Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 21, 2018

Case No. F-2017-15330
Segments: H-0006, S/ES-0006, S/ES-0007, S/ES-0008, & S/ES-0009

Mr. Sean A. Dunagan
Judicial Watch
1038 Boltz Drive
Fort Collins, CO 80525

Dear Mr. Dunagan:

I refer to our letter dated June 7, 2018, under the Freedom of Information Act (the "FOIA"), 5 U.S.C. § 552. The Department has located an additional 249 documents responsive to your request, of which we have determined 53 may be released in full, 189 may be released in part, and 7 must be denied in full pursuant to FOIA Exemptions 5 and 6, 5 U.S.C. §§ 552 (b)(5) and (b)(6).

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

If you have any questions, you may contact Assistant U.S. Attorney Scott Sroka, at (202) 252-7113 or scott.sroka@usdoj.gov. Please be sure to refer to the case number, F-2017-15330, and the civil action number, 17-cv-02489, in all correspondence about this case.

Sincerely,

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

Enclosures: As stated.

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The Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552)

FOIA Exemptions

(b)(1) Information specifically authorized by an executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy. Executive Order 13526 includes the following classification categories:

- 1.4(a) Military plans, systems, or operations
- 1.4(b) Foreign government information
- 1.4(c) Intelligence activities, sources or methods, or cryptology
- 1.4(d) Foreign relations or foreign activities of the US, including confidential sources
- 1.4(e) Scientific, technological, or economic matters relating to national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
- 1.4(f) U.S. Government programs for safeguarding nuclear materials or facilities
- 1.4(g) Vulnerabilities or capabilities of systems, installations, infrastructures, projects, plans, or protection services relating to US national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
- 1.4(h) Weapons of mass destruction

(b)(2) Related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency

(b)(3) Specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than 5 USC 552), for example:

ARMSEXP	Arms Export Control Act, 50a USC 2411(c)
CIA PERS/ORG	Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 50 USC 403(g)
EXPORT CONTROL	Export Administration Act of 1979, 50 USC App. Sec. 2411(c)
FS ACT	Foreign Service Act of 1980, 22 USC 4004
INA	Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1202(f), Sec. 222(f)
IRAN	Iran Claims Settlement Act, Public Law 99-99, Sec. 505

(b)(4) Trade secrets and confidential commercial or financial information

(b)(5) Interagency or intra-agency communications forming part of the deliberative process, attorney-client privilege, or attorney work product

(b)(6) Personal privacy information

(b)(7) Law enforcement information whose disclosure would:

- (A) interfere with enforcement proceedings
- (B) deprive a person of a fair trial
- (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (D) disclose confidential sources
- (E) disclose investigation techniques
- (F) endanger life or physical safety of an individual

(b)(8) Prepared by or for a government agency regulating or supervising financial institutions

(b)(9) Geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells

Other Grounds for Withholding

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

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Full Name:	ADAMS, David
Last Name:	ADAMS
First Name:	David
Job Title:	Principal
Company:	Podesta Group
Business:	202-879-9325 [DT]
Home:	
Mobile:	
E-mail:	dadams@podesta.com
E-mail Display As:	David Adams
Web Page:	www.podestagroup.com

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

Personal e-mail:

B6

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From:	Vignarajah, Krishanti </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=VIGNARAJAHK>
Sent:	Friday, March 9, 2012 9:47 AM
To:	Shepherd, Nadia C <ShepherdNC@state.gov>; Newman, Stephanie R <NewmanSR@state.gov>; Cook, Joyce D <CookJD2@state.gov>; Goodman, Jared E <GoodmanJE@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides

I'll put this in his book for the wknd.

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From: Shepherd, Nadia C
Sent: Thursday, March 08, 2012 4:15 PM
To: Vignarajah, Krishanti; Newman, Stephanie R; Cook, Joyce D; Goodman, Jared E
Subject: FW: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides

Please log. printed copy out for tom already.

From: Missi Tessier [mailto:tessier@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 08, 2012 3:43 PM
To: Shepherd, Nadia C
Subject: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides

Ms. Shepherd, I am following up on a meeting the Deputy Secretary had with Tony Podesta and me several months ago about the role of private international development contractors in implementing and increasing US foreign assistance. We wanted to make sure that the Deputy Secretary was aware of the attached letter to the President. Several member companies of the Professional Services Council and/or the Coalition of International Development Companies submitted their applications to the Global Development Council by the 2/24 deadline for consideration. There are some great candidates to choose from among these companies. Their hope is simple: that the for-profit sector will get a seat or two at the table, to contribute to this important work. Many thanks for considering this request.
All the best,
Missi Tessier

Missi Tessier | Principal
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9375 (d) | [redacted] (c) | tessier@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

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From:	Verveer, Melanne S </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=VERVEERMS>
Sent:	Friday, June 15, 2012 9:10 AM
To:	Verveer, Philip L <VerveerPL@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: Dinner Invitation from Heather & Tony Podesta

You should go. It's in the neighborhood and [redacted] we'll have pasta, I'm sure. B6

Melanne S. Verveer
Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW, Room 6805
Washington, DC 20520
Tel: (202) 647-7283
Fax: (202) 647-7288
VerveerMS@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Keitt, Valerie P
Sent: Thursday, June 14, 2012 2:22 PM
To: Verveer, Melanne S
Subject: FW: Dinner Invitation from Heather & Tony Podesta

From: Rebecca Moore [mailto:rmoore@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, June 14, 2012 2:22 PM
To: Verveer, Philip L; Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: Dinner Invitation from Heather & Tony Podesta

Phil & Melanne -

Heather & Tony Podesta

request the pleasure of your company for a dinner at their home

on Wednesday, July 11
7:00pm Cocktails / 8:00pm Dinner

honoring

Ambassador Chan Heng Chee

Ambassador Chan has represented Singapore in

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Washington, DC since 1996. Please join us in honoring her prior to her return to Singapore.

RSVP: rmoore@podesta.com
Address: 2438 Belmont Road, NW
Attire: Business

Rebecca Moore | Scheduler to Tony Podesta

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9312 (d) | [redacted] (c) | rmoore@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Baker, Katherine M <BakerKM2@state.sgov.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, July 10, 2012 11:40 AM
To: Kirshner, Josh H <KirshnerJH@state.sgov.gov>; Haggard, Maureen E <HaggardM@state.sgov.gov>; Kowalski, Joseph C <KowalskiJC@state.sgov.gov>
Cc: Meier, Michael W <MeierMW@state.sgov.gov>; Costner, Steven R <CostnerSR@state.sgov.gov>; Morimoto, Sho J <MorimotoSJ@state.sgov.gov>; 'Wagner, Alex CIV OSD POLICY' <Alex.Wagner@osd.smil.mil>
Subject: Clearance Requested by COB: BCL for T meeting with Textron
Attach: Stephen Rademaker.docx; 2012.07.09 T - Textron BCL v2.doc

---

RELEASE IN FULL

All,

Please provide comments and clearance on the attached BCL for Acting Under Secretary Gottemoeller's meeting with Stephen Rademaker from the Podesta Group and Textron representatives. I am working with DoD to clarify the highest level of Textron's engagement there, otherwise this document includes L/PM and OSD comments and clearance.

Responses are appreciated by COB today.

Josh,

Do you have any more information about who will attend this meeting aside from Mr. Rademaker?

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Many thanks,
Katherine

Sensitive
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RELEASE IN FULL

Stephen Rademaker; Principal

With wide-ranging experience working on national security issues in the White House, the State Department, and the US Senate and House of Representatives, Stephen Rademaker advises the Podesta Group's international clients. Among his accomplishments in public service, he had lead responsibility, as a House staffer, for drafting the legislation that created the US Department of Homeland Security.

Serving as an Assistant Secretary of State from 2002 through 2006, Stephen headed at various times three bureaus of the State Department, including the Bureau of Arms Control and the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation. He directed the Proliferation Security Initiative, as well as nonproliferation policy toward Iran and North Korea, and led strategic dialogues with Russia, China, India and Pakistan. He also headed US delegations to the 2005 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, as well a many other international conferences.

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Source: Podesta Group website: http://www.podesta.com/talent/stephen-rademaker

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From:	Haggard, Maureen E </O=CLASSSTATE/OU=BEIJING AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=HAGGARDM>
Sent:	Tuesday, July 10, 2012 5:31 PM
To:	Baker, Katherine M <BakerKM2@state.sgov.gov>
Subject:	FW: Clearance Requested by COB: BCL for T meeting with Textron
Attach:	Stephen Rademaker.docx; 2012.07.09 T - Textron BCL v2.doc

Katherine –

Please see edits and substantive question in the attached BCL.

Sorry for the delay. Clear for D(B) with these edits.

RELEASE IN FULL

Maureen

Maureen Haggard
Special Assistant
Office of the Deputy Secretary
Tel: (202) 647-5290

From: Baker, Katherine M
Sent: Tuesday, July 10, 2012 11:40 AM
To: Kirshner, Josh H; Haggard, Maureen E; Kowalski, Joseph C
Cc: Meier, Michael W; Costner, Steven R; Morimoto, Sho J; 'Wagner, Alex CIV OSD POLICY'
Subject: Clearance Requested by COB: BCL for T meeting with Textron

All,

Please provide comments and clearance on the attached BCL for Acting Under Secretary Gottemoeller's meeting with Stephen Rademaker from the Podesta Group and Textron representatives. I am working with DoD to clarify the highest level of Textron's engagement there, otherwise this document includes L/PM and OSD comments and clearance.

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Source: Podesta Group website: http://www.podesta.com/talent/stephen-rademaker

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From: Rinks, Ethan A <RinksEA@state.sgov.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, July 11, 2012 5:04 PM
To: T Duty <TDuty@state.sgov.gov>; T <T@state.sgov.gov>; T_SpecAssts <TSpecAssts@state.sgov.gov>
Cc: PM-AS-Staff-Assistants-DL <ZPM-AS-Staff-Assistants-DL@state.sgov.gov>; Baker, Katherine M <BakerKM2@state.sgov.gov>; Lawrence, James F <LawrenceJF@state.sgov.gov>; PM-WRA-DL <PMXUsers@state.sgov.gov>
Subject: RE: Update on BCL for T's meeting with Textron Representatives
Attach: Stephen Rademaker.docx; T - Textron BCL.doc

Attached is the PM/WRA drafted BCL for T's meeting with Stephen Rademaker.

Please contact PM Staffers with any questions.

Thanks,

Ethan

RELEASE IN FULL

Ethan Rinks
Staff Assistant
U.S. Department of State
Bureau of Political-Military Affairs
2201 C Street, NW, Room 6312B
Washington, DC 20520
+1(202)647-6604
RinksEA@state.sgov.gov

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Stephen Rademaker

Podesta Group

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Source: Podesta Group website: http://www.podesta.com/talent/stephen-rademaker

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From:	Verveer, Philip L </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=VERVEERPL>
Sent:	Wednesday, July 11, 2012 5:35 PM
To:	Alston, Avis C <AlstonAC@state.gov>; Bhardwaj, Manu <BhardwajM@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: IFTA Meeting Request

Have we heard anything further about this meeting request for next week?

From: Verveer, Philip L
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2012 10:33 PM
To: Bhardwaj, Manu
Subject: Fw: IFTA Meeting Request

RELEASE IN PART B6

We should discuss.

From: Claudia James [mailto:james@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2012 07:38 PM
To: Verveer, Philip L
Cc: Alston, Avis C; David Barmore <dbarmore@podesta.com>; Elizabeth Sage <ESage@podesta.com>
Subject: Re: IFTA Meeting Request

We would be pleased to meet with your colleagues. Thanks much.

From: Verveer, Philip L [mailto:VerveerPL@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2012 06:17 PM
To: Claudia James
Cc: Alston, Avis C <AlstonAC@state.gov>; David Barmore; Elizabeth Sage
Subject: RE: IFTA Meeting Request

Claudia
Good to hear from you.
I am scheduled to be in Panama July 17-19. I would be happy to arrange for colleagues to take the meeting if that would be useful from your perspective.
Phil

From: Claudia James [mailto:james@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2012 1:50 PM
To: Verveer, Philip L
Cc: Alston, Avis C; David Barmore; Elizabeth Sage
Subject: IFTA Meeting Request

I hope all is well with you. I would like to request a meeting on behalf of Jean Prewitt, President and CEO of the Independent Film & Television Alliance (IFTA) for Tuesday, July 17 or Wednesday, July 18. IFTA is the trade association for independent producers and distributors of film and television in the U.S. and abroad. Their over 150 members produce more than 75% of the films made each year in the United States and contribute over 400 independent films and countless hours of television annually. IFTA's membership includes well-known independent film companies, such as LIONSGATE, The Weinstein Company, and Lakeshore International. In the last 30 years, 19 of the Academy Award winners for Best Picture have been produced and/or distributed by IFTA

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member companies, including this year's The Artist.

We would like to discuss the Internet Governance issue and the upcoming World Conference on International Telecommunications in Dubai.

Thank you for your consideration. My colleague, David Barmore, will follow-up on this request.

Best,
Claudia

Claudia James | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9310 (d) | [redacted] (c) | james@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From:	Boese, Wade </O=CLASSSTATE/OU=SES AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BOESEW>
Sent:	Thursday, July 12, 2012 10:36 AM
To:	Flores, Michael S <FloresMS@state.sgov.gov>
Cc:	T Duty <TDuty@state.sgov.gov>; Schneider, Grant W <SchneiderGW@state.sgov.gov>; McIntosh, Valerie A <McIntoshVA@state.sgov.gov>; Kirshner, Josh H <KirshnerJH@state.sgov.gov>
Subject:	Rademaker BCL
Attach:	BCLforRademakerTextron07162012.doc; Stephen Rademaker.docx

RELEASE IN FULL

Mike,

Here is the final cleared BCL for Rose's meeting Monday with Rademaker and reps from Textron.

Wade

Wade Boese
Chief of Staff
Office of the Under Secretary of State
for Arms Control and International Security
Room 7208
(202) 647-6634

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Stephen Rademaker

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Podesta Group

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Source: Podesta Group website: http://www.podesta.com/talent/stephen-rademaker

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From:	Valmoro, Lona J </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=VOLMOROLJ>
Sent:	Thursday, September 20, 2012 6:38 PM
To:	'bchang@podesta.com'
Subject:	Re: UNGA: Cyprus invitation

No, we can't attend. I am pretty sure I regretted already.

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2012 06:01 PM
To: Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: UNGA: Cyprus invitation

RELEASE IN PART B6

Lona,

Hello again – I hate to bother you with this, but I wanted to ask you very briefly about the attached invitation for the Secretary (I also just left you a forlorn sounding voicemail).

Cyprus – on the occasion of its Presidency of the EU and the anniversary of its independence – has invited S to a concert event in New York on the margins of UNGA on Wednesday 9/26 at Lincoln Center. But they delivered the paper invitation to USUN for forwarding on…it would not be surprising if it never actually made it to your office. So, they have asked us just to check: was it received, and is there any chance she could attend?

I have a feeling I know the answer – but have to check!

