1, 2010 5:29 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Martin Indyk sent this to Jeff Feltman -- very interesting analysis

RELEASE IN PART  
 B5

Pls print this am.

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

From: Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>  
 To: H  
 Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
 Sent: Thu Sep 30 21:03:39 2010  
 Subject: Martin Indyk sent this to Jeff Feltman -- very interesting analysis

Jake probably passed this on to you, but just in case, I think it's definitely worth reading - [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] A few comments from one of my staff members who has long experience with the Middle East follow.

B5

From Martin: The principle conclusion from a quick visit to Israel and Ramallah over the weekend is that Netanyahu is in a strong position politically, with an unusually stable ruling coalition. Nobody I spoke with believed that the government would have fallen if he had decided to extend the settlement freeze before its expiry, as a gesture to U.S. peacemaking efforts. In their view, he could have easily garnered the support of a large majority of the people, for whom the settlers are a marginal concern. And this would have given him leverage over his ministers to ensure their support or abstention in the cabinet. As Dan Meridor noted, Likud voters are to the left of their Knesset members when it comes to peacemaking (70 percent support the two-state solution, vs only 50 percent of the leadership).

Lieberman, not the Likud, is Bibi's chief concern. He wants to keep him in the government for as long as possible for fear that when he leaves he will garner the support of those on the right, including from the Likud, who oppose peacemaking. For the time being, Bibi uses the threat of an alternative coalition with Kadima to keep Lieberman in the tent. But the clock is ticking. According to Tzipi Livni, she can bring her party into the government now, and is willing to do so without any demand for "rotation," provided Bibi is serious about negotiating peace. But as the elections grow closer, more and more of her party members are turning against the idea of joining the government. They are strengthened in their views by recent internal polling which shows Kadima with 32 seats (up from 28 now), Likud slightly down at 25, and Labor at only 5.

Therefore, if Bibi intends to make a deal with Abu Mazen, he will need to do so sooner rather than later. The longer he waits, the less leverage he has on Lieberman and the more likely Lieberman will break away to oppose him in the next elections.

In this context, Bibi's negotiating tactics become self-defeating. Believing that he is a great negotiator, and that he is operating in the Middle East bazaar, he inflates his requirements well beyond anything reasonable in the belief that this is the best way to secure the highest price. The process of bringing him down to a reasonable price uses up a lot of energy, uses up a lot of goodwill, humiliates his Palestinian negotiating partner, and raises doubts about his seriousness. In the end, under great pressure from all quarters, he will make the final concession, but only after wasting a lot of time, making everybody furious with him, and thereby securing no credit either with his supporters or negotiating partners. At heart, he seems to lack a generosity of spirit. This combines with his legendary fear of being seen as a "freier" (sucker) in front of his people to create a real problem in the negotiations, especially because he holds most of the cards.

This is further complicated by his introduction of the notion of "creative ideas." Thinking out of the box, as he likes to do, will only further delay the negotiations because the box is already well-defined. To attempt to broaden the parameters will generate mistrust of his intentions on the Palestinian side just when direct negotiations provide the opportunity to build trust.

The reason for dwelling on Bibi's psychology rather than his politics is that the latter all point in the direction of making a deal: the Israeli public is ready to get on with it; if Israel doesn't make a serious move, it will further delegitimize its standing internationally (something Bibi is deeply concerned about); Bibi needs President Obama in his corner to deal with the threat from Iran and to avoid punishment by the voters for mishandling relations with the U.S.; and if he doesn't make the deal with Abu Mazen now, he will have helped to advance the future he is most concerned about - a Hamas takeover of the Palestinian leadership.

Yuval Diskin was quite clear about this latter point. After praising the Palestinian security services to the sky (unusual for him) he told me that he had warned Bibi that at the moment they have a high motivation to prevent terror because they believe they are building their state. If that proves to be an illusion, the motivation will disappear and then he cannot guarantee security in the West Bank. He considers it quite possible that if Bibi doesn't quickly demonstrate his seriousness to Abu Mazen, he will resign because his honor has now been seriously damaged. He told Bibi that he cannot predict who will lead the Palestinians if Abu Mazen resigns, but that Salam Fayyad will likely have to go too.

What is to be done? I have no magic solution for what must be a deeply frustrating exercise for you. And please forgive me if what I recommend here is just repeating what you already know.

1. Put your arm around Bibi: he still thinks we are out to bring him down. There is no substitute for working with him, even though he makes it such a frustrating process. But the purpose of embracing him is to nudge him forward, not to buy into his exaggerated political fears or accept his inflated demands.
2. Try to find a way to make him understand that his negotiating tactics are counterproductive to his own purposes. The Obama Administration has done a great deal lately to underscore its concern for Israel's security, from the vote at the IAEA, to the sanctions on Iran, to the letter that Obama was willing to sign that accepted Bibi's security requirements. That should buy you credibility with him.
3. As his friend, paint a realistic picture of the strategic consequences of his negotiating tactics, particularly in terms of what is likely to happen to the PA leadership if he worries only about his politics and not at all about Abu Mazen's politics.
4. If all else fails, avoid recriminations in favor of a "clarifying moment." The world will of course blame Bibi. But you should avoid any kind of finger-pointing in favor of a repeated commitment to a negotiated solution and a willingness to engage with both sides in trying to make that happen, when they're ready. The Israeli public and the American Jewish Community should know how far the President was prepared to go and they should be allowed to draw their own conclusions. Bibi, Abu Mazen, and the Arab states need negotiations and time is not on the side of any of them. They will come back to the table sooner rather than later as long as we keep the door open.

From my staffer:

B5

AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter

Director of Policy Planning

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2972

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 10:29 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Janet napolitano is asking to talk to you secure after 11am.

---

RELEASE IN FULL

I could do it at 12:45.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Oct 02 10:28:00 2010  
**Subject:** Janet napolitano is asking to talk to you secure after 11am.

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 4:21 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Netanyahu

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL

I can do anytime after 7am tomorrow.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Oct 02 16:17:08 2010  
Subject: Netanyahu

Jake said you were willing to call netanyahu today. I just got points. Can we reach out? Its late there so tomorrow am might be more realistic.

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, October 2, 2010 9:40 PM  
**To:** 'jake.sullivan'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Netanyahu

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

Do I have a call w him tomorrow am?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 6:42 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Netanyahu confirmed for 7. Ok?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

How about 7:15 or 7:30? I'm just getting up.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Oct 03 06:34:49 2010  
Subject: Netanyahu confirmed for 7. Ok?

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, October 3, 2010 6:49 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Change. Netanyahu confirmed for 8:30am.

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Perfect--thank you.

B6

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Sun Oct 03 06:43:56 2010

Subject: Change. Netanyahu confirmed for 8:30am.

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, October 4, 2010 8:27 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'woodardEW2@state.gov'  
**Cc:** 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]  
**Subject:** Tomorrow

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

B6

---

[redacted] That means moving Judith's mtg. Pls try to see  
what can be done. Thx.

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 5, 2010 7:55 AM  
**To:** 'preines'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Thanks-ia and a question

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

---

I actually read the Monitor piece and thought it was on balance quite good. So thanks for all your work to get it done. But, what I can't figure out is which countries Madeleine and Condi went to that I didn't? Will you pls enlighten me?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 5, 2010 8:03 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'woodardEW2@state.gov'  
**Cc:** 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]  
**Subject:** Fw: Mini Schedule 10/5/10 Tuesday

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

Can we adjust schedule [redacted]

B5

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

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tue Oct 05 07:57:51 2010  
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 10/5/10 Tuesday

8:15 am DEPART Private Residence \*En route State Department

8:25 am ARRIVE State Department

8:25 am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING

8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING

8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING

9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am REMARKS TO THE AFRICA CHIEFS OF MISSION CONFERENCE

9:50 am George C Marshall Conference Center \*Official group photo at top.

10:00 am MEETING w/NORTH AMERICAN FORUM CO-CHAIRS

10:30 am Secretary's Outer Office \*Official photo at top.

10:30 am DROP-BY w/DALTON HATFIELD & FAMILY

10:40 am Secretary's Office \*Photo at top.

11:00am SECURE CALL w/JORDANIAN FM NASSER JUDEH

11:15am Secretary's Office

11:15 am OFFICE TIME

12:45 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm LUNCH w/WARREN & SUSIE BUFFETT

2:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office \*Official photo.

2:30 pm MTG w/BBC DIR. GENERAL MARK THOMPSON AND JUDITH

3:00 pm McHALE Secretary's Outer Office

3:00 pm BILATERAL MTG w/BULGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER NICKOLAY

3:30 pm MLADENOV Secretary's Conference Room \*Official photo at top.

3:30 pm PRESS AVAILABILITY PREP

3:35 pm Secretary's Outer Office

3:35 pm JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/BULGARIAN FOREIGN

3:45 pm MINISTER NICKOLAY MLADENOV Treaty Room, 7th Floor

3:45 pm DEPART State Department \*En route White House

3:55 pm ARRIVE White House

4:00 pm MEETING w/POTUS AND DEFENSE SECRETARY ROBERT GATES

4:30 pm Oval Office, White House

4:30 pm WHITE HOUSE CHIEFS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS RECEPTION

4:50 pm State Floor

4:55 pm DEPART White House \*En route State Department

5:05 pm ARRIVE State Department

5:15 pm WORLD FOOD PROGRAM AWARD PRESENTATION TO HRC

5:30 pm Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

5:30 pm OFFICE TIME

6:30 pm Secretary's Office

6:45 pm DEPART State Department \*En route Fairfax Hotel

6:55 pm ARRIVE Fairfax Hotel

7:00 pm MEETING w/GEN. JACK KEANE\*

8:30 pm Jockey Club, Fairfax Hotel

8:30 pm (t) DEPART Fairfax Hotel \*En route Private Residence

8:35 pm (t) ARRIVE Private Residence

FYI:

3:15 pm

4:00 pm



B5

###

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, October 5, 2010 8:17 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Mini Schedule 10/5/10 Tuesday

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

Could you email to me?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H; 'woodardEW2@state.gov' <woodardEW2@state.gov>  
Cc: 'jake.sullivan' <jake.sullivan>  
Sent: Tue Oct 05 08:16:16 2010  
Subject: Re: Mini Schedule 10/5/10 Tuesday

B6

Its on there.  
we changed late last night so didn't get to lauren.  
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
Date: Tue, 5 Oct 2010 08:02:31  
To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'woodardEW2@state.gov' <woodardEW2@state.gov>  
Cc: 'jake.sullivan' <jake.sullivan>  
Subject: Fw: Mini Schedule 10/5/10 Tuesday

Can we adjust schedule

B5

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

From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>  
To: H  
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
Sent: Tue Oct 05 07:57:51 2010  
Subject: Mini Schedule 10/5/10 Tuesday

8:15 am DEPART Private Residence \*En route State Department

8:25 am ARRIVE State Department

8:25 am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING

8:30 am Secretary's Office

8:30 am DAILY SMALL STAFF MEETING

8:45 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING

9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:30 am REMARKS TO THE AFRICA CHIEFS OF MISSION CONFERENCE ~

9:50 am George C. Marshall Conference Center \*Official group photo at top.

10:00 am MEETING w/NORTH AMERICAN FORUM CO-CHAIRS

10:30 am Secretary's Outer Office \*Official photo at top.

10:30 am DROP-BY w/DALTON HATFIELD & FAMILY

10:40 am Secretary's Office \*Photo at top.

11:00am SECURE CALL w/JORDANIAN FM NASSER JUDEH

11:15am Secretary's Office

11:15 am OFFICE TIME

12:45 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm LUNCH w/WARREN & SUSIE BUFFETT

2:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office \*Official photo.

2:30 pm MTG w/BBC DIR. GENERAL MARK THOMPSON AND JUDITH

3:00 pm McHALE Secretary's Outer Office

3:00 pm BILATERAL MTG w/BULGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER NICKOLAY

3:30 pm MLADENOV Secretary's Conference Room \*Official photo at top.

3:30 pm PRESS AVAILABILITY PREP

3:35 pm Secretary's Outer Office

3:35 pm JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/BULGARIAN FOREIGN

3:45 pm MINISTER NICKOLAY MLADENOV Treaty Room, 7th Floor

3:45 pm DEPART State Department \*En route White House

3:55 pm ARRIVE White House

4:00 pm MEETING w/POTUS AND DEFENSE SECRETARY ROBERT GATES

4:30 pm Oval Office, White House

4:30 pm WHITE HOUSE CHIEFS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS RECEPTION

4:50 pm State Floor

4:55 pm DEPART White House \*En route State Department

5:05 pm ARRIVE State Department

5:15 pm WORLD FOOD PROGRAM AWARD PRESENTATION TO HRC

5:30 pm Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

5:30 pm OFFICE TIME

6:30 pm Secretary's Office

6:45 pm DEPART State Department \*En route Fairfax Hotel

6:55 pm ARRIVE Fairfax Hotel

7:00 pm MEETING w/GEN. JACK KEANE\*

8:30 pm Jockey Club, Fairfax Hotel



8:30 pm (t) DEPART Fairfax Hotel \*En route Private Residence

8:35 pm (t) ARRIVE Private Residence

FYI:

3:15 pm

4:00 pm



B5

###

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 7, 2010 10:37 PM  
**To:** 'preines'; 'SchwerinDB@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Economist op-ed

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

I just got the draft and

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, October 9, 2010 2:49 PM  
**To:** 'woodardEW2@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Line block questions:

Why is the Julia Roberts interview during the time I have weekly depoartmental meeting?

Also, I don't see a mtg w POTUS on the 15th--can we get that scheduled?

I want to have my own pre-brief before the Kissinger event.

And, I notice that the HBO event conflicts w a PC mtg at WH. Now w/Donilon in charge can we get a set time for all the regular mtgs so we don't schedule conflicting events?

When is Adm Mullen having his small Pakistan dinner? If it's the 21st, can I get back in time from Paris?

If La Raza can pay for a reception for Raul, why is his swearing in ceremony in the Treaty Room instead of the Franklin? Can't we find a time for them? Also, I won't be able to go to his reception at a hotel since I have to go to the screening for the Nat Geo special so that day doesn't work so well. What about on the 26th after I get back from NY since Bill will be in Haiti and could come back to DC?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, October 10, 2010 8:24 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok--but remind me to discuss scheduling issues w you.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Oct 09 00:19:41 2010  
**Subject:**

Michael confirmed sunday oct 24th works for a meeting. They are waiting to hear on a time.  
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, October 23, 2010 8:27 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I responded re Karzai last night--anytime after 10:30. But I can't set Rasmussen yet.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Oct 23 08:08:04 2010  
Subject:

Richard asking to talk to you  
Also, what time would u like to do karzai?  
And do u want to do rasmussen today as well?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, October 23, 2010 10:59 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Karzai

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Oct 23 10:56:29 2010  
**Subject:** Karzai

He can talk now  
Eikenberry wants to talk right before  
Can we connect eikenberry, then karzai?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, October 24, 2010 6:53 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Will I get the QDDR draft tonight?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H; 'monica.hanley' [REDACTED] <monica.hanley [REDACTED]>  
**Sent:** Sun Oct 24 18:42:52 2010  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

Ok. Will do.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'monica.hanley' [REDACTED] <monica.hanley [REDACTED]>  
**Sent:** Sun Oct 24 18:40:43 2010  
**Subject:** [REDACTED]

Pls find out if [REDACTED] tomorrow. Thx.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 9:01 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Incredible Story

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Pls print.

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

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Thu Oct 21 13:20:20 2010  
**Subject:** FW: Incredible Story

**From:** Ruggiero, Frank J  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 21, 2010 12:02 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** Bommer, Ashley F; Holbrooke, Richard; Carland, Raphael; Pauli, Rosemarie  
**Subject:** Incredible Story

Jake,

I just received an award recommendation from the military for a US civilian (Dale Kramer) in the field for heroic action. The civilian was embedded with a special forces team when it came under Taliban fire (IED and machine gun) in Paktya. At that point, Dale grabbed a machine gun and proceeded for twenty minutes to provide suppressing fire so that the entire team could withdraw from the scene of the attack. We will look into the specific and seek a way for the civilian to be recognized by S, but this is also an important anecdote for the public relations effort you mentioned yesterday and that we will discuss later today.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 9:02 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Three Models of S/P Directorships

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

Pls print.

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

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thu Oct 21 15:38:59 2010  
**Subject:** Three Models of S/P Directorships



B5  
B6

Any one of these models could work. I'm happy to discuss at any point, and will keep thinking. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter

Director of Policy Planning

U.S. Department of State

(202) 647-2972

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 9:02 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Central America Strategy

RELEASE  
IN FULL

Pls print

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

From: Valenzuela, Arturo A <ValenzuelaAA@state.gov>

To: H

Cc: Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>; Lew, Jacob J <LewJJ@state.gov>; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Gonzalez, Juan S <GonzalezJS@state.gov>

Sent: Fri Oct 22 12:03:48 2010

Subject: Central America Strategy

Madam Secretary:

As I mentioned in senior staff, I have been working with Roberta Jacobson, Julissa Reynoso and the WHA team to address concerns related to Central America's challenging security situation. This has been at the top of our agenda and has included extensive discussions with Central American leaders bilaterally and as a group, including a meeting with the Central American Foreign Ministers at UNGA last month.

There is a shared consensus that security is the number one priority. We have specifically reached out to Costa Rica and El Salvador to play leading roles in coordination with SICA (the Central America Integration System). Julissa has just returned from a Central America trip and I am going to Costa Rica and Nicaragua next week.

The international community shares our concern. Julissa and I met with the major donors (EU, Spain, whom we asked to chair, and Canada) on the margins of UNGA. We and the Mexicans and Colombians will meet with the Central Americans via SICA before year's end, and there will be calls and meetings with the Central Americans, OAS, UN, donors and IFIs, all leading to a conference on regional security hosted by SICA to be held in Guatemala in March 2011. This is the event President Funes mentioned to you. We are encouraged that the leaders themselves are finally seized with the issue, organizing and preparing themselves to mobilize donor efforts - that has been lacking thus far. We have proposed to the Central Americans the formation of a Group of Friends of Central America which would meet regularly and at varying levels to impart urgency to our efforts and coordinate support.

At State, we have been working to energize the programs already in the pipeline through CARSI and have created a "CARSI Working Group" with participation from key players from USAID and our missions. (As background, we allocated \$109 million in 2009 and \$95 million in 2010 towards CARSI, and have \$100 million allocated towards 2011.)

In the inter-agency we have reached out to DoD, Treasury and Southcom-- and are coordinating with NSS. We have been working to: 1) baseline our existing and planned citizen safety and related assistance programs; 2) determine key US and host nation priorities; 3) review the mix of our current and planned assistance to ensure it is meeting our objectives and to determine, as appropriate, the need for additional resources; and 4) better rationalize and organize the considerable overall international assistance to Central America.

We believe that changing the trajectory in Central America will also require new effort and investment by you and other Administration officials to: 1) ensure, as required, adequate resources for the most acute challenges; 2) maximize political incentives and pressure on Central American governments to invest their own capital and resources in order to guarantee sustainable progress and reform; 3) strengthen congressional understanding of, and support for, our sustained engagement in Central America; and 4) work effectively with other donors and multilaterals to better coordinate and implement security and development assistance.

Deputy Lew suggested that we not send you a formal memo on our Central America Strategy until we had completed work with F and other bureaus and agencies to come up with a definitive reconfiguration of existing programming and funding allocations, as well as estimates of any additional unfunded priorities that our assessment process identifies. We are pressing to get this finalized within the next three to four weeks.

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 1:25 PM  
**To:** 'CampbellKM@state.gov', 'jake.sullivan' [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** LMI tomorrow

---

B6

I've reviewed the notes and do not see any reference to a moratorium on dam projects. Should I raise it or not? .

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, October 29, 2010 1:27 PM  
**To:** 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Middle East call

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

Pls come and report about it to me when it's over.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, October 30, 2010 8:11 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: this is excellent... FW: A Globalized God

<b>RELEASE IN PART</b> <b>B6</b>
-------------------------------------

Pls print.

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

**From:** Burns Strider <[redacted]>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Oct 29 19:57:10 2010  
**Subject:** this is excellent... FW: A Globalized God

B6

A Globalized God.

By: Thomas, Scott M.,

Foreign Affairs, 00157120, Nov/Dec2010, Vol. 89, Issue 6

#### Religions Growing Influence in International Politics

Around the world--from the southern United States to the Middle East--religion is on the rise. It is growing in countries with a wide variety of religious traditions and levels of economic development, suggesting that neither poverty nor social exclusion is solely responsible. The religious resurgence is not simply defined by the growth of fundamentalism--rigid adherence to a particular set of rituals and doctrines--but is occurring through a variety of renewed rituals and practices, both public and private.

Demographics are reinforcing this trend. The global religious landscape in the coming years will be affected by the massive shift in population growth from the developed countries of the North--predominantly in western Europe and the former Soviet republics--to the developing countries of the so-called global South. The North accounted for 32 percent of the world's population in 1900, 25 percent in 1970, and about 18 percent in 2000. By 2050, it will likely account for just 10 percent. Religion has emerged as a driving factor in this redistribution. Religiosity is now one of the most accurate indicators of fertility, far more telling than denominational or ethnic identity, since religious people tend to have more children than their secular counterparts.

Religion will also increasingly be an urban phenomenon. The growing population in the developing nations will mostly settle in vast, burgeoning, and largely impoverished metropolises--areas where religion is spreading. According to conventional wisdom, secularization became an inevitable part of modernization with the spread of education, science, technology, and prosperity. But these new megacities are havens for religious revivals. Historically, religions have been adept at gaining adherents in urban environments; Christianity formed as an urban religious movement in the cities of the Roman Empire, and the Franciscans began as an urban reform movement in medieval Europe in response to the poverty and inequality accompanying the rise of the market economy. Islam may follow the same path by expanding in urban environments. Although urbanization can lead to civil unrest and cities can provide cover for criminal and terrorist networks, urbanization also offers well-meaning religious institutions opportunities for urban ministry that could help prevent such threats in the first place.

Another aspect of the religious resurgence is the disintegrating relationship between the West and Christianity. Traditionally seen as a Western or European religion steeped in that continent's culture, Christianity evolved from its Jewish origins in Palestine, conquered the pagan world, and spread east to Iraq, India, and China before the Mongol invasions reduced it to its European setting. It is now returning to its roots by becoming a post-Western religion dominated by the peoples, cultures, and countries of the global South. For U.S. policymakers--many of whom currently consider Islamism to be the most urgent religious challenge to Washington's foreign policy--the politics of global Christianity may soon prove just as pivotal.

A variety of trends, including demographic shifts, urbanization, and the global transformation of religion, indicate that religion will help shape the dynamics of existing, new, and emerging great powers, influencing U.S. attempts to promote freedom, civil society,

democracy, social cohesion, and economic development across the world. Globalization's trans-formational effect on religion will also play a key role in the prevalence of global terrorism, religious conflict, and other threats to international security.

## CHRISTIAN AND ISLAMIC RESURGENCE

The most dramatic religious explosion in the world today is the spread of Pentecostalism and evangelical Protestantism. It is part of the demographic shift toward the global South and a key factor in Christianity's worldwide transition. Pentecostals and evangelicals share many of the same core beliefs: they subscribe to the authority of the Bible (often interpreting it literally) and believe in the need to proselytize to non-Christians.

According to a 2006 report by the Center for the Study of Global Christianity, the number of evangelicals worldwide, including Pentecostals, is estimated to range from 250 million to 688 million. After Catholics, Pentecostals represent the largest single group of Christians. They live predominantly in Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, the Philippines, and the United States, but they also enjoy a presence in Chile, Ghana, Guatemala, South Africa, and South Korea.

The explosion of Pentecostalism and evangelical Christianity has collided with entrenched religious communities. Three countries with substantial Muslim communities--India, Indonesia, and Nigeria--also have large Pentecostal populations and sizable minorities of Christians more broadly. Muslim-Christian tensions have recently arisen in those nations, most notably in Nigeria, where sectarian violence erupted earlier this year and left over 500 people dead.

Pentecostalism and evangelical Christianity appeal across class lines. Their message of God's love, hope, and consolation attracts the occupants of shantytowns in many megacities, and their inspiring themes of forgiveness and personal transformation through a sober, frugal lifestyle blends with middle-class values around the world. Once thought of as highly personal religions with little interest in politics, Pentecostalism and evangelical Christianity have become more politically active--particularly in Latin America, where Pentecostal and evangelical candidates largely support democracy and lobby for religious freedom in heavily Catholic countries. But their biblical literalism can also motivate religious intolerance. Either way, Pentecostals and evangelicals will be a major religious, social, and political force in the coming century.

Islam is also experiencing a genuine revival, one that extends beyond the more extreme Islamic fundamentalist movements. More Muslim women are wearing the veil, more Muslim men are growing beards, and more Muslims are attending mosques more; often. According to the Gallup Center for Muslim Studies, Islam is thriving, with 86 percent of Turks, 90 percent of Indonesians, and 98 percent of Egyptians surveyed reporting that religion plays an important part in their lives.

The Islamic world extends far beyond the Arab world. It is therefore difficult to generalize about Islam's position regarding women, democracy, capitalism, or terrorism. Yet much as Westerners must attempt to understand the facets of Pentecostal and evangelical Christian growth, they will need to make the same effort in striving to understand the global spread of Islam.

## RELIGIOUS RENEWAL IN ASIA

Remarkably, given its Marxist past, China is experiencing a tremendous expansion of Pentecostalism and evangelical Christianity. The Center for the Study of Global Christianity projects that there may be 218 million Christians in China by 2050, perhaps 16 percent of its total population. The current Pentecostal and evangelical populations are concentrated among the growing middle' class. Protestantism spread rapidly in China only after the communist government expelled foreign missionaries between 1949 and 1953, making its spread almost entirely indigenous. Now primarily concerned with its economic development, China tacitly allows established religions--Christianity and neo-Confucianism--to operate relatively freely, believing that they can promote social harmony amid rapid social changes. The question for China is whether this domestic tranquility will continue. If Christianity achieves the kind of cultural permeation of China that it has in South Korea--where it has reached over a quarter of the population--it could fundamentally alter China's political fabric.

Meanwhile, northwestern China is home to over 20 million Muslims and is now in the grip of an Islamic reawakening. Chinese authorities are concerned about the young Chinese Muslims now studying across the Middle East, and especially in Saudi Arabia, whose rigid Wahhabi institutions are offering educational scholarships and bringing Chinese Muslims under their influence. Ethnic minority Uighur Muslims and Han Chinese have clashed violently in the western province of Xinjiang. Deeply concerned about their country's fragmentation, China's leaders are adamant about preventing a separate Islamic enclave from gaining autonomy in the western half of the country. The rise of Christianity and Islam in China, then, will color discussions about political stability, democracy, human rights, and foreign policy there for years to come.

The rest of Asia is also experiencing dynamic religious changes. In contrast to religion in the West, religion in Asia is less individualistic, more communal, and more socially embedded. Thus, religious vitality appears consistent with secular politics in a variety of politically modernizing states--China, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. The same religious diversity is spreading to India. Although over 80 percent of Indians are Hindus, this dominance masks considerable religious variation across India's states. Muslims comprise 67 percent of the population of Jammu and Kashmir. Christians predominate in India's small eastern states of

Nagaland (90 percent), Mizoram (87 percent), and Meghalaya (70 percent) and are significant minorities in two southern states, Kerala (25 percent) and Tamil Nadu (6 percent). Sikhs make up nearly 60 percent of the population in Punjab.

Long-standing social tensions within India--most notably in relation to the country's caste system--also have a significant interreligious dimension. In particular, the movement for the rights of Dalits, the country's lowest caste, known as "untouchables," has long been complicated by Dalit religious conversions, often from Hinduism to evangelical Christianity. This has angered Hindu nationalists, leading to Hindu-Christian tensions. Despite these internal conflicts, India remains a model of a large, vibrant, successful, deeply religious, and multiethnic democracy outside the West.

#### RUSSIA AND THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

In Russia, meanwhile, Orthodox Christianity is enjoying a revival after 70 years of communist suppression. Few have appreciated the depth of the damage caused first by communism and then by corruption in the post-Soviet era--they undermined trust, integrity, and accountability, as well as moral and cultural values, in the country.

The Russian Orthodox Church is now aiming to restore these values and overcome modernization's atomizing effects on post-Soviet Russian society. According to a 2004 study by the Kennan Institute, the Orthodox Church is Russia's second most trusted institution, behind the presidency, with far greater credibility than the media, the police, the army, or the overall government. It has formed an alliance around these goals with fellow religious organizations, a partnership that has the potential to be an important part of civil society. Yet Russians must still determine what freedom of religion means for a country that is predominantly Orthodox. A debate is also taking place within and outside the Orthodox Church itself over the nature of human rights--whether they are consistent with Orthodoxy or are cultural imports from the West--and their appropriate place in modern Russia.

The Orthodox Church's role is especially crucial given that cultural and political power seem intertwined in modern Russia. The church's attempt to unify its domestic and overseas hierarchies in the wake of Soviet rule and its increasingly close relationship with the Russian state have established a type of Russian Orthodox identity politics. The Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church is one of a number of "autocephalous" (literally, "self-headed," meaning "independent") churches within Orthodoxy, and it sees the reunification of the church's various branches as an important step in spreading the patriarchate's influence worldwide. The Russian state, meanwhile, views reunification as a means to boost ties between Russia proper and the Russian diaspora as part of its quest to regain global power. Although the Orthodox Church claims that it has no wish to serve as an organ of the state, its relationship with the Russian government will play a major role in Russia's near-term future.

Muslims are also an important force in Russia, making up between 12 and 15 percent of the population. Russia has more Muslim inhabitants than any other country in Europe. Battles with Muslims in the North Caucasus--Chechnya, Dagestan, and Ingushetia--have left Moscow viewing Islam as a source of extremism, separatism, and secession. The Russian Orthodox Church has had a checkered relationship with Islam, dating back over 700 years, but current problems between the two religions are fed by more recent phenomena. These include Orthodox fears of Islamic extremism and renewed notions of an Islamic-Christian struggle, which first emerged from the Soviet war in Afghanistan and then from the regional struggles following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

#### GLOBALIZED RELIGION

All these trends are inherently intertwined with globalization and highlight its tendency to create a more unified and yet more fragmented world. Global and local religious identities are becoming linked because globalization is changing the very nature of religion and its role in international affairs. Ever since Samuel Huntington popularized the notion of a "clash of civilizations" in these pages, many accounts of the world's religions have cast each religion as a vast, static bloc linked together by culture, theology, and territory. Up to a point, Huntington was broadly right. Religions often have intersected with specific cultures, states, and territories. In Europe, this reality was reinforced by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which essentially privatized religion to the realm of individual belief and nationalized it as the basis for organizing modern states. Later on, European colonialists attempted to interpret Hinduism and Buddhism through the lens of Protestant theology, exporting their understanding of religion, culture, and territory to the developing world.

But religions have seldom operated as static blocs with set beliefs. They have always been adaptable and in flux, shaped by and shaping their surroundings. In his new book *Holy Ignorance*, Olivier Roy argues that globalization is facilitating the detachment of religion, culture, and territory, thus unraveling religious traditions from particular cultures and nationalities. Roy points to global religious movements such as Salafism, a militantly literalistic form of Islam; Pentecostalism; and evangelical Christianity to contend that fundamentalism is particularly well suited to globalization because its claim of a universal truth is inherently disconnected from particular states and societies. Whether or not the other groups he references--Tablighi Jamaat (the largest transnational Islamic organization in the world), China's Falun Gong, and Sri Lanka's Theravada Buddhism--can be considered fundamentalist, they have joined existing global religious traditions, such as the Roman Catholic Church and the various Orthodox patriarchates, in impacting international relations.

Globalization is also making religion more pluralistic. The kind of religious monopolies that have benefited the Orthodox churches in



central Europe, the Catholic Church in Latin America, and Hinduism in India will be difficult to sustain. Religion is increasingly, if unevenly, becoming a matter of choices--about whether to believe, whether to embrace one particular kind of religion, and, if so, what elements or sect of that religion to embrace. Religion is no longer imposed or taken for granted by prevailing cultures. The debates in the new Iraqi parliament and increasingly in many other Muslim countries--over the lines between Islamic law and religious freedom, the role of women in society, and regulations regarding conversion and proselytizing--indicate that this shift is also taking place in the Islamic world.

Globalization also gives greater influence to ethnic and religious diasporas. These communities are contributing to the changing nature of international security and are one of the most significant types of nonstate actors in international relations. Globalization has blurred the lines between religious organizations involved in advocacy, proselytizing, or social welfare--for example, Tablighi Jamaat or Hezbollah--and purely terrorist organizations. It is these kinds of both local and global social networks that allow people to support or facilitate the operations of al Qaeda, Hamas, and other illicit groups across the world.

Yet the mixing of sacred and secular objectives in religious institutions is nothing new. Piety and political struggle have often accompanied each other in developing countries. Sufi brotherhoods in North Africa, for example, supported Islamic resistance fighters against French occupation in the nineteenth century.

Westerners find this blending of religion and politics uncomfortable. But in the religious world of the global South, there is often an overlap between social, charitable, political, and even terrorist networks. In weak and failed states, which are plagued by corruption and crumbling social infrastructure, a variety of charities and faith-based organizations will remain a main source of education, social welfare, and health care.

Globalization also enables members of diasporas to join religious groups in their countries of ethnic origin. The Internet and cheap airplane tickets, for example, give young, rootless, and alienated Muslims in the diaspora the opportunity to construct new, radical identities by joining a virtual ummah, or global Islamic community. One recent example is Faisal Shahzad, the so-called Times Square bomber. A Pakistani-born immigrant who lived in Connecticut, Shahzad nonetheless visited Pakistan often and received terrorist training from the Taliban.

Simmering local conflicts could, if allowed to fester, lend fodder to extremists arguing that Islam and Christianity, or Buddhism and Islam, are at war. This has happened in Buddhist Thailand, where an Islamic separatist insurgency is raging in the south, and it is happening in the Philippines, where a long-running Islamic independence movement has linked itself with al Qaeda in recent years. In both places, isolated revolts have taken on international proportions as war zones within a larger battle.

#### FAITH AND FOREIGN POLICY

As the world becomes more religious, religion will also likely alter relations in the traditional nation-state system. At a basic level, religion will be an important factor in understanding the general foreign policy orientations of many countries. There will undoubtedly be exceptions--Western states supported Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo over Christians, to take one instance--but many historical examples suggest that religion reinforces collective identities and guides foreign policy. Germany's Catholics pressured the country to recognize Catholic Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia in the aftermath of the Cold War. Orthodox states such as Greece and Russia opposed NATO's bombing of Orthodox Serbia in 1999. Russia's claims of political influence over the Ukraine are related to the fact that Uniates, also known as Eastern Rite Catholics, dominate its western territories and are at odds with the Russian Orthodox Church.

The foreign policy implications of religion are evident when it comes to Islam as well. Saudi Arabia's cultural diplomacy has consolidated the country's influence in the Islamic world by spreading its more rigid form of Islam, upsetting local Islamic practices and long-standing traditions of religious toleration and coexistence. Meanwhile, Iran has pursued an equally aggressive religious diplomacy, exporting its messianic form of Shiism across the Arab world and supporting sectarian movements in Lebanon (Hezbollah), the Palestinian territories (Hamas), and Iraq.

Another potentially important factor in international relations is the impact of Christianity on foreign policy orientation. The political scientist Walter Russell Mead has argued that the global rise of Christianity is good for U.S. foreign policy. Christianity, he says, is "the world's most pro-American faith" because it is congruent with American beliefs and ideas (if not always actions), supports religious freedom, and helps inculcate the kind of values conducive to democracy and economic development.

Mead is partly correct, although perhaps not for the reasons that he cites. U.S. foreign policy is increasingly influenced by the way globalization creates or empowers new types of collective identity and political action, including global Pentecostalism and evangelical Christianity. Globalization enables Muslims and Christians in the global South to link their local conflicts to competing global narratives. Islamic and Christian nonstate actors--for example, Franklin Graham's Christian relief organization, Samaritan's Purse, now active in the Sudan--draw on diasporas to provide them with financial and political support. American Christian values and goals connect the United States to societies and countries in the global South with Pentecostal or evangelical constituencies. The religious dimensions of this kind of collective identity and transnationalism is a growing feature of U.S. foreign policy and explains (to a large extent) legislation in the past decade on human trafficking, religious freedom, the violence in Darfur, and human rights in

## North Korea.

Yet Mead's vision of Pentecostalism and evangelical Christianity boosting the status of the United States in foreign countries is not a foregone conclusion. Given the increasingly indigenous development of these Christian groups in non-Western countries, they have embraced local concerns and local politics in places such as China. Pentecostalism and evangelical Christianity are certainly not monolithic, and it remains unclear whether Christians in the global South will align with their more conservative U.S. counterparts on foreign policy issues. On the issue of the Iraq war, for example, they did not. Meanwhile, evangelicals in China seem more inclined to follow Chinese nationalist sentiment than to embrace the United States.

It is possible that religion in the global South will not reflect Western political categories. For both Muslims and Christians in developing countries, religion is likely to be more socially conservative than in the West, taking a harsher stance on abortion and homosexuality. At the same time, religion in the global South could be more politically liberal, since people in developing nations are generally more concerned with poverty, economic justice, and the environment; more skeptical of capitalism and globalization; and more supportive of the United Nations and international law.

Globalization and its impact on religious trends will undoubtedly affect domestic conditions as well. Religiously divided populations from Indonesia to Nigeria have clashed in recent years, and fresh Muslim-Christian conflicts are erupting in Cote d'Ivoire and Kenya. Statistics on civil unrest indicate that once a minority religious group in a given country reaches 10-20 percent of the population, it can sufficiently resist policies promoting religious harmony and can even sustain struggles for liberation.

Clearly, other factors contribute to such strife besides religion. Yet although many conflicts are the result of politics, economics, and governmental mismanagement, religious ideas do matter. Collective action depends on how social groups perceive the world in which they live and how they view their own identities in relation to the identities of others. The way religious institutions address literacy, schooling, governance, human rights, and interreligious dialogue can support governments' ability to respond to crises surrounding these issues or exacerbate religious strife.

## RELIGION IN THE WORLD AHEAD

A new kind of world is in the making, and the people, states, and religious communities that compose the global South are making it. The major world religions are all taking advantage of the opportunities provided by globalization to transform their messages and reach a new global audience.

Faith informs the daily struggles of millions in confronting larger political conflicts regarding democracy, human rights, and economic development. Ethnic and religious diasporas in the global South are connected to the West in ways that can create or reinvigorate collective identities, whose influence can both promote social welfare and fuel terrorism and interreligious conflict. As a result, understanding religions worldwide--their beliefs, values, and practices and the way they influence the political goals, actions, and motivations of states and religious communities--will be an important task for U.S. and international foreign-policy makers in the coming decades. If the United States recognizes and utilizes the worldwide religious resurgence, it can harness its power to improve international security and better the lives of millions. If the United States fails to confront the implications of this religious rise properly, however, the potential for religiously motivated violence across the globe may increase dramatically over the next century.

PHOTO (BLACK & WHITE): A boy standing next to his father during Friday prayers, Tehran, August 2010

~~~~~  
By Scott M. Thomas

Scott M. Thomas lectures on international relations at the University of Bath and is a Research Fellow at the Center for Christianity and Interreligious Dialogue at Heythrop College, University of London.

Robert Tice Lalka

cell phone:

<http://www.linkedin.com/in/lalka>

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 1, 2010 8:09 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: WP (Zakaria): President Obama, Asia is calling

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print.

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

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M <CampbellKM@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 01 19:42:08 2010  
**Subject:** Fw: WP (Zakaria): President Obama, Asia is calling

This is a great piece and serious recognition for your work

**From:** Campbell, Kurt M  
**To:** 'Evan S. Medeiros' <Evan\_S\_Medeiros>; Sullivan, Jacob J; Patel, Nirav S; Shear, David B; Loi, James L

B6

**Cc:** Krittenbrink, Daniel J  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 01 19:05:30 2010  
**Subject:** Re: WP (Zakaria): President Obama, Asia is calling

Thanks for this Evan. Kurt

**From:** Medeiros, Evan S. <>  
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M; Sullivan, Jacob J; Patel, Nirav S; Shear, David B; Loi, James L  
**Cc:** Krittenbrink, Daniel J  
**Sent:** Mon Nov 01 15:15:21 2010  
**Subject:** WP (Zakaria): President Obama, Asia is calling

Note the positive comments about HRC: "Last week, China abruptly canceled its scheduled talks with Japan at the East Asian Summit, which took place in Hanoi. Meanwhile, the star of the summit was Hillary Clinton, representing the United States."

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11/01/AR2010110103432\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11/01/AR2010110103432_pf.html) <[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11/01/AR2010110103432\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11/01/AR2010110103432_pf.html)>

President Obama, Asia is calling

By Fareed Zakaria  
Monday, November 1, 2010;

After the midterm elections, Barack Obama will get a chance to follow a long line of American presidents who have had setbacks at home. He will go abroad. His long-delayed Asian trip this week - India, Indonesia, South Korea and Japan - is by chance perfectly timed. Asian powers are showing a striking - and growing - interest in American power.

Just a few years ago, if you traveled to Asia, the talk was all about the irrelevance of the United States and the dawn of Chinese power. In 2006, analyst Joshua Kurlantzick declared that Chinese "soft power" in Southeast Asia had become so potent that, "for the first time in post-World War II history, the United States may be facing a situation in which another country's appeal outstrips its own in an important region." Two years later, Kishore Mahbubani, the sophisticated Singaporean diplomat-turned scholar, wrote about China's "smart power," its series of diplomatic successes - such as excluding the United States from the newly formed East Asian Summit - attributing it to "Beijing's geopolitical competence outweighing Washington's tendency toward incompetence. . . . The Western media fails to appreciate the nature and depth of Chinese geopolitical acumen."

There is truth to all these observations. China has massively expanded its aid to Southeast Asia, which now dwarfs that from Washington. China uses trade as a tool to bestow presents on cooperative neighbors. Asian countries wanting to grow their economies have to build ties with the biggest market on the continent.

But over the last year China's behavior has caused anxiety in many Asian capitals. The signal event was a scuffle on Sept. 8 in the waters around the Senkaku islands, claimed by both Japan and China. Japanese patrol boats arrested the captain of a Chinese trawler that was fishing in the waters. Beijing reacted angrily, in official denunciations, and also in either organizing or permitting a series of anti-Japanese demonstrations in various Chinese cities. Chinese companies that provide crucial "rare earth" minerals to Japan mysteriously halted all shipments. Even after the Japanese government released the captain, the Chinese government upped the ante, demanding a formal apology.

Listen to other Asians. A senior Indian scholar, D.S. Rajan, has written a paper titled "China-Japan Row: A Wake Up Call for India?" He urged India to look carefully at what he describes as aggressive Chinese behavior. In South Korea, where I was visiting two weeks ago, senior politicians said to me that their country's most urgent strategy now was to keep America engaged in the region.

The sharpest rethinking appears to be taking place in Tokyo. Japan had long believed that it could play a quiet and nonconfrontational role, positioned between China and the United States. That notion is in tatters. "Japan and China now stand at ground zero, and the landscape is a bleak, vast nothingness," wrote Japan's most important foreign affairs commentator, Yoichi Funabashi, in a letter sent to dozens of high-ranking friends in China. If China continued to undermine its own "peaceful rise" doctrine then "Japan would discard its naivete, lower its expectations, acquire needed insurance and, in some cases, cut its losses," he wrote. Japan's foreign minister has described Chinese behavior as "hysterical."

In a perceptive article, none other than Kishore Mahbubani wrote that "China's decision to browbeat the Japanese into submission over the fishing trawler suggests that China may be throwing Deng's (Xiaoping) geopolitical caution out the window." He warned that the consequence could be an anti-Chinese coalition: "If Japan needs allies to balance the rise of China, it could easily turn not only to the U.S., but also to Russia and India. In short, the geopolitical cards could turn out in Japan's favor if China overplays its hand."

The veteran leader of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, another friend of China's, recently gave an interview to the Asahi Shimbun in which he said bluntly, "There should be a balance in the Pacific. Without America, you can take Japan, you can put North and South Korea together . . . you can even get India together. You can't balance China. India is too far away and they can't project the forces into the Pacific. But the Americans can."

Last week, China abruptly canceled its scheduled talks with Japan at the East Asian Summit, which took place in Hanoi. Meanwhile, the star of the summit was Hillary Clinton, representing the United States.

It was easy to welcome the rise of China when it was an abstraction. Now that it is a reality, the geopolitics of Asia will get interesting.

comments@fareedzakaria.com

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
Sent: Tuesday, November 2, 2010 5:09 AM  
To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
Subject: Fw:

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print.

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

From: Neera Tanden <[REDACTED]>  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Nov 01 23:35:10 2010

B6

Hi Hillary,

I hope you are enjoying your travels. I'm trying to keep the Go, Fight, Win spirit, but I must confess, it's a bit hard

I promise I will do this rarely, if at all, in the future, but I am once again sending my column. This time I am doing so because it references you and also because it created some buzz related to the primaries.

Looking forward to seeing you in December.

Neera

POLITICS <<http://www.tnr.com/articles/politics>>

The Female Factor

How the Democrats can regain women's faith—and fight for their interests.

\* Neera Tanden

\* October 28, 2010 | 12:00 am

\* <http://www.addthis.com/bookmark.php?v=250&winname=addthis&pub=tnrp2tech&source=tbx-250&lng=en-US&s=facebook&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.tnr.com%2Farticle%2Fpolitics%2F78703%2Fthe-female-factor&title=Barack%20Obama%2C%20Progressives%20And%20Women%20Voters%20%7C%20The%20New%20Republic&ate=AT-tnrp2tech/-/4cef7ed2c453ab95/1&CXNID=2000001.5215456080540439074NXC&pre=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.tnr.com%2F&tt=0> <<http://www.addthis.com/bookmark.php?v=250&winname=addthis&pub=tnrp2tech&source=tbx-250&lng=en-US&s=delicious&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.tnr.com%2Farticle%2Fpolitics%2F78703%2Fthe-female-factor&title=Barack%20Obama%2C%20Progressives%20And%20Women%20Voters%20%7C%20The%20New%20Republic&ate=AT-tnrp2tech/-/4cef7ed2c453ab95/2&CXNID=2000001.5215456080540439074NXC&pre=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.tnr.com%2F&tt=0>> | More <<http://addthis.com/bookmark.php?v=250&username=tnrp2tech>>

\* PrintPrint <<http://www.tnr.com/print/article/politics/78703/the-female-factor>>

\* <<http://www.tnr.com/printmail/78703>>

MORE FROM THIS AUTHOR

Neera Tanden: How Obama Can Win the Battle Over the Economy <<http://www.tnr.com/article/politics/77841/idea-day-keep-jobs-in-play-obama-economy>>

What Will It Take For the Left to Rally Behind Obama Again? <<http://www.tnr.com/article/politics/77035/obama-mosque-left-shut-up>>

Tanden: Why Liberal Dissatisfaction With Obama Is Way Overblown <<http://www.tnr.com/article/politics/76170/short-sighted>>

<[http://www.tnr.com/sites/default/files/imagecache/detail\\_page/obama-5.jpg](http://www.tnr.com/sites/default/files/imagecache/detail_page/obama-5.jpg)>

Last week, as Democratic candidates across the country reached out to female voters in the final swing before Election Day, the White House released a report on how the president's economic agenda helps women <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/Jobs-and-Economic-Security-for-Americas-Women.pdf>>. The report highlights the Obama's administration's efforts and accomplishments on behalf of women's economic success—small business expansion that helps female business owners, jobs tax credits that will help women (and men) find jobs, and laws to enforce equal pay for equal work, among other initiatives. Yet the report passed with little fanfare and even less media attention—like so many other aspects of the president's remarkably pro-woman policy agenda.

It's almost tragic how this agenda has fallen under the radar during Obama's first two years in office. We hear too often about abortion's controversial role in the year-long health care negotiations—but not enough about other women-centered issues that, after being promoted by activists for years, have finally made it into legislation. These go beyond the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act. The American Reinvestment and Recovery Act dramatically expanded child care provisions and Head Start. The health care bill contained over \$1 billion to support nurses visiting new and expectant mothers at home, a program that women's groups and economists alike have championed as a smart investment. An even bigger victory is the CLASS Act <<http://www.factcheck.org/2010/06/class-act/>>, also part of the health care bill, which provides a basic cash benefit to people (often women) who are taking care of the elderly at home.

Yet I can probably count on my hand the number of people, including women, who actually know about these new laws. Amid the din of bad news about the economy and misinformation about health care reform, these policies don't stand a chance, sadly, of getting much media coverage. It doesn't help that the Democrats haven't done enough to shine a public spotlight on them.

But they could soon be lost in an even deeper abyss: The rampant individualism and free-market fundamentalism supported by the Republican Party, which seems on the precipice of controlling the House and possibly the Senate, could undo these initiatives entirely. What's more, the new Republican wave could mute the voice of women and their most important advocates on the national stage.

The Tea Parties, fueled by wealthy multimillionaires, are running extreme candidates—including women like Sharron Angle and Christine O'Donnell—who want to get rid of policies that help women the most. If the health care bill gets repealed, for instance, the new provisions for long-term care would go out the window, making decades worth of advocacy work moot.

But the Tea Parties threaten women in other ways, too. If the Republicans take back the House, the Democratic Party will lose one of its most powerful women: Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who currently has more clout than any woman on the other side of the aisle. Meanwhile, Republicans like Sarah Palin and Nikki Haley will only gain political power—and, with that power, attract more attention to their extreme views. If these Republicans become the nation's loudest voices of seemingly strong women, that could portend for a shift among younger women's allegiances toward the Republican Party and its platform.

Already, despite the stark realities about what Republicans will likely take away from women once they are in power, we are seeing rumbling of such a change. After forming the backbone of Democratic majorities for years, working-class women are wobbling in their support for the Obama administration. According to a Wall Street Journal poll <<http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJ-NBCpoll101910.pdf>> from last week, while female college graduates favor Democratic over Republican control (56 percent to 36 percent), women with only some college or a vocational education are running almost even (45 percent to 44 percent).

Perhaps, in their growing economic anxiety, this group of women wants to throw out incumbents they perceive have not sufficiently focused on their economic progress. But, of course, if the media paid more attention to Obama's pro-woman agenda—and both advocates and policymakers did more to broadcast it—these key voters would know that the Democrats, not Republicans, are the politicians who have their interests in mind.

Democrats can't let this continue—they can't allow Republicans to brand themselves as the party of strong female leaders, or allow women to gradually become a constituency of the right. That's why it's critical to have standout women in the party. If Pelosi loses, is there a powerful enough Democratic woman to compete with these Republicans in the national spotlight? There's Hillary Clinton who, as Secretary of State, has sent a powerful signal to the country and the world about the importance of female leadership in the Obama administration. But, as a technically non-partisan international figure, Hillary won't be able to do public battle with the rising right.

Perhaps a Governor Sink—if she wins—in Florida could be among a new class of strong female Democrats. The Obama administration would also do well to elevate women in the executive branch and turn public attention to those who are already there.

In addition to presenting women as the face of the party, Democrats must focus on issues like long-term care, child care, and equal pay, all of which could rise to the legislative fore in the coming months. Republicans will likely directly attack or cut back investments in these initiatives. When this happens, the White House (and Democrats more broadly) would be wise to explain what it will mean for women if these initiatives are gutted or lost—and to fight tooth and nail to make sure that doesn't happen.

If it doesn't take these steps, the Democratic Party could lose its grasp on a critical, even central part of its coalition. And women, in the long run, would suffer under conservative laws that parrot family values, but do nothing to value families.

Neera Tanden is the chief operating officer of the Center for American Progress. She served in the Obama and Clinton administrations.

MORE ARTICLES ON: Democratic Party <<http://www.tnr.com/topics/democratic-party>>, Hillary Clinton <<http://www.tnr.com/topics/hillary-clinton>>, Republican Party <<http://www.tnr.com/topics/republican-party>>, White House <<http://www.tnr.com/topics/white-house>>



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 10:15 AM  
**To:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'  
**Cc:** 'millsd@state.gov'; 'jake.sullivan'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: "A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (11/02)

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

That is a great piece---good work. I'm copying the traveling team. I assume S/RAP knows it already.

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

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 02 10:00:27 2010  
**Subject:** Fw: "A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (11/02)

Nice piece on Cameron Munter.

Safe travels.

Jm

**From:** Schwartz, Larry  
**To:** McHale, Judith A  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 02 09:32:22 2010  
**Subject:** FW: "A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (11/02)

Dear Boss,

Still working it down the last day.

We got the Amb some good photo ops in the flood zone...

Larry

"A Bag of Flour," an op-ed by Javed Chaudhry in liberal Urdu daily "Express" (cir. 25,000) (11/02)

"... It was the picture of a U.S. helicopter parked at a helipad in Sukkur. Many people clad in military uniforms were unloading the relief goods for flood-affected people in the Sindh province. A middle-aged American national, wearing a shirt and grey pants and carrying a 40-kg flour bag, immediately caught my attention. It took me hardly a few seconds to recognize him. He was no other than the new U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. Cameron Munter. During my recent visit to the United States, I had the chance to meet him at the residence of our Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Hussain Haqqani. In a lighter vein, he (Ambassador Munter) asked me and other Pakistani journalists, present on the occasion, that 'please don't pester me during my stay in Pakistan because I am very scared of the Pakistani media even now in my own country.' These words garnered a resounding laughter from all of us. It was my first meeting with Ambassador Munter. Now he is in Pakistan where the U.S. Ambassador is always more busy even than the host country's president. Within a week after his arrival in Pakistan, the U.S. Ambassador reached Sukkur along with relief goods for the flood-affected people who are still languishing in makeshift tents. To the much astonishment of common Pakistanis, he, along with other ordinary officials, started unloading the relief goods with his own hands, and all major newspapers of the country gave front-page coverage to this picture. This photo conveyed two messages to us: first, the great nations also have great traditions, and second, relatively small nations, like us, possess low status because our leaders are totally devoid of such humbleness. The U.S. ambassadors virtually enjoy the viceregal status in third world countries, but despite enjoying such kingly powers they adopt very humble attitude towards other people. They treat even the attendants, drivers, and other employees in their personal staff as human beings. And whenever some natural disaster visits the populations of the host countries, the U.S. ambassadors in those states rush to help the devastated people. Ambassador Cameron Munter could also have behaved like our rulers and distribute relief goods among affected people while himself dressed in precious costumes... Even if his attitude was part of the U.S. propaganda, why our rulers cannot display such ostentations for the welfare of their subjects? The second message this picture conveyed is that we Pakistanis lack humbleness. For our politicians, the ordinary people are nothing more than votes who catapult them into the corridors of power. On the other hand, after winning the elections, American politicians live among their people. They travel side by side with the common man in public transport and shake hands with them in ordinary restaurants. This picture says that until Prime Minister Gilani picks up a flour bag on his shoulders and carries it to a common Pakistani, he cannot change the destiny of this nation."

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 2, 2010 7:41 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid  
**Attach:** hrc memo election day 110210.docx

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print.

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

**From:** sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted]>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 02 16:55:51 2010  
**Subject:** H: election day memo on post-midterms. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 2010

For: Hillary  
From: Sid  
Re: Post mid-terms strategy

What I hear from Republican sources and elsewhere and what it means for Republican strategy:

1. Rove is telling his donors that the ticket in 2012 is Romney/Barbour. Haley Barbour is Rove's ally. Together they constitute the heart of the GOP establishment. In a potential Republican administration Barbour would be a new kind of Cheney, but more politically skillful.
2. Rove is at war with Palin. He has told his donors she must be stopped. Palin is well aware. The Politico story filled with anonymous quotes about a murky establishment vs. Palin is about the Death Star of Rove/Barbour. Ironies: Rove doubled down on a base strategy for Bush, galvanizing the right wing, now spun out of his control to Palin. The GOP used the far right and Palin in the mid-terms and now have to kill them in presidential nomination politics. Attacking Palin only builds her stature with the right. She plays instinctively to the base, but can she play a long game against the big boys determined to destroy her?
3. Palin has already aligned Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh on her side. Fox News is being split. Murdoch gave his big donation to the Republican Governors Association, headed by Barbour.
4. Malcolm Hoenlein has been raising money hand over fist for the Republicans through Eric Cantor, now his vehicle. The donors are many of the same US donors to Bibi and Likud. Implications obvious.
5. The House Republicans have already planned to primary all Senate Republican moderates in the next cycle. Olympia Snowe is a particular target.
6. In the Senate, Jim DeMint continues to be a Fifth Column of the right, allied to the House Republicans, against remaining Senate



GOP moderates. He will be reinforced after this election with Rand Paul, et al. Paul, of course, hates Mitch McConnell, and vice versa.

7. McConnell's statement the day before the mid-terms that the goal of the GOP is to make Obama a one term president is, in fact, their agenda. Everything in the House and Senate will be bent to that end.

8. Can the House Republicans and Senate Republicans restrain themselves in their own interest and McConnell's stated aim? Boehner is despised by the younger, more conservative members of the House Republican Conference. They are repelled by his personal behavior. He is louche, alcoholic, lazy, and without any commitment to any principle. Boehner has already tried to buy the members with campaign contributions and committee assignments, which he has already promised to potentially difficult members. His hold is insecure. He is not Gingrich, the natural leader of a "revolution," riding the crest into power. He is careworn and threadbare, banal and hollow, holding nobody's enduring loyalty. Boehner is beholden and somewhat scared of his base. He twitches when they make gestures that might undermine his position. His impulse is to hand out money. His aim is to recreate DeLay, Inc, with Jerry Lewis, who will be the new chairman of Appropriations. But Boehner is neither feared nor loved. He's a would-be DeLay without the whip. He's the one at the end of the lash. Which means he will be under great pressure and find it hard to sustain a moderate, reasonable strategy of restraint. McConnell is relatively in the same position in the Senate. On the other hand, the Congressional Republicans are vulnerable to a strategy that takes advantage of their internal divisions. Policies/tactics should be calculated to locate GOP fissures, find political space by widening schisms, and ultimately break them apart. This is, emphatically, not a strategy of bipartisanship as Obama has pursued it so far. It is a different and more informed approach.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**RELEASE IN FULL**

November 2, 2010

For: Hillary  
From: Sid  
Re: Post mid-terms strategy

What I hear from Republican sources and elsewhere and what it means for Republican strategy:

1. Rove is telling his donors that the ticket in 2012 is Romney/Barbour. Haley Barbour is Rove's ally. Together they constitute the heart of the GOP establishment. In a potential Republican administration Barbour would be a new kind of Cheney, but more politically skillful.
2. Rove is at war with Palin. He has told his donors she must be stopped. Palin is well aware. The Politico story filled with anonymous quotes about a murky establishment vs. Palin is about the Death Star of Rove/Barbour. Ironies: Rove doubled down on a base strategy for Bush, galvanizing the right wing, now spun out of his control to Palin. The GOP used the far right and Palin in the mid-terms and now have to kill them in presidential nomination politics. Attacking Palin only builds her stature with the right. She plays instinctively to the base, but can she play a long game against the big boys determined to destroy her?
3. Palin has already aligned Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh on her side. Fox News is being split. Murdoch gave his big donation to the Republican Governors Association, headed by Barbour.
4. Malcolm Hoenlein has been raising money hand over fist for the Republicans through Eric Cantor, now his vehicle. The donors are many of the same US donors to Bibi and Likud. Implications obvious.
5. The House Republicans have already planned to primary all Senate Republican moderates in the next cycle. Olympia Snowe is a particular target.
6. In the Senate, Jim DeMint continues to be a Fifth Column of the right, allied to the House Republicans, against remaining Senate GOP moderates. He will be reinforced after this election with Rand Paul, et al. Paul, of course, hates Mitch McConnell, and vice versa.
7. McConnell's statement the day before the mid-terms that the goal of the GOP is to make Obama a one term president is, in fact, their agenda. Everything in the House and Senate will be bent to that end.

8. Can the House Republicans and Senate Republicans restrain themselves in their own interest and McConnell's stated aim? Boehner is despised by the younger, more conservative members of the House Republican Conference. They are repelled by his personal behavior. He is louche, alcoholic, lazy, and without any commitment to any principle. Boehner has already tried to buy the members with campaign contributions and committee assignments, which he has already promised to potentially difficult members. His hold is insecure. He is not Gingrich, the natural leader of a "revolution," riding the crest into power. He is careworn and threadbare, banal and hollow, holding nobody's enduring loyalty. Boehner is beholden and somewhat scared of his base. He twitches when they make gestures that might undermine his position. His impulse is to hand out money. His aim is to recreate DeLay, Inc, with Jerry Lewis, who will be the new chairman of Appropriations. But Boehner is neither feared nor loved. He's a would-be DeLay without the whip. He's the one at the end of the lash. Which means he will be under great pressure and find it hard to sustain a moderate, reasonable strategy of restraint. McConnell is relatively in the same position in the Senate. On the other hand, the Congressional Republicans are vulnerable to a strategy that takes advantage of their internal divisions. Policies/tactics should be calculated to locate GOP fissures, find political space by widening schisms, and ultimately break them apart. This is, emphatically, not a strategy of bipartisanship as Obama has pursued it so far. It is a different and more informed approach.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 3:46 AM  
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Do you have the yellow folder ?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I thought I had put it into my purse but can't find it.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 5:10 PM  
**To:** 'WoodardEW@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Schedule

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Pls schedule a visit w Kirsten Gillibrand

Pls add Alan Patricof to my call list

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 5:42 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: To read on the trip  
**Attach:** Project Proposal 29Oct2010.doc

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print.

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

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 04 17:11:47 2010  
**Subject:** To read on the trip

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

**From:** rpape36 [redacted]  
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie  
**Cc:** [redacted]; Sokolsky, Richard D; McAuliffe, Marisa S  
**Sent:** Fri Oct 29 15:07:58 2010  
**Subject:** Asking to Meet with You

B6

Dear Anne-Marie,

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

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

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

I look forward to further discussion.

Bob

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

  
cpost.uchicago.edu <<http://cpost.uchicago.edu/>>

B6

## Project Proposal

RELEASE IN  
FULL

# USG Agency Roles in Off-Shore/On-Shore Balancing

---

This project will prepare by December 31, 2010, a proposal defining in practical terms the contributions of U.S. Government agencies to a security strategy of off-shore military and on-shore political-economic balancing.

**An Alternative Security Strategy.** Off-shore/on-shore balancing seeks to achieve America's core national security objectives through a combination of over-the-horizon ("off-shore") military power and in-region ("on-shore") economic and political power. Off-shore/on-shore balancing is an alternative to advancing U.S. security goals through the deployment of large ground forces overseas, already problematic and likely to become even more so as economic challenges continue and chronic resentment deepens. Off-shore/on-shore balancing relies on naval, air, and rapidly deployable ground forces in combination with on-site economic and political support for local partners to secure America's interests in combating terrorism and achieving other key national security goals, particularly in the Middle East and Asia.

**Afghanistan Case Study.** To explore the strategy in practice, the project will consider a three-year transition to off-shore/on-shore balancing in Afghanistan. In the first, USG agencies would empower Pashtun groups through political and economic programs to achieve greater autonomy and create local opposition to the Taliban. U.S. and NATO troops on the ground would provide security. In the second year, U.S. and NATO troops would continue to provide security for political and economic programs and deliver lethal effects against terrorist groups, but they would operate with from a shrinking footprint as they redeployed to less sensitive parts of the country. In the third year, U.S. and NATO would remove troops and rely on air, naval, and rapidly deployable ground forces to deliver over-the-horizon effects.

**Talking to the Practitioners.** The project aims to define the contributions from key agencies, starting with the State Department and then moving on to the intelligence community and the military services.

The project will solicit agencies' views on how current and future programs might contribute to the strategy, identify inter-agency processes that might facilitate the coordination of the strategy, and anticipate issues that would arise in a transition to the strategy.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 4, 2010 6:25 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Notes on meeting on SW reductions

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print.

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

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 04 18:00:18 2010  
**Subject:** Fw: Notes on meeting on SW reductions

A bit down in the weeds but thought you'd like to see R's are already getting started.

Jm

**From:** Susan Andross <[redacted]>  
**To:** BBG Board Mail Group <[redacted]>  
**Cc:** Richard Lobo <[redacted]>; Jeffrey Trumble <[redacted]>; Maryjean Buhler <[redacted]>; Danforth W. Austin <[redacted]>

**Sent:** Thu Nov 04 17:39:45 2010  
**Subject:** Notes on meeting on SW reductions

This morning, Governors Meehan and Perino, accompanied by IBB Director Lobo and VOA Director Austin, met with staff of Rep. Ros-Lehtinen, Ranking Member on House Foreign Affairs and likely chair of the Committee in the new Congress. Below is a summary of that meeting.

#### Meeting on VOA Shortwave Reductions

BBG Governors Michael Meehan and Dana Perino, along with agency officials Dick Lobo, Dan Austin, Alberto Mascaro, Bill Bell and Susan Andross, met with staff of Reps. Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-FL), and Albio Sires (D-FL) to discuss the proposed VOA SW reductions that were scheduled to go into effect last weekend. These reductions include Spanish to Latin America, Indonesian, Vietnamese, and Mandarin and represent the final phase of an Internet enhancement initiative proposed in FY 2009. Savings from the SW reductions would be reallocated to support the Internet enhancements – many of which are well underway.

The meeting began with a request from the Hill staff that we affirm that none of the proposed shortwave reductions would affect OCB transmissions. We assured them that this was the case. The Governors also pledge to pursue a transparent relationship with the Foreign Affairs Committee, noting that the Board decision to defer the transmission reductions was made to ensure continued dialogue on the subject. After amicable and in-depth discussion the assembled congressional staff asked that we provide additional information on a number of questions to inform their principals' review. Much of the requested information reflects concerns about how the people of Cuba would be affected by the reductions. Concerns raised by the staff include:

- While BBG is preserving all OCB transmissions, Cubans also tune into VOA Spanish to Latin America. What is BBG doing to "compensate" the Cuban audience for the loss of this information?
- Will eliminating VOA Spanish SW allow the Cuban government to focus all of their efforts on jamming OCB's SW, rather than having to jam both Services?
- Congress has been supportive of a multi-pronged transmission strategy to repressive markets – if one transmission is jammed, then a broadcast alternative is available. How does this affect this traditional strategy?
- What are the "opportunity costs" involved in the proposal (or exactly what are we buying by walking out of SW and into new media); and how effective are BBG's web censorship countermeasures.

Rep. Ros-Lehtinen's Chief of Staff, Yleem Poblete, noted that the Congress will be driving "smart cuts" in the years ahead. But they want to ensure that important audiences are not adversely affected by these cuts, or policy goals undermined. She suggested that, if the BBG's SW reductions could be more targeted or be refined to a smaller scale (reflecting priorities given to Cuba, Venezuela, and Ecuador) to achieve budget goals, the package might be more palatable. As it stands, members of Congress see high priority languages to China, Vietnam and Cuba and become sensitive to the proposal.

BBG pledged to provide additional information to address their concerns by the first week of December, after the Board discusses the pending reductions at the November board meeting. The staffers supported this timetable, noting it coincides with Republican Conference meetings to select the leadership. Staff would also have a better feel for the leadership's budget goals going forward. BBG will also provide further detail on audience research in Cuba relating to VOA Spanish, and keep the committee informed of future BBG surveys in Cuba.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 12, 2010 6:35 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Sure, he can come by for a photo w or w/out his colleagues

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 12 13:23:38 2010  
**Subject:**

Also, dustin modaniel is in town with a few attorney generals next week. Do you want to consider seeing?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 9:00 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

I just saw it--when did it come? I asked to be emailed before

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Nov 13 08:49:01 2010  
Subject:

Want to make sure u see bibi letter on fax.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 10:26 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Can you call me at home?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Nov 13 10:19:39 2010  
Subject: RE:

just faxed you the latest draft for monday which you can see is a crazy day  
angela your briefer has requested a photo as its her last week of briefing  
also, karzai wants to move civits to 8:30am because its eid. what do you think?  
also, kouchners office called and said he could talk at 11:15am today if you want to talk hes apparently in afghanistan. we obviously havent confirmed.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 10:32 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

I can't talk btw 11-12:30 so could do Kouchener later. Can I do civits w Karzai Tues or Wed or later Monday?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Nov 13 10:19:39 2010  
Subject: RE:

just faxed you the latest draft for monday which you can see is a crazy day  
angela your briefer has requested a photo as its her last week of briefing  
also, karzai wants to move civits to 8:30am because its eid. what do you think?  
also, kouchners office called and said he could talk at 11:15am today if you want to talk. hes apparently in afghanistan. we obviously havent confirmed.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 12:49 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Ok

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Nov 13 12:28:17 2010  
Subject: RE:

Kouchner can do 12:45  
ok?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 1:42 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Statement on Aung San Suu Kyi

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Here's my response to Dan at 8:13am.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** 'SchwerinDB@state.gov' <SchwerinDB@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sat Nov 13 08:12:19 2010  
**Subject:** Re: Statement on Aung San Suu Kyi

Ok

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

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sat Nov 13 08:11:23 2010  
**Subject:** Statement on Aung San Suu Kyi

Madame Secretary, passing along a statement on Aung San Suu Kyi for your review.

Thanks

Dan

#### STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CLINTON

#### Release of Aung San Suu Kyi

Today I join with billions of people around the world to welcome the long-overdue release of Burmese democracy leader and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest.

Aung San Suu Kyi has endured enormous personal sacrifice in her peaceful struggle to bring democracy and human rights to Burma, including unjustified detention for most of the past twenty years. The Burmese regime has repeatedly rejected her offers to engage in dialogue and work together, trying instead to silence and isolate her. Through it all, Aung San Suu Kyi's commitment to the Burmese people has not wavered.

The United States calls on Burma's leaders to ensure that Aung San Suu Kyi's release is unconditional so that she may travel, associate with her fellow citizens, express her views, and participate in political activities without restriction. They should also immediately and unconditionally release all of Burma's 2,100 political prisoners.

We urge Burma's leaders to break from their repressive policies and begin an inclusive dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi and other democratic and ethnic leaders towards national reconciliation and a more peaceful, prosperous, and democratic future.

###

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 1:44 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Also, I just got fax from EAP about Kyi for a letter and call--both of which I approve if you will tell them asap

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Nov 13 13:39:05 2010  
**Subject:** Re:

To close loop on calls:

I also connected with jake. He logged call into ops at 12:57. Ops sent out a general email at 12:59. Normally, they would also call to alert that they were calling house which they didn't do. You happened to call in and so they connected you to jake.

As for kouchner, its a basic email delay. I emailed you at 12:28 asking if we could do call at 12:45. Your yes response came at 1:04 after you talked to ops. I didn't confirm kouchner until after I heard from you.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sat Nov 13 13:04:47 2010  
**Subject:** Re:

I emailed back yes but ops told me they didn't hear from you so didn't make call which I just ordered them to do. Also Jake said hed been trying to reach me and ops said they had called you about that too. This is not a good system.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Nov 13 12:28:17 2010  
**Subject:** RE:

Kouchner can do 12:45  
ok?



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 1:45 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Also, sent you a fax re: letter and call to aung san suu cyi. For your sign off.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Good to go.

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Sat Nov 13 13:44:05 2010

Subject: Also, sent you a fax re: letter and call to aung san suu cyi. For your sign off.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 2:00 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I never got an email from ops. I got Jake's which I will forward and then called ops which told me they had reached out to you.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Nov 13 13:56:50 2010  
Subject: RE:

jake forwarded me his email to you  
he emailed you at 12:55, he told you he was calling ops  
he did at 12:57, they emailed at 12:59

---

From: H  
Sent: Saturday, November 13, 2010 1:40 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re:

Only additional fact is Jake emailed me about trying to reach me which is why I called ops.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Nov 13 13:39:05 2010  
Subject: Re:

To close loop on calls:

I also connected with jake. He logged call into ops at 12:57. Ops sent out a general email at 12:59. Normally, they would also call to alert that they were calling house which they didn't do. You happened to call in and so they connected you to jake.

As for kouchner, its a basic email delay. I emailed you at 12:28 asking if we could do call at 12:45. Your yes response came at 1:04 after you talked to ops. I didn't confirm kouchner until after I heard from you.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Nov 13 13:04:47 2010  
Subject: Re.

I emailed back yes but ops told me they didn't hear from you so didn't make call which I just ordered them to do. Also Jake said hed been trying to reach me and ops said they had called you about that too. This is not a good system.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Nov 13 12:28:17 2010  
Subject: RE:

Kouchner can do 12:45  
ok?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 8:49 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Netanyahu

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

I can't do it then unless you can get me a secure cell or get US/UN to open for me.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Nov 14 08:35:38 2010  
Subject: Netanyahu

For call, they came back with 12:30. They want to do secure.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, November 14, 2010 8:04 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H; 'WoodardEW@state.gov' <woodardEW@state.gov>  
Sent: Sun Nov 14 20:03:18 2010  
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

Added Jake to manifest  
Just realized Tomica is on his way to Astana to prep for OSCE.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H; 'WoodardEW@state.gov' <woodardEW@state.gov>  
Sent: Sun Nov 14 19:21:06 2010  
Subject: Re: Tomorrow

Yes of course

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin; 'WoodardEW@state.gov' <WoodardEW@state.gov>  
Sent: Sun Nov 14 19:13:09 2010  
Subject: Tomorrow

I'd like to add Tomica to the Lithuania FM mtg.

And pls add Jake to the Eikenberry mtg.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 16, 2010 7:33 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Hague

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I'm on the way--finally.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 16 19:23:56 2010  
**Subject:** Hague

His plus one is lindsey appleby, his principal private secretary.  
Wjs headed to house to change and coming to dinner.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 12:01 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Briefing 5Ps on LWR, UEP  
**Attach:** DPRKHeadsUp.doc

RELEASE IN PART  
B1,B5,1.4(D),B6

I need to see Hecker on Monday. Pls follow up w Kurt or Sung.

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

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 16 10:17:14 2010  
**Subject:** Fw: Briefing 5Ps on LWR, UEP

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 11/30/2015 ~ Class:  
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
11/16/2020

Fyi

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

**From:** Kim, Sung Y  
**To:** 'Bosworth, Stephen' <[REDACTED]>; Bader, Jeffrey A. <[REDACTED]>; 'Daniel R. Russel' <[REDACTED]>  
<Daniel\_R\_Russel@[REDACTED]>; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mace, Casey K; Einhorn, Robert J; 'Gary S. Samore' <[REDACTED]> <Gary\_S\_Samore@[REDACTED]>  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 16 09:45:20 2010  
**Subject:** Briefing 5Ps on LWR, UEP

B6

[REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)  
B5

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

**From:** Kim, Sung Y  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 13, 2010 9:54 AM  
**To:** Campbell, Kurt M; Sullivan, Jacob J; 'jbader' <[REDACTED]>; 'Gary S. Samore' <[REDACTED]>; 'Daniel R. Russel' <[REDACTED]>  
**Cc:** 'Stephen.Bosworth@tufts.edu'  
**Subject:** Fw: DPRK Quick-look IMPORTANT

B6

[REDACTED] Will get more details when Sig gets back on Monday. Sung

B1  
1.4(D)

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

**From:** Sig Hecker <[REDACTED]>  
**To:** Kim, Sung Y; Stephen Bosworth <[REDACTED]>  
**Cc:** Shin, Edward D; Sig Hecker <[REDACTED]>; Robert Carlin <[REDACTED]>; John Lewis <[REDACTED]>

B6

**Sent:** Sat Nov 13 08:14:45 2010  
**Subject:** DPRK Quick-look IMPORTANT

Hello Sung and Steve (from Beijing),  
As I promised Sung, I would weigh in once I got back to Beijing. The visit to the DPRK by John Lewis, Bob Carlin and me was a shocker. They took us to Yongbyon and showed us a functioning 2,000 centrifuge uranium enrichment plant in operation and a small LWR under construction. The technical implications are significant and you understand the political implications better than I do.

I am attaching a quick-look summary of my technical observations. Bob Carlin will follow with policy observations based on our discussions with MFA officials and their implications as soon as he has a chance.

I am scheduled to be in DC for an advisory function for Secretary Steve Chu on Monday, Nov. 22. I will attempt to see Secretary Clinton since my colleague, Bill Perry, had mentioned my trip to her during a recent West Coast swing. And, of course, I very much would like to brief the two of you. At this point, I hope that Bob Carlin and I will be able to get appointments either late on Monday, Nov. 22 or early on Tuesday, Nov. 23.

We are all returning to San Francisco on Sunday. I will try to contact Sung from here and then again when I return to my Stanford office on Monday.

Thanks,  
Sig

**- IN CONFIDENCE DRAFT -**

To: Steve Bosworth and Sung Kim  
From: Sig Hecker  
Subject: Quick-look heads up about DPRK visit  
Date: Saturday, November 13, 2010

RELEASE IN FULL

**Report of visit to a 2,000-centrifuge uranium enrichment plant and construction of a small Light-Water Reactor at the Yongbyon Nuclear Complex, Nov. 12, 2010.  
Visit by Siegfried Hecker, John Lewis and Robert Carlin, Stanford University**

1) A 25 to 30 MW-electric (100 MW-thermal) experimental LWR is being constructed close to the 5 MWe gas-graphite reactor location at Yongbyon (Jack Pritchard was shown this site one week ago). We were told that since this is their first LWR design, they decided to build a small proto-type reactor to gain design, construction and operational experience before they build larger LWRs. The target date for operation of the proto-type LWR is 2012 (which appears much too optimistic). We were told that they will be able to produce all components indigenously and enrich and make their own fuel.

Current status: Excavation of the site to 7.1 meters deep was begun July 31, 2010, a concrete pad was poured and the containment shell of reinforced concrete is now taking shape. The containment structure is 22 m diameter, 0.9 m thick and will be 40 m high. It will contain 4 tonnes of uranium oxide fuel, enriched to 3.5 % U-235. It will generate electricity for the surrounding communities and be tied to the national grid.

2) At the fuel fabrication facility site, we were shown an industrial-scale uranium centrifuge enrichment facility across the street from the six-story uranium processing building. It was housed in a building with a cascade hall 100 m long, containing 2,000 centrifuges (we were told that number and it appears reasonable on the basis of our observations). It was a remarkable and unexpected sight from the observation windows of the second-floor control room. The centrifuges are all connected in cascades (we were told six cascades). The dimensions of the exterior casings appeared to be approximately 8 in. diameter by 6 ft tall. We were told that the rotor materials were alloys containing iron (their words) – which, mostly likely makes them P-2-like models with maraging steel rotors. We were also told that although they were patterned after URENCO and Japanese models, they were produced indigenously. The control room was ultra-modern with digital electronics, computers and flat-panel displays showing the cascade flow diagrams and process parameters. We were told that the facility was operating and was producing low-enriched uranium.

They started construction in April 2009. The capacity of the facility was claimed to be 8,000 kg-SWU. A preliminary calculation shows that this capacity is sufficient to produce 2 tonnes of uranium per year (ample for the small reactor). However, if it were reconfigured to make HEU, it could produce ~ 40 kg of 90% U-235 per year.

Additional detail will be provided later, along with a report of discussions with Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials about the motivation and policy implications. When questioned by news media at the Beijing airport upon our arrival this morning, we made a brief statement about the LWR construction. We do not plan to make the uranium enrichment information public until we brief you and other administration officials.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 7:04 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: H. fyi. Sid