Thanks much,
Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5226 (d) | [redacted](c) | bchang@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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PLEASE NOTE NEW ADDRESS

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From: John Caliste [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 7, 2012 4:53 PM
To: Tony Podesta <podesta@podesta.com>
Cc: ambefbagley[redacted]; Rebecca Edgar <REdgar@podesta.com>; Burns, Deborah M <BurnsDX@state.gov>
Subject: Re: USDC Follow-up
Attach: GeneralDynamicsProposal.docx

RELEASE IN PART B6

Thanks very much, Tony.

We will reach out to Geoff and Greg for a meeting.
We sent Jay Johnson a $1 million proposal in late April, and have not heard from him. There was another fellow in the meeting, but I'm not sure it was Kendal. We've waited this long, We can wait until January for good news.

Best,
John

On Wed, Nov 7, 2012 at 3:57 PM, Tony Podesta <podesta@podesta.com> wrote:

> Elizabeth, John –
>
> Here are a few updates. Will keep you posted as I know more on others.
>
> **BP** – I have shared information with both Geoff Morrell and Greg Saunders and there is interest in a meeting. You should reach out to them directly and I would recommend, as a best approach, that you meet with them at the same time. Greg's email is greg.saunders[redacted] and Geoff's is Geoff.Morrell[redacted]
>
> **General Dynamics** – I understand that your point of contact has been Jay Johnson. What is the level of engagement there? Have you sent him a letter that he hasn't responded to or have you met with him and he is considering? I can put you in touch now with Kendall Pease, Vice President of Government Affairs and Communications, or if it is possible to wait a few months, their incoming CEO who I have a strong relationship with, starts January 1 and may very well have an interest in this project. Please let me know where things stand with Jay Johnson and how you would like to handle GD going forward.
>
> Best,
> Tony

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Tony Podesta
Office: 202-879-9300
Cell: [redacted] B6
podesta@podesta.com
1001 G St. NW, Suite 1000 West
Washington, DC 20001

--
John Caliste
Campaign Director
Foreign Affairs Museum Council for the United States Diplomacy Center
[redacted]c B6

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591628 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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April 19, 2012

Mr. Jay L. Johnson
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
General Dynamics
2941 Fairview Park Drive, Suite 100
Falls Church, VA 22042-4513
jjohnson@generaldynamics.com

Dear Jay,

Thank you very much for taking the time to meet with John Caliste and me on Wednesday, April 4, in your offices. We appreciate your interest and the information you shared with us.

On behalf of the U.S. Department of State, I am writing to request your serious consideration of a $1 million gift from General Dynamics in support of Peace and Prosperity exhibit and education programs that highlight the issue of diplomacy and security assistance at the U.S. Diplomacy Center (USDC)—our nation's first education center dedicated to telling the story, teaching the lessons, and preserving the legacy of diplomacy and its role in American security.

It is our hope that General Dynamics will join with Secretaries Baker and Kissinger and our other distinguished partners to invest in this important project. The support of General Dynamics would be used to underwrite Peace and Prosperity educational exhibit focusing on the role of security assistance, arms control, and national security in both the entrance Pavilion and in the educational Hall III dedicated to Dr. Kissinger.

The Department's concern for maintaining American security at home and abroad is one of the most crucial goals of our diplomats, as it is for General Dynamics. Yet, few citizens realize how closely diplomacy and security are entwined around the world, and perhaps even fewer realize how careers in diplomacy parallel military careers in helping to ensure our nation's peace and prosperity. Our educational programs will address these issues. Interactive exhibits, hand-held PDA devices to augment reality and immersive education programs make the U.S. Diplomacy Center's no ordinary museum experience.

Exhibits focusing on the essential topics of arms control, national security, and security assistance will excite, motivate, and intellectually stimulate visitors—especially those potentially entering diplomatic and military careers. Our staff and

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591628 Date: 08/21/2018

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591628 Date: 08/21/2018
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designers are working to create interactives and exhibits that challenge visitors to draw on their courage to lead in crises, and apply their negotiation skills to secure our country's interests through diplomatic solutions. General Dynamics is well aware of the importance of encouraging and inspiring our potential leaders to their find their inner strengths, and the USDC will welcome all to step up to this challenge.

If you have any questions or need additional information, please do not hesitate to contact me at 202-647-7883, or John Caliste at 202-736-9045.

Again, thank you for your serious consideration and support of the U. S. Diplomacy Center.

With best regards,

Ambassador Elizabeth Frawley Bagley
Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State for Special Initiatives

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591628 Date: 08/21/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent:	Thursday, November 8, 2012 11:06 AM
To:	'Frank Lowenstein' <flowenstein@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: Sec State Speculation

Or concubine?

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 11:01 AM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: RE: Sec State Speculation

RELEASE IN PART B6

Yeah and Baker's story in the Times today pointed to Kerry and had a pretty tough quote on Susan, so there's that…If she's that tight with the president why don't they just make her NSA?!

From: Feldman, Daniel F [mailto:FeldmanDF@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 10:58 AM
To: Frank Lowenstein
Subject: RE: Sec State Speculation

Ouch, that hurts But Indira would be the one to break it? Doesn't seem as officially sanctioned.

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 10:55 AM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: FW: Sec State Speculation

Here's the big let JK down easy leak…

From: Matt Baker
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 10:45 AM
To: Mark Tavlarides; Frank Lowenstein
Subject: FW: Sec State Speculation

Susan Rice Emerging as Top Candidate to Succeed Hillary Clinton

By Indira A.R. Lakshmanan and Flavia Krause-Jackson | November 08, 2012 12:01AM ET

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.



Photographer: Spencer Platt/Getty Images
U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice in New York.

(Bloomberg) -- Susan Rice, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, is emerging as the favored candidate to succeed Hillary Clinton as secretary of state, even with the political controversy over her remarks about the fatal Sept. 11 attack on the American diplomatic mission in Benghazi, Libya.

Six current or former White House officials, who all spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss internal deliberations, said Rice remains close to President Barack Obama and shares many of his views on foreign policy. They emphasized that the president hasn't made a final decision, and Clinton may remain in her post for some months into Obama's second term.

Former White House Chief of Staff Bill Daley and other officials said Obama's first move will be choosing a successor to Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner. He also may need to find successors to Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper and U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk, the officials said.

Rice is thought to be the president's preferred choice over two other strong candidates, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Kerry of Massachusetts and National Security Adviser Tom Donilon, according to the current and former administration officials.

Rice, who also worked on the presidential campaigns of Kerry and former Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, is known for her strong personality and passionate defense of Obama's foreign policy at Security Council and inter-agency meetings.

Libyan Assistance

She was an advocate of U.S. aid to Libyan rebels who rose up against then-dictator Muammar Qaddafi, and her supporters say she helped win UN Security Council support for a resolution authorizing international intervention in Libya.

Her push for intervention, officials said, might in part have been a product of the failure of former President Bill Clinton's administration to intervene to halt genocide in the central African nation of Rwanda, when Rice was 30 and serving on the National Security Council staff.

Visiting Rwanda last year with her family after a surprise visit to Libya, she said, "Many of us heard strong echoes of 1994 when Muammar Qaddafi promised that he would root out the people of Benghazi."

Still, she also has argued that what worked in Libya couldn't be replicated in Syria, where her anti-interventionist line contrasted with Kerry, who looked more favorably upon the creation of humanitarian corridors.

Pugnacious Style

At the UN, her often pugnacious style has by turns been admired and derided, diplomats there say. Behind closed doors, they say, she pulls no punches and uses colorful language to get her points across.

She has clashed with Vitaly Churkin, her Russia counterpart, most pointedly over Syria. At times their exchanges got personal, such as last year when he publicly chided her for an unusual outburst and said Syria wasn't an issue that could be drowned by expletives.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Friction notwithstanding, she also helped obtain tough 2010 UN resolutions aimed at derailing Iran's suspected nuclear weapons program, which required protracted negotiations with Russian officials, and win UN membership for the new nation of South Sudan.

High Profile

Still, Rice's high profile and relationships with UN ambassadors from Europe, Russia and China are considered an asset, although she lacks Clinton's experience at retail politicking and her celebrity as a presidential candidate, a senator and a two-term first lady.

While several officials said Clinton would be a difficult act to follow, many in the White House regard Rice as the most recognizable successor and a reliable advocate for Obama's positions on Iran, Syria and other difficult issues.

A 47-year-old Stanford University graduate and former Rhodes Scholar, Rice would be the second African-American woman to serve as the top U.S. diplomat if she were nominated and confirmed by the Senate. She isn't related to Condoleezza Rice, who served in George W. Bush's administration.

Susan Rice, who was a National Security Council director and assistant secretary of state for African affairs under President Clinton, joined the Obama campaign in 2007 and helped run the foreign policy team advising the candidate.

Controversial Remarks

Two of the officials said Rice is much closer to Obama than Kerry or Donilon, so putting her at the State Department would ensure that the White House could maintain control over U.S. foreign policy.

Her Sept. 16 remarks on Sunday talk shows that the attack on the U.S. diplomatic mission in Benghazi, Libya, began as a peaceful protest that was "hijacked" by militants were considered a possible obstacle to Senate confirmation and an invitation to continued attacks on the administration's handling of the assault.

This week's elections relieved some -- though not all -- of those anxieties, said two of the officials. These officials observed that Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney dropped the issue during his third and final debate with Obama, and two prominent Republicans, former Secretary of State Rice and former Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, criticized some of the attacks on the administration over the issue.

In addition, said a third administration official, the investigations that are under way into the attacks may reveal that Rice's remarks were based on preliminary intelligence reports that were revised, and that the anti-Muslim video did play a role in inspiring the attacks.

To contact the reporters on this story: Indira A.R. Lakshmanan in Washington at ilakshmanan@bloomberg.net; Flavia Krause-Jackson in United Nations at fjackson@bloomberg.net

To contact the editor responsible for this story: John Walcott at jwalcott9@bloomberg.net

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From:	Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent:	Thursday, November 8, 2012 3:11 PM
To:	Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Sec State Speculation

Funny. That's exactly what I said to Frank re Indira. His belief was more geared to the half dozen WH officials she claimed to have spoken to rather than that she was the vehicle. But who the hell knows. The senior folks I speak with also seem to think it will be Susan, but with nothing firmly decided yet.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 11:31 AM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: RE: Sec State Speculation

RELEASE IN PART
B6

You think this is how they chose to leak it? To Indira? I don't think so.

From: Feldman, Daniel F
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 10:59 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: FW: Sec State Speculation

Ugh.

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 10:55 AM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: FW: Sec State Speculation

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Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 10:45 AM
To: Mark Tavlarides; Frank Lowenstein
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By Indira A.R. Lakshmanan and Flavia Krause-Jackson | November 08, 2012 12:01AM ET

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Photographer: Spencer Platt/Getty Images

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice in New York.

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To contact the editor responsible for this story: John Walcott at jwalcott9@bloomberg.net

Kenneth Zoeller | Associate

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From:	Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BOWMANJJ>
Sent:	Monday, December 10, 2012 2:30 PM
To:	Dorval, Christopher <DorvalC@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: meeting next Tuesday
Attach:	Dorval Bio.docx; Jason bio.docx

We are not on the site..just Lois and the important agency folks. Here are the bios I have for the two of us

From: Dorval, Christopher
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 2:24 PM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Subject: FW: meeting next Tuesday

RELEASE IN PART B6

Hey, I just looked for our bios and couldn't find them. Where are they listed on our site?

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 2:23 PM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHI); Dorval, Christopher
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Jason,

Sorry – sending things too quickly. Adding Chris again.

Steve Northrup is my colleague here at the Podesta Group and is the lead working with Dr. Hotez and Baylor College of Medicine. Alas, I will not be able to join and sorry I will not get a chance to meet you this time. I hope that's not a problem!

Thanks again,
Ben

From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) [mailto:BowmanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 2:20 PM
To: Ben Chang
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Ben,
What organization is Stephen Northrup from?

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 2:09 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

The bio details are below for clearance for the meeting tomorrow afternoon.

Last name	First name	Middle	DOB	SSN

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AmCit	Gender		Residence
Hotez	Peter	Jay	
Northrup	Stephen	James	
Butrum	Herbert	Lee	

B6

By the way, Chris and Jason – do y'all have a little bio blurb you could send this way? If not, no worries. Thanks!

From: Ben Chang
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 3:04 PM
To: 'DorvalC@state.gov'
Cc: 'SeaholmRM@state.gov'; 'BowmanJJ@state.gov'
Subject: Re: meeting next Tuesday

2:30 is great - thank you.

Will get you clearance info.

Will follow-up separately re: coffee...

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 01:34 PM
To: Ben Chang
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Ben: 10 or 230 work best for Jason and I next Tuesday. Please advise.

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 12:54 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Subject: Re: meeting next Tuesday

Thanks much, Chris.

He has a meeting with Robyn Steffen and tech transfer people at OSTP at 1:30 but is otherwise flexible. Whatever around that that works on your side...

And appreciate the guidance re: Wade!

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 11:59 AM
To: Ben Chang
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Ben,

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I am happy to meet you him/you on Tuesday; we will be joined by our chief of staff, Jason Bowman, who is our resident PhD. Lois may or may not be able to attend. I am copying her Exec Assistant Rena Seaholm. Please provide us with a time that works; we will need to clear him in, as you know!!

As for other folks: you might want to reach out to Wade Warren at AID and inquire whether he has someone in NTDs who may wish to meet with Dr. Hotez. See contact info below.

Best,

Chris

Wade Warren
Deputy Assistant Administrator
Bureau for Global Health
U.S. Agency for International Development
wwarren@usaid.gov

202-712-0970

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 06, 2012 5:11 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: meeting next Tuesday

Chris – thanks for the chat just now.

Here's the skinny: I was hoping that you and Lois might be willing to spend a few minutes on **Tuesday** with Dr. Peter Hotez, who will be in town from Houston where he is dean of the brand-new National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine. (Dr. Hotez is an expert on global health and neglected tropical diseases, and, in addition to his duties at Baylor College of Medicine, he is also president of the Sabin Vaccine Institute.)

We just hope to connect your shop with Dr. Hotez and make sure that you and Lois know him as a potential resource. 20-25 minutes max – anytime.

And thank you for the other reference points you suggested. A couple docs are attached for some additional background.

And let's find time after that for a real catch-up over coffee –

Thanks again,
Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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RELEASE IN FULL

Christopher Dorval

Christopher Dorval is currently Senior Advisor, Strategy and External Relations for the Global Health Initiative at the U.S. Department of State.

Dorval previously served as President of Dorval Strategies, a Washington, DC-based business that provided strategic communications, political counsel, media relations and marketing services to commercial, non-government and government entities in the US and the global marketplace. Clients include a mix of Fortune 500, governments and non-profit organizations.

Dorval was appointed by President Clinton to serve at the White House as the Director of Communications at the National Economic Council under Dr. Laura Tyson, responsible for trade, economic communications and day-to-day media relations. He also served as a senior communications advisor under William Daley and Rahm Emanuel in the Nafta war room; as White House spokesman at the Summit of the Americas in 1994 for Mack McLarty, and as senior White House counsel to USTR Ambassador Charlene Barshefsky at the first WTO Ministerial in 1996. He was appointed by President Clinton as the Vice President of Communications at the Export-Import Bank under the leadership of former Goldman-Sachs partner, Kenneth D. Brody.