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print for me.

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

From: sbwhoop [redacted] <sbwhoop [redacted]>  
 To: H  
 Sent: Wed Nov 17 18:10:42 2010  
 Subject: H. fyi. Sid

<<http://b.scorecardresearch.com/p?c1=2&c2=6723616&c3=&c4=&c5=politics&c6=&c15=&cj=1>>

Heard about this yesterday. Also Pelosi told Democracy Alliance, "When I go to the White House I feel like I'm dealing with the junior senator from Illinois." Messina was a serious bust there this morning. Goulsbee debated Trumka (Why?!?!?) and was drubbed. Europe memo to follow... Sid

Sam Stein <<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/the-news/reporting/sam-stein>>  
[stein@huffingtonpost.com](mailto:stein@huffingtonpost.com) | HuffPost Reporting  
 Become a Fan <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/users/becomeFan.php?of=hp\\_blogger\\_Sam%20Stein](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/users/becomeFan.php?of=hp_blogger_Sam%20Stein)> Get Email Alerts from this Reporter  
<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/users/login/>

<[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/11/17/george-soros-obama\\_n\\_785022.html?view=print#](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/11/17/george-soros-obama_n_785022.html?view=print#)> <<http://s.huffpost.com/images/blank.gif>>

George Soros Tells Progressive Donors Obama Might Not Be The Best Investment <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/11/17/george-soros-obama\\_n\\_785022.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/11/17/george-soros-obama_n_785022.html)>

First Posted: 11-17-10 04:10 PM | Updated: 11-17-10 04:34 PM

<<http://i.huffpost.com/gen/220111/thumbs/s-OBAMA-SOROS-large.jpg>>

WASHINGTON -- At a private meeting on Tuesday afternoon, George Soros, a longtime supporter of progressive causes, voiced blunt criticism of the Obama administration, going so far as to suggest that Democratic donors direct their support somewhere other than the president.

The Hungarian-American financier was speaking to a small side gathering of donors who had convened in Washington D.C. for the annual gathering of the Democracy Alliance -- a formal community of well-funded, progressive-minded individuals and activists.

According to multiple sources with knowledge of his remarks, Soros told those in attendance that he is "used to fighting losing battles but doesn't like to lose without fighting."

"We have just lost this election, we need to draw a line," he said, according to several Democratic sources. "And if this president can't do what we need, it is time to start looking somewhere else."

Michael Vachon, an adviser to Soros, did not dispute the comment, though he stressed that there was no transcript of a private gathering to check. Vachon also clarified that the longtime progressive giver was not referring to a primary challenge to the president.

"Mr. Soros fully supports the president as the leader of the Democratic Party," said Vachon. "He was not suggesting that we seek another candidate for 2012. His comments were made in a private, informal conversation that was about the need for progressives to be more forceful in promoting their agenda. He was stressing the importance of being heard by elected officials."

Dissatisfaction with the Obama administration was not limited to Soros's private gathering with donors. On Wednesday morning, Deputy Chief of Staff Jim Messina received several tough questions during his address to the Democracy Alliance. According to a source in the room, he was pressed multiple times as to why the administration has declined to be more combative with Republicans, both in communication and legislative strategy. Another source in the room said the exchange was not entirely contentious as people were simply expressing frustration about the fact that "we just came out of an election where the right wing and the Republicans distorted what was going on."

B6



Requests for comment from the White House were not returned, though a Democratic operative sympathetic to the administration said that Soros's dissatisfaction with the White House was "hardly news." Sources who relayed that and other exchanges insisted on anonymity, citing the strict rules against talking to the press that come with being part of the gathering.

The tone nevertheless was said to be notably different this year than in past years. In 2008, representatives for Obama were received relatively warmly when they pitched the need to shepherd funds to the presidential campaign. Other progressive institutions were left -- somewhat bitterly -- looking for scraps. But, by and large, the donor base felt their investment had been wise, with Democrats regaining control of the White House and padding their majorities in Congress.

This year, following a drubbing in the 2010 elections and some stalling on major legislative items, the dynamics were notably different. As one attendee put it: "It was a sober atmosphere... people are looking for answers but they are not unwilling to do the work."

While Soros's comment gave some attendees the impression that he'd cheer a primary challenge to the president, the point, sources say, was different. Rather, it is time to shuffle funds into a progressive infrastructure that will take on the tasks that the president can't or won't take on.

"People are determined to help build a progressive infrastructure and make sure it is there not just in the months ahead but one that will last in the long term," said Anna Burger, the retired treasury secretary of SEIU. "Instead of being pushed over by this election it has empowered people to stand up in a bigger way."

"There was frustration," said one Democratic operative who attended the meetings. The main concern was about messaging. I think they are frustrated that the president isn't being more direct. But I did not get the sense that anyone's commitment to the progressive movement was wavering... The general consensus is that support has to move beyond being about one person and more about a movement. I don't know if we've moved beyond there."

One of those "movement" ventures is an outside-government arm to match conservatives in the 2012 elections. For several weeks, discussions have been led by Media Matters for America founder David Brock about the need to create a group that will run advertisements, conduct opposition research and perform rapid response functions. Those talks continued this past week, though disputes have begun to emerge about the most effective role for such a group. As one activist who is involved with the Democracy Alliance noted:

"There are a handful of funders committed to the idea of taking on corporate interests in politics... I think the [Supreme Court's] Citizens United decision [allowing unlimited corporate donations in campaigns] intellectually caused a shift to want to deal with corporate money. The election results split the partners in the Democracy Alliance, not down the middle, between those who say let's fight back and those who say we have to change the rules."

Get HuffPost Politics On Twitter <<http://twitter.com/HuffPostPol>> and Facebook <<http://www.facebook.com/HuffPostPolitics>> ! Subscribe to the HuffPost Hill newsletter <<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/hill/signup.html>> ! Know something we don't? E-mail us at [huffpolitics@huffingtonpost.com](mailto:huffpolitics@huffingtonpost.com)

<[http://s0.2mdn.net/2717285/2-Str\\_US\\_300x250\\_std\\_tdr\\_15.gif](http://s0.2mdn.net/2717285/2-Str_US_300x250_std_tdr_15.gif)>

Loading twitter module...

<<http://s.huffpost.com/images/loader.gif>>

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 7:21 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Did you ask for frank ruggiero to be added to lisbon? He seems to think he's been requested

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

I'm sure Richard wants him to go since he can't and Karl is. Do we have room?

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Cc: 'jake.sullivan' <jake.sullivan@clintonemail.com>

Sent: Wed Nov 17 19:13:44 2010

Subject: Did you ask for frank ruggiero to be added to lisbon? He seems to think he's been requested

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 17, 2010 7:49 PM  
**To:** 'jake.sullivan'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Did you ask for frank ruggiero to be added to lisbon? He seems to think he's been requested

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

So, let's take Frank.

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

B6

**From:** Jake Sullivan <>  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Cc:** H  
**Sent:** Wed Nov 17 19:46:43 2010  
**Subject:** Re: Did you ask for frank ruggiero to be added to lisbon? He seems to think he's been requested

Tried you, Huma. The short answer is, Holbrooke asked me if I thought it made sense for Frank or Vikram <> for a series of operational meetings in Lisbon. I said yes. He asked if they could fly with us. I said ask Huma.

B5

On Wed, Nov 17, 2010 at 7:33 PM, Jake Sullivan <> wrote:

B6

Calling you.

On Wed, Nov 17, 2010 at 7:13 PM, Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> wrote:

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 18, 2010 9:03 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'WoodardEW@state.gov'  
**Cc:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: for Hillary

RELEASE IN PART B6

Let's discuss for schedule.

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

From: PVerveer <PVerveer >  
 To: H  
 Sent: Sat Nov 13 21:59:08 2010  
 Subject: Re: for Hillary

B6

It's a very New York crowd and very Diane style event (i.e. unconventional) Last year, it was held in one of the big delegates' lounges at the UN and she redid all the chairs, etc in her patterns. The awards are all serious and DVF is the moderator. Each awardee receives 50K for her ongoing work. The event bears no resemblance to a typical foreign policy event, but if you were in NY, you could arrive for the awards and leave. I have no doubt you would be very warmly embraced and DVF and Barry are so fond of you. I would only do it if could be easily done.

In a message dated 11/13/2010 8:51:10 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, HDR22@clintonemail.com writes:

Do you think I should do this?

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

From: pverveer <pverveer >  
 To: H  
 Sent: Fri Nov 12 11:32:48 2010  
 Subject: Fwd: for Hillary

from your friend, DVF

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

From: DVF < >  
 To: pverveer <pverveer >  
 Sent: Fri, Nov 12, 2010 1:29 am  
 Subject: for Hillary

Dearest Madame Secretary,

I am in Abu Dhabi, watching you on television with Prime Minister Natanyaou. You are looking so well ! You are more and more impressive...I am so proud of you !

We are planning our Women of the World Conference again for next March. On Saturday night, March 12th, I will be having the 2nd DVF Award at a dinner at the UN. 2 of the recipients will be women from Vital Voices, one will be voted by people on line and the fourth one is the special one give to formidable example of courage and leadership. Last year it was given to Ingrid Betancourt by Meryl Streep.

More than anything, I would love if you would be willing to accept that award. YOU are such an example of strength, leadership and spirit to all of us women.

Am I dreaming or would you be willing to accept it ?

Lots of love  
 Diane von Furstenberg  
 DVF Studio L.P.  
 440 West 14th Street  
 New York, NY 10014  
 Tel. 212-741-6607

HA 09/01/2015

01:29:41 Fri 12 Nov 2010 Diane von Furstenberg L.P.

---

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 19, 2010 5:24 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: I confess...

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Enjoy the adventure--as insane as it may be! And can you see the photos Oscar sent? If so, can you print when you get back? I can't pull them up. Thx.

Also, can Jake talk? If so, pls ask him to call my berry.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Nov 19 17:05:07 2010  
Subject: I confess. .

We are on an insane adventure with capricia. The portugese amb had arranged a "special portugese" dinner for us. However, it took an hour to get a ride from your dinner to hotel to find the boys to find another ride to proceed to a restaurant that no one had heard of. We arrived here 2 hours late and they are pretty unhappy because they had a preset dinner waiting for us..so its 10pm and we just sat down. I suspect we won't be done for a while. So we will be late to hotel unless you want to come here?? It has lovely ambiance and excellent food.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 8:50 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'WoodardEW@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Schedule

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Can I go to the lunch Ann Stock is organizing for 12/16?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 9:08 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

B6

Thx. Also, I just talked to Kurt and plan is to call Japan and Aus FMs tomorrow and maybe Chinese. I can do btw 9-9.45am or btw 11:30-2pm or after 7pm. But Kurt has to give go aheads and call sheets.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Cc: [REDACTED]  
Sent: Tue Nov 23 20:56:02 2010  
Subject: Re: [REDACTED]

Of course. Best way to reach him is cell  
[REDACTED] I can text him and tell him you will be in touch.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Cc: [REDACTED]  
Sent: Tue Nov 23 20:53:46 2010  
Subject: [REDACTED]

Huma--I'd like [REDACTED] I'm copying [REDACTED] so you can give them the contact info. Thx.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 23, 2010 11:28 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Japan is asking for 6:20pm tomorrow night.

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Nov 23 22:38:16 2010  
**Subject:** Japan is asking for 6.20pm tomorrow night.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 12:42 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re. happy thanksgiving

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

And same to you and Anthony! I did catch up on sleep but still in quite a deficit it feels. No one has talked to me about the calls but I assumed there were many to make. Will I get [redacted] or am I just [redacted] I can start early tomorrow am--after 7am if necessary and do them one after another if possible. I'd like to stop around 10 and then start again early the next morning btw 7-9am. So, can we begin to schedule?

B5

Also, when will we know about potential visit?

----- Original Message -----  
From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Thu Nov 25 12:00:58 2010  
Subject: happy thanksgiving

hope you are having a great day and that you got some sleep last night!  
frattini put in a call this morning - said it was re: middle east and not urgent and he can talk at your convenience. bill burns office mentioned that hes scheduled to talk to frattini tomorrow too

also, i am assuming cdm/jake talked to you about [redacted]  
[redacted] Just want to make sure you are aware.

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 8:40 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls

---

Ok but the call sheet I have for Yang: [REDACTED] Is that right?

B5

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Thu Nov 25 20:02:48 2010  
Subject: Calls

We have reached out to everyone on [REDACTED] and latest is:  
- yang confirmed for 7am. You have call sheet already.  
- saud al faisal confirmed for 10am (they asked for latest time cause he's in US). Will send you call sheet.  
No one else yet.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 25, 2010 10:21 PM  
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: (Reuters) U.S. briefs allies on new documents leak - WikiLeaks

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

Did you get my prior email asking if [REDACTED] w Yang? Do you know?

B5

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

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
To: H  
Sent: Thu Nov 25 21:44:44 2010  
Subject: Fw: (Reuters) U.S. briefs allies on new documents leak - WikiLeaks

---

From: Moore, Anna W  
To: NEWS-Mahogany  
Cc: SES-O\_Shift-III; SES-O\_OS  
Sent: Thu Nov 25 21:42:03 2010  
Subject: (Reuters) U.S. briefs allies on new documents leak - WikiLeaks

WASHINGTON (Reuters) – The United States has briefed its allies Britain, Australia, Canada, Denmark and Norway ahead of the expected new release of classified U.S. documents, WikiLeaks said November 25, citing local press reports. The whistle-blowing website said by Twitter that American diplomats briefed government officials in the five nations in advance of the release expected in the next few days.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 6:43 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls confirmed over night!

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Where are call sheets?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Nov 26 06:34:23 2010  
Subject: Calls confirmed over night!

7am Yang  
7:15 Mbz  
8am Westerwelle  
9am Alliot-Marie  
9:15 Hague  
9:45 karzai  
10am Hague

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 6:52 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Hague - 9:15

---

RELEASE IN PART B5

We don't have Dai scheduled yet--do we think we will?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Nov 26 06:49:01 2010  
Subject: Hague - 9:15

The Secretary's Call Sheet for UK Foreign Secretary William Hague



B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 7:31 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: other notes

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Let's do Bibi Sunday am because tomorrow is hard. What about anytime after 10am on Sunday?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Nov 26 07:10:52 2010  
Subject: other notes

- Phil has not briefed any of the europeans on this issue. So the point about amb coming in to brief is relevant for all.

- on netanyahu, they came back and said today doesnt work, prefer anytime after 12 tomorrow instead. what do you want to do?

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 9:00 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls be sure I have call sheet which I don't yet have.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 26 08:49:37 2010  
**Subject:** RE: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
also, ron dermer just told jake bibi will take call today instead of sunday  
so we are confirming a 4pm call

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 7:31 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Nov 26 07:14:38 2010  
**Subject:** RE: [REDACTED]

ok

[REDACTED]  
**From:** H  
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 7:12 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 10:55 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Dai can do sunday at 7am. You want to do?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Do people still want me to after my call w Yang?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Nov 26 10:53:09 2010  
Subject: Dai can do sunday at 7am. You want to do?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 5:37 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Ok for Condi to talk w Bill. Could Cannon speak later that 7:30? And, I guess I'll have to do Dai at 7am on Sunday

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Nov 26 17:31:33 2010  
Subject:

few things:

- only call tomorrow is Cannon at 7:30am, sending a revised sheet soon.
- i have a few new START call sheets for weekend that will come thru too
- Also, Condi Rice going to Korea next week for a womens conferenc. she has no official meetings but she did request a mtg with the FM and president, her office is unsure if they will get them. Rice is going to talk to Bill Burns re relevant briefing background unless you prefer to talk to her directly.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, November 26, 2010 7:39 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Cannon can do 9:15. Ok?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Yes. Thx.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Nov 26 19:19:41 2010  
Subject: Cannon can do 9:15. Ok?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 9:16 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

8 is much better.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Nov 27 08:52:49 2010  
Subject: Calls

Today 9:15 Cannon  
Tomorrow Dai is asking for 8am instead of 7  
Looks like we also have a russia call sheet coming today as well.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 9:20 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Can you send me asap the Cannon sheet?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Nov 27 08:52:49 2010  
Subject: Calls

Today 9:15 Cannon  
Tomorrow Dai is asking for 8am instead of 7  
Looks like we also have a russia call sheet coming today as well.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 5:23 PM  
**To:** 'rooneym@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Bahrain concept paper, this was also faxed

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

Megan--the concept paper looks strong and since it will have to go thru vetting from all directions, I'd like to get a draft midweek to review. Thx for all your good work.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Nov 27 16:26:47 2010  
Subject: Bahrain concept paper, this was also faxed

Megan is working on specch

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 6:06 PM  
**To:** 'WoodardEW@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Philip Bobbitt will be in DC and wanted to stop by. Pls contact him at:

And see if he can come by for a short visit. Thx.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 27, 2010 6:12 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]  
**Subject:** Kazakhstan

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

B6

Ben Cardin called to thank me for inviting him to go to OSCE but he can't because of session. He asked me to consider the following:

[Redacted content]

B5



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 10:10 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Cc:** 'millsd@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Fw: H: Wikileaks. Sid  
**Attach:** hrc memo wikileaks 112910.docx

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Interesting perspective. Huma--pls print. Thx.

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

From: sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted]>  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Nov 29 19:17:02 2010  
Subject: H: Wikileaks. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

November 29, 2010

For: Hillary  
From: Sid  
Re: Wikileaks

The Wikileaks documents can be cast as reflecting a positive light on the U.S. government and diplomacy. Your statement about how the documents underscored the Iranian nuclear threat is headed in the right direction.

1. The Wikileaks disclosure is the opposite of the Pentagon Papers. The Pentagon Papers provided evidence from an internal study conducted by the Department of Defense that the U.S. administration was not telling the truth about the Vietnam War. On the contrary, the Wikileaks papers prove that the U.S. government today has been telling the truth about the threats we face in the world. Our government is telling the truth.
2. The Wikileaks papers prove that American diplomats are hard at work at the difficult, often frustrating job of protecting and advancing our interests in the world. These documents are testimony to the diligence, intelligence and clear mindedness of our diplomats. Our diplomats are doing their work on the frontlines of national security.

CONFIDENTIAL

November 29, 2010

RELEASE IN  
FULL

For: Hillary  
From: Sid  
Re: Wikileaks

The Wikileaks documents can be cast as reflecting a positive light on the U.S. government and diplomacy. Your statement about how the documents underscored the Iranian nuclear threat is headed in the right direction.

1. The Wikileaks disclosure is the opposite of the Pentagon Papers. The Pentagon Papers provided evidence from an internal study conducted by the Department of Defense that the U.S. administration was not telling the truth about the Vietnam War. On the contrary, the Wikileaks papers prove that the U.S. government today has been telling the truth about the threats we face in the world. Our government is telling the truth.
2. The Wikileaks papers prove that American diplomats are hard at work at the difficult, often frustrating job of protecting and advancing our interests in the world. These documents are testimony to the diligence, intelligence and clear mindedness of our diplomats. Our diplomats are doing their work on the frontlines of national security.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, November 29, 2010 10:23 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Happy Thanksgiving

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print.

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

From: Kelly, Craig <[REDACTED]>  
To: H  
Sent: Wed Nov 24 17:43:18 2010  
Subject: Happy Thanksgiving

Madam Secretary:

I wish you and your family a Happy Thanksgiving. My family and I are [REDACTED]

I have not forgotten that I owe you some thoughts on our policy in the Americas. Actually, having spent two months now in the private sector with a heavy focus on Latin America, I have some particular points I wish to convey, and will do so soon.

Working closely with you on Honduras, Cuba, Pathways and other issues was one of the real highlights of my Foreign Service career, and I miss that. Your instincts and skills dealing with the wide range of characters in our neighborhood -- and well beyond -- is enormously impressive. On this Thanksgiving, there a lot of U.S. diplomats and U.S. citizens who are thankful that you are our Secretary of State

Warm regards,

Craig

This message is a PRIVATE communication. If you are not the intended recipient, please do not read, copy, or use it, and do not disclose it to others. Please notify the sender of the delivery error by replying to this message, and then delete it from your system

Thank you.

For more information on The Cohen Group please visit our website at:

<http://www.cohengroup.net/>

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 30, 2010 7:43 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Blair

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Tue Nov 30 19:41:36 2010  
Subject: Blair

Its after midnight there so he's sleeping. They are asking for later times. Maybe we can do when during down time later today.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 2, 2010 7:10 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: The speech

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Pls be sure I'm up by 8

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H; 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>  
Sent: Thu Dec 02 19:01:35 2010  
Subject: Re: The speech

Ok. No problem.  
We leave at 10:45. They will be here 9:45.  
Brief at 10:15 with jeff etc.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin; 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>  
Sent: Thu Dec 02 19:00:24 2010  
Subject: The speech

I will need to see Jake and Megan in the am an hour before we leave.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 4, 2010 8:41 AM  
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov', 'monica.hanley' [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Followup

---

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls get me two hard copies of Foreign Policy's Top 100 Global Thinkers

Pls see if the library has a copy of Claire Parkinson: Coming Climate Crisis? Consider the past, Beware the Big Fix

Pls see if library has copy of Mary Gardiner Jones, Tearing down Walls

[REDACTED]

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 4, 2010 1:36 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'abedinh@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Fw: Couple updates

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

I'm still having problems w my bb. See below.

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

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
To: H; jake.sullivan [redacted]; jake.sullivan [redacted]  
Sent: Sat Dec 04 13:26:14 2010  
Subject: Re: Couple updates

B6

I did not get the earlier email - tho they told me they had fixed the problem.

Ron just called Jonathan and asked us to delay a couple days past Sunday because of the fires. We haven't responded but under the circumstances hard to say no.

B5

I will get you all of the material tomorrow.

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
To: 'jake.sullivan [redacted]' <jake.sullivan [redacted]>; Sullivan, Jacob J  
Sent: Sat Dec 04 13:09:31 2010  
Subject: Fw: Couple updates

B6

Did you ever get this email? [redacted]

B5

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

From: H  
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>  
Sent: Sat Dec 04 08:30:23 2010  
Subject: Re: Couple updates

Thx. I want to see the scripts for MEPP since I remain concerned that we risk looking irrelevant at best. So let's be sure we know what are the pros and cons of any way forward. Also, regarding the BN call, it is mostly for reason I told you, but I need tps for other issues.

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

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Dec 04 08:17:05 2010  
Subject: Couple updates



B5

I will get you Fred Hof and Holbrooke papers this weekend.



RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 5, 2010 10:14 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Couple things

---

Ok--did you see Isaac last night?

----- Original Message -----  
From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Dec 05 09:28:48 2010  
Subject: Couple things

- holbrooke wants to talk
- we reached out to lavrov to see if he has any windows today

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 5, 2010 10:54 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Call Sheet - S - Lavrov  
**Attach:** Call Sheet - S for Cote D'Ivoire.docx

---

B6

**From:** Davis, Timmy T  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Coleman, Claire L; Jiloty, Lauren C  
**Cc:** S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Sent:** Sun Dec 05 09:44:29 2010  
**Subject:** Call Sheet - S - Lavrov

Huma,

Please find attached the call sheet for Lavrov. I understand he's not available.

I've included Claire and Lauren in case the call is pushed past today.

Thanks.

Tim

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

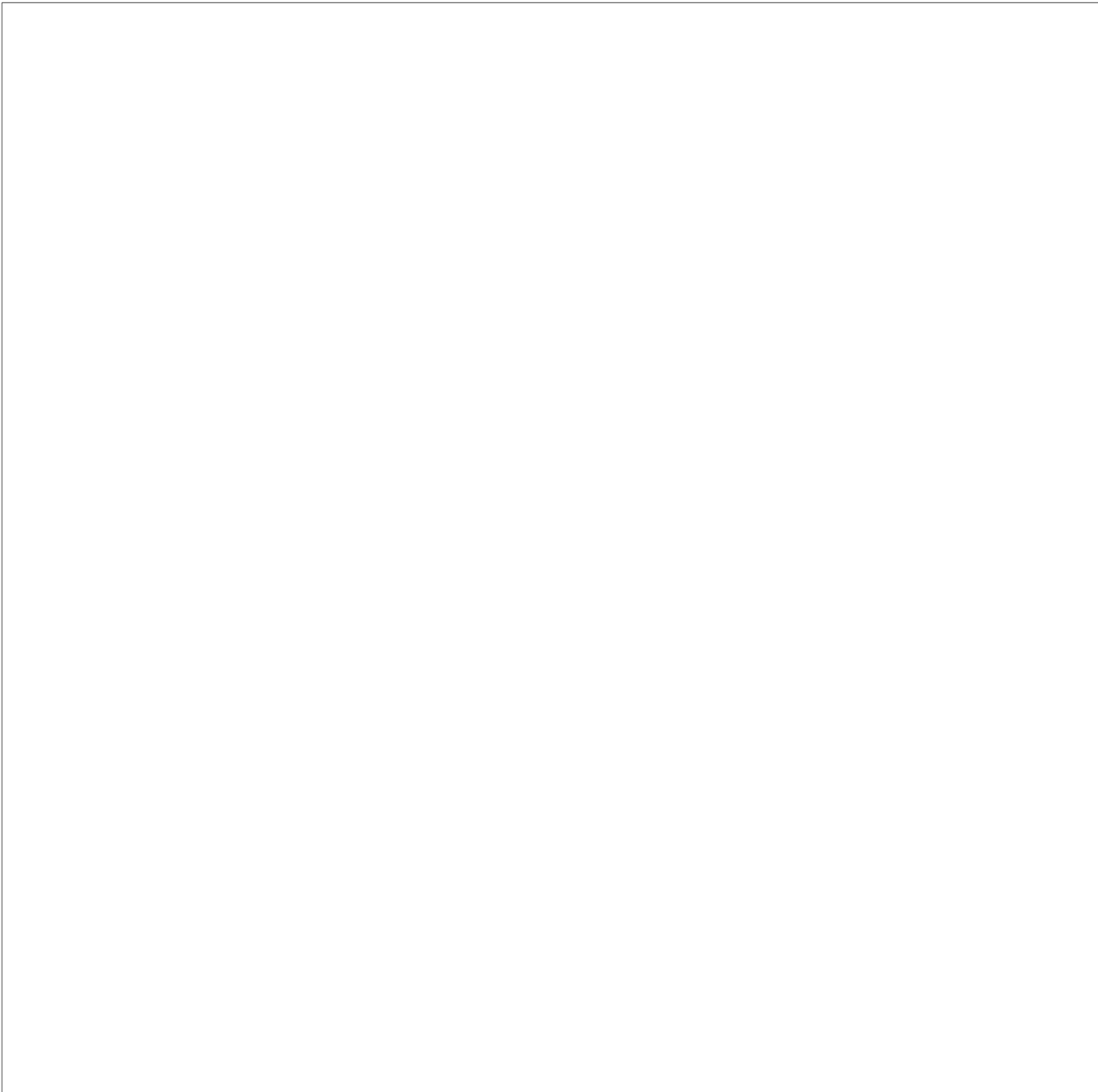
**The Secretary's Call Sheet for Russian FM Sergey Lavrov**  
**Sunday, December 5, 2010**



B5

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

B5



---

**Call Notes:**

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 5, 2010 4:43 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

No surprise at all!

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sun Dec 05 15:52:48 2010  
**Subject:**

Assume you are not surprised that lavrov hasn't been free today...

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 5, 2010 7:28 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Hbj - we didn't make the call. Let me know if you want to set up today.

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Thx

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Dec 05 19:27:11 2010  
Subject: Re: Hbj - we didn't make the call. Let me know if you want to set up today

Ok, aiming for 9pm.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sun Dec 05 17:45:14 2010  
Subject: Re: Hbj - we didn't make the call. Let me know if you want to set up today.

Yes--whenever before 10 if possible.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Dec 05 17:37:08 2010  
Subject: Re: Hbj - we didn't make the call. Let me know if you want to set up today.

Jake mentioned trilat call tonite with jim, kurt and jake.  
U want to do? And what time?

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sun Dec 05 17:21:53 2010  
Subject: Re: Hbj - we didn't make the call. Let me know if you want to set up today.

Let's do tomorrow.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Dec 04 12:51:38 2010  
Subject: Hbj - we didn't make the call. Let me know if you want to set up today.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 5, 2010 8:15 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Jim, kurt, jake confirmed for 9pm

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Did Sam Arora win? Did I write him?

I don't have my schedule for tomorrow yet, but can I see Lambah then or Tuesday and also meet w Holbrooke, Frank and Jake?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Dec 05 20:01:30 2010  
Subject: Jim, kurt, jake confirmed for 9pm

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 7:23 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'abedinh@state.gov'  
**Subject:** E. Edwards

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Do you know if this is still her email address:

B6

When you're done, pls call me. Thx.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, December 6, 2010 10:19 PM  
**To:** Oscar Flores <[REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** Re: More from [REDACTED]

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B1,1.4(D),B6

B1  
1.4(D)

B6

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

**From:** Oscar Flores  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Mon Dec 06 10:30:48 2010  
**Subject:** RE: More from [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class:  
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
12/27/2025

B6

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Monday, December 06, 2010 7:07 AM  
**To:** Oscar Flores  
**Cc:** Doug Band; Justin Cooper  
**Subject:** Fw: More from [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)

More to print for Bill.

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

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Mon Dec 06 06:01:07 2010  
**Subject:** More from [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)

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

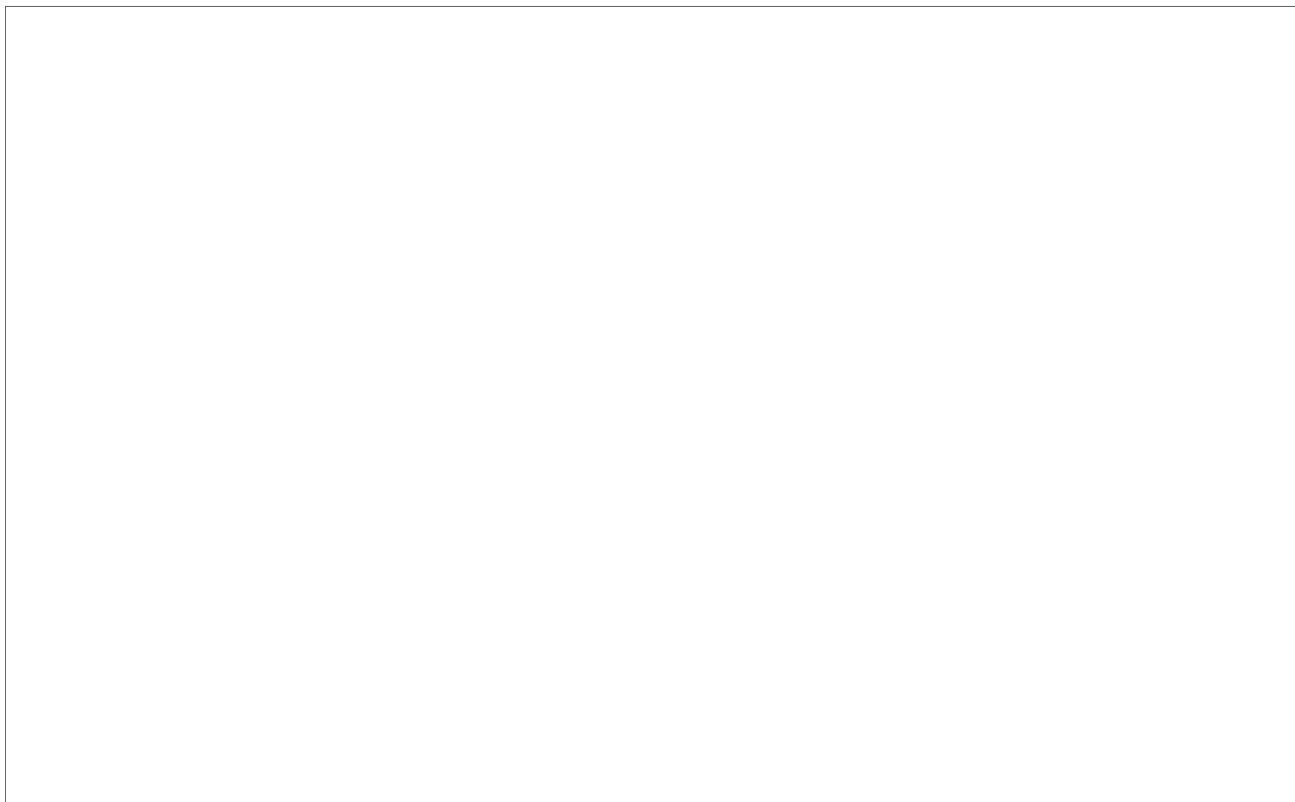
**From:** [REDACTED]  
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S  
**Sent:** Mon Dec 06 05:31:39 2010  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)

Thank you for getting back to me.

B1  
1.4(D)

B1  
1.4(D)



Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

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

From: "Verveer, Melanne S" <VerveerMS@state.gov>

Date: Mon, 6 Dec 2010 04:41:49

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Re: [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)

[REDACTED]

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

From: [REDACTED]

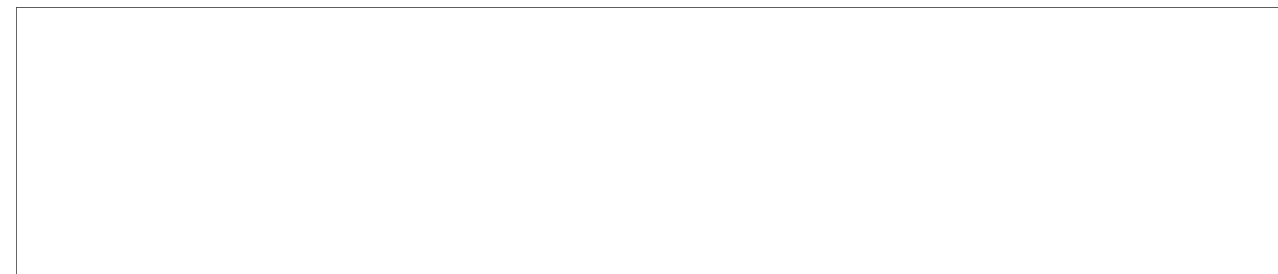
To: Verveer, Melanne S

Sent: Mon Dec 06 02:20:02 2010

Subject: [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)

Dear Melanne



\*\*\*\*\*

The allegation against Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus of 'diverting foreign aid from Grameen Bank to another company' should be investigated, the prime minister

has said.

"Bangladesh has set many examples. Deceiving people by siphoning off their money is another such example. This is nothing but sucking out money from the people after giving them loans," she said replying to questions from journalists on Sunday.

"There has been no improvement in the lifestyle of the poor so far. They were just used as pawns to get more aids," Hasina added

She was speaking at a press conference at her office on Sunday following her three-nation tour of Russia, Belgium and Japan.

"The people of Bangladesh have been made guinea pigs I have never supported that. And now I protest," Hasina told journalists.

Naimul Islam Khan, editor of Amader Shomoy, said, "Initially, the government had 60 percent share of the Grameen Bank which now has shrunk to 25 percent. It seems Mr Yunus wanted to empty the government exchequer, if he could. The government, however, didn't let that happen."

He also asked whether the government would investigate the allegation raised against Yunus and his Grameen Bank. {  
Responding to the query, the prime minister said, "Grameen Bank had been grabbed in such a manner as if it's a personal property. This should also be investigated. The poor people are becoming paupers. They have been tricked by sweet talks. Finally, things are getting out."

Hasina compared Khaleda Zia's 'affection' for her cantonment house with Yunus' 'affection' for his Grameen Bank and said, "Grameen Bank is a public property. But it's being privatised out of 'love'. Yunus Sahib has fallen in love with Grameen Bank.

"One can't but get caught if play with the money of the poor," she added.  
Norway's national TV NRK aired a documentary on November 30 titled "Fanget i Mikrogjeld" or "Caught in Micro debt", based on which

bdnews24.com ran a report on December 1.

According to the documentary, Yunus transferred the money to Grameen Kalyan, which was in no way involved with microcredit operations.

Responding to the allegations, Grameen Bank claimed there was no wrongdoing in the agreement between the bank and Grameen Kalyan under which it received Tk 3,917 million from the bank.

"Decisions were taken by the Grameen Bank Board, with due deliberation, good faith, and with good intentions to benefit the poor," the Grameen Bank rejoinder said.

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 7, 2010 1:16 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: ASAP

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

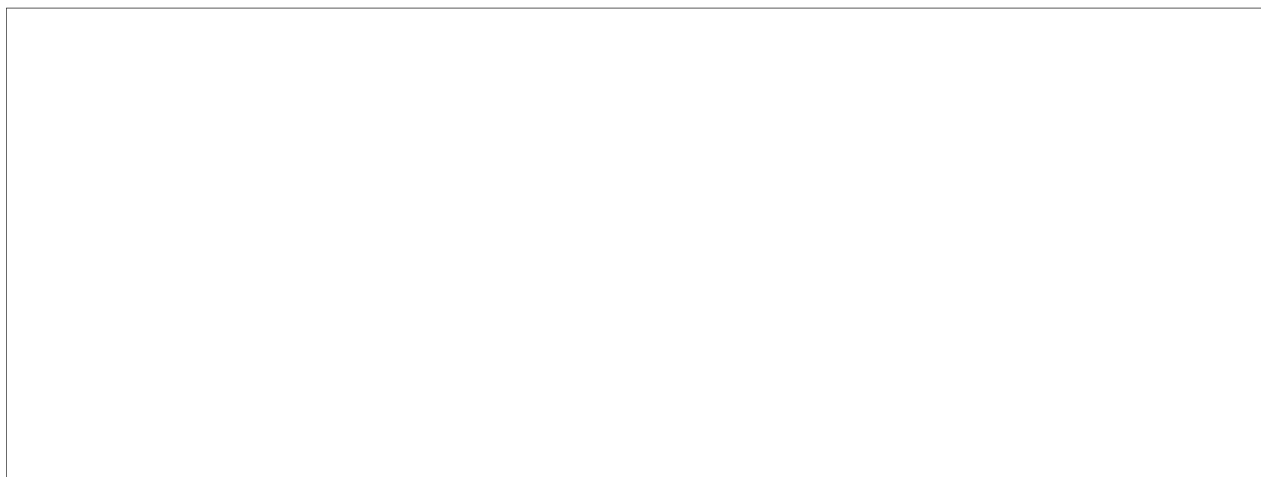
What does she want me to say?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Dec 07 12:44:56 2010  
**Subject:** ASAP

from cdm: She wants you to read the current draft Press Release below (being circulated for comment) in case you want to

Embassy Press Release



B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 6:09 AM  
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'WoodardEW@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Fw: Anne Mulcahy

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I just saw that she's bringing two people so let's just add our folks to mtg--NEA and AID.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>; Huma Abedin; 'WoodardEW@state.gov' <WoodardEW@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thu Dec 09 06:07:52 2010  
**Subject:** Anne Mulcahy

After (or before) I see her she should see the right people from NEA, Melanne's staff and AID to discuss Iraq So could they be gathered in the D conf room or the Marshall room and I could intro her or drop into the mtg?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 9, 2010 6:28 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Pakistan

RELEASE IN  
PART  
B1,1.4(D),B6

Pls follow up for me.

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

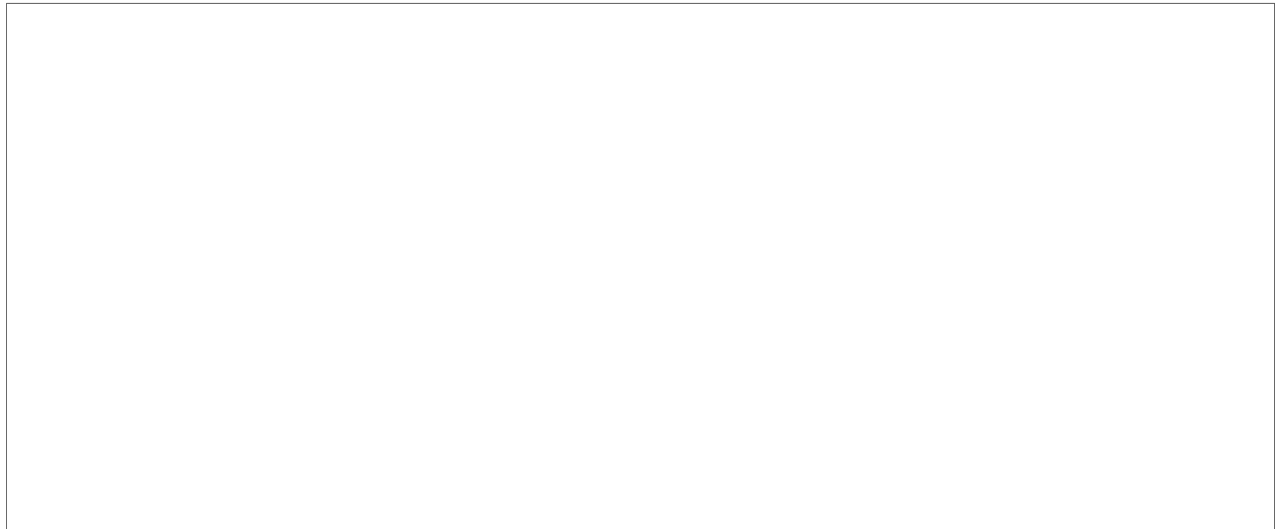
From: Zachary Iscol <[redacted]>  
To: H  
Sent: Thu Dec 09 17:24:22 2010  
Subject: Pakistan

Madam Secretary,

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 01/29/2016 ~  
Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~  
Declassify on: 01/05/2026

B6

Hope you're doing well. Writing because of an issue I thought should be brought to your attention.



B1  
1.4(D)

Thanks so much and hope you are enjoying the holidays.

Love,

Zach

Zachary Iscol  
[www.supersprowtz.com](http://www.supersprowtz.com)

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, December 10, 2010 7:22 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Saeb mtg/Bibi call

RELEASE IN FULL

Ok

----- Original Message -----  
From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Dec 10 07:09:45 2010  
Subject: Re: Saeb mtg/Bibi call

We'll see if 1215 works.

----- Original Message -----  
From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Fri Dec 10 07:07:55 2010  
Subject: Re: Saeb mtg/Bibi call

Not sure but we'll try.

----- Original Message -----  
From: Huma Abedin  
To: H; 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>  
Sent: Fri Dec 10 07:06:07 2010  
Subject: Re: Saeb mtg/Bibi call

will move saeb  
Bibi confirmed 12:30. Does that give u enough time?

----- Original Message -----  
From: H  
To: Huma Abedin; 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>  
Cc: H  
Sent: Fri Dec 10 04:05:48 2010  
Subject: Saeb mtg/Bibi call

I'd like to start Saeb mtg early--at 10:30.

I'm worried that since Bibi call is on schedule for sometime btw 12:15 and 1:00 it could come right when I'm supposed to see Livni at 1. That would be a problem.

Can you find out 1)if Bibi could do at 12:15 and, if not, tell them I won't have enough time if it can't be until 1 so 2)could we do late tonight--at midnight my time or early Sat at 6am or noon?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 12, 2010 8:57 AM  
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: 1 dead, 2 injured in Stockholm explosions, believed to be a terrorist act

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Did you get the email below?  And is there any RCH news?

B6

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

From: H  
To: 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>  
Sent: Sat Dec 11 23:01:36 2010  
Subject: Re: 1 dead, 2 injured in Stockholm explosions, believed to be a terrorist act

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

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Dec 11 21:36:38 2010  
Subject: Fw: 1 dead, 2 injured in Stockholm explosions, believed to be a terrorist act

From: OpsAlert@state.gov <OpsAlert@state.gov>  
Sent: Sat Dec 11 17:32:05 2010  
Subject: 1 dead, 2 injured in Stockholm explosions, believed to be a terrorist act

(SBU) The first explosion occurred in a busy shopping district in the city center, followed by a second explosion nearby, according to press. Embassy Stockholm said Swedish authorities have confirmed one of the explosions was a terrorist incident, and their national intelligence service (SAPO) has taken over the investigation. Police believe the person killed was wearing a suicide vest. The injured are believed to be innocent bystanders, and Post has confirmed there were no American casualties. Post expressed U.S. condolences and solidarity with Swedish counterparts. The Embassy issued a warden message. Media report Swedish police received an email about 10 minutes prior to the explosions, with recordings in Swedish and Arabic. The messages talked about Sweden's silence over the caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed by artist Lars Vilks and Sweden's presence in Afghanistan.

Automatic electronic distribution to: S, D(S), P, E, C, M, DG, T, R, PA, G, AF, EAP, EUR, NEA, SCA, WHA, IO, S/CRS, S/CT, S/HSC, H, DS, CA, PMAT, INR, AVC, IIP, ISN, CMS, S/ES, S/ES-O, NSOC, and WHSR.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 12, 2010 10:32 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I think Mitchell is going to Saban Forum so I can also talk to him afterwards.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Dec 12 10:28:54 2010  
Subject: Calls

Cdm on conf call - she will call house soon as she's off  
Mitchell on a plane - he's landing soon and ops will connect.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 12, 2010 10:57 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Bildt

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

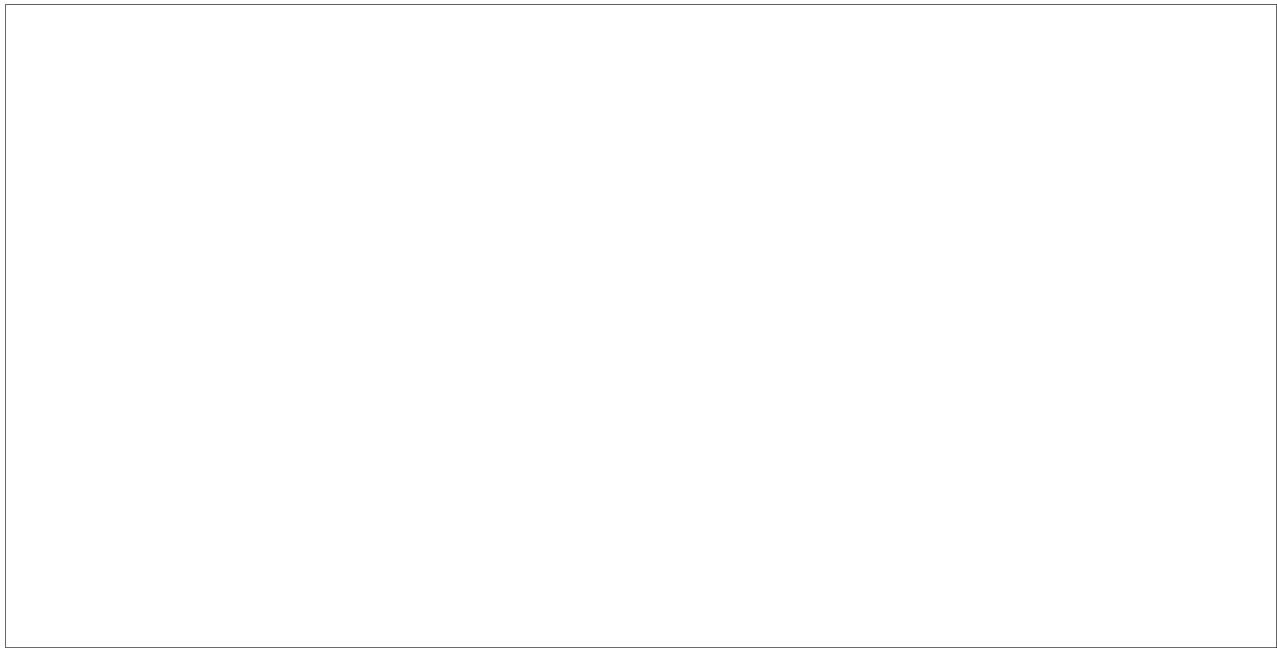
Ok

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Dec 12 10:51:13 2010  
Subject: Bildt

Phil is suggesting you call Carl Bildt  You want to reach out today? Call points below.

The Secretary's Call with Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt



B5

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 12, 2010 12:20 PM  
**To:** 'humamabedin' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Draft of your QDDR letter  
**Attach:** QDDR - S cover letter v2.docx

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sun Dec 12 12:16:49 2010  
**Subject:** Fw: Draft of your QDDR letter

Can you send to Marina so she can print for me?

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

**From:** Daniel, Joshua J <DanielJJ@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sun Dec 12 12:08:11 2010  
**Subject:** Draft of your QDDR letter

Here's a draft of your introductory letter for the QDDR. Jake and Anne-Marie have weighed in.

One question that's been raised is whether [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

B5

Thanks,

Josh

QDDR cover letter from S

12/12/2009 12 pm

Daniel

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B6

*How can we do better?*

B5

QDDR cover letter from S

12/12/2009 12 pm

Daniel

B6

B5



QDDR cover letter from S  
12/12/2009 12 pm  
Daniel

B6

Hillary Rodham Clinton

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 12, 2010 12:38 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok--talking w Mitchell now.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sun Dec 12 12:24:04 2010  
**Subject:** Calls

Bildt can talk at 130 so we will connect.  
Mitchell will call after saban. Leaving at 3 for israel.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 12, 2010 11:31 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Salazar mtg

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Did you ever get this email?

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

**From:** H  
**To:** 'abedinh@state.gov' <abedinh@state.gov>; 'WoodardEW@state.gov' <WoodardEW@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sun Dec 12 13:24:00 2010  
**Subject:** Salazar mtg

Did we schedule for next week?



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, December 13, 2010 7:10 AM  
**To:** 'sterntd@state.gov'  
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Kudos and Espinosa

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Todd--

First, thank you for your success at Cancun. It was certainly hard won! You played the hand you were dealt superbly and we are all the better for it. I would like a full debrief when you have the time this week.

I am on the way to Canada for a US-Can-Mex trilateral and will praise Mexico and Patricia both privately and publicly--they earned it and saved the international process.

I'd like to thank your entire team again so we'll work to set up a convenient time. Until then, I hope everybody gets some well-deserved rest.

All the best, H

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 7:27 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Print  
**Attach:** QDDR - S cover letter v6.docx

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

---

**From:** Daniel, Joshua J  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Slaughter, Anne-Marie; Mills, Cheryl D  
**Sent:** Tue Dec 14 01:33:58 2010  
**Subject:** for S final review - QDDR letter

Here's a new version of the Secretary's 3-page cover letter for the QDDR. I understand it needs to go to the printer by noon, so it'd be great if she can take a quick look at it in the morning and let us know if she has any changes.

Thanks!  
Josh

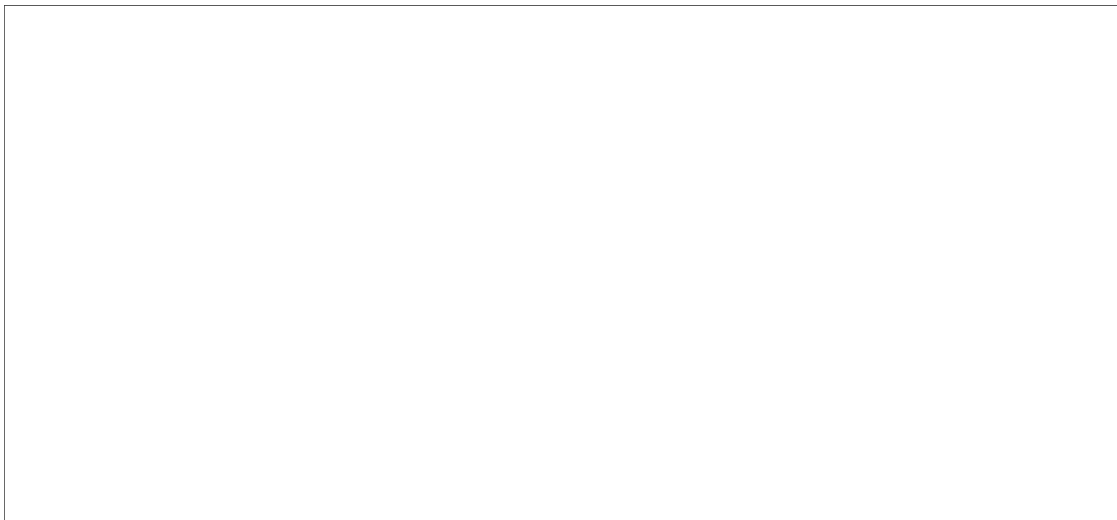
*How can we do better?*

RELEASE IN PART B5

B5

**Page Denied**

B5



Hillary Rodham Clinton

###

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 7:35 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Final qddr cover letter coming to you for review.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Have Jake and all signed off on it?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Dec 14 07:29:12 2010  
**Subject:** Final qddr cover letter coming to you for review.

RELEASE  
IN FULL

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 14, 2010 10:03 PM  
**To:** 'ValmoròLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Friday

---

I just saw the line schedule which said I was taking the 3pm shuttle, but I thought I was taking the 2?

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 15, 2010 8:08 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Marina print  
**Attach:** QDDR TownHall v7.docx

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

---

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B  
**To:** Daniel, Joshua J; Abedin, Huma; S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Sent:** Wed Dec 15 07:40:40 2010  
**Subject:** Re: new copy of town hall speech coming

Here it is, attached.  
Dan

---

**From:** Daniel, Joshua J  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Cc:** Schwerin, Daniel B  
**Sent:** Wed Dec 15 07:08:59 2010  
**Subject:** new copy of town hall speech coming

We're working w/ Anne-Marie and Jake on a new version of today's speech that's quite different from the one that went in her book last night.

Will get it to you as soon as Anne-Marie finishes reading.

Dan will also send it to S's e-mail per Jake.

Thanks for your help getting it to her.



DRAFT - 12/15/10 @ 7am  
Schwerin - v7

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**

**REMARKS ON THE QDDR**

**DECEMBER 15, 2010**

**WASHINGTON, DC**



B5

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, December 17, 2010 2:29 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'Burnswj@state.gov'; 'vermarr@state.gov'; 'gordonph@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Re: Davutoglu

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

In addition to calling him which I will do as soon as I land in NY, should I/we issue public statement?

B5

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Dec 17 14:26:31 2010  
Subject: Davutoglu

Davutoglu has asked to speak to you about

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, December 17, 2010 11:14 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Jim wants to talk tonight secure. Re: koreas. Are you able to do?

---

RELEASE IN FULL

Yes--I can do. Should I call ops?

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: Hillary Clinton

Subject: Jim wants to talk tonight secure. Re: koreas. Are you able to do?

Sent: Dec 17, 2010 11:03 PM

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, December 18, 2010 3:54 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: DADT just passed in senate.

---

RELEASE IN FULL

Ok.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Dec 18 15:53:28 2010  
Subject: DADT just passed in senate.

You ok with this statement?

"This is a historic step forward for all Americans, a step toward a more perfect union and a more perfect reflection of our core values. As the President and I have repeatedly said, we are committed to universal standards abroad and here at home. Our progress on equality here strengthens our advocacy for human dignity everywhere."

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, December 19, 2010 10:09 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Happening now

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

Just seeing this--can I get a readout from someone either by phone or email?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Dec 19 09:03:49 2010  
Subject: Happening now

[Redacted]

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 23, 2010 12:09 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: they just found rich, will connect him after afghan call

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Thx--also I want to talk w Rose next.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Thu Dec 23 11:53:19 2010  
Subject: they just found rich, will connect him after afghan call

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, December 27, 2010 4:04 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Travel plans

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

We should be ready to go by 6.

----- Original Message -----  
From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 12:43:31 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

We need 7 working days (flying time not included) to beat her.

----- Original Message -----  
From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 12:42:24 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

What is the days comparison?

----- Original Message -----  
From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 12:41:29 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

We have 36 trips to date.  
So by 1/31 we need 3 to tie, 4 to win.  
37. Brazil  
38. Middle east (doha etc)  
39. Haiti  
40. Mexico

----- Original Message -----  
From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 12:36:21 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

Here's what I don't understand regarding my travel. In his 11/17 column, Kamen said Rice had 163 days and 39 total trips and I had 150 days and 33 trips thru Nov 9. What's my total now?

----- Original Message -----  
From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 12:32:48 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

Sounds good.

----- Original Message -----  
From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 12:32:27 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

but I'd like to leave later btw 7-8 since I am trying to get cleaned up and organized before leaving. So why

B6



don't you come out around 6?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 11:44:54 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

Ok I just talked to [REDACTED]

B6

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 11:42:16 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

[REDACTED]

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 11:28:24 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

[REDACTED] So what do you want to do, leave at 5pm?

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 10:55:08 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Can you get clarity from them?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 10:51:55 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

[REDACTED] I told her you might be open to leaving tomorrow morning if that's the case. What do u think?

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 10:31:42 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

Ok--we shovelled the driveway!

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 10:31:13 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

We were going to come to your house around 4.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 10:23:37 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

What time will you come to the house or do you want to meet at plane?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 10:06:15 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

I will  
Just printed clips which I will bring this afternoon.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 09:53:23 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

Can you call [REDACTED] would that make it easier?

B6

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 09:51:14 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

They didn't do clips over xmas but of course will bring what you missed.  
Just talked to team  
Confirmed for 5pm departure today.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:41:37 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

Ok. Also, I haven't received clips since Thursday (which is fine w me!) But can you bring what I've missed w you whenever I finally see you?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:38:19 2010  
Subject: Re: Travel plans

In the next few hours hopefully.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Dec 27 07:21:03 2010  
Subject: Travel plans

I think [REDACTED] depending on when we leave which I assume is still uncertain. When are we likely to know what's possible?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 7:56 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Ok. I'll try today.

----- Original Message -----  
From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Wed Dec 29 07:52:52 2010  
Subject: Re:

Yes.  
Also, dan put in another request on lowey/granger calls.

----- Original Message -----  
From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Wed Dec 29 07:51:02 2010  
Subject: Re:

Great Can you schedule a call for me w Cheryl whenever she can btw now and 5?

----- Original Message -----  
From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Wed Dec 29 07:48:48 2010  
Subject: Re:

[Redacted]

----- Original Message -----  
From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Wed Dec 29 07:47:29 2010  
Subject: Re:

[Redacted]

----- Original Message -----  
From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Wed Dec 29 07:35:03 2010  
Subject: Re:

[Redacted]

----- Original Message -----  
From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Wed Dec 29 07:29:03 2010  
Subject: Re:

[Redacted]

B6

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Wed Dec 29 07:26:07 2010

Subject:

[REDACTED]

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 29, 2010 1:05 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Can she do at 6:30?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Wed Dec 29 12:58:24 2010  
Subject: Re:

What time for cdm call? She said anytime after 3.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Wed Dec 29 12:39:23 2010  
Subject: Re:

4 for cdm call?

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Wed Dec 29 12:37:20 2010  
Subject: Re:

Can you do 4?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Wed Dec 29 12:31:14 2010  
Subject:

Cdm can talk anytime after 3. What works?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 9:31 AM  
**To:** 'reinesp@state.gov'; 'Valmorol.J@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Interview

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Pls be sure we schedule the interview w Carol Evans for her magazine (Parenting? Working Mother? I can't remember the name). I run into her in Chappaqua all the time and have promised her I'd do it.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 30, 2010 10:38 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Sure if he can get here.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Thu Dec 30 10:34:23 2010  
Subject:

Will be back for lunch

Left your clips downstairs at your house. Oscars asking if you want to invite raul to lunch tomorrow?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, January 2, 2011 7:05 PM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Tomorrow's schedule

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Is it ready?



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, January 3, 2011 6:11 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Les Gelb Daily Beast Blog, 1/3/2011

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Fyi.

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

**From:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie <SlaughterA@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Mon Jan 03 18:04:17 2011  
**Subject:** FW: Les Gelb Daily Beast Blog, 1/3/2011

You must read this -- Les on Richard. AM

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

**From:** Leslie H. Gelb [mailto: ]  
**Sent:** Monday, January 03, 2011 9:56 AM  
**To:** Slaughter, Anne-Marie  
**Subject:** Les Gelb Daily Beast Blog, 1/3/2011

Dear Dr. Slaughter:

Dick Holbrooke, writes Leslie Gelb, was a human tidal wave, the most luminescent diplomat of his generation, and a very controversial and complicated man.

The full text of the piece is included below.

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2011-01-02/leslie-h-gelb-on-the-late-richard-holbrookes-contributions-to-foreign-policy/>

Sincerely,

Jonathan E. Hillman  
Research Associate for Leslie H. Gelb  
Council on Foreign Relations  
58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10065  
tel [ ] fax 212.434.9813  
[ ] www.cfr.org

The Richard Holbrooke I Knew  
by Leslie H. Gelb  
January 2, 2011 | 10:41pm

**\*\*He was the most dynamic foreign-policy force of his generation. Leslie H. Gelb recalls his dear friend, their political partnership, and how Holbrooke pushed to make AfPak work until the very end.\*\***

Far better to write a novel about Richard C. Holbrooke than a biography, let alone an obituary. Only a novel could render his mythic contradictions-his stunning ability to see into the hearts and minds of others, but his blindness to how they saw him; his unrivaled gift for knocking down doors and walking smack into them; his infuriating qualities and his enormous charm and generosity; his capacity to sit and consume books or movies and his titanic energy to go anywhere and do anything; his bullying qualities and willpower coupled with his thin skin, neediness, and fragility, his almost childlike ego and his fiery commitments to great causes, indeed his fusion of self and mission. When not obsessing about adversaries and transforming them into monsters so he could slay them, he was incomparably interesting and fun.

His life and mine have been so intertwined for 45 years that he swims in my head-as unfinished music about the man I grew up with in the cauldron of foreign affairs and in life. For me, this music conjures his surpassing diplomatic skills, his gift for Homeric friendship-and his promise, lost.

I don't want the obituaries to swallow him up as a brilliant star who never made it to the top. I want people to understand why his death is being treated like the passage of a great secretary of State, the position he dearly coveted, never attained, and so clearly deserved.

Part of it, of course, was that Dick Holbrooke was a character of the first order, a captain of industry in an age of the bureaucratic personality. It was highly unusual to get through a meal without someone telling some "Holbrooke" story. (His name was a word unto itself in Washington.) For example, taking five cellphone calls during a meeting, walking out speaking, returning and immediately telling all present that whatever they were saying while he was out of the room was either "just wrong" or "not quite right" (his polite put-down). One of my favorites: his coming over to watch sports on television, talking non-stop during the game while devouring every morsel in sight. His feats of memory about novels or history were prodigious. Then, there's the story about his playing Donkey Kong in an arcade for hours, stuffing quarters hither and yon in a frenzied and laughing pursuit of the game's highest honor-an "epic win."

B6

But the main reason the trumpets scream belatedly and ecstatically about Dick Holbrooke is because he attained those epic wins in diplomacy and was capable of more. He would never be satisfied with mere successes. He yearned to do great things, to be a great man, to make history, and the history books. That takes an enormous amount of nerve and ability. Even notable leaders shy away from such tests of will, challenges, and risks of failure. These downsides barely troubled Holbrooke. He would dare to tread where others feared, and he simply would not give up.

Holbrooke would and could do what others merely gaped at—accomplish meaningful goals and great goals. Frankly, I don't know a soul in my generation who could replicate his bringing about the Dayton Accords and ending the genocidal war in Bosnia. He conceived the federal solution to stop the fighting, and he got the Balkan beasts to sign on by knocking their heads together. Other diplomats would still be playing little games of persuading the beastly parties to be good boys, seeking compromise, and failing. For forging peace in Bosnia, he deserved the Nobel Peace Prize. Doubtless, some enemy he had made along the way blackballed him. As for his many other accomplishments, I won't recount them here; they can be read now in most other reviews of his life.

Let me just tell you a slice of the incredible story of why he accepted the position as President Obama's Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan—and why he soldiered on in the face of poor treatment by the White House and the virtual impossibility of the task itself.

Dick took the envoy position because the United States faced no greater challenge. The challenge was to stop the killing, make "a peace" if possible, and sharply diminish America's combat role as quickly as possible. The other reason for taking the job was that he was devoted to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. She was not threatened by his formidable talents, and she saved his job at least twice. (She also was Herculean in making arrangements to try to save his life when he was stricken in her office.) They were a great team. And as a practical matter, he was really Clinton's envoy far more than Obama's.

The answer to the second question—why Holbrooke stayed on given Obama's attitude toward him and the virtual impossibility of the task—is very complicated. Holbrooke was loyal to the president. He never said a bad word about him to me, a quite unusual occurrence. But the chemistry didn't work between them. Dick, as was his custom with superiors, flattered Obama excessively. Dick also "lectured" him, and the president is the kind of guy who felt he ought to be doing the lecturing. It was a clash as well of two very powerful intellects. Obama could have learned a lot from Holbrooke, but wasn't disposed to do so. The result was that Holbrooke wasn't given the power of the Oval Office in doing his job. Characteristic of the man, if he couldn't do his work one way, he would search for others. But it was hard.

From the outset, Holbrooke was hamstrung. He knew that Americans and Afghans both had no chance unless the government in Kabul shaped up. President George W. Bush let President Hamid Karzai do whatever he wanted. So, Holbrooke went to Kabul and blasted Karzai for the corruption, inefficiency, and illegitimacy of his government. That was precisely the right move. Karzai had to understand that Washington was now going to get serious. But Karzai, no fool and no amateur bargainer himself, told Holbrooke's bosses he wouldn't talk to the envoy, period. Obama let that injunction stand until fairly recently, and that killed Holbrooke—and the U.S.—with Karzai. Instead, the president should have responded to Karzai's ploy by picking up the phone and telling the Afghan leader that he would either have to speak to Holbrooke or he'd speak to no one.

Why did Holbrooke stay on in the face of all this and the situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan itself? The answer shows another side of the man. He had little or no illusions about the limitations of American power to defeat the Taliban. But it was his job, his duty, his mission, to try anyway. So, he did his thing, which was not to create new grand strategies for solutions. Rather, his style was to learn everything about Afghanistan, then turn on his acute radar and wait for openings, for chances to ease America into a much more modest role in Afghanistan. He and Mrs. Clinton cooked up the idea of inserting the word "transition" in the NATO communiqué this past November. It was a wedge to move policy decisions along a bit faster toward troop drawdowns and turn over responsibility earlier to the Afghans. He also wanted to test all possible waters for talks with the Taliban, just in case. And he wanted to work with Kabul's neighbors to establish a future alliance to contain Afghan extremism. As for Pakistan, he hoped to put the leaders there on the same or similar strategic trajectory with Washington. This was a long shot, but neither he nor the White House was prepared for more drastic approaches. The point was this: If the United States was not going to walk away from the sinkholes of AfPak, Dick Holbrooke wasn't going to walk away either. Better in his mind for him than someone else to stay on and battle out policy at home and abroad.

Richard C. Holbrooke was the most luminescent foreign-policy figure of my generation. He was a unique personality, brilliant, a great diplomat, irresistible despite his obsessiveness about matters minuscule and mountainous, a Renaissance man in his interests and knowledge, controversial, beset with detractors almost as legion as admirers, both a formidable foreign-policy mind and bureaucratic swordsman, both a clever and too obvious maneuverer, mesmerizing in his intellectual sparkle and his energy.

He was the only person I could imagine capable of doing something truly Herculean on the diplomatic front. Friend and foe alike would agree that he was a human tidal wave.

Dick Holbrooke spent his youth being smart and useful to the titans of yore: Averell Harriman, General Maxwell Taylor, Henry Cabot Lodge, Clark Clifford, Dean Rusk, Lyndon Johnson, Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton. He saw he could be among them in their international deeds.

Making peace would be his trampoline to greatness and his pedestal.

Leslie H. Gelb, a former New York Times columnist and senior government official, is author of *Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy* (HarperCollins 2009), a book that shows how to think about and use power in the 21st century. He is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 4, 2011 9:25 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Haim

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

I left your # for him to call me back; if he does before 10:30, pls transfer to me.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 8, 2011 10:39 AM  
**To:** 'verveerms@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: New chairman

RELEASE IN  
PART B1,1.4(D)

I have tried [REDACTED] am copying Huma to report.

B1  
1.4(D)

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

**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 08 10:16:36 2011  
**Subject:** Fw: New chairman

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 09/30/2015 ~ Class: NO  
CLASSIFICATION MARKED ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
01/07/2026

I wonder if [REDACTED]

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

**From:** [REDACTED]  
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 08 06:27:23 2011  
**Subject:** New chairman

Dear Melanne

[REDACTED]

Sent wirelessly via BlackBerry

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 8, 2011 10:59 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re. Also

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

I'll talk w AG at 2 and will meet w Blair in Oman

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 08 10:54:33 2011  
**Subject:** Also

Abou gheit called to talk to you about Lebanon today. Is around till 3.

I've asked people for points unless you don't want any.

Spoke with Matthew again and turns out Tony Blair will be in oman same time as you and now wants to meet with you ..

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 8, 2011 11:05 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>, 'feltmanjd@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Re: AG points from Jeff

**RELEASE IN  
PART  
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)**

I think I could [REDACTED]  
Also, in the articles about my mtg w the King, they reported I had discussed Lebanon [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)  
B5

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 08 11:00:05 2011  
**Subject:** AG points from Jeff

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)  
B5

Jeffrey Feltman

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 09/30/2015 ~ Class:  
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
01/07/2036

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 8, 2011 1:11 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Call

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Senator or Congressman Levin?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 08 13:09:59 2011  
**Subject:** Call

Senator levin just called. Wants to talk to you in the next hour before he takes off for cuba.  
And abou gheit confirmed 2.

RELEASE  
IN FULL

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 8, 2011 2:14 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Pls try to schedule call in next few days w Mrs Mubarak

---

Pls call me at home.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Jan 08 14:14:09 2011  
Subject: Re: Pls try to schedule call in next few days w Mrs Mubarak

Ok. Will do.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Jan 08 14:13:39 2011  
Subject: Pls try to schedule call in next few days w Mrs Mubarak



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, January 10, 2011 12:34 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Clips and other things to read on your office desk.

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL

Do you have any hot tea?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Jan 10 00:23:00 2011  
Subject: Clips and other things to read on your office desk.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, January 10, 2011 10:31 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: ahmed

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Fyi

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

**From:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Mon Jan 10 09:57:13 2011  
**Subject:** FW: ahmed

FYI

**From:** ahmed rashid <[redacted]>  
**Sent:** Sun Jan 09 23:40:48 2011  
**Subject:** ahmed

B6

In the wake of Taseer's murder, moderate Pakistanis must speak out

We have to stand up against the fanatics determined to destroy our democratic nation

Ahmed Rashid <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/ahmed-rashid>> in Lahore

guardian.co.uk <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/>>, Saturday 8 January 2011 15.26 GMT

Salmaan Taseer <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/salmaan-taseer>>'s murder is likely to have wider and more cataclysmic consequences than even the murder of his renowned leader, Benazir Bhutto, three years ago. Everyone mourned Bhutto – even her political enemies – because she was a woman, illustrious and a possible solution to what were, even then, seen as Pakistan <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/pakistan>>'s insurmountable problems.

Taseer's death has unleashed the mad dogs of hell, inspiring the minority of fanatics to go to any lengths to destroy the democratic, secular and moderate Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

We Pakistanis are at the edge of a precipice and as a consequence the stability of the entire region is at risk.

The all-powerful army refuses to issue a single comment of support for the government or Taseer's family; the Pakistan People's Party government is paralysed and making concession after concession to the extremists and the political opposition, civil society has largely gone into hiding and anyone connected with defining Islamic principles (lawyers, judges, scholars, mullahs) refuses to stand up and be counted.

The state of the nation is such that not a single registered mullah in the city of Lahore with its 13 million people was willing to read Taseer's funeral prayers, because they were too scared to do so.

Five hundred lawyers have signed up to defend Taseer's killer Mumtaz Qadri, but Taseer's wife cannot find a single criminal lawyer to prosecute him. It is hard to see which judge is even likely to pursue the case to its obvious conclusion.

Meanwhile Qadri is making YouTube videos from jail of himself singing Islamic hymns and over 70 pages on Facebook have appeared in his support (and thankfully been pulled down rapidly by Facebook Inc).

Pakistan is pivotal to global security not just because it is a nuclear armed state in a condition of almost permanent conflict with its neighbour India. (Imagine the consequences of another Mumbai massacre around now and imagine the Indian reaction.) A stable Pakistan is pivotal to peace in Afghanistan, the Middle East and the west's dealings with Iran. Yet its borders with South Asia, Central Asia and the Arabian Gulf are not just a matter of geo-politics.

Although the Gulf Arabs may have provided the cash, it has been Pakistani militants who have been the harbingers and sustainers of Islamic militancy in this region. Al-Qaida could never have survived after 2001, nor spread its wings to Yemen and Somalia, without the unstinting support, sanctuaries and sacrifice offered by Pakistani militant groups.

Unchecked for the past 10 years, partly due to the connivance of various Pakistani actors including the military and partly due to the failures of the west to stabilize

Afghanistan, Israel-Palestine or deal with Iran, Pakistan's militants now have what they consider to be an opportunity of coming out of the shadows and challenging the legitimacy of an entire state and even encouraging its collapse.

The real fear amongst Pakistan and its neighbours is not the strength of the militants who remain a small minority and vastly unpopular, but the weakness of the state that is opposing them. The government is faced with a burgeoning economic crisis with massive price increases, 15% inflation and severe gas, electricity and fuel shortages.

A vital International Monetary Fund loan has been suspended due to the failure of the political elite to carry out economic reforms.

There is a spiralling political crisis (although the government patched up with its enemies over the weekend sufficiently so as not to be immediately dismissed). There is a half a million strong army that insists that its main enemy is India not extremism even as it fears that the militants may have entered its own hallowed portals. All this is grist for the militants' mill offering opportunities for success.

There is nobody to save Pakistan except Pakistanis, and it is we and our civil organisations and institutions who have to be strengthened and supported while we and the west have to convince the army to stop fighting proxy wars with India and Afghanistan and get down to helping push back the wave of extremism. It's a tall order but nothing less will do.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 15, 2011 8:27 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Calls

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL

Also, I'd like to talk w Tony Blair this weekend.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 15, 2011 11:07 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls

RELEASE  
IN FULL

Ok

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Jan 15 11:02:03 2011  
Subject: Re: Calls

Kerry staff just tracked him down and he said he would call in soon. Can they just connect when he does?

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Jan 15 10:55:27 2011  
Subject: Re: Calls

Ok.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Jan 15 10:54:15 2011  
Subject: Re: Calls

We are still waiting on everyone else. I just checked in and we don't have responses yet.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Jan 15 10:15:41 2011  
Subject: Re: Calls

Yes--I can do her

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Jan 15 10:09:57 2011  
Subject: Re: Calls

Ok just head back. Hasina can do from now for the next hour. Can we connect her?  
Working on others.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Jan 15 07:57:18 2011  
Subject: Calls

Can we try to reach Sleiman, Hassina and schedule Kerry before 4 today?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 15, 2011 2:07 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: President sleiman can talk at 2:30pm today.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 15 13:59:53 2011  
**Subject:** Re: President sleiman can talk at 2:30pm today.

Corker just put a call in Asking to talk today. I'm getting a call sheet.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 15 13:39:20 2011  
**Subject:** Re: President sleiman can talk at 2:30pm today.

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 15 13:01:33 2011  
**Subject:** President sleiman can talk at 2:30pm today.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 15, 2011 2:37 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: President sleiman can talk at 2:30pm today.

RELEASE  
IN FULL

I found it--sorry

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 15 14:31:32 2011  
**Subject:** Re: President sleiman can talk at 2:30pm today.

It was what I gave you last night. Will get sent asap.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 15 14:18:07 2011  
**Subject:** Re: President sleiman can talk at 2:30pm today.

I don't have call sheet--pls have emailed to me. Thx.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 15 13:59:53 2011  
**Subject:** Re: President sleiman can talk at 2:30pm today.

Corker just put a call in. Asking to talk today. I'm getting a call sheet.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 15 13:39:20 2011  
**Subject:** Re: President sleiman can talk at 2:30pm today.

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 15 13:01:33 2011  
**Subject:** President sleiman can talk at 2:30pm today.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 15, 2011 2:50 PM  
**To:** 'sullivanj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'feltmanjd@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Sleiman call

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B5



B5



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, January 16, 2011 7:42 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

What about Corker?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Jan 16 00:08:26 2011  
Subject: Re:

Morjane confirmed for 10:30am.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Jan 15 18:23:31 2011  
Subject: Re:

I'm happy to do tomorrow at his convenience or next week.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Jan 15 18:15:08 2011  
Subject: Re:

Also corker is saying call can wait till tomorrow or next week.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Jan 15 17:24:16 2011  
Subject: Re:

Yes--anytime after 10am.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Jan 15 17:19:25 2011  
Subject:

Can we try for tunisian fm morjane tomorrow? Windows?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, January 16, 2011 10:19 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Cc:** 'feltmanjd@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Re: Morjane call

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

I agree we should [REDACTED]

B5

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sun Jan 16 10:03:07 2011  
**Subject:** Fw: Morjane call

See below from jeff on tunisia call.

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

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sun Jan 16 10:00:34 2011  
**Subject:** Fw: Morjane call

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

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Sent:** Sun Jan 16 09:50:24 2011  
**Subject:** Fw: Morjane call

Huma, per your other email, I checked with Ambassador Gordon Gray and DAS Janet Sanderson. Neither had anything to add to what we've already provided for S call. Besides what we sent forward formally, I am re-sending my email from yesterday, below. In addition, I talked to Tunisian Amb Tekaya this morning. He said FM Morjane looks forward to comparing notes with S, but Tekaya was not aware of any specific "asks."

This won't come up in the call, but S might wish to know this background: Pat Kennedy is recommending [REDACTED]

Jeffrey Feltman

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

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** Sanderson, Janet A  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 15 14:50:41 2011  
**Subject:** Morjane call

Huma, Jake: [REDACTED] We'll be asked about S call to Morjane. Any update on timing we can share?

One thing on elections: presidential elections must happen within 60 days, by the Tunisian constitution. So on that, S should [REDACTED]

But Parliamentary elections aren't specified. S might [REDACTED]

She can say, if she wishes, [REDACTED]

And she should [REDACTED]

She also might want [REDACTED]  
Jeffrey Feltman

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, January 17, 2011 9:59 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: For 4pm today

---

RELEASE IN FULL

Will Marina be ready and there? Also Cheryl and Jake coming too.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Mon Jan 17 09:33:57 2011  
Subject: For 4pm today

Frank ruggiero  
Dan feldman  
Barney rubin  
Vikram singh  
Vali nasr  
Jarrett blanc  
Rina amiri

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, January 17, 2011 10:36 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

Yes if we can minimize time for Tina's.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Mon Jan 17 10:33:29 2011  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

On dvf, as we had briefly discussed, do you want to also do tina browns womens summit? Its a day apart.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Mon Jan 17 10:24:36 2011  
**Subject:** Schedule

I'd like to do a mtg on Central America security on Thursday.

Also, I need a lot of time to meet w Ambos while they are in town for the COM conference.

Bill Daley wants to have drinks or dinner w me as soon as possible this week or next.

Hold the evening of Feb 1 for an event at Evelyn's that Cheryl is organizing.

[REDACTED]

Can you find out if and when it is?

B5

I want to do Diane Von Furstenberg's event in NY on March 12.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, January 17, 2011 11:18 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

No, but I'd like to be there.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>  
Sent: Mon Jan 17 11:11:15 2011  
Subject: Re: Schedule

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

From: H  
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov' <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
Sent: Mon Jan 17 10:24:36 2011  
Subject: Schedule

I'd like to do a mtg on Central America security on Thursday.

Also, I need a lot of time to meet w Ambos while they are in town for the COM conference.

Bill Daley wants to have drinks or dinner w me as soon as possible this week or next.

Hold the evening of Feb 1 for an event at Evelyn's that Cheryl is organizing.

Can you find out if and when it is?

I want to do Diane Von Furstenberg's event in NY on March 12.

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 18, 2011 6:46 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Abz confirmed 7:15am call.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Thx.

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Tue Jan 18 06:30:26 2011

Subject: Abz confirmed 7:15am call

HA 09/01/2015

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 18, 2011 8:51 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Sarge Shriver died

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

Ok.

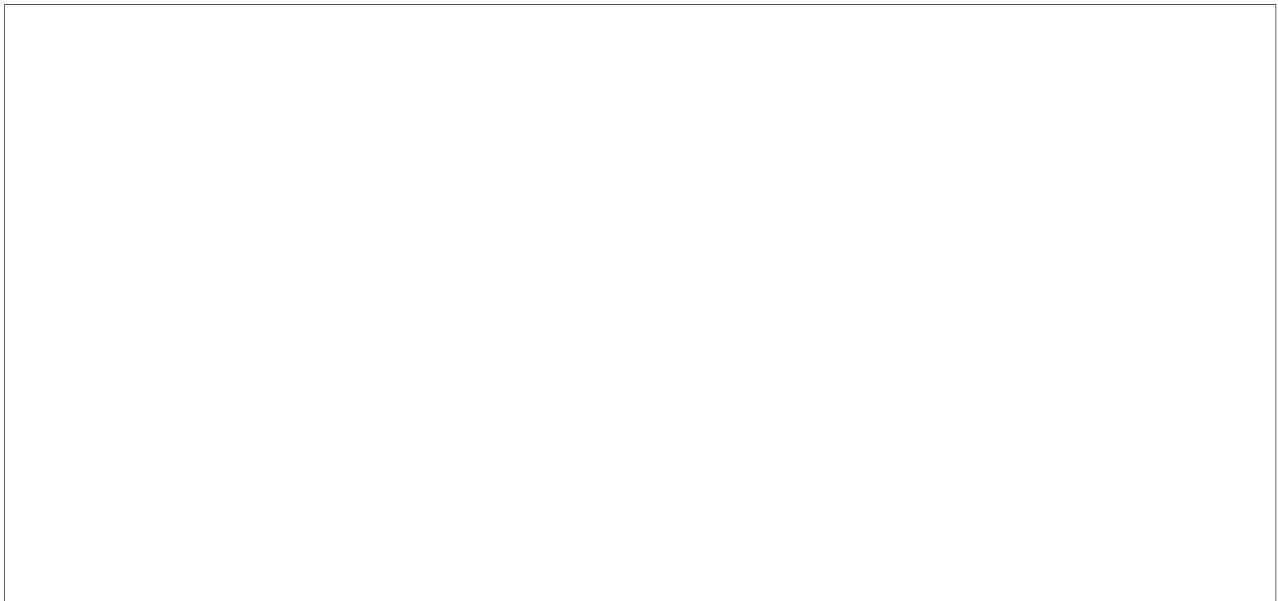
----- Original Message -----

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Tue Jan 18 18:46:07 2011  
Subject: Sarge Shriver died

Service at 10am Saturday in DC. Can you sign off on this joint statement below

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AND SECRETARY CLINTON

The Passing of Sargent Shriver



B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 18, 2011 8:56 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Revised

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Tue Jan 18 20:18:20 2011  
Subject: Revised

Here's what WJC approved:

#### STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AND SECRETARY CLINTON

##### The Passing of Sargent Shriver

We are greatly saddened by the passing of Sargent Shriver. He leaves behind an astonishing legacy of people helped, lives transformed, and communities improved. Through his work and his passion, he helped build a better America and a more humane world. And he did it with boundless enthusiasm, infectious joy, and the deepest love for his family, his nation, and his work

Sarge has been a presence in our lives for decades. We went into public service because of the example of leaders like Sarge, who translated President Kennedy's call to service into action, leading first the Peace Corps and then the War on Poverty. As young activists, we were inspired by his leadership in the McGovern Campaign in 1972. He launched many of the organizations and efforts that became touchstones of our careers, opening access to legal services, child care and jobs for America's working families. For the signing of the bill creating AmeriCorps, he offered the pen that President Kennedy had used to establish the Peace Corps. In 1994, we were honored to welcome Sarge to the White House to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom

Today, as we travel the world, we see Sargent Shriver's lasting influence in the impact made by the nearly 200,000 Americans who have served in the Peace Corps. We see it at Head Start centers and Special Olympics competitions that give children the chance to begin living up to their God-given potential. And we see it in an ethic of service and responsibility that continues to animate Americans of all ages.

Our thoughts and prayers are with the Shriver family, Sarge's many devoted friends, and with the nation that has lost one of its most dedicated champions for equality and opportunity.

###



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 20, 2011 8:00 AM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Call to Ashton on P5+1

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

Yes--pls schedule.

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

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
To: H  
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
Sent: Thu Jan 20 07:51:38 2011  
Subject: Fw: Call to Ashton on P5+1

If you have the time/inclination, your voice is probably most likely to break through with Ashton. Notice below the reference to a regional security working group.

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

From: Catalano, Elisa  
To: Sullivan, Jacob J  
Cc: Einhorn, Robert J  
Sent: Thu Jan 20 02:07:40 2011  
Subject: Call to Ashton on P5+1

Hi Jake,

We discussed with Bill the benefits of a call to Ashton from the Secretary in advance of the Istanbul meetings (we are in transit now) I don't know if her schedule allows, given the Lebanon and other calls I know are in the queue. But if possible to do today, some points below.

Elisa

Points:

B5

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 20, 2011 5:27 PM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Draft sked for Europe trip  
**Attach:** Draft Sked 1-20.docx

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

---

**From:** Moy, Kin W  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Cc:** Valmoro, Lona J  
**Sent:** Thu Jan 20 17:18:08 2011  
**Subject:** Draft sked for Europe trip

Huma,

Here is a very early take on the Europe schedule. These stops may not even be in the right order. Just thought you might like to see the possible events the bureau is thinking of...km

{ DATE \@ "MMMM d, yyyy" } { DATE \@ "h:mm am/pm" }

**Notional Schedule for the Visit of Secretary Clinton  
to Germany, Greece, and Turkey  
February 4-9, 2011**

RELEASE IN PART B5

B5



**SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, January 21, 2011 7:21 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Peres confirmed for 7:30am.

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL

I will be a little late so tell ops not to try to connect until btw 7:35-:40.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Jan 21 07:18:29 2011  
Subject: Peres confirmed for 7:30am.

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, January 21, 2011 11:21 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Ankara Hotel

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

---

**From:** Lukens, Lewis A  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Sent:** Fri Jan 21 11:08:20 2011  
**Subject:** Ankara Hotel

The Sheraton is also available if you prefer that over the Hilton.

<http://www.starwoodhotels.com/luxury/property/overview/index.html?propertyID=331>

This is where we stayed on our previous trip to Ankara.

Post suggests the Sheraton and Hilton are pretty similar – there are no real “luxury” hotels in Ankara.

If we are going to go with the Sheraton over the Hilton I need to let post know by Sunday night our time.

Thanks

Lewis Lukens  
Deputy Executive Secretary and  
Executive Director, Executive Secretariat  
US Department of State

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 22, 2011 8:30 AM  
**To:** 'CampbellKM@state.gov'  
**Cc:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Burma's Suu Kyi going online after detention (AP)

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Kurt--

When I spoke w ASSK, she mentioned she would be going online and asked for our help in getting good advice about what and how to do it. What about asking Alec Ross to work w your team to design apps and other tools for her and take Alec or someone from his team when you next go--which, as I told you, she is eagerly anticipating.

Again, thx for ALL you're doing and the results your leadership is producing. All the best--H

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

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 22 07:47:09 2011  
**Subject:** Fw: Burma's Suu Kyi going online after detention (AP)

---

**From:** OpsNewsTicker@state.gov <OpsNewsTicker@state.gov>  
**To:** NEWS-EAP, NEWS-DRL; NEWS-Mahogany; NEWS-R  
**Cc:** SES-O\_Shift-I; SES-O\_OS; SES-O\_CMS  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 22 01:37:48 2011  
**Subject:** Burma's Suu Kyi going online after detention (AP)

RANOON (AP) - Burma's pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi is ready to go online after years of detention when the military regime allowed her virtually no contact with the outside world.

The Nobel Peace Prize laureate was released from seven years of house arrest in November.

Her security chief Win Htein said she has been allowed Internet access and will begin to broaden her domestic and international contacts online after recovering from a cold and cough.

He says that she may even be tweeting soon.

NewsTickers alert senior Department officials to breaking news. This product reflects the gist of the stories as presented in their original publications and does not contain analysis or commentary by Department sources.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 22, 2011 10:35 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Bill burns asking to talk. Tunisian Pm still at 10:30.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Does he need to talk before Tunisian PM?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Jan 22 10:11:22 2011  
Subject: Bill burns asking to talk. Tunisian Pm still at 10:30.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 22, 2011 11:01 AM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Calls

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I got call sheets for Muallem, Queresu and Kayani. Is there agreement I should do all of them?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 22, 2011 5:10 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Muallim has been cleared and we have new call sheet coming. What time do u want to do?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Let's try for 9am.

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Sat Jan 22 17:00:24 2011

Subject: Muallim has been cleared and we have new call sheet coming. What time do u want to do?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 22, 2011 8:59 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: GOM has now officially proposed meeting with Calderon

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Did you hear this?

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

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Jan 22 20:42:36 2011  
Subject: Fw: GOM has now officially proposed meeting with Calderon

Fyi

From: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)  
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Bennett, Virginia L; Meehan, Bernadette M  
Cc: Valenzuela, Arturo A; Jacobson, Roberta S; Rooney, Matthew M; Feeley, John D (Mexico City); 'Daniel\_A.\_Restrepo' <[REDACTED]>  
<Daniel\_A.\_Restrepo> <[REDACTED]>

Sent: Sat Jan 22 20:38:33 2011  
Subject: Fw: GOM has now officially proposed meeting with Calderon

-----  
This message has been sent via BlackBerry  
-----

From: Carlos Pascual <[REDACTED]>  
To: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)  
Sent: Sat Jan 22 19:34:16 2011  
Subject: GOM has now officially proposed meeting with Calderon

SRE has just called me and proposed a meeting with President Calderon.

The are suggesting a meeting in Mexico City at 7:30 for 30 minutes. The purpose would be to report on the results of the meeting in Guanajuato.

The participants would be Calderon, the Secretary, Espinosa and the two ambassadors.

To accommodate this, the GOM proposes to reduce the time for the first meeting bloc in Guanajuato and to shorten the press conference.

Assuming this is agreeable, I would ask that Bernadette work out the schedule changes with the advance team in Guanajuato.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, January 23, 2011 12:53 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Few things

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

I'd like to call Bill after I get home tonight or tomorrow from plane--his choice.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Jan 23 10:30:01 2011  
Subject: Few things

- the pc prep call you asked for is on schedule for 6pm drive to lga.
- [redacted] Aiming for 9am wheels up as we discussed.
- bill burns checked in on secure call you discussed. He can do anytime after 430 today. Or tomorrow from your plane. What do you prefer?
- there's a secure fax coming at 11 today. Includes carlos note on calderon (he wrote it before meeting was confirmed) and an updated strap memo

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, January 23, 2011 3:19 PM  
**To:** 'ValmorolJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Cc:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

If we go to Paris, [REDACTED]

B6

Also, if we go to Paris, I assume I will come back that same night. If that's right, can I either land at Westchester or fly up from Andrews?

If I don't go to Paris, how will we add one more trip since I doubt I can go to Haiti?

Are we now thinking of flying to Munich Thursday night instead of Fri morning?

When I go to Hawaii for APEC, [REDACTED] Huma has contact info.

Is there a set date for the Friends of Yemen in Saudi Arabia?

Are we still thinking of a speech about Latin America? If so, should do before mid-March What's status of Brookings event for former Lat Am leaders?

Sending you copy of letter from Dick Blum inviting me to speak at his poverty center at Berkeley

Also need to find out dates for Japanese PM visit from WH.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, January 23, 2011 4:21 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Mexico

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Great to have Lona come.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Jan 23 16:17:01 2011  
Subject: Mexico

- we will do secure call with bill burns from plane tomorrow  
- I'm sending latest draft of schedule to you. It includes calderon which means you land at 1:30am. Its a meeting, press avail and lunch. We added a cnn and televisa interview. And you are stopping at a church at patricias request for a quick photo.

- hope its ok but I want to send Lona tomorrow. Its such a simple trip and since its a day trip, she can leave her family, and she's very excited about it. So it will be lona and monica. I'm going to do europe meetings tomorrow

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, January 24, 2011 2:35 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Ok but don't let plan b look hokey or made up for another reason or we will be criticized (and maybe ridiculed).



B6

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Mon Jan 24 14:17:30 2011  
**Subject:**



also, talked to jeff a little while ago. paris doesnt look good. so i am slowly moving to plan b



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 27, 2011 9:12 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Also, menon hasn't made it into town yet. Flight got diverted.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Is he expected during the day? in time for dinner?

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Thu Jan 27 09:08:44 2011

Subject: Also, menon hasn't made it into town yet. Flight got diverted.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 27, 2011 9:13 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Haiti

RELEASE IN  
FULL

What time do we leave?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Thu Jan 27 09:12:09 2011  
Subject: Re: Haiti

Yes and yes.

Seems like we have a good day to put together

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Thu Jan 27 09:11:20 2011  
Subject: Re: Haiti

So we'll go Sunday? Wil CDM go?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Thu Jan 27 09:08:05 2011  
Subject: Haiti

Its confirmed. I'm sure cdm will give you more info and I will also fill you in. Sunday better so we are confirming.

HA 00/01/2015

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 27, 2011 9:21 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Announcement

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

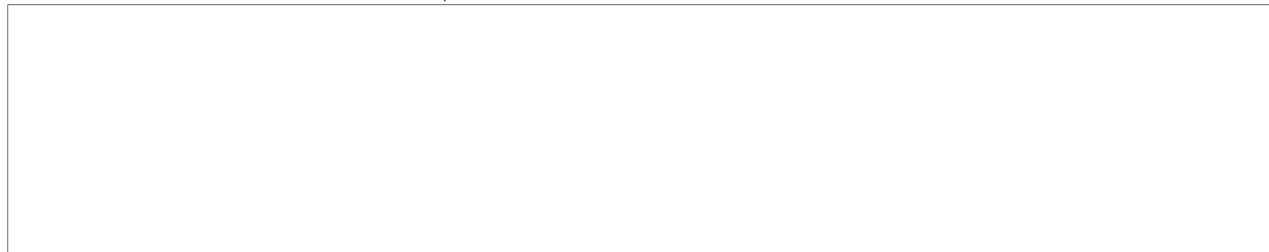
Did you see this?

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

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
To: H  
Sent: Thu Jan 27 20:57:32 2011  
Subject: FW: Announcement

From: Hyde, Dana  
Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2011 7:46 PM  
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Nides, Thomas R  
Subject: FW: Announcement

From: Daley, William  
Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2011 3:54 PM  
To: DL-EOP-ALL  
Subject: Announcement



B5

Below are the names and titles of those assuming new roles:

- Ron Bloom, Assistant to the President for Manufacturing Policy (National Economic Council)
- Jay Carney, Assistant to the President and Press Secretary
- Stephanie Cutter, Assistant to the President and Deputy Senior Advisor
- Nancy-Ann DeParle, Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy
- David Lane, Assistant to the President and Counselor to the Chief of Staff
- Alyssa Mastromonaco, Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations

Rob Nabors, Assistant to the President and Director of Legislative Affairs

Emmett Beliveau, Deputy Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff to the Chief of Staff

Jon Carson, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Public Engagement

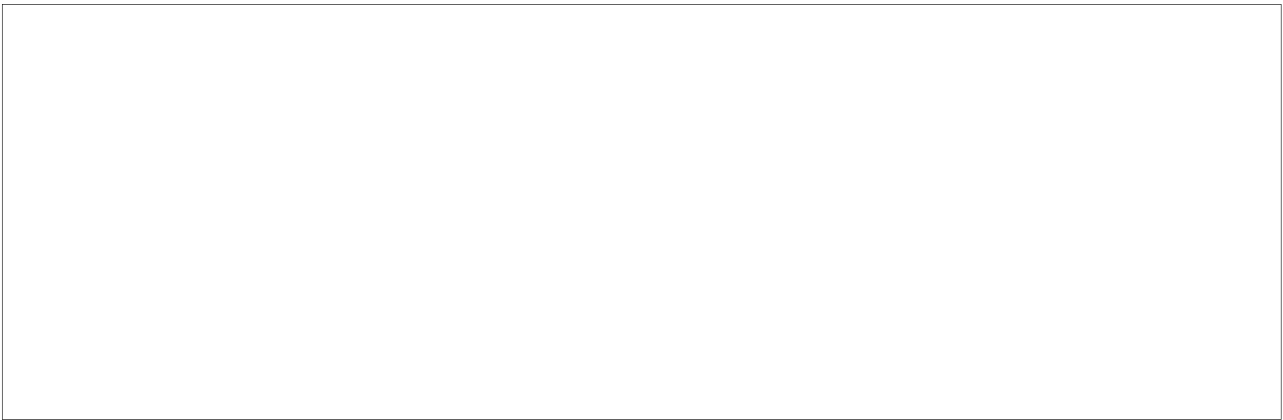
Danielle Crutchfield, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Scheduling and Advance

David Cusack, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Advance

Mike Strautmanis, Deputy Assistant to the President and Counselor for Strategic Engagement to the Senior Advisor

Jessica Wright, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Scheduling

Brian Deese, Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of the National Economic Council



B5

-Bill

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, January 28, 2011 8:21 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Saturday

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok. I told Jake I would do an 8am call re Egypt w Burns, Feltmann etc.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Jan 28 19:54:58 2011  
Subject: Re: Saturday

no word back

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Fri Jan 28 19:53:03 2011  
Subject: Re: Saturday

Should I call him?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Jan 28 17:52:50 2011  
Subject: RE: Saturday