Previous public and political service includes five years as Chief of Staff to the House Majority Leader in the Oregon Legislature, senior staff positions in four presidential campaigns and dozens of state legislative and issues campaigns. Dorval was a senior press and communication advisor for then Governor Clinton in Little Rock in the primary and general election, and then the transition. Dorval also advised Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT) on his 2008 presidential bid and advised Missouri Secretary of State Robin Carnahan in her bid for the US Senate.

Dorval is a graduate of School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University and the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and has been an adjunct professor at the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University. He serves on the Board of Trustees of the National Building Museum; the National Advisory Board of the McGovern Library and Center for Public Service; and the Junior Tennis Champion Center in College Park.

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RELEASE IN FULL

J. Jason Bowman, PhD
AAAS Science Policy Fellow

Prior to beginning his AAAS Science Policy fellowship at the Office of the Global AIDS Coordinator, Dr. J. Jason Bowman completed a research fellowship at the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) in the laboratory of Dr. Jeffrey Cohen. While there, he developed and evaluated novel preventive and therapeutic vaccine technologies for human herpes viruses using non-human primate models of infection. In addition, he developed immunologic assays to screen for zoonotic transmission of primate herpes viruses to humans who are in frequent contact with monkeys.

Prior to working at NIAID, Jason completed a fellowship at Harvard Medical School, Brigham and Women's Hospital, studying bio-threat pathogens in collaboration with labs at the United States Army Medical Research Institute for Infectious Diseases (USAMRIID). During this time, he developed reverse genetic systems to isolate and characterize anti-viral escape mutants. Jason earned his Ph.D. in virology from Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, studying basic mechanisms of viral gene regulation in the laboratory of Dr. Priscilla Schaffer. He received his Bachelor of Science degree in microbiology from the Pennsylvania State University, where he was involved in student government and HIV/AIDS peer education and testing.

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From:	Dorval, Christopher </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DORVALC>
Sent:	Tuesday, December 11, 2012 11:45 AM
To:	Quam, Lois E <QuamLE@state.gov>
Cc:	Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>; Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>
Subject:	230 Baylor meeting today
Attach:	BCM NSTM concept paper.pdf; 2012_NY Times_Hotez.pdf; 2012_BMJ_Hotez.pdf

RELEASE IN PART B6

Lois,

Thanks for kicking off the meeting with Dr. Peter Hotez today at 230 before you head to USAID. Jason as our medical expert will carry the ball from there; I will just be a parasite…

See Ben Chang's note and attached data on the new National School of Tropical Medicine.

CD

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 06, 2012 5:11 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: meeting next Tuesday

Chris – thanks for the chat just now.

Here's the skinny: I was hoping that you and Lois might be willing to spend a few minutes on **Tuesday** with Dr. Peter Hotez, who will be in town from Houston where he is dean of the brand-new National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine. (Dr. Hotez is an expert on global health and neglected tropical diseases, and, in addition to his duties at Baylor College of Medicine, he is also president of the Sabin Vaccine Institute.)

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591640 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Texas Children's Hospital

BCM
Baylor College of Medicine

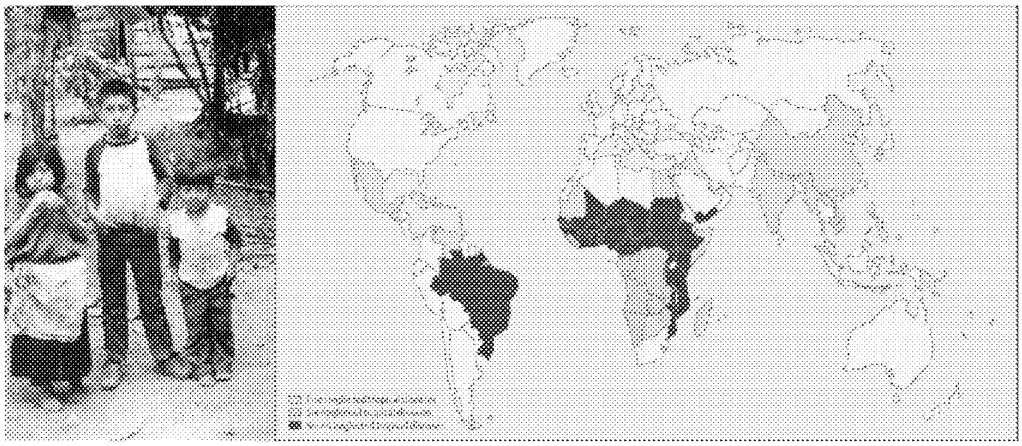
SABIN VACCINE INSTITUTE

RELEASE IN FULL

School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine

Section of Pediatric Tropical Medicine
Sabin Vaccine Institute & Texas Children's Center for Vaccine Development

Concept Paper for
Advancing Global Health Technologies for Neglected Tropical Diseases



Overview: The neglected tropical diseases (NTDs) are a group of 17 chronic parasitic and related infections that, together with malaria, represent the most common infections of the world's poorest people. Tropical diseases directly impact global health and highlight poverty because of their adverse effects on pregnancy outcomes, child development and intellect, and worker productivity in the world's low- and middle-income countries. New evidence also indicates a hidden burden of tropical diseases in the poorest parts of the United States, including South Texas.

Currently, there is no educational entity devoted to the tropical diseases in the United States or North America. However, in the United Kingdom the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine have conducted related research and educational programs for more than a century. Our aim is to complement these international efforts with the unique partnership of three premier organizations located in the United States: Baylor College of Medicine, Texas Children's Hospital, and Sabin Vaccine Institute.

In June 2011, Baylor College of Medicine formally announced the appointment of Peter Hotez, M.D., Ph.D., to its faculty. A world renowned expert in pediatric infectious diseases, tropical medicine, and vaccines, Dr. Hotez will lead the new vaccine development program at Texas Children's Hospital and Baylor College of Medicine beginning in August 2011. He also will serve as founding dean of the School

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of Tropical Medicine at BCM, head the new Section of Tropical Diseases in the BCM Department of Pediatrics, and hold the Texas Children's Hospital Endowed Chair in Tropical Pediatrics.

Mission Statement of the School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine
As the first school in the United States dedicated to solving the world's most pressing tropical disease issues, we will:

- discover, develop, and deliver a new generation of appropriate technologies (i.e., vaccines, drugs, and diagnostics) for the world's major tropical diseases, NTDs, malaria, and other neglected infections of poverty.

- shape public policy in support of the delivery of novel and cost-effective technologies for tropical diseases affecting the poorest people in low income countries.

- train the next generation of global health scientists and global healthcare providers in the area of tropical medicine.

Educating Health Care Professionals: The School of Tropical Medicine will create new diploma and degree programs, including a Diploma in Tropical Medicine (DTM) and the program in Tropical Medicine for Nurses and allied health professionals. There also will be new Master of Science programs in translational biotechnology and vaccine development, and Ph.D. programs in global health technologies and tropical medicine. The School also will establish a unique ward for tropical diseases at the affiliated Ben Taub Hospital in the Texas Medical Center; the first of its kind in the United States.

In parallel to these efforts at Baylor College of Medicine in Houston, Texas, an education and training site for tropical diseases will be established in Latin America. Today, in Latin America approximately 120 million people live on less than $2 per day. Almost all of the 100 million lowest income people are infected with one or more tropical diseases, and studies have found that the disease burden from tropical diseases exceeds that of HIV/AIDS infection. With course offerings based at the Baylor College of Medicine, the School of Tropical Medicine will establish a unique regional training site to serve Mesoamerica, Mexico and Central America.

In partnership with the Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children's Hospital, these education programs will compliment an already established relationship that SVI has with The Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán (UADY) for developing Chagas disease and leishmaniasis vaccines. UADY is under consideration as a lead site for educating healthcare professionals in Latin America under the auspices of the School of Tropical Medicine and currently has research supported by the Carlos Slim Institute for Health. The BCM education emphasis will be placed on building capacity for diagnosis, public health control of tropical diseases, and clinical research training.

Leadership: The School of Tropical Medicine will be under the primary leadership of Dr. Hotez who will serve as the founding Dean, as well as Maria Elena Bottazzi, Ph.D., Associate Dean. Dr. Hotez is an elected member of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academies, an external board comprising leading academic and industrial scientists.

At this time, potential board members include Retired Major General Philip K. Russell, M.D., Ph.D., former director, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research; Mirta Rosas Periago, M.D., director, Pan American Health Organization of World Health Organization (WHO); Anthony Fauci, M.D., director of National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) and the National Institutes of Health (NIH); Gary Nabel, M.D., Ph.D., director, NIH Vaccine Research Center; Roger Glass, M.D., Ph.D., director, NIH Fogarty International Center; Roberto Tapia-Conyer, M.D., M.P.H., director, Carlos Slim Institute of

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School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine

Health; Jeffrey Sachs, M.A., Ph.D., director, Earth Institute at Columbia University; Paul Farmer, M.D., Ph.D., chair of Global Health, Harvard University; director, Partners in Health; Jim Kim, M.D., Ph.D., president, Dartmouth College; Alan Fenwick, OBE, director, Schistosomiasis Control Initiative (SCI); professor, Imperial College London; Regina Rabinovitch, M.D., M.P.H., director, Global Health Infectious Diseases, Gates Foundation; Mr. Mort Hyman, chairman of the board, Sabin Vaccine Institute.

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The New York Times
Sunday Review | The Opinion Pages

RELEASE IN FULL

Tropical Diseases: The New Plague of Poverty

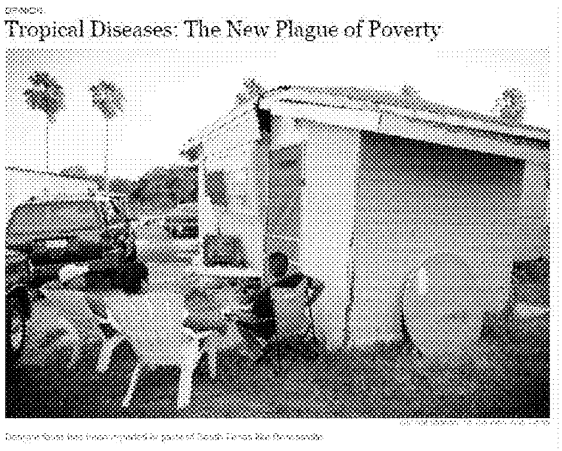
By PETER J. HOTEZ

Saturday, August 18, 2012

In the United States, 2.8 million children are living in households with incomes of less than $2 per person per day, a benchmark more often applied to developing countries. An additional 20 million Americans live in extreme poverty. In the Gulf Coast states of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, poverty rates are near 20 percent.In some of the poorer counties of Texas, where I live, rates often approach 30 percent. In these places, the Gini coefficient, a measure of inequality, ranks as high as in some sub-Saharan African countries.

Poverty takes many tolls, but in the United States, one of the most tragic has been its tight link with a group of infections known as the neglected tropical diseases, which we ordinarily think of as confined to developing countries.

Outbreaks of dengue fever, a mosquito-transmitted viral infection that is endemic to Mexico and Central America, have been reported in South Texas. Then there is cysticercosis, a parasitic infection caused by a larval pork tapeworm that leads to seizures and epilepsy; toxocariasis, another parasitic infection that causes asthma and neurological problems; cutaneous leishmaniasis, a disfiguring skin infection transmitted by sand flies; and murine typhus, a bacterial infection transmitted by fleas and often linked to rodent infestations.


Tropical Diseases: The New Plague of Poverty

Among the more frightening is Chagas disease. Transmitted by a "kissing bug" that resembles a cockroach but with the ability to feed on human blood, it is a leading cause of heart failure and sudden death throughout Latin America. It is an especially virulent scourge among pregnant women, who can pass the disease on to their babies. Just last month, the first case of congenital Chagas disease in the United States was reported.

These are, most likely, the most important diseases you've never heard of.

They disproportionately affect Americans living in poverty, and especially minorities, including up to 2.8 million African-Americans with toxocariasis and 300,000 or more people, mostly Hispanic Americans, with Chagas disease. The neglected tropical diseases thrive in the poorer South's warm climate, especially in areas where people live in dilapidated housing or can't afford air-conditioning and sleep with the windows open to disease-transmitting insects. They thrive wherever there is poor street drainage, plumbing, sanitation and garbage collection, and in areas with neglected swimming pools.

Most troubling of all, they can even increase the levels of poverty in these areas by slowing the growth and intellectual development of children and impeding productivity in the work force. They are the forgotten diseases of forgotten people, and Texas is emerging as an epicenter.

A key impediment to eliminating neglected tropical diseases in the United States is that they frequently go unrecognized because the disenfranchised people they afflict do not or cannot seek out health care. Even when there is a clinic or community health center in an impoverished area, it often lacks the necessary diagnostic tests, and the staff is rarely trained to recognize and manage neglected tropical diseases.

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We have an opportunity to stop these diseases, but we need to act. First, we need programs of active surveillance and monitoring to obtain more accurate information on the true prevalence of these diseases and how they are transmitted. We also need better diagnostic tests; worm infections like cysticercosis and toxocariasis can often be treated effectively with antiparasitics and anti-inflammatories, but they are frequently misdiagnosed.

Finally, we need safer and more effective drugs and new licensed vaccines. For instance, there are drugs to treat Chagas disease, like benznidazole and nifurtimox, but they are hard to procure, often not effective in adults after the symptoms of heart disease begin and so toxic they cannot be taken by pregnant women. And unfortunately, with a few exceptions — like some promising new dengue vaccines under development — the major pharmaceutical companies see little financial advantage in investing in better treatments or vaccines for these diseases.

With the looming possibility of budget cuts to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and its excellent Parasitic Disease Branch, others will need to step up. Texas and the Gulf Coast are home to some of the country's greatest universities and medical schools, and they can bring considerable brainpower to bear on this problem.

In Houston, the Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children's Hospital Center for Vaccine Development have organized a research unit to develop new vaccines and diagnostics. And Baylor College of Medicine created a new tropical medicine school to teach doctors and other health care providers to recognize, diagnose and treat these infections. A key component is a tropical disease clinic outside Houston where patients show up every Friday. On recent Friday mornings just over the last month, the clinic's director has treated a young woman with cutaneous leishmaniasis, three people with brain lesions from cysticercosis and a middle-aged man with Chagas disease.

While immigration is sometimes blamed for introducing neglected tropical diseases into the United States, the real issue is that they are now, to varying degrees, also being transmitted within our borders. Without new interventions, they are here to stay and destined to trap people in poverty for decades to come. Fifty years ago, Michael Harrington's book "The Other America: Poverty in the United States" became a national best seller. Today more people than ever before live in poverty in this country. We must now turn our attention to the diseases of this Other America.

Peter J. Hotez is the dean of the National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine and the president and director of the Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children's Hospital Center for Vaccine Development.