kerry? will do. hes in davos so he may be sleeping by then but will convey

---

From: H  
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2011 5:51 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Saturday

Tell his office I will call btw 7-8 thru ops.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Jan 28 17:46:39 2011  
Subject: RE: Saturday

call sheet is in chappaqua already, oscar should have printed same with regular call sheet. kerry just called again for you.

---

From: H  
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2011 5:45 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Saturday

What about 8:45am? Will I get call sheet tomorrow?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: Oscar Flores; H

Sent: Fri Jan 28 17:39:23 2011  
Subject: RE: Saturday

thanks oscar. patriota can no longer do 11, hes traveling.  
offering anytime before 10am.  
or between 1pm and 2:30.  
or between 8:30pm and 9:30pm  
anything work?

---

From: Oscar Flores  
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2011 5:35 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Fw: Saturday

----- Original Message -----  
From: H  
To: Oscar Flores  
Sent: Fri Jan 28 17:34:35 2011  
Subject: Re: Saturday

Then ok to do Patriota at 11.

----- Original Message -----  
From: Oscar Flores  
To: H  
Cc: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Fri Jan 28 17:33:10 2011  
Subject: Saturday

Marianne coming at 2p

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 29, 2011 7:13 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Sunday shows

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Let's do 1. And I'll leave NY btw 9- 10pm. What time do I have to be in chair for shows?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Jan 28 23:32:41 2011  
**Subject:** Sunday shows

We have a few options. Do u have a strong preference?

1. Fly to dc late sat on govt plane. [redacted] come to whitehaven. We tape all 5 shows at state dept, then you go to andrews.
2. Tape shows in chappaqua. We can get local ny crews, philippe can come up and we find [redacted] to come to house
3. We tape shows at andrews sunday morning before you take off for haiti. I can send [redacted] to andrews.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 29, 2011 7:13 AM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Do we have any overnight reports about Egypt?

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 29, 2011 8:27 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Margaret scobey is getting on call too fyi.

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL

Who do you know who knows Gamal?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Jan 29 08:03:32 2011  
Subject: Margaret scobey is getting on call too fyi.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 29, 2011 8:42 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: 8:45 Patriota. reminder [REDACTED] was moved to 9:30.

---

B5

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

Pls call me asap.

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Sat Jan 29 08:29:40 2011

Subject: 8:45 Patriota. reminder [REDACTED] was moved to 9:30.

RELEASE  
IN FULL

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 29, 2011 11:36 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Netanyahu asking for 2:30 instead. You want to talk to him? I've alerted team too.

---

Ok for 2:30.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Jan 29 11:35:34 2011  
Subject: Netanyahu asking for 2:30 instead. You want to talk to him? I've alerted team too.

RELEASE IN  
FULL

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 29, 2011 2:20 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Bibi late. Needs till 2:40pm.

---

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Jan 29 14:17:11 2011  
**Subject:** Bibi late. Needs till 2:40pm.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 29, 2011 2:23 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Bibi late. Needs till 2:40pm.

RELEASE  
IN FULL

---

Ok but I have other mtg at 3 so have to do if possible in 20 minutes.

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Sat Jan 29 14:17:11 2011

Subject: Bibi late. Needs till 2:40pm.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, January 29, 2011 9:39 PM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Cc:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

Geithner asked that we meet soon to plan for the next S&ED w Chinese. I agree we should as soon as possible.

I have to have time w Merkel when she comes both to meet w her

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 1, 2011 4:57 PM  
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'; 'ColemanCL@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** I'm on my way back for Bill Brownfield.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 1, 2011 9:54 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

When will I know if I will speak to either?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Feb 01 21:50:31 2011  
**Subject:** Tomorrow

- Jake suggested calling both Zardari and Qureshi so we offered morning times. You have call sheets for both in your book.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 2, 2011 7:45 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Zardari call

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

I need to see Amb Munter today.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov' <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
Sent: Wed Feb 02 07:42:10 2011  
Subject: Re: Zardari call

Jake I'm sure knows but ill call .

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

From: H  
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov' <sullivanjj@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
Sent: Wed Feb 02 07:32:40 2011  
Subject: Zardari call

What was outcome of mtg btw Pak Amb [REDACTED] and Munter last night? Zardari is talking about it and I don't know what he is referencing.

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 3, 2011 7:48 AM  
**To:** 'millsd@state.gov'; 'toivnf@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Town Hall

---

RELEASE IN FULL

I think Raj should have a seat at the table on stage.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, February 4, 2011 6:42 PM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Jake - DS says hrc is looking for you. Go to suite.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Not necessary. Pls just come at 7:30 for a pre-pre-brief Thx.

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

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
To: Huma Abedin, H  
Sent: Fri Feb 04 18:13:48 2011  
Subject: Re: Jake - DS says hrc is looking for you. Go to suite.

On phone - will go up in 5 or so.

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

From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
To: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; Sullivan, Jacob J  
Sent: Fri Feb 04 18:04:55 2011  
Subject: Jake - DS says hrc is looking for you Go to suite.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, February 4, 2011 6:43 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Jake - DS says hrc is looking for you. Go to suite.

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL

Huma--pls be sure I'm up at 6am. Thx.

Anything I need to know before calling it a night?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov' <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
Sent: Fri Feb 04 18:04:55 2011  
Subject: Jake - DS says hrc is looking for you. Go to suite.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 8, 2011 6:40 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: thoughts on Egypt, middle east protests more generally, china and middle east peace (in under 2 pp)  
**Attach:** Egypt.docx

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print.

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

**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter <[REDACTED]>  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tue Feb 08 17:18:11 2011  
**Subject:** thoughts on Egypt, middle east protests more generally, china and middle east peace (in under 2 pp)

To: S

From: Anne-Marie

Date: Feb. 8, 2011

Re: Egypt, State-Society Relations, China, and Middle East Peace

As I look at Egypt and related protests around the region, I think we are focusing on the wrong things and missing a big opportunity. We are focusing on "who" and "when" – Mubarak v. someone else, transition now v September. We should instead be focusing on the "what" – what any government must deliver to be acceptable. POTUS set the stage for this position in his emphasis on open government in his UNGA address: "As I said last year, each country will pursue a path rooted in the culture of its own people. Yet experience shows us that history is on the side of liberty; that the strongest foundation for human progress lies in open economies, open societies, and open governments." The WH is now pursuing an open government initiative (which Samantha would really like State to own, as we should, since the basic ideas came from Alec and me) that defines open government in terms of transparency, accountability, and citizen participation. That fits very well with what the Egyptian protesters are demanding. Our position should be that regardless who is in power, Mubarak, Suleiman, or anyone else, they have to deliver on these three principles. We will hold them to it, measure it, and respond accordingly. The protesters believe Mubarak won't do it, so they want him out. We (and the EU and any other governments we can get to support this position) should say that our support for any government is based on its actual record of delivering on these commitments. If Mubarak can deliver and then leave with dignity in September, so much the better. If he can't, then we are making it known that this is the yardstick by which he and anyone in his position must measure our support. That means we will review assistance, arms sales, political support, etc.

This position is completely consistent with your consistent focus both on the people and on their relationship with their governments. It's not about the government or the people, but rather about the relationship between them. That is exactly what you said in Doha: "I believe that the leaders of this region, in partnership with their people, have the capacity to build that stronger foundation. There are enough models and examples in the region to point to, to make the economic and social reforms that will create jobs, respect the right of diversity to exist, create more economic opportunity, encourage entrepreneurship, give citizens the skills they need to succeed, to make the political reforms that will create the space young people are demanding, to participate in public affairs and have a meaningful role in the decisions that shape their lives." Indeed, I think it's time to enunciate a "Clinton Doctrine," which brings together the world of states and the world of societies that I was talking about in my farewell remarks – your emphasis on development, women, Internet freedom, 21st century statecraft, and public-private partnerships are all about a relationships between governments and their citizens that deliver for their people (I'd be happy to write that up in a separate memo .....:-)). If this is the tide of history, then you are perfectly positioned to ride the wave.

This position has a number of advantages. First, it can remain constant across all the countries of the region, whereas the "who" and the "when" will vary country by country. Second, we can start getting very concrete, looking at things that governments have done successfully in the region to empower their people, fight corruption, expand opportunity, etc and emphasizing those as evidence that governments can deliver. Third, we can emphasize that a transparent, accountable, and participatory government is the best bulwark against extremism, thereby putting the onus of blocking violent extremism on what governments actually deliver. Fourth, taking this

B6

position puts us in the best strategic position vis-à-vis China, which will become increasingly relevant as these protests spread to African countries (already happening in Sudan). We want to frame the debate as “who stands with the people in terms of their right to connect, right to basic services from their government, transparency, and accountability versus the Chinese position of “assistance with no strings attached.” What they portray as a violation of sovereignty or interference in domestic affairs” is in fact insisting on a relationship between a government and its people based on universal rules and rights.

Now is also the time to play up the many things we are doing to fight corruption. Your OECD speech in May was already going to focus on anti-corruption and domestic finance for development, but it’s time to start owning this agenda more now, talking about the percentage of taxes the Egyptian elite pay, for instance, just as you did in Pakistan, and celebrating specific anti-corruption measures (like putting civic licensing-obtaining records and permissions of various kinds—on line) that governments in various Indian provinces have taken. Peter Harrell has been pushing an anti-corruption fund with Tom Nides and doing a lot of work on this issue with Jeremy Weinstein at the White House. Great opportunity to put a major collaborative network together with both NGOs and American corporations who chafe at the restrictions they are under versus the much looser restrictions on their foreign competitors.

Finally, and I know that I am ever the optimist, I think this is the time to change the game on Middle East Peace. We should come out and say that Israel and Palestine now have the opportunity to be an island of prosperity and stability in a turbulent sea, and an example of open societies, open economies, and open governments for others in the region. Now is the time to go for broke – we are not going to be able to hold back these massive floods of political, economic, and social aspirations which have been dammed up for decades. We need to get ahead of them, creating channels for to guide their path. If we stick to endless incrementalism, we’re done. It’s ironic that you should be the one pushing POTUS on this, but it’s the right thing to do (and not a bad story). That’s what leadership means – shaping, influencing, making our own luck. Making that push will also help us with protesters/societies around the region as we would be removing one of the standard ways their governments deflect attention from their own bad performance. Given how turbulent everything is, everyone’s instincts are to hunker down rather than introducing yet another variable into the equation. But we can turn all this turbulence to our advantage, particularly with both Israeli and Palestinian leaders who think their days in office are numbered. Netanyahu may be riding high, but the pictures of young secular Arabs demanding basic rights and freedoms is going to undermine the Likud narrative of fear pretty quickly.

AM

To: S

From: Anne-Marie

Date: Feb. 8, 2011

Re: Egypt, State-Society Relations, China, and Middle East Peace

RELEASE IN  
FULL

As I look at Egypt and related protests around the region, I think we are focusing on the wrong things and missing a big opportunity. We are focusing on “who” and “when” – Mubarak v. someone else, transition now v September. We should instead be focusing on the “**what**” – what any government must deliver to be acceptable. POTUS set the stage for this position in his emphasis on open government in his UNGA address: “As I said last year, each country will pursue a path rooted in the culture of its own people. Yet experience shows us that history is on the side of liberty; that the strongest foundation for human progress lies in open economies, open societies, and open governments.” The WH is now pursuing an open government initiative (which Samantha would really like State to own, as we should, since the basic ideas came from Alec and me) that defines open government in terms of **transparency, accountability, and citizen participation**. That fits very well with what the Egyptian protesters are demanding. **Our position should be that regardless who is in power, Mubarak, Suleiman, or anyone else, they have to deliver on these three principles. We will hold them to it, measure it, and respond accordingly.** The protesters believe Mubarak won’t do it, so they want him out. We (and the EU and any other governments we can get to support this position) should say that our support for any government is based on its actual record of delivering on these commitments. If Mubarak can deliver and then leave with dignity in September, so much the better. If he can’t, then we are making it known that this is the yardstick by which he and anyone in his position must measure our support. That means we will review assistance, arms sales, political support, etc.

This position is completely consistent with your consistent focus both on the people **and on their relationship with their governments**. It’s not about the government or the people, but rather about the relationship between them. That is exactly what you said in Doha: “I believe that the leaders of this region, in partnership with their people, have the capacity to build that stronger foundation. There are enough models and examples in the region to point to, to make the economic and social reforms that will create jobs, respect the right of diversity to exist, create more economic opportunity, encourage entrepreneurship, give citizens the skills they need to succeed, to make the political reforms that will create the space young people are demanding, to participate in public affairs and have a meaningful role in the decisions that shape their lives.” Indeed, I think it’s time to enunciate a “Clinton Doctrine,” which brings together the world of states and the world of societies that I was talking about in my farewell remarks – your emphasis on development, women, Internet freedom, 21<sup>st</sup> century statecraft, and public-private partnerships are all about a relationships between governments and their citizens that deliver for their people (I’d be happy to write that up in a separate memo .....)). If this is the tide of history, then you are perfectly positioned to ride the wave.

This position has a number of advantages. First, it can remain constant across all the countries of the region, whereas the “who” and the “when” will vary country by country. Second, we can start getting very concrete, looking at things that governments have done successfully in the

region to empower their people, fight corruption, expand opportunity, etc and emphasizing those as evidence that governments can deliver. Third, we can emphasize that a transparent, accountable, and participatory government is the best bulwark against extremism, thereby putting the onus of blocking violent extremism on **what** governments actually deliver. Fourth, taking this position puts us **in the best strategic position vis-à-vis China**, which will become increasingly relevant as these protests spread to African countries (already happening in Sudan). We want to frame the debate as “who stands with the people in terms of their right to connect, right to basic services from their government, transparency, and accountability versus the Chinese position of “assistance with no strings attached.” What they portray as a violation of sovereignty or interference in domestic affairs” is in fact insisting on a relationship between a government and its people based on universal rules and rights.

Now is also the time to **play up the many things we are doing to fight corruption**. Your OECD speech in May was already going to focus on anti-corruption and domestic finance for development, but it's time to start owning this agenda more now, talking about the percentage of taxes the Egyptian elite pay, for instance, just as you did in Pakistan, and celebrating specific anti-corruption measures (like putting civic licensing-obtaining records and permissions of various kinds—on line) that governments in various Indian provinces have taken. Peter Harrell has been pushing an anti-corruption fund with Tom Nides and doing a lot of work on this issue with Jeremy Weinstein at the White House. Great opportunity to put a major collaborative network together with both NGOs and American corporations who chafe at the restrictions they are under versus the much looser restrictions on their foreign competitors.

Finally, and I know that I am ever the optimist, I think **this is the time to change the game on Middle East Peace**. We should come out and say that Israel and Palestine now have the opportunity to be an island of prosperity and stability in a turbulent sea, and an example of open societies, open economies, and open governments for others in the region. Now is the time to go for broke – we are not going to be able to hold back these massive floods of political, economic, and social aspirations which have been dammed up for decades. We need to get ahead of them, creating channels for to guide their path. If we stick to endless incrementalism, we're done. It's ironic that you should be the one pushing POTUS on this, but it's the right thing to do (and not a bad story). That's what leadership means – shaping, influencing, making our own luck. Making that push will also help us with protesters/societies around the region as we would be removing one of the standard ways their governments deflect attention from their own bad performance. Given how turbulent everything is, everyone's instincts are to hunker down rather than introducing yet another variable into the equation. But we can turn all this turbulence to our advantage, particularly with both Israeli and Palestinian leaders who think their days in office are numbered. Netanyahu may be riding high, but the pictures of young secular Arabs demanding basic rights and freedoms is going to undermine the Likud narrative of fear pretty quickly.



**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Friday, February 11, 2011 7:27 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Marina Print  
**Attach:** Note to S on Asia Society.docx

---

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

---

**From:** Schwerin, Daniel B  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; S\_SpecialAssistants  
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Daniel, Joshua J  
**Sent:** Thu Feb 10 21:14:07 2011  
**Subject:** Paper for Friday speech prep

Huma & Specials, here is paper for tomorrow's speech prep meeting. It would be great if she has a chance to see beforehand.

Thanks  
Dan

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**TO: Secretary Clinton**  
**FROM: Dan Schwerin and Josh Daniel**  
**RE: Speech to the Asia Society**  
**DATE: February 10, 2010**

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

You are scheduled to deliver the first Richard C. Holbrooke Memorial Address at the Asia Society in New York on February 18. We see this



B5

**Page Denied**

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, February 11, 2011 7:54 AM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Shuttle

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

I just looked at the schedule and [REDACTED] so I think I will need flexibility from 4-7 since I'm not sure how long I will need to be there. Can we do that?

B5

**From:** tara.maller [redacted] on behalf of  
Tara Maller <[redacted]>  
**Sent:** Friday, February 11, 2011 10:44 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [redacted]  
**Subject:** former HRC intern - dissertation research

B6

**RELEASE IN  
PART B6**

Huma,

I hope all is well with you. Congratulations on your recent marriage. Back in 2001 and 2002, I interned back in the Secretary Clinton's Senate office and I figured I would reach out to you since you are currently over at State. After a couple of years working in the intelligence community, I'm currently finishing up my Ph.D. in MIT's Department of Political Science and I'm a Research Fellow at the Belfer Center at Harvard's Kennedy School. My short bio can be found at: [http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/experts/2227/tara\\_maller.html](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/experts/2227/tara_maller.html). I am emailing because I'm currently in the process of arranging meetings around Washington to brief my research findings and talk to people about my work. I've already met with a number of people over at State this summer and fall, including Peter Harrell on the Policy Planning Staff. However, I think the Secretary and/or others on her staff might be interested in my research, as it is strongly related to the mission of the State Department.

As background, my dissertation, "Diplomacy Derailed: The Consequences of U.S. Disengagement on Sanctions and Foreign Policy," develops and tests a new theory of sanctions' effectiveness. Specifically, I hypothesize that when the sanctioning sender state (I focus on the U.S.) has a greater degree of intelligence, communication and diplomatic ties with the target state, sanctions are more likely to be effective in getting the target state to comply with sender demands. The dissertation aims to construct a more comprehensive theory of sanctions' effectiveness by analyzing both economic and diplomatic sanctions. The research sheds light on the benefits of diplomatic engagement and highlights the serious consequences of shutting down embassies abroad and disengaging. The research employs a statistical analysis of newly collected data on U.S. sanctions and I'm also conducting case studies of sanctions episodes (my two comprehensive case studies focus on Sudan and Libya). An article related to my research was recently published in the July 2010 issue of *The Washington Quarterly* and I've already briefed elements of my research at MIT, Harvard, RAND, State, Treasury, academic conferences and to various members of the DC policy community.

If you don't handle these sorts of requests, but could point me in the right direction, I would greatly appreciate it. Thank you very much for your time. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,  
Tara Maller

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, February 11, 2011 3:15 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Shuttle

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Just left the WH to take the 4.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, February 11, 2011 5:58 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Westerwelle delayed. Can u do 6:20?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Feb 11 17:56:30 2011  
**Subject:** Westerwelle delayed. Can u do 6:20?

RELEASE IN  
FULL

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, February 11, 2011 7:14 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Lieberman can't talk cause its shabbat. They said they could interrupt if its an emergency.

---

No I was just returning his call.

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Fri Feb 11 19:13:28 2011

Subject: Lieberman can't talk cause its shabbat. They said they could interrupt if its an emergency



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, February 12, 2011 10:06 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Calls

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

I'd like to do the calls early tomorrow morning from 8am to noon if you can start reaching out but exclude Westerwelle who I spoke w last night and hold on Japan and China.

And I'd like to take the 4 or 5 shuttle tomorrow.

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, February 12, 2011 7:36 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Krishna

---

Ok to schedule.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sat Feb 12 19:07:49 2011  
**Subject:** Krishna

he called asking to talk today or tomorrow H is in NYC for a meeting of G-4 Foreign Ministers and to participate at Brazil's request in a UNSC discussion of security and development. requesting brief talk prior to his departure from NY "to say hello since he is in the USA; nothing too specific or detailed to raise."

Bob Blake suggests would be good to take, you could tell Krishna [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, February 12, 2011 7:45 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: update

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok to 5.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Feb 12 19:38:18 2011  
Subject: RE: update

we are still waiting on several to confirm

- AG
- ashton
- dav: although hes en route iran so thats unlikely
- king mohammed
- alliot marie

Right now, on the 5pm. is that ok?

---

From: H  
Sent: Saturday, February 12, 2011 7:37 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: update

Is that it or are you still reaching out? I could go until 1. Which shuttle am I on?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Feb 12 19:20:26 2011  
Subject: update

latest on calls for tomorrow, will send you full list tonite. As for call sheets, will send you separate call sheet for AG and Papandreou. The rest are the same set of talking points i faxed you this morning, let me know if you need resent.

- 8: FM bin Zayed al-Nahyan
- 8:30: Minister Krishna (in New York) - not totally locked yet, he is available then
- 9:30: PM Papandreou
- 11:00: Foreign Secretary Hague
- 11:45: FM Frattini
- 12: President Abbas

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
Sent: Saturday, February 12, 2011 7:46 PM  
To: 'preines [redacted]'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'  
Subject: Re: "Webchat"

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Let's just do the three standard interviews at State on Monday and figure out how to do the webchat later.

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

From: PIR <[redacted]>  
To: H  
Cc: Huma Abedin; CEA <caroline.adler [redacted]>; Lona Valmoro <[redacted]>  
Sent: Sat Feb 12 19:40:53 2011  
Subject: Re: "Webchat"

MS -

In trying to build this new media event we've encountered two production/technical issues: 1) you need to be at Aljazeera's DC studio 2) it needs to be in the 45 minute range. On #2, I know from Huma that you see this as something that lasts 30 minutes tops. Assuming that's still the case, what I'd do is go back to AJ, tell them we can do it there but it needs to be 30 mins max, otherwise we can't do it. If they say yes, great, if not, we can instead just tape three straight up interviews with Aljazeera, Alarabiya, Alhurra on Monday, and then work on a simplified new media event for sometime later in the week - maybe Tuesday tied to the Internet Freedom speech.

Philippe

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

From: "PIR" <[redacted]>  
Date: Sat, 12 Feb 2011 00:52:35  
To: Evergreen<HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
Reply-To: preines [redacted]  
Cc: Huma Abedin<Huma@clintonemail.com>; Jake Sullivan<jake.sullivan [redacted]>  
Subject: Re: "Webchat"

Good, thank you

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

From: Evergreen  
To: PIR  
Cc: Huma Abedin  
Cc: Jake Sullivan  
Subject: Re: "Webchat"  
Sent: Feb 11, 2011 7:51 PM

Ok I'll do it.

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

From: PIR <[redacted]>  
To: H  
Cc: Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan <jake.sullivan [redacted]>  
Sent: Fri Feb 11 19:48:16 2011  
Subject: Re: "Webchat"

We are still working out the technical details, but you'd be sitting with an Aljazeera correspondent (Ibrahim who has interviews you 3 times and was supposed to on Thursday). He would present the Qs to you, either by reading them to you, or showing you the recorded question on a monitor. We'd do this in the State studio

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

From: Evergreen  
To: PIR  
Cc: Huma Abedin

Cc: Jake Sullivan  
Subject: Re: "Webchat"  
Sent: Feb 11, 2011 7:45 PM

How exactly would it work? Who would be in the room w me when I answered?

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

From: PIR [redacted]

To: H

Cc: Huma Abedin; Jake Sullivan [redacted]

Sent: Fri Feb 11 19:36:14 2011

Subject: "Webchat"

MS -

To follow up on our conversation the other day about doing something webby related to Egypt, we'd like to on Monday set up a session where you answer questions that have been culled through new media (youtube, Twitter, etc). We'd partner with Aljazeera who would solicit, choose and pose the questions to you.

Philippe

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 13, 2011 8:00 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Reminder- [redacted] points

B1  
1.4(D)

RELEASE IN  
PART  
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

I did not receive specific call sheets by fax. I have the general one you gave me Fri night and the emailed points like this and one for AG.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sun Feb 13 07:33:14 2011  
**Subject:** Reminder- [redacted] points

B1  
1.4(D)

From Jeff, he wants to talk to you about the following:

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

1. Pakistan. [redacted]

2. GCC ministerial with S. He's able to think about this again [redacted]

3. Settlement UNSCR. [redacted]  
[redacted]

4. Egypt and what he's hearing from sub-Saharan Africa. [redacted]

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)  
B5

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 09/30/2015 ~ Class:  
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
02/11/2026

RELEASE IN FULL

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 13, 2011 9:59 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: A new call

---

Move to 4:30 or 5 if possible.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Feb 13 09:58:28 2011  
Subject: Re: A new call

Leave susan rice for 4pm? Or move to 5?

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sun Feb 13 09:57:50 2011  
Subject: Re: A new call

Yes.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Feb 13 09:56:03 2011  
Subject: Re: A new call

6 has a couple seats left in 1st class. You want to take?

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sun Feb 13 05:01:10 2011  
Subject: Re: A new call

What about the 6? Or the 4?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Feb 12 23:23:34 2011  
Subject: Re: A new call

Offered 4pm to susan.  
There is no first class right now on 5pm shuttle, mario is working on it.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Feb 12 20:48:31 2011  
Subject: Re: A new call

I will talk to her on the way to the airport--4pm-- unless she wants it secure.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Feb 12 20:24:27 2011  
Subject: A new call

Susan rice asking to talk to you tomorrow about ME UNSCR. She's free from 2-6. Let me know what you want to do.

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 13, 2011 12:01 PM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'preines'; 'millsd@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: egypt and china -- something worth reading

B6

AMS is right and we have several opportunities this week--interviews tomorrow, Civil Society event, internet and AfPak speeches.

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

**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter < >  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Sun Feb 13 11:56:51 2011  
**Subject:** RE: egypt and china -- something worth reading

You're most welcome. Reading the NYT account this morning re different factions over Egypt makes it more imp't than ever that you get out there and pull together all the threads of your different speeches and initiatives into a single policy statement. AM

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

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 13, 2011 11:55 AM  
**To:** 'slaughter'  
**Subject:** Re: egypt and china -- something worth reading

Brilliant food for thought. Thank you.

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

**From:** Anne-Marie Slaughter < >  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Sun Feb 13 11:41:03 2011  
**Subject:** egypt and china -- something worth reading

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

Howard French

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

FEB 11 2011, 7:04 PM ET

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

But Hosni Mubarak looked in vain for a Western plot to take over Egypt, and so will Chinese propagandists. The revolution in Tahrir Circle was homegrown, and moreover from the people's perspective, at least, it was peaceful. This presents the second huge headache for the authoritarian spin on events. China strives to present democracy as something inappropriate for many peoples, starting of course with the Chinese themselves. Whenever the subject of democracy in Taiwan is highlighted in the news in China it is to exhibit footage of brawls in the parliament. Disorder in China, it is implied, would not be so easily contained as a legislative shoe fight. It could engulf the entire country, leading to great violence and destruction, such as China has already experienced in living memory. The unspoken idea here is to say that democracy leads to disorder. Better to keep your nose down, to maintain "harmony" and to pursue growth.

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

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

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

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

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 13, 2011 3:08 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Haven't been able to get susan confirmation. Ops has been trying to track her too.

---

RELEASE IN FULL

Ok I'll be able to talk until shuttle takes off. But would prefer btw now and 3 30

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Feb 13 15:06:53 2011  
Subject: Haven't been able to get susan confirmation Ops has been trying to track her too.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 13, 2011 8:07 PM  
**To:** 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Latest Grameen Update  
**Attach:** image001.png; image002.gif


RELEASE IN PART  
B1,B5,1.4(D),B6


I'd like to see Yunus when he's here.

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

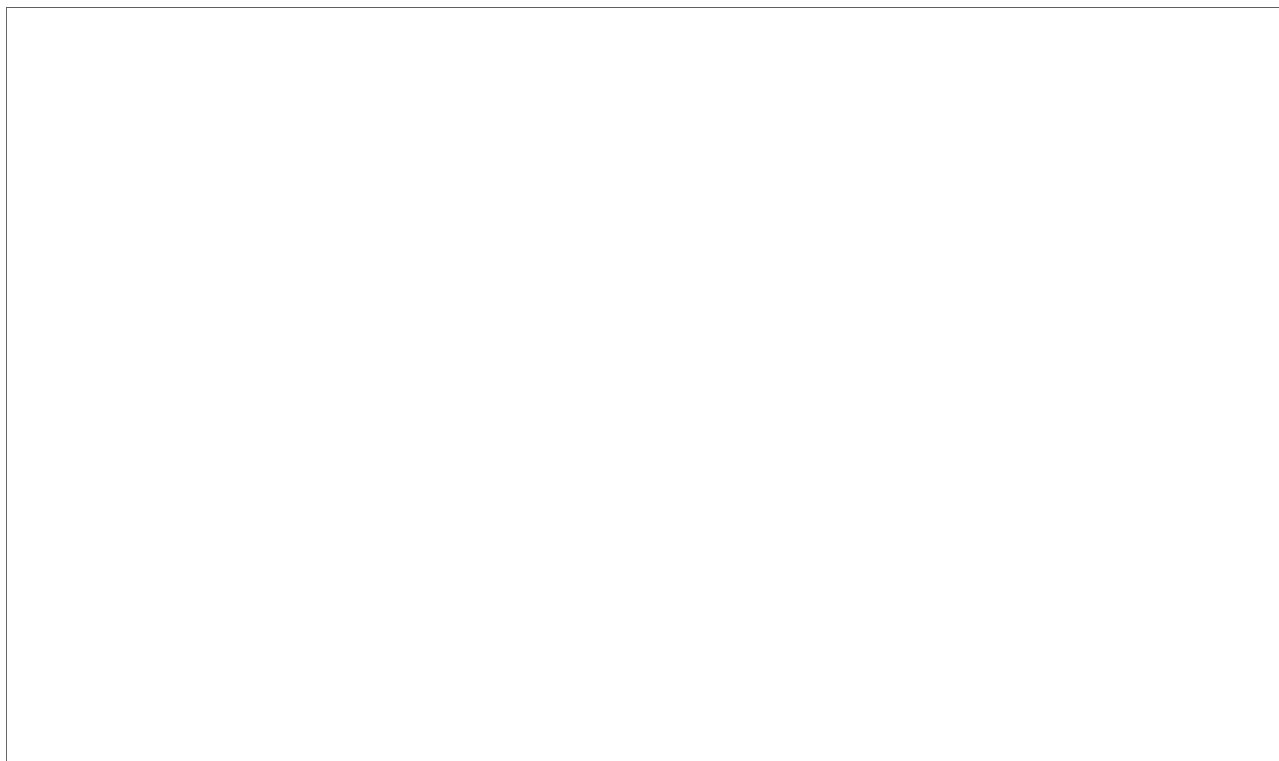
**From:** Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Feb 08 15:01:44 2011  
**Subject:** Fw: Latest Grameen Update

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 09/30/2015 ~ Class:  
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
02/08/2026

Yunus is going to be in DC March 7-9 barring the unforeseen. I'm joining him for a press conference on how microcredit has lifted up millions of the world's poor women. 

**From:** Alex Counts <>  
**To:** Verveer, Melanne S  
**Sent:** Sun Feb 06 15:14:16 2011  
**Subject:** Latest Grameen Update

Melanne,



B1  
1.4(D)

B5

B1  
1.4(D)

You have probably seen the New York Times article <[http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/30/world/asia/30bangladesh.html?\\_r=1&sq=Yunus.%20grameen&st=cse&adxnnl=1&scp=1&adxnnlx=1297022430-MaNsxJATPwiI/0Y7CPNpOg](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/30/world/asia/30bangladesh.html?_r=1&sq=Yunus.%20grameen&st=cse&adxnnl=1&scp=1&adxnnlx=1297022430-MaNsxJATPwiI/0Y7CPNpOg)> on this situation. It is largely factual.

Sincerely,

Alex Counts, President

Grameen Foundation

NEW ADDRESS

1101 15th Street NW, 3rd Floor

Washington DC 20005, USA

Phone: +1.202.628.3560

Fax: +1-202-628-3880

Mobile:

Skype: alex.counts

Email: ; Web: [www.grameenfoundation.org](http://www.grameenfoundation.org)  
<<http://www.grameenfoundation.org/>>

Our mission: To enable the poor, especially the poorest, to create a world without poverty

<<http://www.facebook.com/StopPovertyNow>> <<http://twitter.com/grameenfdn>>

B6

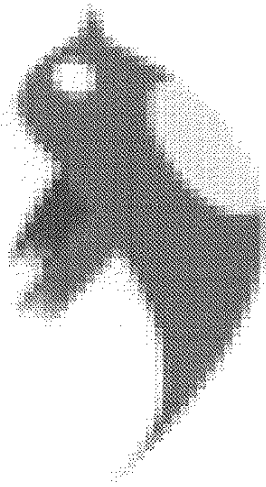
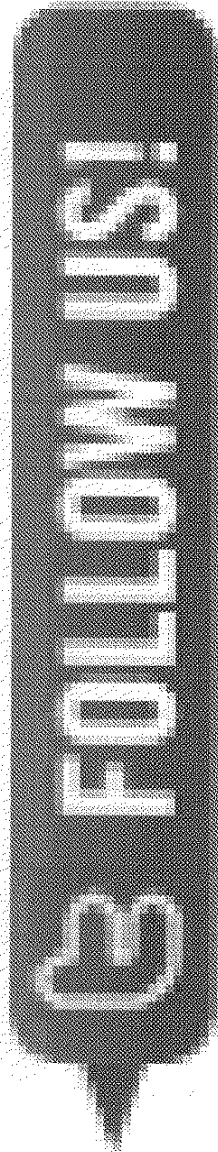
Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.



RELEASE IN FULL

RELEASE IN FULL

HA 09/01/2015



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, February 14, 2011 6:50 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

What time is the dinner reservation? We may not go until btw 8-8:30 but we want to go out. Is that ok?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Mon Feb 14 18:38:40 2011  
**Subject:**

Let me know if you need anything from me, didn't want to be in the way of your family time. As for jockey club, if you want to go, you have reservation. Otherwise, its fine if you don't. DS has info if you go. Marina also made dinner at home.

And maybe shafik call at 7am too.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 15, 2011 6:54 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Shafik call confirmed for 7am.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok. Bill said that ops called last night after I was asleep. Can you find out who it was?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Tue Feb 15 06:37:03 2011  
Subject: Shafik call confirmed for 7am.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, February 18, 2011 10:10 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: H: FYI, an unfortunate incident. Sid

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

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

From: sbwhoeop [redacted] <sbwhoeop [redacted]>  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Feb 18 09:27:25 2011  
Subject: H: FYI, an unfortunate incident. Sid

Don't know if you are aware of this unfortunate incident described below on Larry Johnson's website. Ray McGovern, a former CIA officer who gave the daily brief for President George H.W. Bush, is pretty well known in the intelligence community. He's become a Christian antiwar leftist who goes around bearing witness. Whatever his views, he's harmless. Something bad happened at your speech at GW. And it's become a minor cause celebre on the Internet among lefties. You might have someone check this out and also have someone apologize to Ray McGovern.

Sid

<http://www.noquarterusa.net/blog/2011/02/17/hillary-blamed-for-ray-mcgoverns-beating/>

Hillary Blamed for Ray McGovern's Beating <<http://www.noquarterusa.net/blog/2011/02/17/hillary-blamed-for-ray-mcgoverns-beating/>>

By Larry Johnsongravatar <[http://www.gravatar.com/avatar.php?gravatar\\_id=71353a34a7c788232f68e68e153ba88e](http://www.gravatar.com/avatar.php?gravatar_id=71353a34a7c788232f68e68e153ba88e)> closeAuthor:  
Larry Johnson Name: Larry Johnson

Email: [redacted]

Site: <http://NoQuarterUSA.net> <<http://noquarterusa.net/>>

About: Larry C. Johnson is a former analyst at the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, who moved subsequently in 1989 to the U.S. Department of State, where he served four years as the deputy director for transportation security, antiterrorism assistance training, and special operations in the State Department's Office of Counterterrorism. He left government service in October 1993 and set up a consulting business. He currently is the co-owner and CEO of BERG Associates, LLC (Business Exposure Reduction Group) and is an expert in the fields of terrorism, aviation security, and crisis and risk management, and money laundering investigations. Johnson is the founder and main author of No Quarter, a weblog that addresses issues of terrorism and intelligence and politics. NoQuarterUSA was nominated as Best Political Blog of 2008. See Authors Posts <<http://www.noquarterusa.net/blog/author/larry-johnson/>> (1496) on February 17, 2011 at 11:45 PM in Current Affairs <<http://www.noquarterusa.net/blog/category/current-affairs/>>

\* Bumped Up \*

During a speech by Hillary earlier this week at George Washington University retired CIA analyst, Ray McGovern, was physically accosted and arrested for disorderly conduct for the simple act of standing up and turning his back to Hillary. Ray ended his career at the CIA as one of the senior officers who provided George H.W. Bush his daily intelligence brief. Since then Ray has emerged as an anti-war activist. Ray is a fearless but he also is a kind, gentle soul.

Here's the video:

Now let's go back and watch what happened when Ray confronted Donald Rumsfeld:

Unfortunately Hillary is getting blamed for what happened to Ray, but it is not her fault. Hillary is not in charge of her security detail. She does not call the shots. The thugs who set upon Ray were out of line. He had every right to stand and silently protest. He posed no threat to Hillary and made no threatening move. The security folks grossly over-reacted and Ray should have an excellent law suit against the University and those in charge of the security.

B6

Ray's treatment is part of the Gabby Giffords effect. In the aftermath of the attack on Giffords it is understandable that security officials feel a heightened need to be hyper-vigilant. But protective details also need to exercise common sense and use appropriate force. Since the folks inside the auditorium had gone thru a metal detector there was no reason to assume that Ray represented a threat to do harm. And to reiterate—he made no threatening move, he did not speak out of turn and did not try to approach the stage.

It is the ultimate irony that the Obama Administration is calling on foreign leaders to tolerate protest and dissent but when it comes to an old man standing silently there was no tolerance at all.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, February 19, 2011 9:32 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Updates

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

I can do Dav at 6:30 tonight or tomorrow at 9am. And Frattini today at 6 or tomorrow at 8:30am.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Feb 19 08:08:26 2011  
Subject: Updates

- davutoglu now asking for call between 3-5. His flight is delayed.
- Frattini called again. Wants to talk to you before his trip to egypt on Tues. Is available anytime

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, February 19, 2011 4:36 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Call update

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I can only do Dav btw 1-2 tomorrow.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Feb 19 16:32:23 2011  
Subject: Re: Call update

Confirmed.

Also, dav can't do tonite or tomorrow morning. He offered between 1 and 5pm tomorrow.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Feb 19 16:27:20 2011  
Subject: Re: Call update

No need for points and connect to Chap.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Feb 19 16:20:53 2011  
Subject: Re: Call update

Let me know if u want me to have call points generated for 6pm ban call. And should we connect to berry or chappaqua?

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Feb 19 15:40:23 2011  
Subject: Re: Call update

Any call points on Ban?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
To: H  
Sent: Sat Feb 19 15:39:00 2011  
Subject: Re: Call update

No word on dav yet.

You should have muallim call sheet as part of secure fax you got this morning. If not, ill re-send.  
Ban at 6pm tonite.

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

From: H  
To: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sat Feb 19 15:23:50 2011  
Subject: Re: Call update

Ok on Frattini. What about Dav? I could do Ban today btw 6-7 or after Frattini tomorrow. Hold on Saud but schedule Muallem (do you have call sheet?)

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

From: Huma Abedin

To: H

Sent: Sat Feb 19 15:13:49 2011

Subject: Call update

- frattini confirmed 8:30am tomorrow
- Ban ki moon called to talk about egypt/bahrain. Is available anytime today or tomorrow
- we holding on saud?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:44 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

RELEASE IN  
PART  
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

I could also do as soon as I finish w Dav but not later than 2:30.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:37 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

not yet.

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:32 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 09/30/2015 ~ Class:  
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
02/19/2036

Is it confirmed yet?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:07 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

The Secretary's Call to Pakistani Prime Minister Gilani

Purpose of Call:

[Redacted Content]

[Redacted Content]

B5

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:53 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

RELEASE IN  
PART  
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:52 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

He's at a dinner. We may have to do gilani at 1:30 and dav right after.

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:32 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 09/30/2015 ~ Class:  
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
02/19/2036

Is it confirmed yet?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:07 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

The Secretary's Call to Pakistani Prime Minister Gilani

Purpose of Call:

B5

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:54 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

Pls keep at 6.

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

From: Huma Abedin

Sent: Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:52 PM

To: H; 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] <lvalmoro [REDACTED]>

Subject: Re: Schedule

You are on 6pm right now but we can move back to 4 if u want.  
Yes on Ban.

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

From: H

Sent: Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:43 PM

To: 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] <lvalmoro [REDACTED]>; Huma Abedin

Subject: Schedule

Everytime I talk w Ban [REDACTED]

B5

What shuttle am I on tomorrow?



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:54 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

RELEASE IN PART  
1.4(B),B1,B5,1.4(D)

Ok but I want to be done no later than 3.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:52 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 09/30/2015 ~ Class:  
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify  
on: 02/19/2036

He's at a dinner. We may have to do gilani at 1:30 and dav right after.

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

From: H  
Sent: Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:32 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

Is it confirmed yet?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, February 20, 2011 12:07 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Gilani - trying to confirm for 1pm

The Secretary's Call to Pakistani Prime Minister Gilani

Purpose of Call:

[Redacted Content]

B5

[Redacted Content]

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 1:57 PM  
**To:** 'Ivalmoro' [REDACTED] Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> B6  
**Subject:** Schedule

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

I think I will have to go to the G-8 ministerial so I need to do my visit to Hague either before or after that or around the NATO ministerial in Berlin.  
And I will likely have to do the Quartet in

Paris too.

I also may need to travel to Middle East 3/18-22 or after Berlin.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 3:39 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'feltmanjd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Re: Saud

RELEASE IN  
PART  
B1,B5,1.4(D)

I'm happy to both Bills call--but I meant #42!

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 03:37 PM  
**To:** 'FeltmanJD@state.gov' <FeltmanJD@state.gov>; H; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov' <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Re: Saud

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 09/30/2015  
~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~  
Declassify on: 02/19/2036

I think she means bill clinton, right?

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

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D [<mailto:FeltmanJD@state.gov>]  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 03:36 PM  
**To:** H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** RE: Saud

Yes, I agree -- Bill should call. That's a good idea. He can brief on your call with Saud.



B5

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

**From:** H [<mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com>]  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 20, 2011 3:34 PM  
**To:** Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Saud



B1  
1.4(D)

Also, Bill knows the CP very well and wants to call and offer support.  
Is that ok?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, February 21, 2011 7:49 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Gilani letter

RELEASE IN FULL

Ok to go.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Monday, February 21, 2011 07:41 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Gilani letter

if you are ok, we will autopen and send out.  
Prime Minister Gilani  
Pakistan

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

The United States deeply regrets the tragic events in Lahore on January 27, 2011. We understand the sorrow felt by the families of the three Pakistani citizens who died, and we are keen to work with your government and the Punjab provincial authorities to settle the issues that this incident has raised. This is the right thing to do. At the same time, we expect that you will exercise leadership at this critical hour.

As we proceed, however, we must not allow this incident to sidetrack the tremendous progress we have made in our bilateral relationship over the last two years. For us, the relationship with Pakistan is one of the most important bilateral relationships we have in the world. Our two countries have a long tradition of working together, and we now must work together to bring peace to Afghanistan, to set Pakistan's democracy on secure and prosperous foundations, and to combat the terrorist movements that threaten us both.

Even as we do so, however, we must bear in mind that there are issues at stake that go beyond the scope of our purely bilateral relations. The 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations protects diplomatic personnel of all countries around the world. It is based on 500 years of international tradition, and it is vital to the conduct of normal diplomatic relations among states. Neither the United States nor Pakistan can compromise on the need for respect for diplomatic immunity without putting our diplomatic staff around the world at risk.

I understand that questions have been raised about the status of Raymond Davis, who is at the center of this case. I would like to state clearly why the requirements of the Vienna Convention mandate Mr. Davis's immediate release.

Under Article 7 of the Vienna Convention, the United States, like all sending states, is entitled to "freely appoint the members of the staff to the mission," as we did Mr. Davis. As a duly appointed member of the staff of the mission, Mr. Davis has privileges and immunities in Pakistan under international law, Vienna Convention Art. 39(1), as he has been assigned as a member of the staff of the U.S. diplomatic mission in Pakistan.

Under the Convention, Mr. Davis's detention and the criminal proceedings against him in Pakistan are illegal. As a member of the administrative and technical staff, Mr. Davis does not hold all of the privileges and immunities that a diplomatic agent enjoys. There is no doubt, however, that administrative and technical staff members such as Mr. Davis enjoy both "immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving State" and inviolability from "any form of arrest or detention," pursuant to Vienna Convention Article 37(2).

Article 44 provides that the receiving State must facilitate the departure of a person enjoying privileges and immunities. While Article 9 of the Convention permits the receiving State to declare such a person *persona non grata* or not acceptable, the individual's privileges and immunities stay in effect for a reasonable period to allow departure from the country. Pakistan has not exercised its rights under Article 9, but even if it did, it would have to permit Mr. Davis to depart.

Accordingly, Pakistan is obligated under the Vienna Convention to recognize Mr. Davis's privileges and immunities in Pakistan as the consequence of his assignment as a member of the staff of the U.S. diplomatic mission in Pakistan. I would like to reaffirm to you that the United States respects the law and Pakistan's sovereignty, and we expect all representatives of our government to respect the laws of our host nation. We are cognizant of the Vienna Convention's provision that those enjoying privileges and immunities have a duty to respect local law, and we will redouble our efforts to ensure that our embassy personnel are aware of and conform their behavior to local law. I assure you that it is the practice of the U.S. government to conduct criminal investigations of these types of incidents, and we intend to follow that practice here, considering all the facts and relevant laws.

Nonetheless, protections for the diplomatic personnel of states are fundamental and essential to the conduct of diplomatic relations among all sovereign states. Our two countries, like all nations, share a common interest in ensuring that these rules are strictly observed, even in the most difficult of situations. Pakistan's current inaction puts it in danger of a grave and almost unprecedented breach of these rules. I urge you to take all necessary steps to end the illegal detention and criminal proceedings against Mr. Davis and to provide for his safe exit from the territory of Pakistan, consistent with the provisions of the Vienna Convention. At that point, we can focus on the work before us: going beyond this tragic incident and turning to the true task of building strong ties between Pakistan and the United States, to the benefit of all.

Sincerely,  
Hillary Rodham Clinton

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, February 21, 2011 4:05 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: You ok without [REDACTED] Or you want to have her come to office? Schedule below.

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

B6

Could she meet me at the office?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Monday, February 21, 2011 04:02 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** You ok without [REDACTED] Or you want to have her come to office? Schedule below.

B6

5:50 am DEPART Private Residence

7:00 am DEPART LaGuardia Airport via US Airways Shuttle

8:40 am  
PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING

8:45 am DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING

9:15 am  
MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES

10:00 am  
[REDACTED]

B5

11:00 am [REDACTED]  
12:30 pm

B5

12:30 pm [REDACTED]

B5

2:00 pm BILATERAL w/LATVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GIRTISVALDIS KRISTOVSKIS  
2:30 pm

PRE-BRIEF FOR JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY

2:35 pm  
JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w  
FOREIGN MINISTER GIRTIS VALDIS KRISTOVSKIS

3:00 pm  
MEETING w/U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE RON KIRK

4:00 pm OFFICE TIME  
6:00 pm

6:00 pm

DEPART State Department

**From:** H <HIDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, February 21, 2011 4:50 PM  
**To:** 'millsd@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Be sure I and S/RAP team have time w Marc before mtg w POTUS.

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Monday, February 21, 2011 04:42 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Fw:

---

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D  
**To:** Grossman, Marc I  
**Cc:** Feldman, Daniel F; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D  
**Sent:** Mon Feb 21 16:39:39 2011  
**Subject:** Fw:

Marc

Welcome

See b/l

Said yes you (he) would be available

Best

Cdm

---

**From:** Anderson, Brooke [redacted]  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D  
**Sent:** Mon Feb 21 15:50:47 2011  
**Subject:**

B6

Would Marc Grossman (and Secretary Clinton) be available this week for a meeting with POTUS? Wanted to make sure before I put the request in.

Thanks.

b

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 22, 2011 8:01 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Kusas staff now can't get him on line. Said they can't make call happen tonite.

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL

Pls tell Joe and the specials to send dip note reiterating my request in Arabic.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 22, 2011 07:53 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Kusas staff now can't get him on line. Said they can't make call happen tonite.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, February 26, 2011 10:40 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Question

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL

Will I still get the Pin from Rosa O from Kyrgistan? I thought I'd wear it when she came in March.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, February 26, 2011 12:16 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Ashton can talk today. Is pretty flexible if u want to do?

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Can do at 1pm. Also, how was the apt? And can  come tomorrow?

B6

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, February 26, 2011 12:10 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Ashton can talk today. Is pretty flexible if u want to do?

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, February 26, 2011 2:26 PM  
**To:** 'lvalmoro'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Two Things

B6

I could see him on 4/29 since I'm staying in DC for [redacted] wedding. Can we confirm that?

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

**From:** d.gunners [mailto:[redacted]]  
**Sent:** Friday, February 25, 2011 01:04 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Two Things

Dear Hillary:

An extraordinary start to 2010. So much to say about it. Huge challenges for the West. But a huge opportunity too to escape some of the demons; and an inspiring civilian surge in its bravery, dignity and respect. (It's interesting how unsure the Chinese are what to make of it all)

This note is to raise two things.

First, I wanted to get to you direct that I will be in DC for 27/28/29/30 April. I am speaking on the night of Friday 29th at the New America Foundation Annual Retreat and will probably attend that on Saturday 30th. But if you were available in that period it would be a good opportunity to meet up. I have let Lois know and my office have contacted yours.

If those dates don't work but you have another slot for dinner let me know and I could come over and build things around it

Second, I have had a request to auction a signed copy (by you) of the Act repealing Don't Ask Don't Tell for the Labour Party Gay Rights Fundraising Dinner. Don't know if this would violate your Madam Secretary position, in which case I understand, but if not it would be a great thing.

Good luck amidst the sea of challenges.

Best wishes

David  
Sent from my BlackBerry® wireless device

**From:** Huma Abedin <[REDACTED]>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 27, 2011 2:53 PM  
**To:** [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** [REDACTED], huma@clintonemail.com  
**Subject:** Re: hey

---

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

[REDACTED] sorry to be so delayed, I don't ever check this email but just happened to look at it.

Better email is one i ccd.

I don't know much about the program but I will check and get back you. I am pretty sure we gave Franklin fellows throughout the state dept and other agencies but i need to confirm.

Will get back to you.

On Feb 24, 2011, at 4:38 PM, [REDACTED] wrote.

Hey Huma,

Hope all is well!

Do you know anything about the Franklin Fellows program?

Was wondering if they allow people to work virtually, or does a program participant have to be in Washington, DC?

<http://www.careers.state.gov/ff>

Best,

[REDACTED]

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, February 27, 2011 7:08 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

7:15 sounds good. Thx.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, February 27, 2011 07:04 PM  
To: H  
Subject:

Hope I didn't wake you with the lights. Was trying to turn them off.  
Will check on you at 7:15?  
First meeting at 8:45 with Rudd  
Book and schedule won't be done for a little while.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, February 28, 2011 4:08 PM  
**To:** 'lvalmora'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Fwd. March 9  
**Attach:** 03.09.11\_NAUGHTON\_INVITE[1].docx

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls see if I could do a video or letter for him.

**From:** haroldnaughton [mailto: ]  
**Sent:** Monday, February 28, 2011 03:22 PM  
**To:** H; abedinh@state.gov <abedinh@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Fwd: March 9

Madame Secretary,

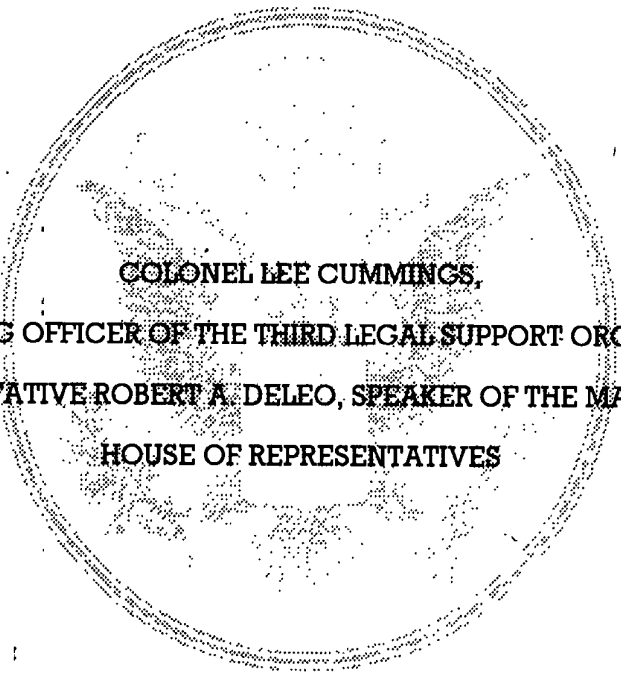
On the (very) off chance you were flying through Boston on March 9th, coming from or going to one of your missions, you would be very welcome at this ceremony. It is important for me to share this event with family and friends.

Safe trip home from Geneva.

All the best,

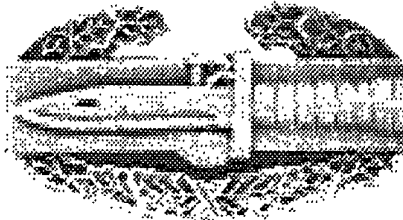
Hank Naughton

RELEASE IN  
FULL



COLONEL LEE CUMMINGS,  
COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE THIRD LEGAL SUPPORT ORGANIZATION,  
AND REPRESENTATIVE ROBERT A. DELEO, SPEAKER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REQUEST THE HONOR OF YOUR COMPANY  
AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE COMBAT ACTION BADGE TO



CAPTAIN HAROLD PETER NAUGHTON, Jr.  
ON WEDNESDAY, THE NINTH DAY OF MARCH, 2011 AT 330 PM  
CHAMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
THE STATE HOUSE, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

PLEASE REPLY TO  
SUSAN TEMPLETON  
978-365-1955 or [SUSAN.TEMPLETON@MAHOUSE.GOV](mailto:SUSAN.TEMPLETON@MAHOUSE.GOV)

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 1, 2011 12:39 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Cc:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Argentine FM

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I have to call him tomorrow.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 1, 2011 8:27 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'vermarr@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Testimony index

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Could H prepare a complete index w all subheads of everything for me? For example, under Pakistan you would list all the subject headings? If you want to give me a new book w everything, that's ok too. And w an extra copy I can keep out of the book for easier reference:



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 2, 2011 7:20 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: UK plans to halt development aid to 16 countries

RELEASE IN PART B6

Pls print for me this am.

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 01, 2011 10:46 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Fw: UK plans to halt development aid to 16 countries

DFID is getting real about selectivity.

**From:** Nazanin Ash [redacted]  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Ash, Nazanin S  
**Sent:** Tue Mar 01 22:17:33 2011  
**Subject:** UK plans to halt development aid to 16 countries

B6

hey, I have done a terrible job of following her budget testimony (hope it went well today), but if you haven't already heard DFID announced these plans today--she may get questions and/or she may find it a helpful reference

1 March 2011 Last updated at 06:53 ET

## Aid budget will be better focused, say ministers



Andrew Mitchell said it is "morally right" and also "in our national interest" to help the poorest people in the world

The government is to outline plans to stop direct development aid to 16 countries and freeze the level of assistance given to India.

But there will be more for Bangladesh, Nigeria and Pakistan as aid is "better focused" on the poorest people.

Labour said they believed government policy was "on the right track".

International Development Secretary Andrew Mitchell said aid was being protected from spending cuts because it was in the UK's national interest.

The department's overall £7.8bn budget has been unaffected by the government's deficit cutting measures.

But the UK is expected to stop direct aid to 16 countries, including Russia, China, Vietnam, Serbia and Iraq. Some, such as Vietnam and Bosnia, are seen to have "graduated" out of poverty.

Others are judged to be adequately served by United Nations agencies.

The government says it wants greater transparency and accountability in aid spending, with an emphasis on funding programmes that deliver greater results and which, specifically, help girls and women.

| Countries losing direct aid                           |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Angola                                                | Bosnia    |
| Burundi                                               | Cameroon  |
| Cambodia                                              | China     |
| Gambia                                                | Indonesia |
| Iraq                                                  | Kosovo    |
| Lesotho                                               | Moldova   |
| Niger                                                 | Russia    |
| Serbia                                                | Vietnam   |
| Source: Dept for Int Development document seen by BBC |           |

Mr Mitchell told BBC Radio 4's Today programme "We're ending a culture which has seen large sums of money thrown at problems, and focusing on the results that the British taxpayer can buy.

"This is about value for money, it's about ensuring for every pound we take off hard-pressed taxpayers we really do deliver 100 pence of development value."

Five countries will have their budgets increased substantially - Ethiopia, Bangladesh, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Pakistan.

By 2014, 30% of UK aid is expected to go to war-torn and unstable countries.

Shadow international development secretary Harriet Harman told the BBC Labour welcomed the government's decision to stick with the commitment of spending 0.7% of national income on overseas aid.

### 'National interest'

"Obviously it's right, as things change, that you review who you give overseas aid money to and how you give it - so I think that's right to do as well. So broadly we think the government are on the right track.

"I know it's difficult when people are feeling the pinch here at home, but we have to remember that with just a very small amount of money we can save lives in the developing world."

David Loyn, the BBC's international development correspondent, said: "The government is keenly aware of its political vulnerability in ring-fencing the international development budget while cutting spending everywhere else except for health, and it wants to ensure that it is getting value for money."

| Current top 10 recipients of UK bilateral aid |                |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Country                                       | Aid 09/10 (£m) |
| 1. India                                      | 295            |
| 2. Ethiopia                                   | 214            |
| 3. Bangladesh                                 | 149            |

|                                         |     |
|-----------------------------------------|-----|
| 4. Sudan                                | 146 |
| 5. Tanzania                             | 144 |
| 6. Pakistan                             | 140 |
| 7. Afghanistan                          | 133 |
| 8. Nigeria                              | 114 |
| 9. Congo (Dem Rep)                      | 109 |
| 10. Ghana                               | 90  |
| <b>Source: Dept for Int Development</b> |     |

Mr Mitchell was asked on BBC Breakfast about his decision to maintain overseas aid while some charities were suffering funding cuts in the UK.

He said: "We are dealing with a scale of poverty around the world of a completely different order.

"And we do it because it's morally right, it's about our values as a country and as a government, and also because it's in our national interest."

India is currently one of the biggest recipients of UK development aid, and there have been media campaigns in the UK suggesting an economy growing at nearly 10% a year simply does not need British assistance.

But others point out that nearly half a billion people in India - more than in any other country in the world - are still desperately poor.

The government says the new approach will be more effective in cutting poverty, and assist in reaching the Millennium Development Goals by the target date of 2015.

On Saturday, it emerged that the UK is threatening to switch funding away from the UN Food and Agriculture Organization - which focuses on longer-term projects, such as providing seeds and tools for agriculture - unless its performance improves.

Instead, more funding could go to the World Food Programme, which deals with emergency food aid around the globe.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 2, 2011 9:15 AM  
**To:** 'PosnerMH@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Bhatti dead

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Mike--I am so sorry that this good brave man lost his fight and his life standing up for human rights and have issued a statement. I would also like to write to his family to offer my sympathy. What a loss--H

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 02, 2011 02:19 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Bhatti dead

Cameron munter just called to tell us minister bhatti was shot dead by 2 motorcyclists as he was leaving home. You remember he was the catholic minister for minority affairs who you met recently. We are putting out statement immediately in pakistan. Horrible.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 2, 2011 9:15 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Bhatti dead

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Can you get me Munter's email?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Wednesday, March 02, 2011 02:19 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Bhatti dead

Cameron munter just called to tell us minister bhatti was shot dead by 2 motorcyclists as he was leaving home. You remember he was the catholic minister for minority affairs who you met recently. We are putting out statement immediately in pakistan. Horrible.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 3, 2011 10:08 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'Ivalmoro' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

The 29th is better.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 02, 2011 08:58 PM  
**To:** H; 'Ivalmoro' [REDACTED] <Ivalmoro [REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Could do april 28 or 29

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 02, 2011 08:55 PM  
**To:** 'Ivalmoro' [REDACTED] <Ivalmoro [REDACTED]>; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Schedule

I need a day in late April or early May for a mtg w Mexican delegation here in DC before the Calderon mtg tomorrow. What do you think? Probably from 9-5 w lunch, press etc.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 5, 2011 11:01 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Bill daley just put in a call to you. You have judeh in 10 min.

---

RELEASE IN FULL

Can I call him right after Judeh?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 05, 2011 10:52 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Bill daley just put in a call to you. You have judeh in 10 min.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 5, 2011 7:52 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Calls

---

RELEASE IN FULL

Are any confirmed for tomorrow?



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 6, 2011 7:32 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Sharaf confirmed for 9am

---

RELEASE IN FULL

Ok.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 06, 2011 07:04 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Sharaf confirmed for 9am

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, March 7, 2011 8:30 AM  
**To:** 'Ivalmoro [REDACTED]'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

---

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

WH expects to have event there on Thursday which they want to keep secret until then. I'd like to attend if possible so let's discuss.

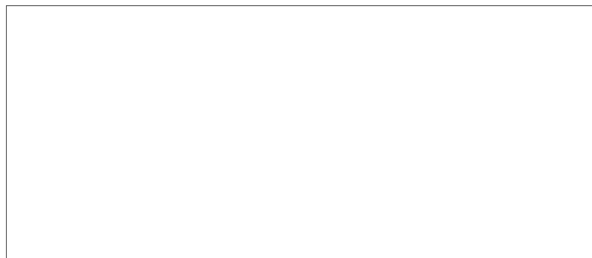
**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 9, 2011 8:09 AM  
**To:** 'feltmanjd@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Re: GCC ✓

RELEASE IN PART  
1.4(B), B1, B5, 1.4(D)

Very clever idea. Let me know because Bill Burns and I will have to clear way w G-8.

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

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D [mailto:FeltmanJD@state.gov]  
Sent: Wednesday, March 09, 2011 08:03 AM  
To: H; Huma Abedin; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
Subject: RE: GCC



B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)  
B5

[Redacted] And it

would be less time-consuming to do two meetings than to go to Geneva and back to Paris.

Jeffrey Feltman  
Assistant Secretary  
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs  
Department of State  
202-647-7209

B1  
1.4(D)

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on  
09/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~  
Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
03/09/2031

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

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
Sent: Wednesday, March 09, 2011 7:57 AM  
To: Huma Abedin; Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D  
Subject: GCC

What about meeting them in Geneva Monday and then going to Paris? [Redacted]

B1  
1.4(D)

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, March 11, 2011 1:12 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Briefing of Congressmen Mack and Engle on Regional Security

RELEASE IN FULL

Pls print.

**From:** Valenzuela, Arturo A [mailto:ValenzuelaAA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 10, 2011 06:42 PM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Jacobson, Roberta S <JacobsonRS@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Briefing of Congressmen Mack and Engle on Regional Security

Madam Secretary,

You will recall that last year Congressmen Engle and Mack came to see you about WHA issues and asked that you consider appointing a Regional Security Coordinator for our citizen safety initiatives (Merida, Colombia, CARSI, CBSI). The suggestion, primarily from then HFAC WHA Subcommittee chair Engle, stemmed from congressional concerns that there was no centralized coordination mechanism at State for these programs. You agreed to the suggestion. When Craig Kelly retired as PDAS and we appointed Roberta Jacobson to that position—we asked her to assume the newly created Coordinator role.

At the first HFAC Hearing of the WHA Subcommittee of the new Congress on February 15, 2011, we had included Roberta's appointment as part of my testimony. Mack staff asked that we not mention the matter because he apparently wanted to address it in a subsequent hearing—but Engle in his questioning pressed for details, revealing some difference of opinion between the new Chairman and the Ranking Minority member. I stated that following your instructions we had made an appointment, that we very much welcomed their input, and that we would be delighted to provide them with a briefing at their earliest convenience.

On March 9, 2011, Roberta went to brief Mack and Engel. She outlined progress on Merida and spelled out the steps we have taken to bolster CARSI and CBSI. She briefed on her trip to Colombia and Central America with Bill Brownfield, and noted the close working relationship between WHA and INL. Both Members offered strong congressional support on security issues in the Hemisphere. Representatives David Rivera and Jean Schmidt also dropped by the briefing.

Mack and Engel were delighted that you had agreed to this move and highlighted their role in asking you to create the position. They stressed their general agreement on key foreign policy priorities in the Western Hemisphere. Both asked whether we had adequate resources and offered their support as we move ahead (staff, budget), though we see no need for that now. Mack reviewed his frustration with the slow pace of Merida equipment delivery, but was very satisfied with Roberta's outline of this year's accelerated schedule. Engel and Mack asked for more communications and follow up with us, and we will work with their staff to increase the tempo of engagement; we are already scheduling a follow-up on CARSI and CBSI.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, March 11, 2011 1:27 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: New Social Media Resource

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Pls print.

**From:** McHale, Judith A [mailto:McHaleJA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Monday, March 07, 2011 04:02 PM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Subject:** FW: New Social Media Resource

FYI:

Sent out today.

jm

**From:** McHale, Judith A  
**Sent:** Monday, March 07, 2011 2:36 PM  
**To:** EUR-AMBASSADORS-DL; AF-COM-DL; EAP-COMS-ONLY-DL; NEA-Ambassadors-DL; SCA-Ambassadors-DL; WHA-COM-DCM; IO-AMBASSADORS-DL; R\_PAOs-Worldwide; EUR-PPD-IO-DL; EAP-PD-IO-DL; NEA-PD-IO-DL; SCA-PPD-IO-DL; WHA-PDA IO; R\_PD-Regional DAS; Campbell, Kurt M; Gordon, Philip H; Carson, Johnnie; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Blake, Robert O; Valenzuela, Arturo A; Brimmer, Esther D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Burns, William J; Tauscher, Ellen O; Otero, Maria; Hormats, Robert D  
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Crowley, Philip J; Hammer, Michael A; Smith, Dana S; DiMartino, Kitty; Cormack, Maureen E  
**Subject:** New Social Media Resource

Dear Colleagues,

Faced with a rapidly evolving global communications landscape, we must continually evaluate our processes and procedures to be sure we are using all available tools to effectively reach people everywhere in ways that resonate with them. As we all know, it is no longer sufficient to merely rely on pushing out press releases in the hope that they will get picked up and read by our targeted audiences. Consumers today are increasingly demanding information immediately and sharing that information with their colleagues and communities around the world. As Secretary Clinton has said, the internet is the public square of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and we all shape and are shaped by what happens there. If we are not participating in conversations when they happen and where they happen, we risk our actions being misunderstood or deliberately distorted. At best, we run the risk of being marginalized in an increasingly global discourse.

The events of recent months, in the Middle East and elsewhere, have again demonstrated the centrality of social media to today's most pressing challenges. We know that many Posts are already using a variety of social media tools and platforms, including Facebook and Twitter. In Washington, we are currently undertaking a broad-based review of the Department's use of social media. We want to ensure that we are deploying these new tools in ways that are both strategic and supportive of Posts' needs and that training is taken into consideration. Your input, thoughts and ideas will be a critical part of this process, and we will be reaching out to all of you in the coming weeks. We recognize that new social media initiatives can be resource-intensive, and it will require all of us to work together to identify new ways of incorporating them into our on-going operations to maximize their impact. This may require us to recalibrate and possibly discontinue some programs and initiatives as we expand our use of these tools, which are fast becoming an essential part of modern diplomacy.

In the meantime, we wanted to alert you to one new resource available to you now. Currently, press guidance and official statements are developed each day in Washington by your Regional Bureaus and the Bureau of Public Affairs. This

information is provided to you for your use in interviews and media engagements. Going forward, Public Affairs will also provide that content to you in a format that is customized for Twitter or other micro-blog platforms. The information, containing policy statements and top-line messages, will be provided on a regular basis in English and the following foreign language Twitter handles:

- @USAbilAraby (Arabic)
- @USAdarFarsi (Farsi)
- @USAenEspanol (Spanish)
- @USAenFrancais (French)
- @USAHindiMein (Hindi)
- @USApoRusski (Russian)
- @USA\_Zhongwen (Chinese)

The English tweets are on the official English language State Department Twitter feed: @StateDept.

The following example from a recent Hindi feed illustrates how this will work:

हिलेरीक्लिंटन: जेनेवा में, पूरा भाषण यहां पढ़ें: <http://goo.gl/50Wfn>  
#SecClinton in Geneva, read the complete remarks here: <http://goo.gl/50Wfn>

#हिलेरीक्लिंटन: भ्रष्टाचार में जकड़ी, परिवर्तन से भयभीत कई सरकारें अपनी जनता को सकारात्मक विजन देने में अक्षम हैं।  
#यूएन

#SecClinton: Too many governments hobbled by corruption and fearful of change, unable to provide a positive vision for their people. #UN

#हिलेरीक्लिंटन: ढेरों युवाओं को नौकरी या अवसर नहीं मिलते। भविष्य "वे किसे जानते हैं" से तय होता है न कि "वे क्या जानते हैं"। #यूएन

#SecClinton: Too many young people cannot find jobs or opportunities. Future shaped by "who they know" not "what they know". #UN

#हिलेरीक्लिंटन: पूरे क्षेत्र में सरकारों, नेताओं से आग्रह करते हैं कि #नागरिकसमाज को भागीदार समझें विरोधी नहीं।

#SecClinton: We urge leaders and governments throughout the region to treat #civilsociety as partners rather than adversaries.

#हिलेरीक्लिंटन: यदि आधी जनता उपेक्षित रहे तो राष्ट्र फलफूल नहीं सकते। #महिला #अल्पसंख्यक

#SecClinton: Nations cannot flourish if half their population is consigned to the margins or denied their rights. #Women #Minorities

#हिलेरीक्लिंटन: उत्तरदायी शासन के बिना जनता और नेताओं के बीच दूरी बढ़ेगी, अस्थायित्व गहराएगा। #यूएन

#SecClinton: Gap between people and their leaders will only grow, and instability will only deepen without accountable government. #UN

As with regularly distributed press guidance, these twitter feeds are being designed as a resource for Posts, to be used at their discretion and under circumstances Posts deem appropriate, based on local conditions. Under Posts' direction, the feeds can be re-tweeted, allowing Posts to focus resources on the response and engagement piece of social media that is so vital and

that can only be provided in the field. Rather than spending time combing through press briefings, official statements or interview transcripts to find the key messages, PA has pulled them out and packaged them into 140 characters or less and with the hashtags that will enable new followers to find you. The initial reaction has been overwhelmingly positive, demonstrating once again that engagement is what makes social media so powerful.

We look forward to working with you in navigating this new landscape for communication and depend on your feedback to highlight and share local insights and best practices.

Judith McHale  
Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, March 11, 2011 1:36 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Re Israel

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

Pls print.

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 10/30/2015 ~  
Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)  
~ Declassify on: 03/03/2036

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

From: acfb [mailto: ]  
Sent: Friday, March 04, 2011 11:10 AM  
To: H; 'jake.sullivan' [ ] <jake.sullivan@ ]>  
Subject: Re Israel

B6

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

DISCLAIMER

WARNING – This email is only intended for the person to whom or entity to which it is addressed and, together with any files transmitted with it, is confidential and may also be privileged. If you are not the intended recipient, you must not copy, forward, use or rely on any part of it or disclose its contents to any person. If you have received it in error, please notify our system manager on +44 20 7647 7782 and delete all copies immediately.

Except where this email is sent in the usual course of our business, the views expressed in this email are those of the sender and not those of The Office of Tony Blair.

The Office of Tony Blair accepts no responsibility for software viruses and you should check for viruses before opening any attachments. Internet communications are not secure and therefore The Office of Tony Blair does not provide any guarantee or warranty that this email or any attachments shall remain confidential.

The Office of Tony Blair is a trading name of Windrush Ventures Limited and Windrush Ventures No.3 LP. Windrush Ventures Limited is a limited company registered in England and Wales with registered number 06397276. Its registered office is 50 Broadway, London SW1H 0BL.

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

This email may relate to or be sent from other members of the Windrush group.

This email has been scanned by the MessageLabs Email Security System.  
For more information please visit <http://www.messagelabs.com/email>



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, March 11, 2011 1:55 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: USAID

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Did we [redacted]?

**From:** [redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 17, 2011 05:07 PM  
**To:** H; abedinh@state.gov <abedinh@state.gov>  
**Subject:** USAID

Madame Secretary.

I hope you are well. [redacted]

All the best,

[redacted]

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, March 11, 2011 1:56 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: DOT video -- pushing back against AQ

RELEASE IN FULL

Can you show me video?

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 24, 2011 07:08 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** RE: DOT video -- pushing back against AQ

Counterterrorism Strategic Communications Center – it's your baby! This is the Dan Benjamin/Judith McHale outfit that Richard LeBaron is running. The video is ... okay. But this is the kind of thing we should be doing.

**From:** H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 24, 2011 6:40 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Re: DOT video -- pushing back against AQ

Who is CSCC?

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 24, 2011 05:19 PM  
**To:** McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>; H; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: DOT video -- pushing back against AQ

This is great. I will pass to Alec and Dana and Peter Mandaville to push.

**From:** McHale, Judith A  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 24, 2011 2:43 PM  
**To:** 'H'; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma  
**Subject:** FW: DOT video -- pushing back against AQ

Am sending you a link to a CSCC video that juxtaposes Zawahiri talking about the impossibility of peaceful change with scenes of jubilation in Egypt.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7hKqFUaPk4c>

The Zawahiri quote (which comes from a statement he made in 2008) is as follows:

"There is no hope to remove the corrupt regimes in Muslim countries except by force, There is no chance to bring about change through peaceful action. Let anyone who disagrees give me a single example."

It's generated over 55,000 hits in the time it has been up and we are looking for ways to push it out farther.

I think it's really good and the audience seems to agree. Clearly the sort of stuff we need to do in this environment --- short, high energy and to the point. Note that there is no music under the Zawahiri clips since he starts his rant with "there will be no music". Will keep you posted as we move forward. Let me know what you think.

jm

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, March 11, 2011 2:02 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Hello!

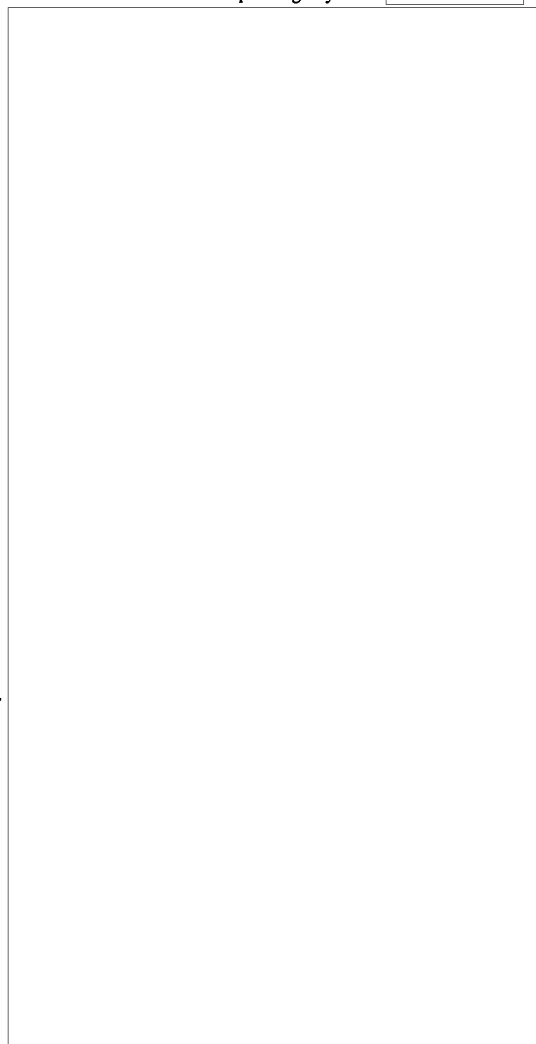
RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print.

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

**From:** Jinnet Fowles [mailto: ]  
**Sent:** Sunday, January 09, 2011 03:49 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Hello!

Malo e le lei Hillary,  
Jan took me to task for not responding to you but [ ]



ofa atu,  
Sina (that's my Tongan name)

On 12/6/10, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

> Dear Jinnet,

>

> I just got your email address from our Wellesley Magazine class notes and  
> wanted to tell you how proud I am of you and your latest adventure. If you  
> have any time in the midst of your teaching, I'd love to hear about what  
> you're doing and what you think of the experience.

B6

>  
> Everywhere I go in Asia, I am always asked if the US can send more  
> English teachers, the #1 request of both leaders and people. So you are on  
> the cutting edge and in an exotic locale.  
>  
> Not much going on around here, except for wiki leaking nonstop, making it  
> wet and uncomfortable but displaying a lot of good diplomatic writing. Never  
> a dull moment, for sure.  
>  
> I hope you're well and thriving and preparing for your first Tongan  
> Christmas.  
> All the best, and Happy Holidays, Hillary  
>  
>

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 12, 2011 7:47 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

B5

Yes.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, March 12, 2011 07:45 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Re:

B5

Ok so should I still try for  then?

B6

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

From: H  
Sent: Saturday, March 12, 2011 07:41 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re:

B5

I will call in or send Jim.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, March 12, 2011 06:54 PM  
To: H  
Cc: 'jake.sullivan' <jake.sullivan@state.gov>; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov' <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
Subject:

B6

B5

On with matt spence

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 10:12 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re. Few calls

---

RELEASE  
IN FULL

I can do Philipine FM at 10:30. And can do Hague before I leave here at 3 or when I'm at Whitehaven around 6 our time if that works for him.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 09:54 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Few calls

- hague just called, said he's available this afternoon. We didn't get topic but can get a call sheet
- philippine fm rosario can talk anytime between 10:15 and noon today. Do you want to do?
- cdn mentioned you agreed to call mashabane so we have asked for times.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 10:21 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Mashabane call sheet

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

Do we have any times from her yet?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 10:17 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Mashabane call sheet

The Secretary's Call with South African Minister for International Relations and Cooperation Maite Nkoana-Mashabane

March 12, 2011, Time TBD



B5





B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, March 14, 2011 10:10 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

I JUST woke up--can't believe how long I slept. I'll get ready and would like some healthy snack since I haven't eaten since Marina's soup in DC. Maybe soup/salad?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Monday, March 14, 2011 10:06 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:**

Its 3pm here, pre-brief with jake and bill burns etc around 4:15.  
We leave at 4:55pm for sarkozy  
Sarkozy 5pm  
Abz 6pm  
Reception 7pm  
Dinner 8pm

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, March 14, 2011 11:05 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Could you come over?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Monday, March 14, 2011 10:38 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Re

Abz here in our suite. He's landing and coming straight here.  
Japanese at their hotel which is next door. However, we have timing issues with him.

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

From: H  
Sent: Monday, March 14, 2011 10:36 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re:

Where are we seeing ABZ and Japanese?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Monday, March 14, 2011 10:06 AM  
To: H  
Subject:

[REDACTED]  
Its 3pm here, pre-brief with jake and bill burns etc around 4:15.  
We leave at 4:55pm for sarkozy  
Sarkozy 5pm  
Abz 6pm  
Reception 7pm  
Dinner 8pm

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 15, 2011 2:53 AM  
**To:** 'oterom2@state.gov'  
**Cc:** 'millsd@state.gov'; 'BlakeR2@State.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Grameen: [REDACTED]

RELEASE IN PART  
B1,B5,1.4(D)

B1  
1.4(D)

Dear Maria--

[REDACTED]

B5

Pls let me know what more I can do too. All best, H

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

**From:** Otero, Maria [<mailto:OteroM2@state.gov>]  
**Sent:** Monday, March 14, 2011 11:13 PM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Blake, Robert O <BlakeR2@state.gov>

**Subject:** Grameen: [REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)

Dear Secretary

[REDACTED]

B1  
1.4(D)  
B5

I'll wait to hear from you.

Best,  
Maria

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/19/2016 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D)  
~ Declassify on: 03/15/2026

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 15, 2011 5:35 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: ElBaradei

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

Pls print.

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

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]  
Sent: Sunday, March 13, 2011 11:09 PM  
To: H  
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
Subject: FW: ElBaradei

fyi

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

From: Poneman, Daniel [mailto: ]  
Sent: Sunday, March 13, 2011 11:05 PM  
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J  
Subject: ElBaradei

B6

Huma/Jake

I have known ElBaradei through nuclear issues for a number of years and we have stayed in touch, including several conversations in recent weeks. I just received this message from him and shared it with [ ] and Bill Burns but forgot to copy you, as I should have in light of the Secretary's travel. My apologies.

B5

"Dear Dan,

Prior to the Secretary's visit, the situation remains quite opaque with no clear road map as regards the timing of either parliamentary or presidential elections, or the drafting of a new constitution etc. They seem to be completely confused and keeping things completely to themselves. In any case, nothing has been clarified publicly other than a referendum on a few superficial amendments to the old constitution next week, which is opposed by pretty much all the political forces except the Brotherhood, and rumors that parliamentary elections might be in September and presidential elections in December. If that is true, it will extend their stay in power for probably a year, but the main problem is that a parliamentary election in 6 months will give a huge advantage to the Brotherhood and the remnants of the old regime since, until today, new parties are not yet permitted, and the parliament will be elected under the old constitution with all its distortions (50% farmers/laborers etc.). The other major problem, according to this plan, is that this distorted parliament will elect the constituent assembly tasked with drafting a new constitution, which will clearly be equally distorted since the parliament will elect an assembly that reflects its interests. Since they now "accept" to extend the transitional period for over a year, I still strongly believe that the only logical sequence is to start by adopting a provisional constitutional declaration to be followed by the drafting of a new constitution through a appointed committee (similar to the one that drafted the current constitution in France) of ~50 that reflects all the different political currents. The constitution, according to the advice I get, should not take more than 3-4 months. Once it is approved by a referendum, then you can hold presidential elections, which we can start preparing for in parallel while the constitution is being drafted. The last step would be the

parliamentary elections, after new parties have been given the opportunity to engage with people to ensure a balanced representation. Also, it might be advantageous - if we're going to have a lengthy transitional period - to have a presidential council of civilians with army representation until a president is elected, to send a message that we are moving toward democracy and civilian rule. The advantage of this road map is that you'll be able to have a constituent committee and constitution that reflects the views of the broad spectrum of society and that, when we keep parliamentary elections as the last stage, we will ensure that the Brotherhood will not be represented beyond their actual size.

Best,  
-Mohamed"

Daniel B. Poneman  
Deputy Secretary  
US Department of Energy  
Washington, DC 20585  
(202) 586-5500

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 16, 2011 6:14 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: AFP on Aristide return

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

Pls print.

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 16, 2011 11:43 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** FW: AFP on Aristide return

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/19/2016 ~ Class:  
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
03/16/2026

FYI

**From:** Mills, Cheryl D  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 16, 2011 11:43 AM  
**To:** Carson, Johnnie  
**Cc:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Steinberg, James B; Gips, Donald H; 'Daniel\_A.\_Restrepo'; Adams, Thomas C  
**Subject:** FW: AFP on Aristide return

B6

Haiti's Prime Minister

B1  
1.4(D)

**From:** Jean Max Bellerive  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 16, 2011 11:36 AM  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D  
**Subject:** Re: AFP on Aristide return

[REDACTED] We were informed by the Ambassador of South Africa accredited in Jamaica that he will arrive Friday 18th. In a meeting right now. Will try to reach you in around 30mn.  
Best

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

Sent from my BlackBerry® device from Digicel

**From:** "Mills, Cheryl D" <MillsCD@state.gov>  
**Date:** Wed, 16 Mar 2011 10:58:39 -0400  
**To:** Jean Max Bellerive <[REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** FW: AFP on Aristide return

B6

FYI

**From:** Shah, Preeti V  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 16, 2011 10:43 AM  
**To:** Mills, Cheryl D; Haiti Office Collective; Blumenfeld, Joshua R  
**Subject:** AFP on Aristide return

Aristide 'set to return to Haiti on Thursday'  
(AFP) – 1 hour ago