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BMJ

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EDITORIALS

Fighting neglected tropical diseases in the southern United States

Poverty and lack of awareness need to be tackled

Peter J Hotez *professor of pediatrics and molecular virology and microbiology and dean, National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine; Baker Institute fellow in disease and poverty, Rice University; and president and director, Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children's Hospital Center for Vaccine Development*

Texas Children's Hospital and Baylor College of Medicine, Texas Medical Center, Houston Texas 77030, USA

The neglected tropical diseases are a group of chronic parasitic and related infections such as hookworm, schistosomiasis, lymphatic filariasis, Chagas disease, and leishmaniasis that often affect the "bottom billion" in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.[1] Extreme poverty, defined by the World Bank as average daily consumption of $1.25 (£0.8; €1.0) or less, is the main social factor associated with a high prevalence of these diseases.[1] The World Health Organization, the World Bank, and professionals have advocated strongly for global programmes to deliver packages of essential drugs to treat the tropical diseases with the highest prevalence, such as tuberculosis and malaria, while simultaneously developing new or improved drugs and vaccines.[2] Diseases such as Chagas disease, cysticercosis, leishmaniasis, and dengue are listed in the 17 tropical diseases being targeted by WHO for control or elimination in low and middle income countries.[3 4] Others, such as toxocariasis, a chronic parasitic infection that causes asthma and epilepsy,[5 6] and trichomoniasis, a sexually transmitted disease associated with vaginal HIV-1 shedding,[7] are not. That these diseases affect literally millions of Americans living in poverty,[8] with prevalence rates of selected tropical diseases in some areas of the US comparable to rates in low and middle income countries, is less well known.[9]

Roughly 15% of Americans (46 million people) currently live below the US poverty line (as defined by a set of income thresholds that vary by family size and composition).[10] Most are concentrated in the American South, especially the Gulf coast, Mississippi delta, and south Texas.[8] About five years ago we began to estimate the burden of neglected tropical diseases among those classified as poor in the American South and elsewhere in the US (then roughly 12% of Americans—36.5 million people).[8] Most of these diseases are not reportable illnesses in the US and few surveillance data were available. However, an initial analysis suggested a substantial but largely hidden burden of disease in the US.[8]

With the recent economic downturn poor Americans have been getting poorer.[10] A recent study from the National Poverty Center estimated that 1.46 million US families, with 2.8 million children and other members, each live on less than $2 a day.[11] An analysis of US census data from 2010 indicates that the income of 20 million Americans is below one half of the US poverty level.[10]

Texas has the second largest population of all the US states and possibly the largest number of Americans living below the poverty line, with one in five Texans living in poverty.[12] Tropical diseases such as Chagas disease and cysticercosis are widespread in Texas.[12] Poor housing conditions and homelessness promote exposure to selected vector borne tropical diseases, such as dengue and murine typhus.[12] On the basis of previous experience, the current outbreak of West Nile virus infection in Texas will probably affect homeless people and those living in poverty disproportionately.[13]

Exactly how and why poverty is inextricably linked to neglected tropical diseases is still unclear. In low and middle income countries, these diseases cause or perpetuate poverty because of their negative impact on child development, productivity of workers, and maternal health.[1] In Texas and the greater American South, a combination of socioeconomic factors linked to poverty probably play a part.[14] As suggested in a recent *New York Times* opinion piece, these factors include dilapidated housing without adequate insect screens or air conditioning, poor sanitation and plumbing, and absent or inconsistent rubbish collection and street drainage.[14] Such elements, together with a warm and humid climate, create ideal conditions for the spread of these diseases. Although immigration undoubtedly accounts for some imported cases of tropical disease in North America, conditions of poverty and climate also promote their transmission within US borders.[8 12 13] Mother to child transmission of neglected diseases such as congenital cytomegalovirus, syphilis, and toxoplasmosis also occurs disproportionately among the poor and disenfranchised in the

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US,[8] and recently the first well documented case of congenital Chagas disease was reported.[15]

In 2011, a new National School of Tropical Medicine (NSTM) was established at the Texas Medical Center in Houston, alongside the Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children's Hospital Center for Vaccine Development product development partnership (PDP) laboratories. The NSTM was partly inspired by the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, with their ongoing commitment to studying translational medicine relevant to the world's poor. But Houston has tropical diseases in its backyard. Accordingly, a new tropical medicine clinic has been created at the NSTM to help people living with these diseases.

What needs to be done to deal with the problem of tropical diseases among America's poor? Firstly, a programme of expanded surveillance is urgently needed so that the burden of these diseases in the US can be accurately determined.[8 14] More work is needed to help understand what contributes to disease transmission and how it links with poverty. This will require collaborative working with federal, state, and local public health agencies, as well as regional universities. In addition, many doctors and other healthcare providers cannot recognise and manage these diseases, so training is needed. The NSTM now offers a Diploma in Tropical Medicine. Finally, new drugs, diagnostics, and vaccines must be developed.[8 14] Some headway is being made with vaccines in early stages of development, but more work is urgently needed.

Regional efforts alone will not be enough. National awareness must increase if tropical diseases, which represent one of the most glaring examples of health disparity in the US today, are to be tackled properly. A bill known as the Neglected Infections of Impoverished Americans Act (HR 528) was recently introduced to Congress to raise awareness of this problem in the US.

Competing interests: The author has completed the ICMJE uniform disclosure form at www.icmje.org/coi_disclosure.pdf (available on request from the corresponding author) and declares no support from any organization for the submitted work. PJH is the president and director of a product development partnership (PDP) that develops and tests vaccines for neglected tropical diseases; these vaccines are supported by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Southwest Electric Energy Medical Research Institute, Carlos Slim Institute of Health, Texas Children's Hospital, US National Institutes of Health, Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazilian Ministry of Health, Blavatnik Charitable Foundation, Gary Michelson, Mr and Mrs Mort Hyman, and Howard Harpster; the Sabin Vaccine Institute headquartered in Washington, DC also accepts funds for its vaccine advocacy programs from multinational drug companies, but not for its PDP.

Provenance and peer review: Commissioned; not peer reviewed.

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From: Seiden, Maya D </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SEIDENMD>
Sent: Monday, January 28, 2013 10:48 PM
To: 'bchang@podesta.com'
Subject: Re: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Aside from Tom?

RELEASE IN PART B6

Al - next Friday
Me - eventually, but trying to nail down what
Andy - by April

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, January 28, 2013 09:49 AM
To: Seiden, Maya D
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Good morning! Who all is leaving from your side of mahogany row?

From: Seiden, Maya D [mailto:SeidenMD@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, January 27, 2013 9:49 AM
To: AChandler@usglc.org; Ben Chang; Whelan, Moira
Subject: Re: Washington Post "In the Loop"

This week is likely to be a bit nutty with all the departures on friday. How about next week?

From: Ashley Chandler [mailto B6
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2013 12:44 PM
To: Seiden, Maya D; Ben Chang <bchang@podesta.com>; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Hope everyone is recovering from the weekend's festivities.

As for a coffee, yes! This week is nuts, but I'm fairly open next Tues, Wed and Fri (Jan 29, 30 and Feb 1). Any alignment on y'all's end?

Also, Maya, looks like I will be headed your way next Thursday, Jan 31 for a meeting with David McKean (am accompanying our ED and a couple of members).

From: Seiden, Maya D [mailto:SeidenMD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, January 18, 2013 4:41 PM
To: Ashley Chandler; Ben Chang; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Would love to meet. Am around and relatively free next week if there's a time that works for you. Happy to make it all 4 of us if we can actually find a time that works for all of our schedules.

MS

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From: Ashley Chandler [mailto:
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 11:04 AM
To: Ben Chang; Seiden, Maya D; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Hi Maya! Ben, thanks for the intro.

In addition to tubas, I'm miffed about the survey he cites – from 2010! Sent it around the office to see if the powers-that-be think it worth responding with some of our "Goooo Foreign Aid!" pompoms (for the record, USGLC does not officially use this cheerleading analogy, but I think it could be huge with 12-16 year old girls)

Would be great to grab a coffee with you sometime, Maya (and Moira!). I cover our economic growth portfolio. My last two blogs focused on OPIC and TDA, but am always looking for ways to include economic statecraft in things. For your reading pleasure (btw, Littlefield was tickled by the Holiday one and sent it around to the board):

2013's Smart Power Resolution
A Holiday Gift from OPIC

Cheers,

Ash

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:22 AM
To: Seiden, Maya D; Ashley Chandler; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

By the way – Maya, meet Ashley; Ashley, Maya! We must have a proper intro in person sometime soon…

From: Seiden, Maya D [mailto:SeidenMD@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:17 AM
To: Ben Chang; AChandler ; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Now that everyone has bought into economic statecraft and travel and tourism, we'll get moving on tubas. Can you imagine how long the FSI course would have to be?

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:15 AM
To: Seiden, Maya D; AChandler Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Sometimes he's a dodo-head, or at least writes like one. I like the 'if FSOs only got better at playing tubas and timbales…' – I didn't know we knew how to play them in the first place. Who's got the pen on the tuba initiative?

From: Seiden, Maya D [mailto:SeidenMD@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:10 AM

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To: Ben Chang; AChandler[redacted] Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

So eloquently written …

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:07 AM
To: Ashley Chandler ([redacted]; Whelan, Moira; Seiden, Maya D
Subject: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Kamen has a blurb about State Department & USAID fact sheet and budget numbers…

Ben Chang | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From: ambefbagley [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, February 8, 2013 9:43 PM
To: Burns, Deborah M <burnsdx@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: Hi Ambassador Bagley.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Pls send him the usual info via email.

Thanks!
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: Paul Brathwaite <PBrathwaite@podesta.com>
Date: Fri, 8 Feb 2013 12:33:20 -0500
To: 'ambefbagley [redacted] B6
Subject: Hi Ambassador Bagley.

Hope you're well. I am over at the Podesta Group. I don't believe we met but I recently attended the event you held at your home for the Senate Democrats' Majority Trust members during inauguration weekend.

I had a quick question about the U.S. Diplomacy Center (USDC) project you are working on and was hoping you could send me some background information. I am assisting a client and would welcome any information you can send me about the project. Thanks, in advance.

Paul

Paul Brathwaite | Principal

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From: Whelan, Moira <WhelanM@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, February 11, 2013 7:19 PM
To: 'bchang@podesta.com'; Seiden, Maya D <SeidenMD@state.gov>; Cho, Albert H <ChoAH@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Direct Line!

I soooo want to do that. And btw check out Rogin to see how Maya and I shamelessly con Tom Nides into internships for our kids 20 years from now...

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, February 11, 2013 07:13 PM
To: Seiden, Maya D; Whelan, Moira; Cho, Albert H
Subject: Direct Line!

RELEASE IN PART B6

http://www.state.gov/e/eb/directline/

Quick question – on this page at "benefits" portion with quotes from Ambos: any way to get quotes from business owners that have benefited, too?

And how is everyone doing??

Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

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From: Ashley Chandler <
Sent: Thursday, February 21, 2013 7:36 PM
To: Seiden, Maya D <SeidenMD@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Been buried myself, but happily in part because of yesterday's terrific speech.

How's next Friday?

Do we dare to try and align Moira's and Ben's calendars too? I say yes, but I'm a hopeless optimist.

From: Seiden, Maya D [mailto:SeidenMD@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, February 20, 2013 2:57 PM
To: Ashley Chandler
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

RELEASE IN PART B6

Ok, life is a bit quieter for me now. Should we pick this up again? Let me know when you have time to meet up.

From: Ashley Chandler [mailto
Sent: Monday, February 04, 2013 11:02 AM
To: Seiden, Maya D
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Thanks! We had a blast test-running this type of approach.

Today is crazy, but am free 4:30 pm on to chat. Work for you?

From: Seiden, Maya D [mailto:SeidenMD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2013 5:15 PM
To: Ashley Chandler
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Love the superbowl ad.

Let's chat Monday and try to find a time.

From: Ashley Chandler [mailto:
Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2013 5:35 PM
To: Seiden, Maya D; bchang@podesta.com; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Nutty is putting it nicely! Between all of the press releases and events, you all are in serious overdrive.

My Tues-Thurs, Feb 5-7 next week is pretty open. You?

From: Seiden, Maya D [mailto:SeidenMD@state.gov]

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Sent: Sunday, January 27, 2013 9:49 AM
To: Ashley Chandler; bchang@podesta.com; Whelan, Moira
Subject: Re: Washington Post "In the Loop"

This week is likely to be a bit nutty with all the departures on friday. How about next week?

From: Ashley Chandler [mailto
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2013 12:44 PM
To: Seiden, Maya D; Ben Chang <bchang@podesta.com>; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

B6

Hope everyone is recovering from the weekend's festivities.

As for a coffee, yes! This week is nuts, but I'm fairly open next Tues, Wed and Fri (Jan 29, 30 and Feb 1). Any alignment on y'all's end?

Also, Maya, looks like I will be headed your way next Thursday, Jan 31 for a meeting with David McKean (am accompanying our ED and a couple of members).

From: Seiden, Maya D [mailto:SeidenMD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, January 18, 2013 4:41 PM
To: Ashley Chandler; Ben Chang; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Would love to meet. Am around and relatively free next week if there's a time that works for you. Happy to make it all 4 of us if we can actually find a time that works for all of our schedules.

MS

From: Ashley Chandler [mailto:
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 11:04 AM
To: Ben Chang; Seiden, Maya D; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Hi Maya! Ben, thanks for the intro.

In addition to tubas, I'm miffed about the survey he cites – from 2010! Sent it around the office to see if the powers-that-be think it worth responding with some of our "Goooo Foreign Aid!" pompoms (for the record, USGLC does not officially use this cheerleading analogy, but I think it could be huge with 12-16 year old girls)

Would be great to grab a coffee with you sometime, Maya (and Moira!). I cover our economic growth portfolio. My last two blogs focused on OPIC and TDA, but am always looking for ways to include economic statecraft in things. For your reading pleasure (btw, Littlefield was tickled by the Holiday one and sent it around to the board):

2013's Smart Power Resolution
A Holiday Gift from OPIC

Cheers,

Ash

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:22 AM
To: Seiden, Maya D; Ashley Chandler; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

By the way – Maya, meet Ashley; Ashley, Maya! We must have a proper intro in person sometime soon…

From: Seiden, Maya D [mailto:SeidenMD@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:17 AM
To: Ben Chang; AChandler[redacted]; Whelan, Moira B6
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Now that everyone has bought into economic statecraft and travel and tourism, we'll get moving on tubas. Can you imagine how long the FSI course would have to be?

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:15 AM
To: Seiden, Maya D; AChandler[redacted]; Whelan, Moira
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Sometimes he's a dodo-head, or at least writes like one. I like the 'if FSOs only got better at playing tubas and timbales…' – I didn't know we knew how to play them in the first place. Who's got the pen on the tuba initiative?

From: Seiden, Maya D [mailto:SeidenMD@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:10 AM
To: Ben Chang; AChandler[redacted] Whelan, Moira B6
Subject: RE: Washington Post "In the Loop"

So eloquently written …

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:07 AM
To: Ashley Chandler[redacted]; Whelan, Moira; Seiden, Maya D
Subject: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Kamen has a blurb about State Department & USAID fact sheet and budget numbers…

Ben Chang | Principal

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From: Walsh, Matthew P <WalshMP@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, April 8, 2013 3:11 PM
To: Ballou-Aares, Daniella <Ballou-AaresD@state.gov>
Subject: FW: David McKean's office

Hey remind me to bring this up with you at 430. Welcome to join if you'd like. It's the Livestrong folks.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, April 08, 2013 3:07 PM
To: Walsh, Matthew P; Raddatz, Samantha T
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Hey Matt,

No worries, no problem. Okay, great.

The attendees are below. Many thanks again.

Sincerely,

Aj

Name: Loyce LaShawndra Pace
DOB:
DL #:
State:

B6

Name: Douglas Edward Ulman
DOB:
DL#:
State:

Name: Aranthan Steve Jones II
DOB:
DL#:
State:

Name: Lauren Justine Ferguson
DOB:
DL #:
State:

From: Walsh, Matthew P [mailto:WalshMP@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, April 08, 2013 1:03 PM
To: Aranthan Jones; Raddatz, Samantha T
Cc: Walsh, Matthew P
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

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Aj,

Very sorry for my delayed response! I just need the full names of everyone who will be coming on your end. Once you send me that list, I'll pre-register everyone to speed things up when you arrive tomorrow.

Just come to the main State Department lobby tomorrow at noon (2201 C Street NW), pass through security, and check in at the main desk. They'll call me and I'll come down and get you. We're reading to room 7318, which is our conference room.

See you tomorrow.

Best,

Matt

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, April 08, 2013 11:12 AM
To: Walsh, Matthew P; Raddatz, Samantha T
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Greetings again Matt,

I hope all is well. I just wanted to follow-up with you in reference to our meeting tomorrow. Please let me know what information you need from us in reference to security clearance. Many thanks

Sincerely,

Aj

From: Aranthan Jones
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 8:35 PM
To: 'WalshMP@state.gov'; 'RaddatzST@state.gov'
Subject: Re: David McKean's office

Greetings again Matt,

That is wonderful and works perfectly for us. We will be there at 12pm.

Please let us know what you need from us in reference to clearance and the room number. Many thanks again.

Sincerely,

Aj

From: Walsh, Matthew P [mailto:WalshMP@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 08:31 PM
To: Aranthan Jones; Raddatz, Samantha T <RaddatzST@state.gov>
Subject: Re: David McKean's office

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Would love to. Anytime between 12 and 1 pm would work.

Matt

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 06:23 PM
To: Raddatz, Samantha T
Cc: Walsh, Matthew P
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Greetings again Samantha,

Thanks so much for getting back to us and we completely understand.

Yes, we would be happy to meet With Matt.

Greetings Matt,

We trust all is well. Please let us know if you would be available to briefly meet with us between 11am and 1pm on April 9th.

Many thanks to you both.

Sincerely,

Aj

From: Raddatz, Samantha T [mailto:RaddatzST@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 6:13 PM
To: Aranthan Jones
Cc: Walsh, Matthew P
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Hi AJ,

Unfortunately David isn't able to meet next week. I've copied one of our senior policy experts here (Matt Walsh) in case you'd like to schedule a meeting with him.

Thank you,
Samantha

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 4:48 PM
To: Raddatz, Samantha T
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Great! We are so glad you received it and hope that you will be able to find time on the April 9th to meet. Many thanks again

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Sincerely,

Aj

From: Raddatz, Samantha T [mailto:RaddatzST@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 3:01 PM
To: Aranthan Jones
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Got it!!

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 2:31 PM
To: Raddatz, Samantha T
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

From: Aranthan Jones
Sent: Thursday, April 04, 2013 2:36 PM
To: 'McCrackenAB@state.gov'
Cc: 'raddatzst@state.gov'
Subject: FW: Checking-in and Livestrong Foundation CEO Meeting Request

Greetings Drew,

I hope all is well and that you are having a productive week. My name is Aranthan "AJ" Jones II and I am a Principal at the Podesta Group. I was referred to you by my firm colleague Ben Chang.

I am reaching out to you in reference to a meeting request I submitted on behalf of my client the Livestrong Foundation. Doug Ulman, CEO of the Livestrong Foundation will be in DC on April 9th and would like to briefly meet with David McKean about the Foundation's global health and development investment/policy agenda in State Department focused countries.

Towards this end, would you know if Mr. McKean would be available to briefly meet (20mins) with us on April 9th anytime between 8am and 1pm? Please let us know and we thank you in advance for your consideration of this request.

I have included the original e-mail below for your background. Many thanks

Sincerely,

Aj

From: Aranthan Jones
Sent: Tuesday, March 26, 2013 10:18 AM
To: 'mckeand@state.gov'
Cc: 'raddatzst@state.gov'

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Subject: Checking-in and Livestrong Foundation CEO Meeting Request

Greetings again David,

We hope all is well and that you are having a very productive week. I know it has been awhile since we last connected when you and I were both on the Hill but I wanted to reach out to you on behalf of the LIVESTRONG Foundation.

As you know, the LIVESTRONG Foundation is a leading nonprofit organization that provides support for people affected by cancer, and was founded in 1997. Doug Ulman, LIVESTRONG's President and Chief Executive Officer and David Lofye, LIVESTRONG's Vice President of Government Affairs will be in Washington, DC on April 9th and would like to update you on the Foundation's status and discuss their global health and development investment/policy agenda for 2013. Please let me know if you would have anytime on Tuesday, April 9th between 8am and 1pm to briefly meet (20mins. max) with them.

I have pasted additional information about Mr. Ulman and Mr. Lofye below. Many thanks in advance for your consideration of this request. If you have any questions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Aj

About LIVESTRONG:
LIVESTRONG Foundation Facts

- Has raised more than $500 million to support cancer survivors and served 2.5 million people affected by cancer
- Has invested 82 percent of each dollar raised directly in programs, initiatives and advocacy efforts that support people affected by cancer. (The industry average is 75 percent.)
- Is recognized as one of the most highly-rated cancer non-profit organizations in the U.S.
  - Better Business Bureau Wise Giving Alliance accredited charity seal holder
  - Completed National Health Council's Standards of Excellence Certification Program
  - Rated four out of four stars by Charity Navigator
  - A- -rated by American Institute of Philanthropy
  - Ranked as one of the top three cancer organizations by Philanthropedia.

About the LIVESTRONG Foundation
The LIVESTRONG Foundation provides free cancer support services to help people cope with the financial, emotional and practical challenges that accompany the disease. Created in 1997 by cancer survivor and philanthropist Lance Armstrong, the Foundation is known for its powerful brand -- LIVESTRONG -- and for its advocacy on behalf of survivors and their families. With its iconic yellow LIVESTRONG wristband, the Foundation has become a symbol of hope and inspiration around the world. Since its inception, the Foundation has served 2.5 million people affected by the disease and raised more than $500 million to support cancer survivors. One of America's top cancer non-profit organizations, the Foundation enjoys a four-star rating from Charity Navigator and has been recognized by the National Health Council and the Better Business Bureau for its excellent governance, high standards and transparency. For more information, visit LIVESTRONG.org.

Bios

Doug Ulman, President and Chief Executive Officer

In his role as President and Chief Executive Officer Doug is ultimately responsible for the strategic vision and

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direction of LIVESTRONG.

Doug Ulman is a three-time cancer survivor and nationally recognized cancer advocate. After overcoming chondrosarcoma and malignant melanoma twice during his sophomore year in college, Doug and his family founded the Ulman Cancer Fund for Young Adults, a non-profit organization to provide support, education, and resources to young adults, their families and friends who are affected by cancer. He served as Executive Director of the Ulman Cancer Fund for four years before joining LIVESTRONG as director of survivorship in 2001.

Doug has received numerous awards for his leadership and community service. In 2002, Doug was selected from more than 20,000 individuals to appear on more than 15 million boxes of Wheaties Energy Crunch as an American Everyday Hero. In 2003, Doug was selected as the Austin Under-40 award winner in the healthcare category. In 2005, Doug was honored by both the American Psychosocial Oncology Society and the Association of Oncology Social Workers. Most recently Doug was named to the Non-Profit Times Power and Influence Top 50 for 2009, an honor bestowed to the top 50 Non-profit executives. A frequent guest and contributor on national and local media programs, Doug has been featured on CNN, ABC News, NBC Nightly News, and in The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and The Washington Post among many other outlets. Doug also speaks frequently to corporations, civic organizations, schools and Universities covering topics including cancer, philanthropy, grassroots movements, social change, and social media.

Doug currently holds numerous civic and charitable board positions across the country and he just completed serving a four-year term as the Chairman of the National Cancer Institute Director's Consumer Liaison Group. He also sits on the executive board of the Ulman Cancer Fund for Young Adults, and is a founder of the LIVESTRONG Young Adult Alliance among many other board and advisory roles. Following his three cancer diagnoses, Doug returned to the soccer field and helped Brown University to three Ivy League Championships in four years.

David Lofye, Vice President of Government Relations

In his role as Vice President, his is responsible for LIVESTRONG's federal and state governmental programmatic and policy outreach. Prior to joining LIVESTRONG in 2006 he served as Deputy Chief of Staff in the Office of U.S. Rep. Nick Lampson (D-TX) at U.S. House of Representatives and as a Professional Staff Member on the House Science Committee Subcommittee on Energy since 1998. He received a JD from The University of Texas School of Law and B.A. in Political Science from Indiana University Bloomington.

Aranthan Jones | Principal

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From: Raddatz, Samantha T [mailto:RaddatzST@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 2:29 PM
To: Aranthan Jones
Subject: David McKean's office

Test email

Samantha Raddatz
Special Assistant to the Director
Office of Policy Planning
RaddatzST@state.gov
Office: 202-647-2372
BB: 202-316-3191

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Sherman, Wendy R </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SHERMANWR>
Sent:	Thursday, May 9, 2013 3:46 PM
To:	Lakhdhir, Kamala S <LakhdhirKS@state.gov>
Cc:	Morris, Margo T <MorrisMT@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: News from Dave Adams

Indeed!

From: Lakhdhir, Kamala S
Sent: Thursday, May 09, 2013 3:46 PM
To: Sherman, Wendy R
Cc: Morris, Margo T
Subject: RE: News from Dave Adams

RELEASE IN PART B6

I've asked him. [redacted] B6
K

From: Sherman, Wendy R
Sent: Thursday, May 09, 2013 3:45 PM
To: Lakhdhir, Kamala S
Cc: Morris, Margo T
Subject: RE: News from Dave Adams

Interesting. [redacted] B6

From: Lakhdhir, Kamala S
Sent: Thursday, May 09, 2013 3:44 PM
To: Sherman, Wendy R
Cc: Morris, Margo T
Subject: News from Dave Adams

WRS: I assume that you received your own email but just in case…

Kamala

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 09, 2013 1:07 PM
To: David Adams
Subject: New Job

All – Please excuse the informality but I wanted to share with all of you that I recently started as a Principal with the Podesta Group. I'm thrilled to be here and am looking forward to connecting again with all of you. My coordinates are below. Please don't hesitate to contact me if there's anything I can do for you. Thanks. Dave

David Adams | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9325 (d) | [redacted] (c) | dadams@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From: Tagg, George C </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=TAGGGC>
Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2013 5:28 PM
To: Cathy Rought <CRought@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: Thank you!

It was great to meet you, Cathy, and I look forward to working together!

George C. Tagg, Jr.
Regional Affairs Officer
Caucasus Affairs and Regional Conflicts (CARC)
Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs
U.S. Department of State
TaggGC@state.gov
202.647.2428

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From: Cathy Rought [mailto:CRought@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2013 4:12 PM
To: Tagg, George C
Subject: Thank you!

Thanks for taking the time to talk today and for the frank discussion, I really appreciate it. Let's stay in touch, and please let me know if we can ever be of assistance.

Cathy Rought | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9369 (d) | [redacted] (c) | CRought@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From:	Kausner, Gregory M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KAUSNER, GREGORY M01F>
Sent:	Friday, July 19, 2013 5:35 PM
To:	Riley Moore <riley.moore@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: FYI on IADS

Thanks, Riley. Keep me posted.

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, July 19, 2013 2:27 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: FYI on IADS

RELEASE IN PART B6

Hey Greg,

You might already know, but, Greg Walters from Lockheed is going to meet with Menendez on Tuesday to talk about the impact the continued hold on IADS is going to have on jobs at Lockheed.

Please keep that info close hold. I'll give you a read out on Tuesday.

Thanks.

Riley Moore | Senior Associate

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202.448.5217 (d) [redacted] (c) | riley.moore@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From:	Burns, William J </O=SBUSTATE/OU=MOSCOW AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BURNSWJ>
Sent:	Friday, August 16, 2013 7:05 PM
To:	'David Adams' <dadams@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: Thank you

My pleasure, Dave.

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, August 16, 2013 9:26 AM
To: Burns, William J
Subject: Thank you

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Hi Bill – Just a short note to say thank you for sending your letter along to CFR. I greatly appreciate the support. Hope you are getting some time away this summer. Best. Dave

David Adams | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9325 (d) | [redacted] (c) | dadams@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Klajn, Tamara </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KLEIJN, TAMARA03C>
Sent: Friday, November 1, 2013 5:48 PM
To: Arturo Sarukhan <asarukhan@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: Thank you

Dear Arturo,

It was my pleasure. I am very glad to hear that the meeting was useful and do wish you a safe and productive trip.

All the best,
Tamara

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Tamara Klajn
Senior Advisor
Bureau of African Affairs
U.S. Department of State, Suite 6234A
(202) 647-3356 (direct)

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Arturo Sarukhan [mailto:asarukhan@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, November 01, 2013 12:42 PM
To: Klajn, Tamara
Subject: Thank you

Dear Tamara
Many thanks for helping us put together the meeting today at State, and for bringing all your colleagues to the table. It was extremely useful for us to hear your points of view and your insights. We will follow up when we return from the DRC.
Have a great weekend
Arturo Sarukhan

Arturo Sarukhan | Chairman, Global Solutions

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9385 (d) [redacted] (c) | asarukhan@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Watson, Deborah <WatsonD@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2013 3:11 PM
To: Cho, Grace SCA <ChoG2@state.gov>; SCA-INDIA-ONLY-DL <SCA-INDIA-ONLY-DL@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Podesta Group Meeting

Thanks Grace!

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From: Cho, Grace SCA
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2013 2:54 PM
To: Watson, Deborah; SCA-INDIA-ONLY-DL
Subject: RE: Podesta Group Meeting

Hi Deborah,

I'm happy to escort.

Grace

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Watson, Deborah
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2013 2:52 PM
To: SCA-INDIA-ONLY-DL
Subject: Podesta Group Meeting

Good Afternoon,

Atul has a guest coming at 10:00 on November 19 as well. Since Anjana will be escorting and sitting in on the meeting at 11:00, can someone else volunteer to escort his 10:00 guests? Thanks.