PRETORIA — Haiti's exiled ex-president Jean-Bertrand Aristide plans to fly home on Thursday, days before the Caribbean nation's crucial election, a senior South African official told AFP.

"The president is due to take a flight out Thursday afternoon," the official said, speaking on condition of

anonymity, adding that Aristide was expected to give a news briefing before his departure.

"The details of the route will be given at the briefing," the official added.

The charismatic Aristide, Haiti's first democratically elected president, has been exiled in South Africa since being forced from power by an armed rebellion more than seven years ago.

The United States has urged Aristide not to return to Haiti before Sunday's presidential run-off election.

Preeti Shah

Haiti Special Coordinator's Office (HSC)

phone 202-647-9468

fax 202-647-8900

BlackBerry

B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 19, 2011 8:43 AM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

Pls bring me a copy of the UNSCR 1973.

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

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 19, 2011 08:10 AM  
**To:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>; H; Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Subject:**

We have a decades-long friendship with Bahrain that we expect to continue long into the future.

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 20, 2011 11:47 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls

RELEASE IN  
FULL

How do I address Nawaz?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2011 11:31 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Calls

Saud al faisal called in and is free so he's after fassi firi.  
They are calling sharif now too to see if he can talk right after

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

From: H  
Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2011 11:26 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Calls

Let's do Sharif right after this call w FF.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, March 20, 2011 11:20 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Calls

- you may know but ops has fassi firi available when you are done with tom. He's available for the next few minutes  
- also nawaz sharif, I have a cell for him that I can give ops. But they need notice for that call

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2011 7:36 AM  
**To:** 'millsed@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Prep call

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

[redacted] so I'd like to do prep call at 8:15 w Jim, Bill, Jeff, Cheryl, Phil, Johnnie and Jake [redacted]. If some can't be on, pls ask that they email me any points or info I need.

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2011 12:15 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re. Diane Sawyer

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Yes

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2011 12:12 PM  
**To:** H; 'preines' <preines >  
**Cc:** 'lvalmoro' <lvalmoro >; 'jake.sullivan' <jake.sullivan >  
**Subject:** RE: Diane Sawyer

B6

can we do new yorker photo tomorrow too then??

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

Ok--when? And I'll need < > early because I have breakfast w VP.

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

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

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

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2011 1:38 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: tomorrow - we can do [REDACTED] around 11am

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

B6

Can you pls call me at home?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2011 01:20 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** tomorrow - we can do [REDACTED] around 11am

6:45am [REDACTED]

7am [REDACTED]

7am call with Japanese FM Matsumoto

7:45 am WEEKLY BREAKFAST w/VICE PRESIDENT BIDEN  
8:30 am

8:40 am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING

8:45 am DAILY MEETING OF SENIOR STAFF

9:15 am MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES

10:00 am OFFICE TIME  
1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm PRE-BRIEF FOR WEDNESDAY MCC BOARD MEETING

1:30 pm DROP BY PRINCIPALS MEETING OF U.S. COOKSTOVES  
1:35 pm INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUP

1:55 pm WORLD WATER DAY EVENTS: REMARKS AND SIGNING OF  
2:30pm U.S.-WORLD BANK MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

AND MEETING WITH ZOELICK

2:45 pm OFFICE TIME  
6:00 pm Secretary's Office

REMINDER [REDACTED]

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2011 4:38 PM  
**To:** 'preines' [redacted]  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'lvalmoro' [redacted]; 'jake.sullivan' [redacted]  
**Subject:** Re: Japan

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

B6  
B6

1 is a nonstarter red herring so 2 it is.

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

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

B6

Two options for you:

- 1)
- 2)

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 22, 2011 11:21 AM  
**To:** 'lvalmoro' [redacted] Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: H. American Academy in Berlin event. Sid

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

??????????

**From:** sbwhoeop [redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 22, 2011 09:49 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** H: American Academy in Berlin event. Sid

Hillary: The American Academy has contacted me, confused about what's happening with your prospective participation in the Holbrooke memorial there on April 15th. They tell me they still don't have a commitment from your people at State and are tearing their hair out. Can someone sort this out and make it happen? Thanks. Sid

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 22, 2011 6:55 PM  
**To:** 'preines [REDACTED]'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Diane Sawyer

---

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Did you see it? How was it?



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 23, 2011 8:36 AM  
**To:** 'Burnswj@state.gov'; 'feltmanjd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Morocco

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

Before my mtg w TFF, could you explain to me  
Thx.

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 23, 2011 6:05 PM  
**To:** 'jamierubin' [redacted]  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Greetings and thanks

---

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Jamie--

Huma passed on your very welcome message, reminding me again of how I wish we had more regular communication. So, I hope you'll use this, my personal email, to contact me directly w ideas, questions and even criticism as we try to navigate successfully thru this uncharted terrain.

All the best, H

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 24, 2011 7:32 AM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Proposed Quad Deal

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

I assume I can do call now or btw 10-10:30 if I have the call sheet which I don't yet.

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 24, 2011 07:23 AM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Fw: Proposed Quad Deal

Latest.

**From:** Daalder, Ivo H  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 24, 2011 05:48 AM  
**To:** 'Sherwood-Randall, Liz' <[REDACTED]>; McDonough, Denis R.  
<[REDACTED]>; Gordon, Philip H; Steinberg, James B; Burns, William J;  
<[REDACTED]>; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** McEldowney, Nancy E; Heffern, John A; Spence, Matthew J. <[REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** RE: Proposed Quad Deal

B6

Update on where we are, as of this morning today:



B5

Ivo

Ivo Daalder | +32 (0)2-724-3230  
daalderih@state.gov

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Sherwood-Randall, Liz [mailto: [REDACTED]]  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 24, 2011 8:48 AM  
**To:** Daalder, Ivo H; McDonough, Denis R.; Gordon, Philip H; Steinberg, James B; Burns, William J; [REDACTED]; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** McEldowney, Nancy E; Heffern, John A; Spence, Matthew J.  
**Subject:** Re: Proposed Quad Deal

B6

Ditto [REDACTED]

B5

Liz

**From:** Daalder, Ivo H <DaalderIH@state.gov>  
**To:** McDonough, Denis R.; Gordon, Philip H <GordonPH@state.gov>; Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; [REDACTED]; Sherwood-Randall, Liz; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**Cc:** McEldowney, Nancy E <McEldowneyNE@state.gov>; Heffern, John A <HeffernJA@state.gov>; Spence, Matthew J.  
**Sent:** Thu Mar 24 02:35:24 2011  
**Subject:** Re: Proposed Quad Deal

B6

Exactly right. One clarification that we'll want to make explicit: [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

B5

I will preview this my 3 colleagues this morning as well.  
Sent Using U.S. Department of State / Blackberry Server

**From:** McDonough, Denis R. < [REDACTED] >  
**To:** Gordon, Philip H; Steinberg, James B; Burns, William J; [REDACTED]  
Sherwood-Randall, Liz < [REDACTED] >; Daalder, Ivo H; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** McEldowney, Nancy E; Heffern, John A; Spence, Matthew J. < [REDACTED] >  
**Sent:** Thu Mar 24 00:48:42 2011  
**Subject:** RE: Proposed Quad Deal

B6

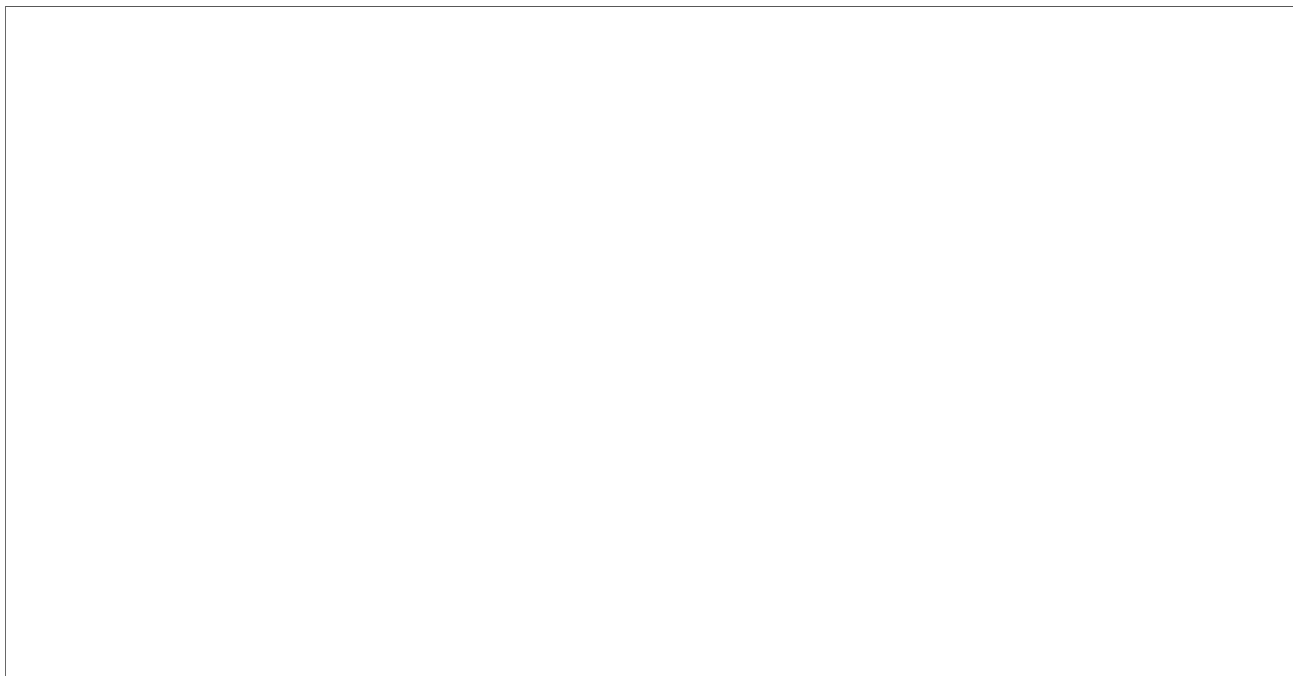
This is solid, Phil.

Denis.

**From:** Gordon, Philip H [mailto:GordonPH@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 23, 2011 6:55 PM  
**To:** Steinberg, James B; McDonough, Denis R.; Burns, William J; [REDACTED] Sherwood-Randall, Liz; Daalder, Ivo H; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Cc:** McEldowney, Nancy E; Heffern, John A; Spence, Matthew J.

B6

**Subject:** Proposed Quad Deal



This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 24, 2011 6:06 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'preines [REDACTED]', 'sullivanjj@state.gov' B6  
**Subject:** On my way from WH now

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 24, 2011 10:54 PM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'reinesp@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Sunday shows

---

RELEASE IN FULL

There's a lot of work to be done to prepare for these. Let's discuss in the am so I can download to you. Thx.

**From:** Diane Reynolds <dreynolds@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, March 25, 2011 9:30 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Time 100 request

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

I'd be happy to do this but I think it makes more sense for one of her foreign policy/diplomatic colleagues to do it. My 2c.

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Friday, March 25, 2011 09:27 AM  
**To:** Diane Reynolds  
**Subject:** FW: Time 100 request

I am going to regret. ok?

**From:** Melissa August [mailto: ]  
**Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2011 10:37 AM  
**To:** Reines, Philippe I  
**Subject:** Time 100 request

B6

Dear Philippe:

I am writing to you about the Time 100, our list of the 100 most influential people in the world. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is one of our honorees and we would like to ask Chelsea Clinton to write the 150-200-word tribute that would appear in the May 2 issue of Time.

If you could let me know if this is feasible as soon as possible, I would greatly appreciate it. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me. I have some links to samples from our 2010 Time 100 of 2010 listed below.

Best regards,  
Melissa August  
Time  
1130 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Suite 900  
Washington, DC 20036  
[redacted]

Phil Donahue on Oprah Winfrey  
[http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685\\_1984940\\_1985540,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685_1984940_1985540,00.html)  
<[http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685\\_1984940\\_1985540,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685_1984940_1985540,00.html)>

George Lopez on Conan O'Brien  
[http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685\\_1984940\\_1985538,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685_1984940_1985538,00.html)  
<[http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685\\_1984940\\_1985538,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685_1984940_1985538,00.html)>

Sheila Baer on Elizabeth Warren  
[http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685\\_1984745\\_1984767,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685_1984745_1984767,00.html)



<[http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685\\_1984745\\_1984767,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685_1984745_1984767,00.html)>

And a link to the whole 2010 package if you want more.

<http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/0,28757,1984685,00.html>

<<http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/0,28757,1984685,00.html>>

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, March 25, 2011 1:04 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'Ivalmore' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fw: Any chance to take advantage of this opportunity??? TIME SENSITIVE

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Fyi

**From:** Jan Piercy [mailto:[REDACTED]]  
**Sent:** Friday, March 25, 2011 10:25 AM  
**To:** Balderston, Kris M <BalderstonKM@state.gov>; Melanne Verveer [REDACTED]; Cheryl Mills <MillsCD@state.gov>; Faiz, Lalarukh <FaizL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Any chance to take advantage of this opportunity??? TIME SENSITIVE

All:

Pardon this somewhat broadcast email, [REDACTED] which given your schedules may not even register, but I spotted reference to HRC being in London and wanted to flag that the **Skoll Foundation World Forum on Social Entrepreneurship** runs 3/30-4/1 in Oxford, with all the entrepreneurs supported by Skoll meeting in advance 3/29-30. If there is *any* chance HRC could fit an Oxford stop into her itinerary, Skoll would jump through hoops to bring together an audience that would be high value for her/State objectives. HRC expressed interest in 2009 in speaking at this Forum. She has a standing invitation, but it did not work out to accept in either 2010 or 2011. A glance at the cast of social entrepreneurs supported by Skoll underscores the relevance to current urgent needs for innovation and partnership in advancing access to economic opportunity and peace globally. The leaders Skoll convenes in Oxford span the globe and their work is both effective and moving to scale. This would be a great venue to advance the impact investment and Middle East peace messages, among others.

Thanks for any consideration you may be able to give this recommendation. I can provide contact information if this is at all a possibility.

Best regards,

Jan

Jan Piercy  
Executive Vice President  
SBI (ShoreBank International)  
202.822.9105 office  
[REDACTED] mobile

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 26, 2011 7:50 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Few other things

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Do you think Monica should come too? Ok w me either way.

Also, can you get us reservations for [REDACTED] ?

B6

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, March 26, 2011 07:45 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Few other things

Philippe.

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

From: H  
Sent: Saturday, March 26, 2011 07:45 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Few other things

Are Jake +/-or Philippe coming w me?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Friday, March 25, 2011 09:24 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Few other things

- pouch en route

[REDACTED]

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 27, 2011 9:36 AM  
**To:** 'lvalmorc [redacted]', Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Can I confirm: my speaking at funeral?

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Let's flip the Iran mtg later so I don't have to rush back. Also, maybe I should take the shuttle up Wed night?

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

**From:** lvalmorc [redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 27, 2011 09:33 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin; H  
**Subject:** Re: Can I confirm my speaking at funeral?

Here is what Thursday would look like:

7:15am wheels up from Andrews

9:00am arrive for service

9:30am-11:30am (approx) service for GF

1:15pm back at State

2:00pm meeting with Iran Policy experts

3:45pm or 4pm meeting with POTUS

Remainder of the day with office time for now.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**To:** H  
**To:** 'lvalmorc [redacted]'  
**Subject:** Re: Can I confirm my speaking at funeral?  
**Sent:** Mar 27, 2011 9:28 AM

Yes.

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 27, 2011 09:26 AM  
**To:** 'lvalmorc [redacted]', 'lvalmorc [redacted]', Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Can I confirm my speaking at funeral?

What would Thursday look like?

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 27, 2011 1:07 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED] wants to start call early. Can u do?

B5

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

Yes--will get on now.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, March 27, 2011 01:04 PM  
To: H  
Subject: [REDACTED] wants to start call early. Can u do?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 27, 2011 1:32 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Today

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

I don't know yet whether I will go into office but am inclined to do so and do my scheduled mtgs until we leave. Could I talk w Blair at 7:30am? Go w the hotels we have contracts w already.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, March 27, 2011 01:25 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Today

We are wheels up 11:30am tomorrow.

We will ask for blair call, you want to do in the morning. You want to go to office?

On hotel rooms, we have a cost issue since they signed contracts with the marriott (the bad hotel) originally. And same with churchhill for the 6 rooms. Neither hotel will give money back. We have called the other hotels and though no one had a lot of rooms, some had a handful. but the money is the problem. So I'm trying to push and see if we can get more rooms at the churchill so we can have more of our people stay there.

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

From: H  
Sent: Sunday, March 27, 2011 11:59 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Today

Ok good. I may want to do Blair in the am. What time are we wheels up tomorrow? Any further word on hotel rooms?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, March 27, 2011 11:57 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Today

Johnnie carson has talked to fm as recently as this morning. So he's doesn't think this call is needed anymore.

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

From: H  
Sent: Sunday, March 27, 2011 10:59 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Today

Can I do Jonathan tomorrow? I will do anytime including on plane. That's my preference.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, March 27, 2011 10:54 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Today

1.15 secure call on cisco

Goodluck jonathan says he can talk between 2 and 3. You want to do?

For tomorrow,

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**From:** Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, March 28, 2011 11:17 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [redacted]  
**Subject:** Fw: Scanned image from cm4010  
**Attach:** cm4010\_state\_gov\_20110328\_102033.pdf

---

B6

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

**From:** cm4010@state.gov [mailto:cm4010@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Monday, March 28, 2011 11:20 AM  
**To:** Hanley, Monica R  
**Subject:** Scanned image from cm4010

**Reply to:** cm4010@state.gov <cm4010@state.gov>  
**Device Name:** Not Set  
**Device Model:** cm4010  
**Location:** Not Set

**File Format:** PDF MMR(G4)  
**Resolution:** 200dpi x 200dpi

Attached file is scanned image in PDF format.

Use Acrobat(R)Reader4.0 or later version, or Adobe(R)Reader(TM) of Adobe Systems Incorporated to view the document

Acrobat(R)Reader4.0 or later version, or Adobe(R)Reader(TM) can be downloaded from the following URL:

Adobe, the Adobe logo, Acrobat, the Adobe PDF logo, and Reader are registered trademarks or trademarks of Adobe Systems Incorporated in the United States and other countries.

<http://www.adobe.com/>

weather.com - 10 Day Printable Forecast











Page 1 of 1

RELEASE  
IN FULL




10-Day Forecast for San Diego, CA

NEW: Larger Radar Maps & No Ads

|                 |                                                                                     |                    | High /<br>Low (°F) | Precip.<br>% |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Today<br>Mar 28 |    | AM Clouds / PM Sun | 65°/55°            | 0 %          |
| Tue<br>Mar 29   |    | Partly Cloudy      | 67°/57°            | 10 %         |
| Wed<br>Mar 30   |    | Mostly Sunny       | 74°/62°            | 10 %         |
| Thu<br>Mar 31   |    | Sunny              | 78°/63°            | 0 %          |
| Fri<br>Apr 01   |    | Sunny              | 72°/60°            | 0 %          |
| Sat<br>Apr 02   |    | Partly Cloudy      | 67°/58°            | 10 %         |
| Sun<br>Apr 03   |    | Partly Cloudy      | 65°/56°            | 10 %         |
| Mon<br>Apr 04   |    | Mostly Sunny       | 66°/58°            | 10 %         |
| Tue<br>Apr 05   |   | Sunny              | 67°/58°            | 0 %          |
| Wed<br>Apr 06   |  | Few Showers        | 66°/86°            | 30 %         |

Last Updated Mar 28 07:08 a.m. PT

 Print This Forecast

[Back to Previous Page](#)

<http://www.weather.com/weather/print/USCA0982>

3/28/2011



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, April 1, 2011 11:31 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] B6  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Thx.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Friday, April 01, 2011 11:25 AM  
**To:** H; 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] <lvalmoro [REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

June 21st

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Friday, April 01, 2011 11:24 AM  
**To:** 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] <lvalmoro [REDACTED]>; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Schedule

Is the next World Food Prize event in May or June on my schedule?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, April 2, 2011 11:03 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Mexico project

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Pls bring the clips. Thx.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 11:00 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Mexico project

Got it  
You need anything? Clips are ready, have some papers.  
No pdb yet  
Call in 30 min

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

From: H  
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:59 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Mexico project

The Diaspora piece includes all hyphenated Americans, not just Irish so we should be ok.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:50 AM  
To: H; 'MillsCD@state.gov' <MillsCD@state.gov>  
Cc: 'lvalmoro' <lvalmoro>  
Subject: Re: Mexico project

yes he's been emailing all of us on this. We are aware of your commitment to this, was on our list to lock with you monday datewise.  
We just might need to deconflict exact timing with kris baldo irish diaspora piece

But we are in good shape  
Jose knows that

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

From: H  
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:46 AM  
To: 'millscd@state.gov' <millscd@state.gov>  
Cc: 'lvalmoro' <lvalmoro>; Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Mexico project

I am very excited about this project which I asked Jose to start, and I want time to meet w them before the lunch which I will do on the 17th. So let's plan for me to see the group +/- leadership either on the 16th or for breakfast on the 17th.

We also need to get Alec Ross/Katie Dowd/ Philippe/Fabiola/Kris etc to start working on both a press and social media strategy and outreach to every possible group including the Cong Hispanic Caucus, w Jose and others. We need to blanket Spanish language media, Mexican media, US national and border media, start a Facebook page and anything else that will work to show people-to-people diplomacy in action. Set up interviews for me and others. This has huge possibilities. And I want to be very visibly connected

to it.

Be sure too that Roberta J and Judith McHale are informed and asked for ideas. We should discuss whether I need to call Calderon or Espinosa to let them know so they don't worry about what we're doing. In other words, we need a whole role out strategy

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

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]  
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:34 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Fw: Mexico project

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

From: jhv.cg [mailto: ]  
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 09:00 AM  
To: Mills, Cheryl D  
Subject: Re: Mexico project

B6

Yep. We will be serving in part as a conduit for US ngo's. For example, Henry, who serves on Habitat's board, is bringing them to Mexico. This is big, not to mention, unprecedented. I'm glad S encouraged us to do this. We would not have otherwise done so. She needs to take credit at our rollout on 17, May.

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

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

From: "Mills, Cheryl D" <MillsCD@state.gov>  
Date: Sat, 2 Apr 2011 07:40:13  
To: <jhv.cg [mailto: ]>  
Subject: Re: Mexico project

This is just great

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

From: Jose Villarreal [mailto: ]  
Sent: Friday, April 01, 2011 12:15 PM  
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Abedin, Huma  
Subject: Mexico project

> Hi Cheryl & Huma - As you may know, since concluding my Shanghai role, I have been giving my all to building a Mexican American diaspora project aimed at helping build a civil society infrastructure in Mexico. Along with Henry Cisneros and Maria Echaveste, who have joined me on the board of the U.S. - Mexico Foundation, we have been traveling around the country to build support in the Mexican American community for our efforts.

> I am pleased to say that we will publicly launch this project on May 17 with a series of events in DC, including a national press club event that Henry C. will headline. As you know, our efforts have been inspired by Secy Clinton's charge to us to find ways to engage in Mexico. Part of the success of our efforts has been our ability to tell people that Secy Clinton is deeply committed to this project. I truly believe that this is an HRC legacy project. Nothing like this has ever been attempted in our community. We have been involved in precedent shattering conversations with Mexican civil society leaders, including the most prominent business leaders. We have reached deep into our pockets to demonstrate financial commitment. I personally gave \$10k to this effort. I am not alone.

> Now the ask: we'd like Secy Clinton to be our lunch keynote on May 17. As I mention, this is her baby - a wonderful legacy project that she can be proud of. I wish I could say that this is the last time that I'll ever ask for something but I'd probably be lying. Please try to make this happen. Her key Latino advisors/supporters are leading this.

> Thanks and miss you both, Jose

**From:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 3, 2011 9:40 PM  
**To:** 'humamabedi' [redacted]  
**Subject:** Marina pls print  
**Attach:** s.docx

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

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

B6

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

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 22, 2011 6:32 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Shuttle

RELEASE  
IN FULL

I just spoke w him.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2011 06:31 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Shuttle

I can't even imagine! Must have been scary. Ops has been trying to reach mccully.

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

From: H  
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2011 06:10 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Shuttle

I should start w MM and I talked w Kurt last night who told me his delegation was safe. Can you imagine a force three times what we experienced when we were there?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2011 06:08 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Shuttle

Yes. Was going to ask you about that. Murray mccully  
And john key?  
You know they have found armitage and all americans?

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

From: H  
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2011 06:07 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Shuttle

Pls ask ops to try to call New Zealand FM (Murray Macalley?) and (get me the correct spelling!) connect to my berry.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2011 05:59 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Shuttle

I am.  
We can get papers.

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

From: H  
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2011 05:58 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Shuttle

Are you going on the 7 w me? Can we get all the papers? For the second day we didn't get any and I'm suffering from withdrawal!

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 5, 2011 12:06 PM  
**To:** 'Russorv@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Jon Davidson

---

RELEASE IN PART B6

Pls do  Thx.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 6, 2011 8:58 PM  
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Howard berman returned your call

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

I talked w him tonight.

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

From: Jiloty, Lauren C [<mailto:JilotyLC@state.gov>]  
Sent: Wednesday, April 06, 2011 06:59 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Howard berman returned your call

his cell.  
###

B6



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, April 7, 2011 6:07 AM  
**To:** 'millsd@state.gov'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Fw: Something to make you proud

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Fyi--hope it makes you feel proud too!

**From:** PVerveer [mailto: ]  
**Sent:** Thursday, April 07, 2011 12:19 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Something to make you proud

B6

Think of this during all those tough times:

Dexter Filkins has a major piece on yemen in the new yorker and has this on Tarrokol Karman, a Yemen woman who has been the leader among the protestors in Yemen.

A few days later, I visited Karman's house, in central Sanaa. On the mantel in the sitting room were framed photographs of four people: Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, and Hillary Clinton. Karman had met Clinton in January, just before the uprising began. Her organization, Women Journalists Without Chains, receives funding from the U.S. government. The meeting with Clinton was arranged by the U.S. Embassy, she said. Looking at the picture of Clinton, she added, "I don't want to be foreign minister, but she is my role model."

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, April 7, 2011 6:24 AM  
**To:** 'JilotyLC@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Call list

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls add: Alan Horn in LA.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, April 8, 2011 7:36 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED] Won't be free for 2 hours.

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

B5  
B6

Good for him.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Friday, April 08, 2011 07:35 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** [REDACTED] Won't be free for 2 hours.

B5  
B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, April 9, 2011 1:08 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Do you remember what

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Muslim Lakhani said yesterday that I told him I would quote?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, April 9, 2011 5:34 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: [ ] might be able to talk secure in the next hour. Is that ok?

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

B5

Can't confirm that. I could do in afternoon tomorrow.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, April 09, 2011 05:25 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: [ ] might be able to talk secure in the next hour. Is that ok?

Specifically 8am

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, April 09, 2011 05:25 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: [ ] might be able to talk secure in the next hour. Is that ok?

Apparently he's having a crazy day  
Asking if tomorrow morning works instead?

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

From: H  
Sent: Saturday, April 09, 2011 03:44 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: [ ] might be able to talk secure in the next hour. Is that ok?

Let's say 6.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, April 09, 2011 03:43 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: [ ] might be able to talk secure in the next hour. Is that ok?

[ ] asking for 5:30 or 6pm

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

From: H  
Sent: Saturday, April 09, 2011 03:42 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: [ ] might be able to talk secure in the next hour. Is that ok?

Or 4:15 or even 4:30 but I need a time.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, April 09, 2011 03:37 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: [ ] might be able to talk secure in the next hour. Is that ok?

I'll ask.

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

From: H  
Sent: Saturday, April 09, 2011 03:32 PM

To: Huma Abedin

Subject: Re: [REDACTED] might be able to talk secure in the next hour. Is that ok?

B5

Can we set an exact time? Let's say 4?

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

From: Huma Abedin

Sent: Saturday, April 09, 2011 03:28 PM

To: H

Subject: [REDACTED] might be able to talk secure in the next hour. Is that ok?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 10:08 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: [redacted] office asking for an afternoon time you prefer

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

B5

I could do anytime btw 2-4.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, April 10, 2011 10:02 AM  
To: H  
Subject: [redacted] office asking for an afternoon time you prefer

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 2:19 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Travel request

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

Ok--pls say "hello" to him for me. Also, do we have a final decision on whether I'm going to Doha?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 02:08 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** RE: Travel request

i may have to take an earlier shuttle because hassan is coming to ny today and then taking the 6 or 7pm to dc for brookings dinner so i might leave earlier with him.

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 1:04 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Travel request

Yes--is that ok for you?

What's latest on

B6

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 01:02 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Travel request

Yes we can. U still want to take the 8pm?

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 01:01 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Travel request

I just heard about 11:30 call. Can we do it?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 12:55 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Travel request

Just called. They say 3:45pm works.

Also they just emailed

B5

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 12:51 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Travel request

Any word about call w ?

B5

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 11:36 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Travel request



Don't worry. I have them for you. And I will embroider your name!!

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

From: H

Sent: Sunday, April 10, 2011 11:34 AM

To: Huma Abedin

Subject: Travel request

I want to get the new  before we leave. And I want to be sure we put my name on them!

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 2:19 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Got it. So should I call him and explain?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, April 10, 2011 02:15 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:**

also, seems like we are all on the same page regarding no qatar?  
its also too tough logistically without blowing up your schedule.  
and you would have to make hbj delay the meeting when all other ministers are asking him to make it earlier and earlier.

the whole thing would be a mess

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, April 11, 2011 7:01 AM  
**To:** 'Ivalmoro [REDACTED]'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com> B6  
**Subject:** Fw: Mini Schedule 4/11/11 Monday

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

I'm afraid the lunch could go longer than an hour so may have to push back Jack Keane. Is that possible?

**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C [mailto:JilotyLC@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Monday, April 11, 2011 06:58 AM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Mini Schedule 4/11/11 Monday

8:25 am DEPART Private Residence \*En route State Department

8:35 am ARRIVE State Department

8:35 am PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING

8:40 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING

9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES

10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:00 am PHOTOS

10:05 am Treaty Room

10:05 am MEETING w/S&ED TEAM/PRE-BRIEF FOR LUNCH

10:30 am Secretary's Outer Office

10:30 am BILAT w/FINLAND FM DR. CAI-GORAN ALEXANDER STUBB

11:00 am Secretary's Conference Room \*Official photo in East Hall preceding.

11:00 am PRESS PRE-BRIEF

11:05 am Secretary's Office

11:05 am JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/FINLAND FM STUBB

11:20 am Treaty Room

11:30 am [REDACTED]

B5

12:45 pm LUNCH w/TREASURY SECRETARY TIMOTHY GEITHNER

1:45 pm AND DEFENSE SECRETARY ROBERT GATES

James Monroe Room, 8<sup>th</sup> Floor

2:00 pm ONE-ON-ONE MEETING w/GENERAL JACK KEANE

2:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office

2:30 pm EXPANDED MEETING w/GENERAL JACK KEANE

3:00 pm Secretary's Outer Office

3:40 pm DROP-BY U/S BURNS' MEETING w/ LIVIA LEU AGOSTI,

3:45 pm SWISS AMBASSADOR TO IRAN \*Secretary's Conference Room

3:45 pm OFFICE TIME

6:00 pm Secretary's Office

6:00 pm DEPART State Department \*En route Private Residence

6:10 pm ARRIVE Private Residence

####

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, April 11, 2011 10:21 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Few things

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Ok.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Monday, April 11, 2011 10:18 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Few things

Called [REDACTED]. Is that ok? Go straight to emir for 9am mtg. Or you want [REDACTED] go to office?

Also, emir won't be at gala.

New draft of speech will be faxed to house late tonite.

Reminder oscar will be there in the morning, not marina.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 13, 2011 6:41 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Predictions for period between now and end of S's Tenure  
**Attach:** S Note Predictions 04 13 11.docx

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Pls print.

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 13, 2011 03:11 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** FW: Predictions for period between now and end of S's Tenure

FYI

**From:** Ross, Alec J  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 13, 2011 2:52 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Predictions for period between now and end of S's Tenure

Jake, attached and below is a note to S. If she has convenient time on plane, please share. I can produce follow-up content aligning with any of these predictions if she requests, but these are a summary. Thanks. Alec

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

April 13, 2011

## NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY

FROM: S/SAIT – Alec Ross

SUBJECT: Disruptions that will impact your remaining tenure

Two years ago, we had a meeting in which we discussed how technology would disrupt the conduct of our foreign policy, for both good and ill. Looking back, some of the predictions I made, which many thought a little crazy, proved true:

- Technology/social media would devolve power from governments and large institutions to individuals and small institutions, enabling almost leaderless political movements. We saw this with Tunisia and Egypt, and now in Syria.
- Powerful “virtual organizations” would emerge with globally distributed members and followers instead of paid staff, and a Web address instead of a street address. We saw this with Wikileaks.
- Internet-enabled cell phones would proliferate and become a central feature of global economic development. Since our conversation, the number of handsets worldwide has grown from 4 billion to 5 billion, with 75% of that growth in the developing world. Remarkably, there are now more cell phones in Africa than Europe.
- Authoritarian regimes would respond to increased Internet access by tightening restrictions on free expression and heightening surveillance for the purpose of squelching dissent. We see this throughout the Middle East, and much of the Caucasus and Southeast

Asia.

Between now and January 2013, technology will continue to play a very disruptive role in the conduct of our foreign policy, again for both good and ill. Specifically, I predict the following:

- There will be technology-based breakthrough innovations in education and finance. Population segments (particularly women and girls) previously denied schooling or financial services will gain access. Networks do not manifest racial, gender or ethnic bias.
- These new breakthrough innovations will create many new billionaires in the developing world. There will be several more “Mo Ibrahims” emerging in the next 18 months. Additionally, these developing-world innovations will strengthen the local workforces and increase the size of its middle class.
- Secretary Gates’ designation of cyber-space as a theater of war will be validated as nations build their defensive and offensive capabilities in a cyber-space arms race. Resulting asymmetries in capability will stress relations with emerging powers.
- Expanding Internet use in Muslim majority countries will routinely aggravate cross-cultural conflict (i.e. “draw Mohammed” day, Koran burning), injecting fringe American politics into foreign affairs.
- Political power will increasingly operate through regional and global youth cultures that share ideas and tactics through the Internet. Previously unknown political leaders and movements will emerge to challenge more established leaders.
- Response from autocratic states to the Arab Spring will be deep investment in control technologies for content restriction, surveillance, and cyber-attacks on opponents.
- Ubiquity of online data (government, finance, corporate, personal) plus citizen journalists armed with camera-enabled mobile phones will expose corruption that will elevate demands for good government.
- Advances in translation technologies will lower barriers for cross-cultural exchange, education, and scientific cooperation.
- Ad hoc hacker organizations (like the “anonymous” group which attacked Amazon and PayPal post Wikileaks) will increase in number and sophistication, and will successfully disrupt a Western government.

I believe your remaining time as Secretary of State will continue with technology-fueled disruptive change. The measure of the Department’s success in the face of this change will be the creativity, speed and flexibility of our responses. As Clarence Darrow said, “It is not the strongest of the species that survive, nor the most intelligent, but the one most responsive to

change.”



**United States Department of State**

**Washington, D.C. 20520**

**RELEASE IN  
FULL**

**SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED**

April 13, 2011

**NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY**

**FROM:** S/SAIT – Alec Ross

**SUBJECT:** Disruptions that will impact your remaining tenure

Two years ago, we had a meeting in which we discussed how technology would disrupt the conduct of our foreign policy, for both good and ill. Looking back, some of the predictions I made, which many thought a little crazy, proved true:

- Technology/social media would devolve power from governments and large institutions to individuals and small institutions, enabling almost leaderless political movements. We saw this with Tunisia and Egypt, and now in Syria.
- Powerful “virtual organizations” would emerge with globally distributed members and followers instead of paid staff, and a Web address instead of a street address. We saw this with Wikileaks.
- Internet-enabled cell phones would proliferate and become a central feature of global economic development. Since our conversation, the number of handsets worldwide has grown from 4 billion to 5 billion, with 75% of that growth in the developing world. Remarkably, there are now more cell phones in Africa than Europe.
- Authoritarian regimes would respond to increased Internet access by tightening restrictions on free expression and heightening surveillance for the purpose of squelching dissent. We see this throughout the Middle East, and much of the Caucasus and Southeast Asia.

Between now and January 2013, technology will continue to play a very disruptive role in the conduct of our foreign policy, again for both good and ill. Specifically, I predict the following:

- There will be technology-based breakthrough innovations in education and finance. Population segments (particularly women and girls) previously denied schooling or financial services will gain access. Networks do not manifest racial, gender or ethnic bias.

**SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED**



SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

2

- These new breakthrough innovations will create many new billionaires in the developing world. There will be several more “Mo Ibrahims” emerging in the next 18 months. Additionally, these developing-world innovations will strengthen the local workforces and increase the size of its middle class.
- Secretary Gates’ designation of cyber-space as a theater of war will be validated as nations build their defensive and offensive capabilities in a cyber-space arms race. Resulting asymmetries in capability will stress relations with emerging powers.
- Expanding Internet use in Muslim majority countries will routinely aggravate cross-cultural conflict (i.e. “draw Mohammed” day, Koran burning), injecting fringe American politics into foreign affairs.
- Political power will increasingly operate through regional and global youth cultures that share ideas and tactics through the Internet. Previously unknown political leaders and movements will emerge to challenge more established leaders.
- Response from autocratic states to the Arab Spring will be deep investment in control technologies for content restriction, surveillance, and cyber-attacks on opponents.
- Ubiquity of online data (government, finance, corporate, personal) plus citizen journalists armed with camera-enabled mobile phones will expose corruption that will elevate demands for good government.
- Advances in translation technologies will lower barriers for cross-cultural exchange, education, and scientific cooperation.
- Ad hoc hacker organizations (like the “anonymous” group which attacked Amazon and PayPal post Wikileaks) will increase in number and sophistication, and will successfully disrupt a Western government.

I believe your remaining time as Secretary of State will continue with technology-fueled disruptive change. The measure of the Department’s success in the face of this change will be the creativity, speed and flexibility of our responses. As Clarence Darrow said, “It is not the strongest of the species that survive, nor the most intelligent, but the one most responsive to change.”

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**Approved: Alec Ross**

**Drafted: Alec Ross and Ben Scott, ext 7-4705**

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
 Sent: Friday, April 15, 2011 2:51 AM  
 To: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
 Subject: Fw: H: Holbrooke Berlin event memo. Sid

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print 2 copies.

From: sbwhoeop [mailto: ]  
 Sent: Tuesday, April 05, 2011 11:55 AM  
 To: H  
 Subject: Re: H: Holbrooke Berlin event memo. Sid

Yes, he will be there. Also, Bill Drozdiak plans to be there, too. They are looking forward to seeing you. Spoke with Jamie, who is pleased you have been in touch, he'll send you ideas/criticism/etc; his new job is terrific for him and well-suited, at last.

Max's latest piece (you have to go to the site to see the video, if you want):  
<http://maxblumenthal.com/2011/04/remembering-juliano-mer-khamis/>

### Remembering Juliano Mer Khamis

On 04.04.11, By Max

Juliano Mer Khamis was killed yesterday by a gunman in Jenin. I met him on a number of occasions. He exuded a unique charisma that was bound up with unpredictable rage and spontaneous joy. Gideon Levy has done justice to his legacy in a short but powerful obituary.

My friend Jen Marlowe helped create this video about Juliano's work with the Jenin Freedom Theater. Watching it is all anyone needs to do to understand how much of a void his murder has created:

Juliano's documentary, *Arna's Children*, is the best film I have seen about the occupation. There is really no other film that approaches its emotional impact or captures the way in which the trashier of the occupation methodically destroys the lives of everyone in its path and how those in its way resist it no matter what. So here it is, a testament to the genius of Juliano, the courage of his mother, who founded the Jenin Freedom Theater in 1988, and the humanity of the children of Jenin.

Juliano was born to a Jewish Israeli woman, Arna Mer, who dedicated the last years of her life to challenging the occupation, protesting at checkpoints and traveling to and from the Jenin refugee camp, even while in the terminal stages of breast cancer. His father was a Palestinian Christian bureaucrat, Saliba Khamis, who met Arna in the Israeli Communist Party, which was for decades the only party in Israel that promoted co-existence between Arabs and Jews. Mer and Khamis named their son after Salvatore Giuliano, a strikingly handsome, swaggering Italian bandit who led a small band of landless peasants against powerful oligarchs, earning himself a reputation as *the Italian Robin Hood* and eventual media stardom.