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, November 01, 2013 08:54 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: Keshap, Atul
Subject: Hello

Hi Atul,

Hope all is well with you. I just read a clip about your remarks at the Indian Ocean Rim Association, which showed your title as Senior Advisor on South and Central Asia. Are you back on the SCA beat?

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Certainly would make me happy ☺, because since I left Google in May and am now at the Podesta Group, APEC does not feature on my radar, but India/South Asia certainly does (and even some other Asia issues).

Would be great to catch up sometime.

Warm regards and best wishes,
Claudio

Claudio Lilienfeld | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9343 (d) | [redacted] (c) | clilienfeld@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: deBree, Mary L </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DEBREEML>
Sent: Thursday, December 19, 2013 3:27 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>; Ryu, Rexon Y <RyuRY@state.gov>; Weinstein, Jeremy M <WeinsteinJ@state.gov>; Pressman, David <PressmanD@state.gov>
Subject: FW: FYI - Walmart supports UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities
Attach: Walmart Supports disability rights.docx.pdf

Fyi on Walmart letter of support attached.

-m-

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Gutierrez, Rosemary (Harkin)
Sent: Thursday, December 19, 2013 3:25 PM
To: deBree, Mary L
Subject: Fw: FYI - Walmart supports UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities

Here is the letter - thanks for reaching out!

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

From: Gamel_McCormick, Michael (HELP Committee)
Sent: Wednesday, December 18, 2013 12:14 PM
To: Perselay, Lee (HELP Committee); Gutierrez, Rosemary (Harkin)
Subject: FW: FYI - Walmart supports UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities

In case you haven't gotten this…

From: Nicole Young Collier
Sent: Wednesday, December 18, 2013 12:11 PM
To: Gamel_McCormick, Michael (HELP Committee)
Subject: FYI - Walmart supports UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities

Hi Michael, I hope you're doing well. I'm reaching out to share a letter, dated today, that was sent to Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Corker outlining Walmart's support for the ratification of the UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities. Please let me know if you have any questions and have a wonderful holiday.

Nicole Young Collier

Nicole Young Collier | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9326 (d) [redacted] (c) | ncollier@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591669 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Walmart

Federal Government Relations

E. Ivan Zapien, Esq., Vice President

701 8th Street, NW
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20001
Phone 202-434-0722
Fax 202-585-0128
www.walmart.com

December 18, 2013

RELEASE IN FULL

The Honorable Robert Menendez
Committee on Foreign Relations
444 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-6225

Dear Chairman Menendez:

Walmart would like to express its support for the United Nations Convention on the Rights for People with Disabilities. Ratification of this treaty would underscore the role of the United States as a global leader for the roughly 1 billion people in the world with disabilities—including approximately 58 million Americans.

As one of the country's largest private employers, Walmart places a diverse and multicultural workforce—at all levels—among its top priorities. Our commitment to diversity is not just something we talk about, it's who we are. We believe that we can better serve our customers and provide a positive work environment for our more than 1.4 million U.S. associates by cultivating respect for their diverse lives and background through various company initiatives. As part of this commitment, Walmart has made tremendous strides to support the disability community and the organizations and issues of importance to individuals with disabilities, their families, and community members.

We encourage the United States Senate to ratify this treaty and hope the international community will place the highest of priorities on the protection of people with disabilities everywhere.

Sincerely,

E. Ivan Zapien, Esq.
Vice President
Walmart

cc: The Honorable Bob Corker, Ranking Member

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591669 Date: 08/21/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Teitelbaum, Donald <teitelbaumd@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, January 28, 2014 8:23 AM
To: Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podesta.com>
Cc: Preston-McLain, Courtney <McLainCM@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Somalia

I'd be happy to meet. My ace office manager, Courtney Preston-McLain will be happy to work with you or someone in your office to find a time that works next week.

Cheers!
Don T.

RELEASE IN FULL

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, January 27, 2014 2:03 PM
To: Teitelbaum, Donald
Subject: Somalia

Dear DAS Teitelbaum:

We represent the government of Somalia. Tony Podesta and I just got back from Mogadishu where we met with the President, the chief of the Somali National Armed Forces and counterterrorism officials.

Do you have time this week or next for me to debrief you on the trip?

Thanks,

Mark

Mark Tavlarides | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5239 (d) | (c) | mtavlarides@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Donovan, Victoria A </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DONOVANVA>
Sent:	Wednesday, March 12, 2014 3:35 PM
To:	'Tim Kopper' <TKopper@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

Thanks Tim! I will forward this invitation to my colleague who covers Sri Lanka.

From: Tim Kopper [mailto:TKopper@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2014 3:16 PM
To: Donovan, Victoria A
Subject: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

RELEASE IN PART B6

Dear Victoria,

On behalf of my client, the Tamil American Peace Initiative (TAPI), I wanted to pass along to you an invitation (attached and below) from the co-chairs of the Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka, Reps. Bill Johnson and Danny Davis.

As you'll see, this is very timely event since the UN Human Rights Council is meeting this month in Geneva and the US is expected to lead a resolution addressing Sri Lanka.

Event starts at 3:30pm tomorrow in the Capitol Visitor Center's Auditorium and it would be great if you could attend or send a designee!

I would be happy to answer any questions.

Thanks for taking the time,
Tim

Tim Kopper | Director
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9384 (d) | [redacted](c) | tkopper@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

B6

Dear Colleague,

The Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka invites you to a discussion on human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The event will include a conversation on past and current human rights abuses, and the necessary steps for reconciliation, followed by a viewing of "No Fire Zone"- a documentary directed by Callum Macrae focusing on the final months of Sri Lanka's decades long civil war.

Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka: Past and Present

Thursday, March 13 111 at 3:30pm
Congressional Visitors Center (CVC) Auditorium
Featuring guest speaker J.S. Tissainayagam
Brief remarks from Reps. Johnson and Davis
And a viewing of
"No Fire Zone" with recorded remarks by Director Callum Macrae

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

If you have any questions or would like to RSVP for the event, please contact Laura Wilson with Rep. Bill Johnson (laura.wilson@mail.house.gov).

Sincerely,

Bill Johnson
Member of Congress

Danny K. Davis
Member of Congress

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Donovan, Victoria A <DonovanVA@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2014 3:37 PM
To: JGCJ <JGCJ@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC
Attach: No Fire Zone Discussion and Screening Dear Colleague Final.pdf

---

For those of you interested in attending a discussion on human rights violations in Sri Lanka with the Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom….

From: Tim Kopper [mailto:TKopper@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2014 3:16 PM
To: Donovan, Victoria A
Subject: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

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Tim

Tim Kopper | Director
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9384 (d) | [redacted] (c) | tkopper@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

And a viewing of
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If you have any questions or would like to RSVP for the event, please contact
Laura Wilson with Rep. Bill Johnson (laura.wilson@mail.house.gov).

Sincerely,

Bill Johnson
Member of Congress

Danny K. Davis
Member of Congress

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591675 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

RELEASE IN FULL

Dear Colleague,

The Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka invites you to a discussion on human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The event will include a conversation on past and current human rights abuses, and the necessary steps for reconciliation, followed by a viewing of "No Fire Zone" – a documentary directed by Callum Macrae focusing on the final months of Sri Lanka's decades-long civil war.

Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka: Past and Present

Thursday, March 13th at 3:30pm

Congressional Visitors Center (CVC) Auditorium

Featuring guest speaker J.S. Tissainayagam

And a viewing of

"No Fire Zone" with recorded remarks by Director Callum Macrae

If you have any questions or would like to RSVP for the event, please contact Laura Wilson with Rep. Bill Johnson (laura.wilson@mail.house.gov).

Sincerely,

Bill Johnson
Member of Congress

Danny K. Davis
Member of Congress

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591675 Date: 08/21/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Tagg, George C </o=SBUState/ou=NCC AG/cn=Recipients/cn=TaggGC>
Sent: Tuesday, April 8, 2014 3:22 PM
To: 'Riley Moore' <riley.moore@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: Quick question

Yes, that was a verify convo. I laid it on thick and he thanked me for our efforts. Good working with you on this one. I have another one in the hopper that may finalize soon. I'll keep you posted on that.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 08, 2014 1:15 PM
To: Tagg, George C
Subject: RE: Quick question

Jumping on a conference call with the Ambassador in 15. I'll give you a read –out. I'll make it explicitly clear where the win came from.

From: Tagg, George C [mailto:TaggGC@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, April 08, 2014 11:06 AM
To: Riley Moore
Subject: RE: Quick question

Great talk. You look good b/c you're breaking the news. Win-win ☺

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, April 07, 2014 3:57 PM
To: Tagg, George C
Subject: Quick question

Hey George,

Long time no talk. Hope all is well. Do you have some time to talk tomorrow briefly?

Thanks,

Riley Moore | Vice President

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5217 (d) | [redacted] (c) | riley.moore@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Tagg, George C </o=SBUState/ou=NCC AG/cn=Recipients/cn=TaggGC>
Sent: Tuesday, April 8, 2014 3:31 PM
To: Kimbrell, Rebecca J <KimbrellRJ@state.gov>; Pommersheim, John M <PommersheimJM@state.gov>; Hogan, Dereck J <HoganDJ@state.gov>; Warlick, James <WarlickJ@state.gov>; Morningstar, Richard L <MorningstarRL@state.gov>; Rubin, Eric S <RubinES@state.gov>; Crenwelge, Colleen E <CRENWELGECE@state.gov>; Maroney, Hagen D <MaroneyHD@state.gov>
Cc: Hulse, Jeffrey A <HulseJA@state.gov>; McCabe, Christopher <McCabePC@state.gov>; Peterson, C. Jasen <PetersonCJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Royce Travel

Emin from the Azerbaijani Embassy just called to verify what they heard from Podesta. I laid out how it went down and he thanked me very much for our efforts on this issue. He will notify Baku overnight.

Good to get some mileage out of this.

-George

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Tagg, George C
Sent: Tuesday, April 08, 2014 11:24 AM
To: Kimbrell, Rebecca J; Pommersheim, John M; Hogan, Dereck J; Warlick, James; Morningstar, Richard L; Rubin, Eric S; Crenwelge, Colleen E; Maroney, Hagen D
Cc: Hulse, Jeffrey A; McCabe, Christopher; Peterson, C. Jasen
Subject: Royce Travel

Riley Moore (see below) just called me to ask about the Royce CODEL and whether he is going to travel to NK (Riley is a former HCFA staffer, now a lobbyist for Azerbaijan). This was a perfect opportunity to inform him (and Azerbaijan) about Amb. Warlick's successful work last week with Chairman Royce that culminated in the trip being cancelled yesterday.

Riley will inform the Azerbaijani embassy right now and they will send a cable to Baku immediately.

Best,

George

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podesta.com]

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Sent: Monday, April 07, 2014 3:57 PM
To: Tagg, George C
Subject: Quick question

Hey George,

Long time no talk. Hope all is well. Do you have some time to talk tomorrow briefly?

Thanks,

Riley Moore | Vice President

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5217 (d) [redacted] (c) | riley.moore@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Kausner, Gregory M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KAUSNER, GREGORY M01F>
Sent:	Friday, July 11, 2014 5:52 PM
To:	Riley Moore <riley.moore@podestagroup.com>
Subject:	RE: Potential GOI letter to State

Great to hear from you! I'm at my desk now 202.736.4036

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, July 11, 2014 1:17 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: Potential GOI letter to State

RELEASE IN PART B6

Greg,

I hope this email finds you well. It's been a while. Do you have a few minutes today or next week to talk briefly about a letter that is being drafted by the Government of Iraq? Let me know what works for you timing wise, I am completely flexible.

Thanks,

Riley Moore | Vice President

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5217 (d) | [redacted] (c) | riley.moore@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, August 5, 2014 3:08 PM
To: QDDR <QDDR@state.gov>
Subject: FW: GIS QDDR Submission
Attach: 140805-MR-Perriello QDDR-CL.PDF; GIS QDDR submission.pdf

---

FYI

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, August 05, 2014 3:03 PM
To: periellot@state.gov; Wadhams, Caroline
Subject: GIS QDDR Submission

Tom, Caroline – Thank you again for taking the time to meet with Mike Roberts and his team from Global Integrated Security. Attached is a letter from Mike along with a short paper outlining some of their ideas on how State Department/contractor relationships can work better. The team would be happy to meet again to discuss. Please let me know if you have any questions. Best, Dave

David Adams | Principal
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9325 (d) | [redacted] (c) | dadams@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Stump, Beverly <StumpB@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, November 12, 2014 4:29 PM
To: Morrison, Andrew L <MorrisonAL@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Podesta Group - Request for meeting regarding Iraq and the ISIS fight

Beverly R. Stump
Staff Assistant
General John Allen
Special Presidential Envoy for the
Global Coalition to Counter ISIL
Office: 202-647-9406

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Cormack, Maureen E
Sent: Thursday, October 16, 2014 9:08 PM
To: Stump, Beverly; Davis, Timmy; Morrison, Andrew L
Subject: FW: Podesta Group - Request for meeting regarding Iraq and the ISIS fight

Bev – we need to make this happen; only question is before trip or after; we'll need to clarify that with the General first thing tomorrow. FYI, I spoke with Emily about doing the Saudi interview from London so hopefully that can drop off on this end. Maureen

Maureen Cormack
cormackm@state.gov
647-9406 Office
647-9418 Direct

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 16, 2014 9:36 AM
To: John Allen; Cormack, Maureen E
Subject: RE: Request for meeting regarding Iraq and the ISIS fight

Wonderful John. Many thanks, Claudio

From: John Allen [mailto: [redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, October 15, 2014 11:21 PM
To: Claudio Lilienfeld; cormackm@state.gov
Subject: Re: Request for meeting regarding Iraq and the ISIS fight

Claudio ... my folks will reach out. I look forward to seeing you.

On Wed, Oct 15, 2014 at 5:17 PM, Claudio Lilienfeld <clilienfeld@podestagroup.com> wrote:

> Hi John,

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Figured I would give you the slightest amount of breathing room – at least to not bother you through yesterday's ForMin meetings here in DC.

Please let me know if you would be available for a meeting in the coming days/week. Given your situation, please consider us to be as flexible as needed in terms of times and location that are convenient to you.

Warm regards and thanks again,
Claudio

From: John Allen [mailto B6
Sent: Thursday, October 02, 2014 1:57 AM
To: Claudio Lilienfeld
Subject: Re: Request for meeting regarding Iraq and the ISIS fight

Claudio ... I'm headed to the region now. We'll reach out and see if we can set up a meeting.

All the best ...

John

On Wed, Oct 1, 2014 at 10:04 AM, Claudio Lilienfeld <clilienfeld@podestagroup.com> wrote:

> Dear John,
>
> Sorry we missed each other last month. More importantly, congratulations on your new role. A profoundly significant responsibility. I don't envy you, but it is a position of immense importance in light of the severe challenges.
>
> In this instance, I am writing relating to something quite relevant to your new role. One of our firm's clients is the Iraqi government. We work closely with the government including, of course, with Iraq's Ambassador to the U.S. Lukman Faily.
>
> They have asked us to meet with you to find out how we can be helpful to the administration in the current fight. My colleagues Steve Rademaker and Josh Holly are our leads for our Iraq client. Would you have time in the coming week or so to meet with Steve, Josh and me. Note: Steve heads Podesta Group's International Practice. He served as Assistant Secretary of State for Arms Control, International Security and Non-Proliferation around the same time (early/mid-2000s) that you and I were working together in the Pentagon.
>
> We see this as an opportunity for introductions where we can talk through our role with the Embassy, discuss how we can help, and be available to you to share information and insights.
>
> I look forward to hearing from you.
>
> Many thanks in advance, and warmest regards,
> Claudio

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Claudio Lilienfeld | Principal
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9343 (d) | [redacted] (c) | clilienfeld@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Suarez, Gonzalo O <SuarezGO@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 4, 2014 12:00 PM
To: Cockerham, Robert S <CockerhamRS@state.gov>; Raheb, Sara A <RahebSA@state.gov>; Scheinman, Adam M <ScheinmanAM@state.gov>; Gelman, Jeffrey D <GelmanJD@state.gov>; Adams, J Stephen <AdamsJS@state.gov>; Countryman, Thomas <CountrymanT@state.gov>; Gottemoeller, Rose E <GottemoellerRE@state.gov>; Kang, Eliot <KangE@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Statement by South Sudanese Foreign Minister Benjamin
Attach: SS FM Press Release 12.4.14.docx

Not sure who was in their distro so apologies if you received this already. FYI.

G.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 04, 2014 11:56 AM
To: David Adams
Subject: Statement by South Sudanese Foreign Minister Benjamin

Greetings, and forgive the group email. Attached and below is a statement from Foreign Minister Benjamin about his visit to Washington and New York this week. Please contact me if you have any questions. Thanks. Dave

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN
OFFICE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER

Foreign Minister Benjamin Calls for Redoubled International Commitment

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
December 4, 2014

WASHINGTON – South Sudan Foreign Minister Barnaba Marial Benjamin called on the United States and international actors to redouble their commitment to helping bring about a peaceful resolution to the conflict and humanitarian crisis in South Sudan.

"The only way forward for South Sudan is through dialogue and a lasting peace," Minister Benjamin said. "We need the proactive, unwavering support of the international community to help ensure a safe and secure future for our country and our people."

The government of the Republic of South Sudan is ready and committed to end the current conflict and establish

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

a strong foundation for a united, democratic, and prosperous country, Minister Benjamin said. He said the government has made significant concessions in an effort to end the crisis and is committed to establishing an all-inclusive, transitional government. The minister said there has been a delay in the resumption of the talks because the opposition has yet to finish consultations with its supporters; the government finished its consultation two weeks back.

Minister Benjamin was in the United States to meet US Government, United Nations, and other officials on visits to Washington and New York, during which he reaffirmed his government's firm commitment to ending violence in South Sudan and bringing reconciliation to all its people. He also reiterated his government's commitment to adhere to global non-proliferation norms, including by acceding to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) at an early date.

Minister Benjamin expresses his appreciation to the Secretary General of the United Nations for his clarification that "The Republic of South Sudan is an independent, sovereign State recognized by the United Nations, and is a member of the organization." The Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of UNMISS, Ellen Margrethe Loj, further stated that "the United Nations has no tradition of making independent, sovereign countries protectorates."

While the United Nations Security Council is expected to consider a resolution on sanctions for some state and non-state actors in South Sudan, Minister Benjamin said that such actions would be unhelpful to the peace process. Instead, the United Nations and United States should work to end the violence and expand humanitarian efforts to help the people of South Sudan, he said.

"The government of South Sudan welcomes much-needed humanitarian assistance from abroad," Minister Benjamin said. "Our people are suffering, and this is the most urgent priority for our nation. President Salva Kiir is committed to ending the violence and focusing on the economic and social development of our people." The government will continue to help facilitate the work of the United Nations and other humanitarian groups, Minister Benjamin said, adding that anyone found obstructing humanitarian work will be held accountable.

---30---

Contact:
Angong Acuil
Second Secretary
Embassy of the Republic of South Sudan to the United States
+1 (202) 293-7940

The Podesta Group provides representation to the government of the Republic of South Sudan. Additional information is on file at the US Department of Justice.

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591692 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN
OFFICE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER

Foreign Minister Benjamin Calls for Redoubled International Commitment

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
December 4, 2014

RELEASE IN FULL

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"The only way forward for South Sudan is through dialogue and a lasting peace," Minister Benjamin said. "We need the proactive, unwavering support of the international community to help ensure a safe and secure future for our country and our people."

The government of the Republic of South Sudan is ready and committed to end the current conflict and establish a strong foundation for a united, democratic, and prosperous country, Minister Benjamin said. He said the government has made significant concessions in an effort to end the crisis and is committed to establishing an all-inclusive, transitional government. The minister said there has been a delay in the resumption of the talks because the opposition has yet to finish consultations with its supporters; the government finished its consultation two weeks back.

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06591692 Date: 08/21/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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---30---

Contact:
Angong Acuil
Second Secretary
Embassy of the Republic of South Sudan to the United States
+1 (202) 293-7940

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Vish, Elizabeth P <VishEP@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, January 5, 2015 12:31 PM
To: Tuminaro, Kim V <TuminaroKV@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Connecting colleagues

Hi Kim,

I hope you had great holidays and that things today are getting back into their normal swing smoothly.

My schedule is fairly flexible other than this coming Friday morning, so would you like to pick a time in the next week or two?

I would love to get your perspective on working on econ at State, even if your office isn't looking for any detailees – and so helpful since you know what OMA does and how we have fit into the department over the years.

Thanks,

Elizabeth

RELEASE IN PART B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Tuminaro, Kim V
Sent: Thursday, December 18, 2014 5:04 PM
To: Vish, Elizabeth P
Subject: RE: Connecting colleagues

Hello Elizabeth – yes, nice to meet you too. I actually spent about 10 years in your office doing Paris Club, so happy to see you've landed in one of the best offices to work in at State! Also Sam Watson and I worked together as staff aides in EB, as well as later on the Russia desk when he was director.

Unfortunately, we already have a PMF in our office, and from what I understand she is done w/rotations and will be converted to civil service in our office. But there may be other things at State or even in USTR or Commerce worth looking into. Would be more than happy to meet for coffee in January, if you want to fix a time now that's great, or give me a buzz later. Best, Kim

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Vish, Elizabeth P
Sent: Wednesday, December 17, 2014 6:28 PM
To: Tuminaro, Kim V
Subject: RE: Connecting colleagues

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Hi Kim,

It is great to virtually meet you! As Jordan mentioned, I am a current PMF and I did some academic work on trade while in graduate school. These days I cover Africa macro issues in EB/IFD, but I'm always tempted by any potential discussion of trade.

I'm looking to do my second rotation as a PMF internal and domestic to State, and I was wondering if you might have a few minutes to talk about different players on trade issues at State. My two regions are Asia and Africa, but a perspective from EUR would be helpful because there would be a little space from the things I ordinarily keep tabs on.

Perhaps coffee in the new year?

Best,

Elizabeth

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Jordan Valdés [mailto:jvaldes@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 16, 2014 6:09 PM
To: Tuminaro, Kim V
Cc: Vish, Elizabeth P
Subject: Connecting colleagues

Hi, Kim,

Hope you're having a great week and really looking forward to seeing you this Thursday. I printed special edition copies of wedding photos just for the occasion.

By way of this email, I wanted to introduce you to Elizabeth Vish, a PMF who currently works at State. I tried to steal Elizabeth away from State while at SBA (hmm, wonder why that didn't work out?) as she's interested in trade issues. We had lunch this week, and I mentioned to her that you and I worked together on TTIP issues while I was still in government. Elizabeth is a graduate of SAIS, where I also studied, whereas you know there is a heavy trade component to the curriculum. She recently did a rotation at Treasury (Pakistan desk).

Elizabeth is copied here – I hope the introduction proves fruitful for both.

Best,

JORDAN VALDÉS VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.879.9379 / [redacted] / W http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Roybal, Soledad </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=ROYBAL, SOLEDADA43>
Sent:	Wednesday, January 7, 2015 5:12 PM
To:	'Perez, Maria' [redacted] B6
Subject:	RE: INVITATION: Honoring Huffington Post's 40 Under 40 Latinos in American Politics

You should totally go. First it is free food and drinks ☺. Plus, we all need to network and you may meet people you really like.

From: Perez, Maria [mailto:[redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2015 3:33 PM
To: Roybal, Soledad
Subject: Re: INVITATION: Honoring Huffington Post's 40 Under 40 Latinos in American Politics

Yeah... Interesting. You think it would be a good idea to go?

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Roybal, Soledad [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:RoybalS@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2015 02:47 PM
To: Perez, Maria
Subject: RE: INVITATION: Honoring Huffington Post's 40 Under 40 Latinos in American Politics

Ha! Too funny. I saw the list and I was surprised by some of the people that were selected.

From: Perez, Maria [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:[redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2015 1:25 PM
To: Roybal, Soledad
Subject: FW: INVITATION: Honoring Huffington Post's 40 Under 40 Latinos in American Politics

From: Jordan Valdés [>http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:jvaldes@podestagroup.com]<
Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2015 11:39 AM
To: Jordan Valdés
Subject: FW: INVITATION: Honoring Huffington Post's 40 Under 40 Latinos in American Politics

Colleagues,

Happy New Year and I hope my note finds you all very well.

Please accept the invitation below in a request for your attendance.

Please also help to disseminate to your relevant networks.

I hope to see you there!

Best,

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

JORDAN VALDÉS VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.879.9379 / [redacted] / W >>www.podestagroup.com<<
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

From: CNS Global Advisors [>http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:info@cambridge-ns.com<]
Sent: Tuesday, January 06, 2015 9:20 PM
To: Jordan Valdés
Subject: INVITATION: Honoring Huffington Post's 40 Under 40 Latinos in American Politics

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Please Join CNS Global Advisors & the Asociación de Líderes Hispanos in honoring

Huffington Post's 40 Under 40 Latinos in American Politics

Remarks by
Former Undersecretary of Commerce
Francisco Sánchez
&
Congressman Rubén Gallego

JANUARY 13TH

Huffington Post's 40 Under 40 Latinos in American Politics

Please join us in honoring the Huffington Post's 40 Under 40 Latinos in American Politics. At over 50 million in number, Latinos represent the largest ethnic minority in the US, yet fewer than 5% have served in elected or appointed positions in the American government. Join us to celebrate the young wave of new Latinos who are helping shape policy and represent our critical and growing demographic. RSVP by 1/10 to info@cnsglobaladvisors.com. Beverages and appetizers will be served.

CNSGLOBAL ADVISORS

Celebrate young Latinos in American politics

Sponsored by CNS Global Advisors & Asociación de Líderes Hispanos

Tuesday, January 13th, 2014

7-9 PM
Remarks at 7:30

EVENT LOCATION
1875 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest
3rd Floor
Washington, DC 20009

Please enter on T Street across from the Washington Hilton

This event complies with rules on widely attended events and is not sponsored by a lobbying firm

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Tadle, Francesca J </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=TADLEFJ> on behalf of Correspondence Unit Mailbox </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=CORRESPONDENCE UNIT MAILBOX8C6>
Sent:	Monday, February 9, 2015 1:34 PM
To:	Records Unit Mailbox <RecordsUnitMailbox@state.gov>
Cc:	Correspondence Unit Mailbox <CorrespondenceUnit@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative
Attach:	TAPI letter to Sec. Kerry re Sri Lanka FM visit.pdf

Colleagues,

RELEASE IN PART B6

For your action, thanks.

Francesca Jenét Tadle
S/ES-S
202-647-7816

From: Blackmon, Opal F
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2015 1:24 PM
To: SES-CR_Correspondence
Cc: SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL
Subject: FW: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative

Correspondence,

Forwarding for your action!

Thank you, Opal

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Trejo, Maria
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2015 12:39 PM
To: SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Packer, Adam D
Cc: SCA-NSB-only
Subject: FW: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative

Please advise if SCA will transmit this letter to S correspondence. Thank you.

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2015 11:56 AM

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

To: Millar, McKenzie; Jackson, Rose A; Shane, Lynnea L; Trejo, Maria; DeWine, LeighAnne
Cc: Biswal, Nisha; Malinowski, Tom P
Subject: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative

Dear All:

Attached please find a letter from the Tamil American Peace Initiative's Executive Director addressed to Secretary Kerry concerning the visit of Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister Mangala Samaraweera this week.

Thank you for transmitting the letter to the Secretary.

Best Regards,

Jessica

JESSICA LAWRENCE-VACA VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5216 / C [redacted] W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

TAMIL AMERICAN
PEACE INITIATIVE

www.TamilAmerican.org
info@tamilamerican.org • 202.595.3123
P.O. Box 33936 Washington, DC 20033-3936

The Honorable John F. Kerry
Secretary of State
US Department of State
2201 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20520

RELEASE IN FULL

Dear Secretary Kerry,

Re: Visit of Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Samaraweera

I write on behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative (TAPI), an American Tamil advocacy group working for peace and reconciliation in Sri Lanka. TAPI welcomes US initiatives to strengthen the US-Sri Lankan relationship. We look to your upcoming meeting with Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Mr. Mangala Samaraweera as an opportunity to assist Sri Lanka as it evolves into an inclusive democracy in which Tamils and members of all religions and ethnicities can feel safe and contribute as equal citizens with guarantees of individual and collective rights and freedom.

Tamils significantly contributed to the positive change in the recent election and now look forward to a country where they are allowed to rebuild their lives with dignity. While the new government in transition has fostered hope, there are still critical matters that we hope you will consider raising with Minister Samaraweera. We have concerns regarding the ongoing, nearly year-long detention of Jeyakumari Balendran, and others like her, to whom charges still have not been brought. In case you're not aware, Balendran is an advocate and activist for mothers whose children disappeared, to include her son, We are still looking for incremental steps towards the demilitarization of the North and East, which are further delayed as President Sirisena renewed military deployment orders on February 5 (1). And, finally, we would ask that you raise the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which is a crucial step towards a more free press. These are some of our major concerns.

While Tamils are aware of the political realities in Sri Lanka, they are also mindful of Sri Lanka's unfortunate history of repeated failure to make good on promises made to Tamils, as well as Hindus, Christians, Muslims and other minorities, for equality and justice. Tamils thus look to the US and the international community to ensure their safety, equality and dignity so that Sri Lanka can move forward and fully recover from its troubled and bloody past.

TAPI is deeply grateful for the US government's persistence in working toward achieving accountability for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by both sides in the final months of the war in Sri Lanka. The need for accountability is deeply felt by the Tamils and is essential for healing and reconciliation. To quote his Holiness Pope Francis, "the process of healing needs the pursuit of truth, not for the sake of opening old wounds but rather as a necessary means of promoting justice, healing and unity." Similarly, we hope you would impress on Minister Samaraweera the need to cooperate with the ongoing United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights Investigation on Sri Lanka (OISL) process.