After making *Arna's Children* and appearing in films like Amos Gitai's *Kippur* (not the best Gitai film but still worth watching), Juliano set out to revive his mother's Jenin Freedom Theater. The theater had been in ruins since the Israeli army destroyed it while reducing Jenin to a post-apocalyptic moonscape of destruction. Once the Second Intifada was crushed, the camp was transformed into a laboratory for Tony Blair and General Keith Dayton's cynical security plan. Now Jenin was ringed by electrified fences, a virtual prison inhabited by thousands of children with post-traumatic stress disorder.

Juliano's return to Jenin was a rebuke to the promise of former Israel Labor Minister Shlomo Benizri to convert the life of Palestinians into hell, as he restored a creative outlet for a generation the occupation had sought to demoralize and destroy. In turn, he brought young Israelis (including Palestinian Israelis) and international activists over the Green Line to help him build the theater, promoting a model of co-existence based on solidarity with the Palestinian grassroots.

With assistance from Zachana Zubbeidi, a former leader of the armed insurgency during the Second Intifada, the theater allowed young people from the camp to take aim not only at the occupation, but at the internal problems plaguing Palestinian society. The next Intifada would consist of theater, music, poetry and the struggle of a dispossessed, dehumanized generation asserting itself through culture. That was Juliano's vision.

Through their work in the theatre, young Jenin residents challenged traditions and entrenched social mores like corporal punishment and the relegation of young women to secondary social roles. For me freedom is the occupation ending and the army leaving, a young boy who participates in the theater said. But it's also playing snooker and not having anybody hit me.

Juliano's final play, a production of *Alice in Wonderland*, was filled with themes and symbols that explicitly challenged patriarchal authority. I wish I had traveled to Jenin with Matan Cohen when he invited me to see the play, the reviews I heard from those who attended it were glowing. Was Juliano's murder motivated by religious extremism? For now no one knows. The theater has been attacked with molotov cocktails and Juliano has been denounced as a Zionist agent by militant elements. He knew the risks of his work and was committed enough to risk paying the ultimate price.

At the end, there's a feeling that the spirit [of freedom] is already here, it's already seeded, he said during an interview in Jenin. And I don't believe that someone or anyone can stop it.

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

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
 To: 'sbwhoeop' <sbwhoeop@clintonemail.com>  
 Sent: Tue, Apr 5, 2011 11:50 am  
 Subject: Re: H: Holbrooke Berlin event memo. Sid

Thx for this--and pls thank John whom I hope to see there.

From: sbwhoeop [mailto: ]  
 Sent: Tuesday, April 05, 2011 09:58 AM

B6

To: H  
 Subject: H: Holbrooke Berlin event memo. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

April 5, 2011

For: Hillary  
 From: Sid  
 Re: Holbrooke Memorial at American Academy/Berlin

I am enclosing below what amounts to a memo from John Kornblum on the Holbrooke event. I've adapted an email he sent me and attached two articles he sent, one on Holbrooke and Europe and another on Holbrooke and the Academy (published in the Academy's journal). You can use this material as the basis for your talk there.

1. Kornblum on American Academy event, Westerwelle and political context.

Hillary is undoubtedly aware that she will be flying into a hornets' nest in Berlin next week. Big losses in the regional elections have caused Westerwelle to be forced out of his position as FDP chairman. No one gives him much chance of staying on long as foreign minister either. But he will still be in office next week for the NATO ministerial and will give the Secretary his party award on Friday afternoon. This is a prize thought up by the FDP to create publicity and to flatter someone they want to get along with. It is a nice gesture to give it to the Secretary, but it loses much of its oomph after Westerwelle's collapse. I would recommend that she be positive and polite in her remarks, but go very light on praise for Guido. He is very unpopular right now and is not long for this world.

We are all very pleased that she will come to the Holbrooke event. It will be much along the lines of the Kennedy Center piece. Ms. Ashton will also be there. There will also be a much too long list of FOD's who will talk about themselves. Gary Smith (Academy director) knows that he cannot time Hillary's arrival perfectly. If she is delayed too long, he will start with other speakers. He would be very grateful for a chance to show her around the Academy, which can take as little as ten minutes.

As for her remarks, she has done this gig a few times already. I have attached a piece I did for the Academy's magazine, which gives some thoughts about the Academy itself and how it reflects RCH's personality and visions. It really is the place which puts his character all together. It shows a much more thoughtful side of him than the many Milosevic war stories do. You may recall that the Academy wasn't mentioned at all at Kennedy Center. This will be the only time a senior person remembers this part of Holbrooke's legacy.

The final three or four paragraphs of my piece give the most important points from my point of view

-- RCH is always known as a crisis manager, but he also cared deeply about building institutions for understanding. During his short tenure in Bonn he rediscovered his Central European roots and became deeply convinced that the United States and Germany must form the core of a permanent Atlantic community.

-- The American Academy is the embodiment of Richard's commitment's. It reflects his eclectic interests, his belief that scholarship and dialogue can help build peace and his commitment to Berlin and Germany. Living humanity was his slogan and the American Academy is what he was all about.

2. Ambassador Richard Holbrooke and the American Academy, by John C. Kornblum

I have always thought there was one fact which described Richard Holbrooke's success more than any other. Persons who have only met or talked with him briefly, or in fact sometimes have never met him, feel that he has touched their lives. The numbers of people who consider themselves to have been his good friends runs into the thousands more than he ever could even have talked seriously to. Those who felt that he had touched their lives or contributed to their well being can be counted in the millions.

All of these groups were somehow moved by his voracious desire to know who they were and what was important to them. This ability to create instant empathy gave him an unmatched talent to build bridges to others. Nations he had never visited were brought back from despair by his commitments to the fight against AIDS or his peace efforts in the Balkans. Others have made similar contributions, but missed the human impact of Richard Holbrooke. The reason? Richard cared so much about the world and its condition that he instinctively absorbed the personal messages from others and transformed them into mutual understanding. His prodigious intellectual and rhetorical skills did the rest. One could never forget a conversation with him or not take seriously a request for assistance.

Exposure to this force of personality did not always win Richard friends or admirers. Those who were bruised, unhappy or just plain jealous of his talents were also numerous. But in almost every case, even those who were less than thrilled with his treatment could not deny the power of his ideas.

Once, at a very important Washington meeting, Richard accused a very senior general of disloyalty for not following the President's goals -- goals which Richard had of course written for him. A year later, this general was one of Richard's most loyal deputies. Most successful was Richard's two year massaging of Serbian dictator Slobodan Milosevic. Milosevic was a true sociopath. He cared little for the lives of others. His only goal was to amass as much power and control as possible.

Richard met Milosevic when the ugly Balkan war was in its fifth year. Several teams of negotiators had tried to stop the killing and had failed. Richard

had decided that Milosevic and only Milosevic was the key to success. He hit him with every ounce of his matchless powers of analysis, persuasion and coercion. Milosevic, being no slouch, gave much the same in return. It was a contest, which Milosevic could not win, and he probably knew it. Richard understood that he needed Milosevic to help implement the agreement. He made it possible for Milosevic to lose gracefully by ensuring that the interests of the Serbian people were also protected. By the time it was over, the Dayton Agreement had pieced back together a human and historic puzzle, which had burdened Europe for decades.

Richard's other main advantage was his discipline. Much of his cajoling of Milosevic took place after a tragic accident on Mount Igman, on the road to Sarajevo. The American delegation was forced to take this treacherous mountain road, because Milosevic personally had refused them safe passage through Serbia checkpoints. Richard said farewell to the three colleagues who died in the accident and returned to Belgrade within two weeks for the next round of debate. His first meeting was with Milosevic.

The American Academy in Berlin is the most enduring result of Holbrooke's specialness. It is a unique binational institution crafted from little more than a commitment to the unique relationship which grew between Berlin and the United States after 1945. But its foundations are more than idealistic. The underlying goal of the Academy was very practical in nature. It was to ensure that the United States and Germany never forget the need to build on the deep cooperation forged in divided Berlin. The seemingly random mixture of culture and politics, history and vision which the Academy projects has for more than a decade transmitted the special Holbrooke method to a new generation. Each views it in his or her own terms, and in fact the number of people who claim to understand exactly what Richard had in mind for the Academy rarely agree with each other, but they are still all right. The message is the method rather than the content. It is neither cultural, nor scientific nor political. It is human. Living humanity is what Richard Holbrooke was all about. The American Academy is the living essence of his life's work.

### 3. The Diplomacy of Richard Holbrooke: America as a European Power, By John C. Kornblum

Richard Holbrooke's last mission in Afghanistan added further to his reputation as a negotiator and crisis manager. But remembering him solely in this role would be to overlook some of his most important contributions to American diplomacy. He was equally successful as a strategist in areas not in crisis. Building a constructive relationship with China was one of his early roles. His success in returning US funding for UN commitments in 2000 was another excellent example.

But especially important for today's purposes was his success during the 1990's in laying the foundation for a permanent post-Cold War American role in Europe. At a time when a proliferation of crises seems to be causing the United States and Europe to drift steadily apart, Holbrooke's push for an American initiative to help build a solid post-Cold War trans-Atlantic structure of security and cooperation is looking more important with each passing day.

When Richard Holbrooke took over the State Department's European Bureau in September of 1994, the situation in Europe was deteriorating badly.

The giddy days of the end of history had sunk into war in the Balkans, stagnation in NATO and a growing sense of alienation between the United States and its closest allies. The final withdrawal of both Russian and Western troops from Berlin had left a major strategic gap in the heart of Europe.

True to form, Holbrooke focused less on celebrating the victory than on dealing with its consequences. His short tenure as Ambassador to Germany left a lasting impression on him. He was moved by arguments of Chancellor Kohl and Defense Minister Volker Rittig who favored strong efforts to build democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. Without extension of Western institutions, the new democracies in Central Europe would be pulled mercilessly back and forth in the power vacuum left by the end of the Cold War.

Although he was preoccupied with devising a new Balkan strategy, Holbrooke turned almost instinctively to the task of filling this empty space. A promise of NATO enlargement was designed to focus these countries on pushing forward with democratization and to offer a framework for building a new relationship with Russia. Holbrooke set forth a comprehensive strategy in an article entitled *America, A European Power*, which was published in the spring 1995 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine.

In this article, Holbrooke suggested that rather than pulling back after the fall of Communism, the United States has become a European power in a sense that goes beyond traditional assertions of American commitment to Europe. In the 21st century, Europe will still need the active American involvement that has been a necessary component of the continental balance for half a century.

Recalling the surge of creativity which defined America's postwar engagement in Europe, Holbrooke argued that a post-Cold War engagement must focus again on structures, old and new. This time, the United States must lead in the creation of a security architecture that includes and thereby stabilizes all of Europe -- the West, the former Soviet satellites of central Europe, and, most critically, Russia and the former republics of the Soviet Union.

America as a European power? To many, Holbrooke seemed out of touch with his times. Post-Cold War America wanted solutions rather than long-term commitments. Europe was rich and stable. It could take care of itself.

Holbrooke was also criticized for focusing on NATO at the cost of missing a chance to bring Russia into a non-military mutual security partnership. But he and Russia Coordinator Strobe Talbott argued that by removing for Russia the temptation to dominate former satellites, NATO enlargement would actually facilitate dialogue. As Holbrooke noted in *Foreign Affairs*: "Stability in central Europe is essential to general European security, and it is still far from assured."

But he also added forcefully: "All the key participants in the new security equation in Europe -- the United States, the West and central European countries, and the other nations of the former Soviet Union -- desire a peaceful, stable, and democratic Russia, integrated into the institutions of an undivided Europe. No more important political goal has existed in Europe since a newly democratic West Germany was successfully integrated into the European political and security structure after World War II."

Fifteen years later, this conviction that NATO and the European Union must work in tandem to ensure democracy in Central Europe, looks especially prescient. Despite repeated threats and crises, democracy has taken root and trans-Atlantic institutions have held firm. America has become a charter member of an enlarged Euro-Atlantic community of democracies which now extends from the Finnish border in Europe to the Aleutian Islands in the Bering Strait. This is a community of nearly a billion persons which dwarfs even China in size and strength. There is excitement in the newness of a rapidly changing Europe united in democracy for the first time in history.

But European political and economic unity is being severely strained by the pressures of a continuing economic crisis. We are again puzzling about the emergence of a more independent-minded Germany and worrying about the financial weakness of the nations of southern Europe. Russia's conflicts with neighbors suggest a backwardness which is as worrisome as was its strength during the Cold War. Clearly, the trans-Atlantic project is not yet complete.

Today US interests are more deeply entwined in the Atlantic world than Holbrooke could ever have imagined in 1995. We are networked in ways which did not even exist 15 years ago. However important Asia or Latin America become, America's own influence and self-confidence will depend to a surprising degree on a continuing sense of common purpose with European partners.

Here is where the United States has too often dropped the ball. Both Bush and Obama seem to have taken the achievements of the 1990's for granted. Each in his own way projected the US more as a separate power which cooperates with Europe rather than as a constituent part of a Euro-Atlantic community. President Obama's speeches in Berlin, Strasbourg, Oslo, and Prague - dominated European debate. But they did little to define how the United States intends to behave as a European power.

Ronald Reagan's famous speech at the Brandenburg Gate was at first ridiculed as being naïve and unrealistic. It became historic only when the results were evident. Here, Richard Holbrooke's judgment would be clear and penetrating. Obama's skillful rhetoric will also be forgotten if engagement and action do not soon follow.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, April 18, 2011 8:55 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

I'm on my way into office. Pls cancel [ ] and try to schedule call some night this week.

B6

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Monday, April 18, 2011 08:43 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Calls

Bill burns wants to talk to you at 10am  
If u want to call donna, [ ] is cell.  
I haven't canceled [ ] for may 7th but I can. And can set up time for you to talk.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 20, 2011 6:20 AM  
**To:** 'lvalmoro'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Cc:** 'mchaleja@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Fw: Thomson Reuters  
**Attach:** THOMSON REUTERS MEDIA EXECUTIVE CONFERENCE.docx

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Let's see if we can combine this w another trip to Europe next Fall. I know September will be hard because of UNGA, but what about schedule for NATO in October? Pls work w Judith.

**From:** McHale, Judith A [mailto:McHaleJA@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 20, 2011 05:28 AM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Thomson Reuters

As we discussed yesterday, following up on a meeting I had at your request with Tom Glocer, CEO of Thomson Reuters last December, Reuters has now agreed to co-host a global media conference in London in the Fall. The idea would be to invite a group of about 50 to 100 industry leaders from around the world to discuss critical issues facing media enterprises in a rapidly evolving marketplace.

I have attached an initial draft agenda for the event. Thomson Reuters will handle all arrangements and cover all costs. They will work with us to accommodate your schedule and level of participation, e.g. speech; roundtable; etc.

Let me know what you think.

jm



**DEPARTMENT OF STATE- THOMSON REUTERS**  
**MEDIA EXECUTIVE CONFERENCE**  
**Draft Concept Paper**

RELEASE IN PART B5

B5



**Page Denied**

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, April 21, 2011 9:56 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Tomorrow

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

I don't see any calls listed on the schedule. Have any been confirmed? I think I will come home after the WH and make any call from there so I can get me and  ready. Will that work?

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:07 PM  
**To:** 'lvalmore'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

---

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Pls set up mtg for me w Alec Ross and Cheryl Thursday or Friday.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:12 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>, 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

---

We can do next week.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:09 PM  
**To:** H; 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] <lvalmoro [REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** Re: Schedule

Ok but they are both really bad days.

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:07 PM  
**To:** 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] <lvalmoro [REDACTED]>; Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Schedule

Pls set up mtg for me w Alec Ross and Cheryl Thursday or Friday.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:57 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B5

The press reports [REDACTED] Because it just maybe impossible for me to join

B5

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:30 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: [REDACTED]

B5

5

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

From: H  
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:20 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: [REDACTED]

B5

If it's doable, what time?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:17 PM  
To: H; 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] <lvalmoro@clintonemail.com>  
Subject: Re: [REDACTED]

B6  
B5

Yes secure phone is set up in office. Checking to see if you can call in [REDACTED]

B5

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

From: H  
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:05 PM  
To: Huma Abedin; 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] <lvalmoro@clintonemail.com>  
Subject: [REDACTED]

B6  
B5

What time is it today? Do I have a secure phone if I wanted to join?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:59 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

RELEASE IN PART  
B5, B6

B5

Ok

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:57 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

B5

Yes. We asked and they confirmed you can't call in.

B5

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:31 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

B5

If I ask and they say no because of comm issues, that's better than not asking, I think.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:30 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

B5

5

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:20 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

B5

If it's doable, what time?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:17 PM  
**To:** H; 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] <lvalmoro [REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED]

B6

B5

Yes secure phone is set up in office. [REDACTED]

B5

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 12:05 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin; 'lvalmoro' [REDACTED] <lvalmoro [REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** [REDACTED]

B6

B5

What time is it today? Do I have a secure phone if I wanted to join?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 5:36 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: [REDACTED] suggesting a call tomorrow instead.

---

B5

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

I'll be back tomorrow afternoon and can talk or see him before or after [REDACTED]

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 26, 2011 05:24 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** [REDACTED] suggesting a call tomorrow instead.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, May 2, 2011 12:54 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re.

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Totally insane but ultimately successful. I am, to say the obvious, very relieved and happy about the outcome. If Fayaad confirms, I will talk to him and try to reach Blair. Otherwise, let's wait to catch up tomorrow.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Monday, May 02, 2011 12:42 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:**

What an insane night but now the last few weeks makes sense!

We are changing nothing for tomorrow but we will have a podium set up in the treaty room for your statement after the 8:45am meeting. Dan sending around drafts to staff and you will get in the am.

As for fayyad, no word back on whether he can do 7:30 I haven't set molho up yet.

Oscar just told me you asked him not to come back for tomorrow so no one will be there in the morning. [REDACTED] Marinas back at work tuesday.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, May 2, 2011 7:45 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Fayyad confirmed for 7:30am

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Can you send the Bibi call sheet to me on here?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin /  
**Sent:** Monday, May 02, 2011 07:00 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Fayyad confirmed for 7:30am

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 3, 2011 7:23 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Later

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

When do we leave tomorrow? I don't have schedule.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Tuesday, May 03, 2011 06:55 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Later

Cdm and wendy confirmed for 9 tonite.

Stoere also confirmed for 7:30am.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, May 7, 2011 10:37 PM  
**To:** 'lvalmore' [redacted] Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

---

Pls tell Jane Harman I can't do the Africa speech on June 14 since I will still be in Africa, but see if either Nides or Burns can do it.

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 8, 2011 10:20 AM  
**To:** 'cheryl.mills'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'williamsbarrett'; Diane Reynolds <dreynolds@clintonemail.com>; 'slaughtera@state.gov'; 'betsy.ebeling'; 'jillisco'; 'susiebuell'; 'mchaleja@state.gov'; 'oterom2@state.gov'  
**Cc:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Unbelievable

---

B6

The Jerusalem Post reported today that a NY Hasidic paper Der Zeitung published the sit room photo w/o me (or Audrey T) photoshopped out perhaps because no woman should be in such a place of power or that I am dressed immodestly!! This is reported at:

failedmessiah.typepad.com

And so, Happy Mother's Day

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, May 9, 2011 7:31 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'lvalmoro [REDACTED]'; 'JilotyLC@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Will I have this am's remarks on paper like a speech instead of cards?

---

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 10, 2011 7:53 AM  
**To:** 'Ivalmoro [REDACTED]'; Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

B6

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

[REDACTED] What's my day like?

B5

Also, pls give me the latest fullest line record of my entire time in State. You gave me one a few months ago but I can't locate it.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 11, 2011 7:09 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Reminder you have 7:15am china interview

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Regarding speech today, I thought we had just sent the Columbian and Korean FTAs to congress already. Can you find out?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Wednesday, May 11, 2011 06:58 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Reminder you have 7:15am china interview

Yes.

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

From: H  
Sent: Wednesday, May 11, 2011 06:56 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Reminder you have 7:15am china interview

Is this flight long enough ?

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Wednesday, May 11, 2011 06:48 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Reminder you have 7:15am china interview

B6



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, May 14, 2011 10:55 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls update

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok. Thx.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, May 14, 2011 10:50 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Calls update

Of the people you asked to talk to tonite, fayyad and hagues staff said it was too late for them.  
Ackerman was at a wedding.  
Will all call back tomorrow

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 12:20 PM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Pak calls

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

I just got call sheet and am trying to place call now.

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

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J [<mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov>]  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 12:07 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Pak calls

Sorry for any confusion. [REDACTED]

Not the end of world, of course, to do them tomorrow. But they are important to set up this sequence

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

**From:** H [<mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com>]  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 12:01 PM  
**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Re: Pak calls

I don't have them yet [REDACTED]

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

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J [<mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov>]  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 11:31 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Pak calls

Laura is trying to secure fax call sheets to you in hopes that you might be able to make at least the Kayani call before 1 pm, which is when Kerry sees him.

B5

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 1:00 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Kayani not available. Told us to call back at 1:30. Trying others now.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I'm free until 2 and then we can schedule after 4:45 on way to airport, after 7 tonight or tomorrow.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, May 15, 2011 12:53 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Kayani not available. Told us to call back at 1:30. Trying others now.

They said you gave them kayani, kerry, netanyahu and fayyad. Will add gilani and zardari now.

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

From: H  
Sent: Sunday, May 15, 2011 12:50 PM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Kayani not available. Told us to call back at 1:30. Trying others now.

Which others? Zardari and Gilani plus Netanyahu and Fayaad? I'd like to talk w all four.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, May 15, 2011 12:43 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Kayani not available. Told us to call back at 1:30. Trying others now.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 4:37 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Zardari next.

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I'm in the car--are there any calls teed up?

----- Original Message -----  
**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 02:31 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Zardari next.

Got it

----- Original Message -----  
**From:** H  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 02:30 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: Zardari next.

I'm done until I leave for airport unless there's urgent call which will have to go to my blackberry.

----- Original Message -----  
**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 01:35 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Zardari next.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 5:18 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: We just heard that Kayani can talk in the next 15 min. U want to do?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Can we get a readout from Kerry or Munter?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 05:10 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** We just heard that Kayani can talk in the next 15 min. U want to do?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 5:25 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: We just heard that Kayani can talk in the next 15 min. U want to do?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

I'm at airport so have time right now.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 05:23 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: We just heard that Kayani can talk in the next 15 min. U want to do?

Gilani is scheduled at 7:30 right now.  
Kerry is calling to give u readout now.

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 05:19 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: We just heard that Kayani can talk in the next 15 min. U want to do?

If not, can I call him at 7:30 am tomorrow?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 05:10 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** We just heard that Kayani can talk in the next 15 min. U want to do?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 5:31 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: We just heard that Kayani can talk in the next 15 min. U want to do?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Kerry couldn't talk-will call me secure later. So I can schedule Kayani for sometime tomorrow.

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 05:23 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: We just heard that Kayani can talk in the next 15 min U want to do?

Gilani is scheduled at 7:30 right now.  
Kerry is calling to give u readout now.

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

**From:** H  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 05:19 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin  
**Subject:** Re: We just heard that Kayani can talk in the next 15 min. U want to do?

If not, can I call him at 7:30 am tomorrow?

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Sunday, May 15, 2011 05:10 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** We just heard that Kayani can talk in the next 15 min. U want to do?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 17, 2011 7:19 AM  
**To:** 'Ivalmore [REDACTED]', Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Schedule

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

---

Has the S&ED photo been rescheduled?

Pls ask Chris Painter, our cyber director, to come see me for a photo.

Pls ask Toria Nuland, our new press spokesperson, to come see me for a photo.



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 17, 2011 7:59 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Hey Boss... [redacted] and work... FW: [redacted] Cover Letter  
**Attach:** [redacted]

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Can we help?

**From:** Burns Strider [mailto:[redacted]]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 17, 2011 05:56 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Hey Boss... [redacted] and work... FW: [redacted] Cover Letter

Would you happen to know anyone at [redacted] It's an international agency on [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] I can't thank you enough...

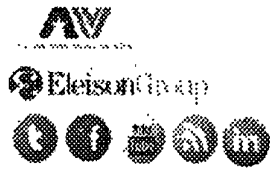
Karl Hofmann -- Prior to joining PSI, Mr. Hofmann was a career American diplomat for 23 years. He served as United States Ambassador to the Republic of Togo, Executive Secretary of the Department of State, and Deputy Chief of Mission (senior career diplomat) at the American Embassy in Paris. Mr. Hofmann also served on President Clinton's National Security Council staff.

Sally Cowal -- Senior Vice President and Chief Liaison Officer. Sally Grooms Cowal is the Senior Vice President at PSI and Chief Liaison Officer, overseeing PSI's New Business Development, Advocacy, Corporate Marketing and Communications Departments. Sally came to PSI from a distinguished career in the U.S. Foreign Service in which she served in India, Colombia, Israel, New York, Mexico, Washington, and Trinidad and Tobago, where she served as Ambassador under Presidents Bush and Clinton.

[redacted]

B6

**Burns Strider**  
**Eleison Group, Founder**  
**American Values Network, President**



B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 18, 2011 7:53 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Danny Abraham

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Pls be sure Danny sees the NYTimes article today about me promoting Middle East principles in the speech.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 18, 2011 8:19 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: Memo on my dinner  
**Attach:** Memo to SOS HRC.docx

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print.

**From:** senjohnkerry [redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 18, 2011 06:37 PM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** tdonilon [redacted] <tdonilon [redacted]>  
**Subject:** Memo on my dinner

B6

Hillary- Sorry for the delay. Thanks for your help. Available to talk anytime you want. John

**Memo to Secretary Hillary R Clinton**  
**From John Kerry**  
**May 18, 2011**

**RELEASE IN PART**  
**1.4(B),B1,1.4(D),1.4(C)**

**KIYANI-PASHA DINNER**  
**ARMY HOUSE**  
**5/15/11. 10:15 PM - 2:15 AM**

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/19/2016 ~ Class:**  
**SECRET/NOFORN ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(C), 1.4(D) ~**  
**Declassify on: 06/17/2036**

## **Overview**

During a long dinner with Generals Kiyani and Pasha to discuss the major issues between our two countries and in the region, I specifically sought their views

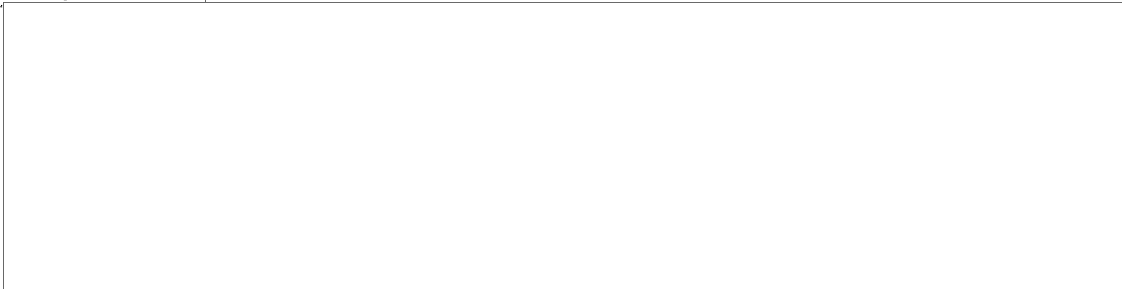
1.4(C)  
1.4(D)  
B1

1.4(B)  
1.4(C)  
1.4(D)  
B1



## **Executive Summary**

I met with General Kiyani and General Pasha at Army House on May 15-16. 



**Page Denied**



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

1.4(C)

1.4(D)

B1

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

1.4(B)  
1.4(C)  
1.4(D)  
B1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] KIYANI issued a statement acknowledging the session and promised to meet the following day. Ambassador Munter attended the follow up meeting with President Zardari, General Kiyani and others and has reported separately.

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 18, 2011 10:06 PM  
**To:** 'reinesp@state.gov'  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Subject:** IMG00069-20110512-0754.jpg  
**Attach:** IMG00069-20110512-0754.jpg

---

RELEASE IN FULL

Do you want to email to Lachlan et al?

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.



RELEASE IN FULL



**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 19, 2011 7:33 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re:

RELEASE IN  
FULL

---

Let me look at points. Also, I may stay here to make all calls.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Thursday, May 19, 2011 07:29 AM  
To: H  
Subject:

Am sure jake mentioned last night but we now have some foreign leaders calls to make before speech. Still waiting for exact names but jim just called asking if you would call netanyahu soon cause he's talking to abbas in 45 min. I can send points to house now and we can reach out to bibi but are you ok with that?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 19, 2011 7:56 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Bibi available at 8:15. Do you want to take it?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Yes

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

**From:** Huma Abedin  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 19, 2011 07:54 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Bibi available at 8:15. Do you want to take it?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 19, 2011 8:09 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Bibi available at 8:15. Do you want to take it?

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok. Got it.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Thursday, May 19, 2011 08:08 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Re: Bibi available at 8:15 Do you want to take it?

Was in first packet  
Set of 3. Talking points, q and a  
Then points for israel. Let me confirm

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

From: H  
Sent: Thursday, May 19, 2011 08:01 AM  
To: Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Bibi available at 8:15. Do you want to take it?

I don't have points yet for Bibi.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Thursday, May 19, 2011 07:54 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Bibi available at 8:15. Do you want to take it?

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 19, 2011 8:38 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Calls update

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Hold calls until I let you know.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Thursday, May 19, 2011 08:32 AM  
To: H  
Subject: Calls update

Alexander [REDACTED] will call approx 9:30.  
Ashton and dav could be soon, just waiting. Ashton is traveling.  
Waiting on portman and chambliss. They could also be soon.

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 19, 2011 6:36 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Fw: thank you! & two thoughts

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

Pls print.

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

From: Jackie Newmyer [mailto: ]  
Sent: Thursday, May 19, 2011 06:30 PM  
To: H  
Subject: thank you! & two thoughts

B6

Dear Secretary Clinton,

Thank you very much for coming to the wedding. It meant the world to me, and to Joe, and to our families. I know that you have virtually no down time and suspect that that weekend must have been especially full. All I can say is that we are most grateful.

Your themes in recent speeches and interviews have me thinking about two issues. First, while the Arab Spring has created huge opportunities, I'm not sure that anyone has been able to develop a strategy for the United States in the greater Middle East that, consistent with your remarks, meets the following conditions:

- 1) is not a clumsy neocon democracy installation effort;
- 2) is flexible and acknowledges that many dynamics in the region are unfolding independently of our actions; and
- 3) balances other priorities (e.g., maintaining peace and stability outside the Middle East) in an era of budget constraints.

Implementation of such a strategy might entail the creation of an elite branch of the diplomatic corps that has attributes of the special operations forces community but is optimized for outreach rather than for paramilitary activities. "Outreach" could mean cultivating relationships with a variety of different actors in some cases, and in other cases it could mean helping people on the ground use technology and/or organize themselves.

Second, under your leadership the State Department seems to be way ahead of the rest of the government in taking low-cost steps to improve the access of people in places like China to information that all citizens should have about their own countries. For instance, State publishes transcripts of joint media appearances not just in English but also in other relevant languages. Is there any way that this could be done for Defense, too? Just yesterday at a Pentagon press conference with Adm. Mullen, PLA Gen. Chen Bingde said:

"Through my visit over the past couple of days in the United States I am surprised by the sophistication of the U.S. military, including its weapons and equipment and doctrines and so on... The per capita GDP of the United States is 12 times that of China. So if we spend our money, which is much less than that of the United States, to buy weapons and equipment to challenge the United States, the Chinese people simply would say 'no'."

These statements were not reported in official mainland Chinese-language news outlets. A few snippets appeared in two Chinese-language business outlets known for enjoying a measure of

editorial independence, but basically, only Chinese people who can not only navigate to US websites but also read English could gain access to Chen's remarks. As you know, this creates pernicious space for saying one thing to foreigners and something totally different to domestic audiences. Neither VOA nor Radio Free Asia produces such translated transcripts, as far as I know. Perhaps this is a job for an NGO.

Thank you again, and All best, Jackie

--  
Jacqueline Newmyer Deal  
President, Long Term Strategy Group  
124 Mt. Auburn St., Suite 460S, Cambridge, MA 02138  
(ph)  
617-661-1626 (fax)  
www.ltstrategy.com

B6

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, May 20, 2011 7:33 PM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Tomorrow

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

I just heard Marc call was at 1:40pm not 11am? Could that be right? I will do Taha if Princeton Lyman and Jake think I still should.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2011 07:28 PM  
To: H  
Subject: Tomorrow

Oscar told me [REDACTED]  
Marc Grossman secure call at 11am.  
Taha will be available tomorrow afternoon. You want to do that one?  
In first class on the 4.

B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, May 21, 2011 9:50 AM  
**To:** humamabedin [REDACTED] B6  
**Subject:** Fw: Sudan Call Sheets for S  
**Attach:** Call sheet for calls to Kiir on Abyei (May 20).docx; Call Sheet for Taha (May 20).docx

---

RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**From:** Fuchs, Michael H  
**Sent:** Friday, May 20, 2011 02:15 PM  
**To:** Abedin, Huma; S\_SpecialAssistants; Wells, Alice G; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Sudan Call Sheets for S

Attached are call sheets for S to call Sudanese VPs Kiir and Taha, which Jake asked that I pass along.

S/USSES is requesting that these calls be made as soon as possible (and before the UNSC delegation arrives tomorrow night).

thanks



**Call Sheet for High-Level Calls to GoSS President Salva Kiir**  
**May 20, 2011**

RELEASE IN  
PART B5

B5



**Page Denied**

**Page Denied**

Approved: S/USSES P Lyman (ok)  
Drafted: S/USSES P Quaranto (ok)

Cleared:

AF: J Carson (ok)  
D (S): A Cook (ok)  
P: D Ngutter (ok)

**Call Sheet for High-Level Calls to GoS Vice President Ali Osman Taha**  
**May 20, 2011**

RELEASE IN PART  
B5

B5



**Page Denied**

Approved: S/USSES P Lyman (ok)  
Drafted: S/USSES P Quaranto (ok)

Cleared:  
AF: J Carson (ok)  
D (S): A Cook (ok)  
P: D Ngutter (ok)

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, May 21, 2011 9:58 AM  
**To:** humamabedin@yahoo.com  
**Subject:** Fw: Call with VP Kiir

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

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

From: Meehan, Bernadette M  
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2011 08:24 AM  
To: Abedin, Huma  
Subject: Fw: Call with VP Kiir

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/19/2016 ~ Class:  
CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on:  
05/21/2026

Princeton Lyman follow-up call this morning to Kiir ..

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

From: Lyman, Princeton N  
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2011 07:54 AM  
To: S\_SpecialAssistants  
Subject: Fw: Call with VP Kiir

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

From: Lyman, Princeton N  
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2011 07:51 AM  
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; 'Mary\_C\_Yates' <Mary\_C\_Yates >; 'Linda\_Etim' <Linda\_Etim >  
Hudson, Cameron C; 'Brooke\_D\_Anderson' <Brooke\_D\_Anderson >; 'Brian\_P\_McKeon' <Brian\_P\_McKeon >; Harris, Grant T; Walkley, R Barrie; Whitehead, Robert E  
Cc: Flacks, Marti A; Quaranto, Peter J  
Subject: Call with VP Kiir

B6

I talked with him for about 20 minutes this morning (6 am est) about the situation in Abyei, making the points in our call sheets and in particular to follow up on the call from the Secretary yesterday.

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)

I asked that he keep us informed of his next steps.



RELEASE IN  
PART B6

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Saturday, May 21, 2011 9:59 AM  
**To:** humamabedir [redacted]  
**Subject:** Fw: (SBU) UNSC permreps' visit to Abyei cancelled

B6

---

**From:** Meehan, Bernadette M  
**Sent:** Saturday, May 21, 2011 05:35 AM  
**To:** Abedin, Huma  
**Subject:** Fw: (SBU) UNSC permreps' visit to Abyei cancelled

Of note given the S call to Kiir yesterday.

**From:** Sidereas, Evyenia M  
**Sent:** Saturday, May 21, 2011 05:26 AM  
**To:** SES\_DutyDeputies; S\_SpecialAssistants; Barks-Ruggles, Erica J; D(S); D(N); P  
**Cc:** SES-O\_SWO; Whitehead, Robert E; Lord, Peter W; Hankins, Dennis B  
**Subject:** (SBU) UNSC permreps' visit to Abyei cancelled

Colleagues:

Chargé Whitehead advised the Watch that the UNSC Perm Reps' 5/23 visit to Abyei has been cancelled due to an unstable security situation following recent clashes between Sudanese Armed Forces and the Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Army. The group will visit Wau (the second largest city in the south) instead, before traveling to Juba.

The chargé noted that UNMIS SRSG Menkerios spoke to Ambassador Rice on 5/20.

Regards,  
Evyenia

**Evyenia Sidereas**  
Senior Watch Officer  
State Department Operations Center  
(202) 647-1512

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, May 21, 2011 10:26 AM  
**To:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: We r having email issues today

---

RELEASE IN  
FULL

Ok to all.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2011 10:24 AM  
To: H  
Subject: We r having email issues today

- you have marc secure call at 11
- taha can do 1:30. Ok? I faxed call sheet and note from princeton
- also faxed gillis and foley call sheets

**From:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Saturday, May 21, 2011 1:10 PM  
**To:** 'bstrider' [redacted] B6  
**Cc:** Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Hey Boss.. [redacted] and work... FW: [redacted] Cover Letter

---

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

I just found out that [redacted] is on the board. She was a strong supporter of mine. Do you know her from the campaign? I'm copying Huma who can help you and [redacted] contact her.

**From:** Burns Strider [mailto:[redacted]]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 17, 2011 05:56 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Hey Boss... [redacted] and work... FW: [redacted] Cover Letter

Would you happen to know anyone at [redacted]? It's an international agency [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] .. I can't thank you enough...

Karl Hofmann -- Prior to joining PSI, Mr. Hofmann was a career American diplomat for 23 years. He served as United States Ambassador to the Republic of Togo, Executive Secretary of the Department of State, and Deputy Chief of Mission (senior career diplomat) at the American Embassy in Paris. Mr. Hofmann also served on President Clinton's National Security Council staff.

Sally Cowal -- Senior Vice President and Chief Liaison Officer. Sally Grooms Cowal is the Senior Vice President at PSI and Chief Liaison Officer, overseeing PSI's New Business Development, Advocacy, Corporate Marketing and Communications Departments. Sally came to PSI from a distinguished career in the U.S. Foreign Service in which she served in India, Colombia, Israel, New York, Mexico, Washington, and Trinidad and Tobago, where she served as Ambassador under Presidents Bush and Clinton.

[redacted]

**Page Denied**