We are concerned with reports on possible delay in releasing the OISL report, which is due in March, and we respectfully request that the report be released as per the mandate of the United

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Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) Resolution that was sponsored by the US Government last year. The OISL investigation may be the last hope for truth and justice; any changes made in the original plan for the sake of political expediency will be devastating to the Tamils and other marginalized populations in Sri Lanka and their faith in the international system of justice. We strongly urge our government to continue with its efforts in the UNHRC without any changes.

We thank you for all your efforts to create a better Sri Lanka and foster a peaceful, prosperous society.

Sincerely Yours,



K.Arulanantham, MD
Executive Director
Karulmd1@gmail.com

1) http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-2940733/New-Sri-Lanka-president-renews-troop-deployment-orders.html

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Thorne, David H <ThorneDH@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, March 23, 2015 4:21 PM
To: Bruder, Jason E <BruderJE@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Vietnam

Pls set something up...

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, March 23, 2015 4:07 PM
To: Thorne, David H
Subject: Vietnam

Good afternoon Mr. Ambassador – My colleague Stefano Stefanini shared your email address with me. As I believe Stefano told you Vietnam is a client here at the firm, and I manage that account. I was wondering if you had time in the coming weeks for a brief meeting to discuss our work for them and their goals here in Washington. I understand from Stefano that you recently travelled there so I'd welcome any insights from that trip you'd be willing to share. I'm happy to come over to the Department (there are days when I miss it). Thanks for considering. Best, Dave

PG
DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Zafar, Shaarik H </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=ZAFAR, SHAARIK H5AE>
Sent:	Friday, April 24, 2015 11:40 AM
To:	Carouso, James A <CarousoJA@state.gov>; Loosli, Phillip L <LoosliPL@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Introduction

Works for me. I'll bring the brunei papers ☺

From: Carouso, James A
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 10:59 AM
To: Loosli, Phillip L; Zafar, Shaarik H
Subject: RE: Introduction

RELEASE IN PART B6

My last day in Scot's office. How about we meet there?

From: Loosli, Phillip L
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 10:58 AM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H
Subject: RE: Introduction

I can escort Andrew in. Where shall we meet?

Shaarik: are you planning on joining for this? I can't join you for your E briefing, but Jim might.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Carouso, James A
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 2015 3:43 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Thanks.

From: Andrew Kauders [mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 2015 3:34 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Sure thing.

From: Carouso, James A [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:CarousoJA@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 2015 3:31 PM

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Can you make it 3:15 instead, Andrew? Sorry.
Jim

From: Andrew Kauders [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:22 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Sounds good. Thanks, Jim.

From: Carouso, James A [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:CarousoJA@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:20 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Great, Andrew. We will pick you up at the C Street entrance.

From: Andrew Kauders [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:13 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Jim:

That should work. A little earlier might be better, but I can make 3:30 p.m. work.

Thanks,

Andrew

From: Carouso, James A [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:CarousoJA@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:03 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Andrew;

Any chance Shaarik, Phill and I could meet you here at State 3:30 this Friday?

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Best,
Jim

James Carouso
Director
Office of Maritime Southeast Asia Affairs
U.S. Department of State
CarousoJA@state.gov
202-647-2143
Follow us on Twitter @USAsiaPacific:



From: Andrew Kauders [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 3:39 PM
To: Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L; Carouso, James A
Subject: RE: Introduction

Thanks, Shaarik:

Hope you're doing well.

Would be happy to meet prior to your trip. Just emailed both Phill and Jim as well, following an email intro by Claudio.

Best,

Andrew

From: Zafar, Shaarik H [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:ZafarSH@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 3:25 PM
To: Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Andrew Kauders; Loosli, Phillip L; Carouso, James A
Subject: RE: Introduction

Dear Claudio,

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

It was great seeing you earlier this week. I actually met Andrew a couple of years ago, when I was leaving the National Security Council. Andrew, it would be great to touch base again and specifically with respect to Brunei. I am including Phil Loosli from our Singapore/Brunei desk and Jim Carouso who is the Office Director for East Asia Maritime States.

I'm headed to Jakarta on Saturday, but can make time to meet before then if that is doable.

Warmly,

Shaarik

Shaarik H. Zafar (Shah-Rik 'Zuh-Fer)
Special Representative to Muslim Communities
U.S. Department of State
HST 7325
ZafarSH@state.gov
(202) 736-7883

Hear my name

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:clilienfeld@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 3:02 PM
To: Zafar, Shaarik H
Cc: Andrew Kauders
Subject: Introduction

Dear Shaarik,

Thank you so much for the conversation on Monday afternoon. Great to catch up with you and Phil and to meet the others who you gathered.

As we discussed, I will be departing the Podesta Group as of May 1 and I am hereby introducing you to my close colleague Andrew Kauders who is Podesta Group's lead for our Dorchester Collection client – and all that implies in terms of interest in Brunei and US-Brunei relations. Prior to his arrival at the Podesta Group, Andrew spent many years on the Hill, among other things as Senior Advisor to Senator Robert Menendez.

I hope you and Andrew can connect soon.

Warm regards,
Claudio

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

CLAUDIO LILIENFELD PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9343 / C [redacted] W http://redirect.state.sbu/?
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url=www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Loosli, Phillip L <LoosliPL@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 3:00 PM
To: Andrew Kauders <AKauders@podestagroup.com>; Carouso, James A <CarousoJA@state.gov>; Zafar, Shaarik H <ZafarSH@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Introduction

I will meet you in the C street lobby at 3:15 after security screening. [redacted] Phill B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Andrew Kauders [mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 2015 3:34 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

RELEASE IN PART B6

Sure thing.

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To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
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Best,
Jim

James Carouso
Director
Office of Maritime Southeast Asia Affairs
U.S. Department of State
CarousoJA@state.gov
202-647-2143
Follow us on Twitter @USAsiaPacific:



From: Andrew Kauders [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
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I'm headed to Jakarta on Saturday, but can make time to meet before then if that is doable.

Warmly,

Shaarik

Shaarik H. Zafar (Shah-Rik 'Zuh-Fer)
Special Representative to Muslim Communities
U.S. Department of State
HST 7325
ZafarSH@state.gov
(202) 736-7883

Hear my name

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:clilienfeld@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 3:02 PM
To: Zafar, Shaarik H
Cc: Andrew Kauders
Subject: Introduction

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I hope you and Andrew can connect soon.

Warm regards,
Claudio

CLAUDIO LILIENFELD PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9343 / C [redacted] / W http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Williams, Ashley N <WilliamsAN@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 11:35 AM
To: Adiga, Mala <AdigaM@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Sounds good to me

From: Adiga, Mala
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 11:33 AM
To: Williams, Ashley N
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

What do you think of scheduling this for Wed?

From: Prabhu, Radhika G
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 11:32 AM
To: Adiga, Mala
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Mala,

The desk is fine with scheduling the meeting with Dr. Callaway to discuss SGBV in Sri Lanka. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

[redacted] We could invite DAS Keshap to join (Ambassador designate to Sri Lanka).

Best,
Radhika

From: Millar, McKenzie
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 11:20 AM
To: Prabhu, Radhika G; Taylor, Leslie B; Bassin, Ari S; Essman, Ryan
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

This is fine by us - [redacted] B5

[redacted]

McKenzie

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Prabhu, Radhika G
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 9:49 AM
To: Taylor, Leslie B; Bassin, Ari S; Millar, McKenzie; Essman, Ryan

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

All,

Do you know this group? Any thoughts re: Cathy taking this meeting.

	B5
Thoughts appreciated!	

Thanks,
Radhika

From: Adiga, Mala
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 9:21 AM
To: Keitt, Valerie P; Williams, Ashley N; Norris, Ann M
Cc: Prabhu, Radhika G
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Adding Radhika for a recommendation.

From: Keitt, Valerie P
Sent: Friday, May 15, 2015 5:25 PM
To: Adiga, Mala; Williams, Ashley N; Norris, Ann M
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Meeting request for Wednesday, May 20th.

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 15, 2015 5:05 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Valerie,
I hope you're well. I wanted to reach out to Ambassador Russell (and Ann Norris who is a friend and I can't seem to find her contact info) to let them know that Dr. Alison Callaway with Freedom from Torture UK, who has been documenting cases of sexual violence against Tamil women and men, will be here in DC next Wednesday to participate in a congressional caucus panel on the current human rights situation in Sri Lanka, post elections. Evidence Dr. Callaway collected was included in the UN Secretary General's report on conflict-related sexual violence that was delivered to the Security Council in March. I thought considering the Ambassador's work on Global Women's Issues that this would be on interest to her.

Would she (and Ann) have some time to meet with her on Wednesday the 20th while Dr. Callaway is in town? Please let me know if there are some times that work best with your schedule. Thanks, in advance, and look forward to meeting with you.

Best,
Jessica

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

JESSICA LAWRENCE-VACA VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5216 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Williams, Ashley N <WilliamsAN@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 1:51 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P <KeittVP2@state.gov>; Adiga, Mala <AdigaM@state.gov>; Prabhu, Radhika G <PrabhuRG@state.gov>
Cc: Norris, Ann M <NorrisAM@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Unfortunately, that doesn't work!

From: Keitt, Valerie P
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 01:20 PM
To: Adiga, Mala; Prabhu, Radhika G
Cc: Williams, Ashley N; Norris, Ann M
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

She is available at 5 p.m. Is that time okay?

From: Adiga, Mala
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 11:37 AM
To: Prabhu, Radhika G
Cc: Williams, Ashley N; Norris, Ann M; Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Val – could you reach back out to the Jessica and provide her with a ½ hour window on Wed? Thanks.

From: Prabhu, Radhika G
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 11:32 AM
To: Adiga, Mala
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Mala,

The desk is fine with scheduling the meeting with Dr. Callaway to discuss SGBV in Sri Lanka. [redacted] B5

[redacted] We could invite DAS Keshap to join (Ambassador designate to Sri Lanka).

Best,
Radhika

From: Millar, McKenzie
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 11:20 AM
To: Prabhu, Radhika G; Taylor, Leslie B; Bassin, Ari S; Essman, Ryan
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

This is fine by us - [redacted] B5

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

McKenzie

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Prabhu, Radhika G
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 9:49 AM
To: Taylor, Leslie B; Bassin, Ari S; Millar, McKenzie; Essman, Ryan
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

All,

Do you know this group? Any thoughts re: Cathy taking this meeting.

[redacted] B5

[redacted] Thoughts appreciated!

Thanks,
Radhika

From: Adiga, Mala
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 9:21 AM
To: Keitt, Valerie P; Williams, Ashley N; Norris, Ann M
Cc: Prabhu, Radhika G
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Adding Radhika for a recommendation.

From: Keitt, Valerie P
Sent: Friday, May 15, 2015 5:25 PM
To: Adiga, Mala; Williams, Ashley N; Norris, Ann M
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Meeting request for Wednesday, May 20th.

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 15, 2015 5:05 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Valerie,
I hope you're well. I wanted to reach out to Ambassador Russell (and Ann Norris who is a friend and I can't seem to find her contact info) to let them know that Dr. Alison Callaway with Freedom from Torture UK, who has been documenting cases of sexual violence against Tamil women and men, will be here in DC next Wednesday to participate in a congressional caucus panel on the current human rights situation in Sri Lanka, post elections. Evidence Dr. Callaway collected was included in the UN Secretary General's report on conflict-related sexual violence that was delivered to the Security Council in March. I thought considering the Ambassador's work on

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Global Women's Issues that this would be on interest to her.

Would she (and Ann) have some time to meet with her on Wednesday the 20th while Dr. Callaway is in town? Please let me know if there are some times that work best with your schedule. Thanks, in advance, and look forward to meeting with you.

Best,
Jessica

JESSICA LAWRENCE-VACA VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5216 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Williams, Ashley N </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=WILLIAMSAN>
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 3:53 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P <KeittVP2@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Yep!

From: Keitt, Valerie P
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 3:53 PM
To: Williams, Ashley N
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

RELEASE IN PART B6

Hi,

I know that you said 5 p.m. would not work on Wednesday, May 20th. You have 9 – 12 on hold. Can I offer between 12 – 2 p.m.?

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 1:14 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

HI Valerie,
Dr. Callaway is actually going to be speaking on a panel on the Hill from 3-4:30. Is there any chance we could do just a little later? Maybe 5pm?
Best,
Jessica

From: Keitt, Valerie P [mailto:KeittVP2@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 12:29 PM
To: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

HI Jessica,

Is Dr. Callaway available at 4:30 p.m. on Wednesday, May 20th. If not, what time is she available to meet?

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 15, 2015 5:05 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Valerie,
I hope you're well. I wanted to reach out to Ambassador Russell (and Ann Norris who is a friend and I can't seem to find her contact info) to let them know that Dr. Alison Callaway with Freedom from Torture UK, who has been documenting cases of sexual violence against Tamil women and men, will be here in DC next Wednesday to participate in a congressional caucus panel on the current human rights situation in Sri Lanka, post elections.

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Evidence Dr. Callaway collected was included in the UN Secretary General's report on conflict-related sexual violence that was delivered to the Security Council in March. I thought considering the Ambassador's work on Global Women's Issues that this would be on interest to her.

Would she (and Ann) have some time to meet with her on Wednesday the 20th while Dr. Callaway is in town? Please let me know if there are some times that work best with your schedule. Thanks, in advance, and look forward to meeting with you.

Best,
Jessica

JESSICA LAWRENCE-VACA VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5216 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, July 25, 2015 10:56 AM
To: Fisher, Julie D <FisherJD@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Hi Heather.

Great. I will do that.

RELEASE IN PART B6

On Jul 25, 2015, at 10:30 AM, Fisher, Julie D <FisherJD@state.gov> wrote:

> I've seen many notes from S to family members of deceased long term employees. We'll need people to work fast to have something by Tuesday (or even Monday for the program) but strikes me as doable. They usually have a personal touch so we need the bureau to help us. It would really help to know where she worked.
>
> Will you reach back to Paul or would you like me to jump in?
>
> On Jul 25, 2015, at 9:11 AM, Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov> wrote:
>
> > See below. Are you familiar w this type of request? Seems we should be able to do something!
> >
> > Begin forwarded message:
> >
> > **From:** Paul Brathwaite <PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com>
> > **Date:** July 24, 2015 at 8:13:16 PM EDT
> > **To:** "higginbottomha@state.gov" <higginbottomha@state.gov>
> > **Subject: Hi Heather.**
> >
> > Hope you're well. Need a favor and am hoping you can assist.
> >
> > [redacted] B6
> >
> > Paul
> >
> > PAUL BRATHWAITE PRINCIPAL
> > O 202.879.9306 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
> > 1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
> >
> > <image001.jpg>
> >
> > <image002.jpg>
> >
> > <image003.jpg>

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, July 27, 2015 3:16 PM
To: Ibrahim, Anjoly NP (D-MR) <IbrahimAN2@state.gov>
Cc: Fisher, Julie D <FisherJD@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Hi Heather.

Anjoly - this is where the signed letter goes. If you want to send to him when final that would be terrific. Thank you!

-----Original Message-----
From: Paul Brathwaite [mailto:PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, July 27, 2015 2:29 PM
To: Higginbottom, Heather A
Cc: Fisher, Julie D
Subject: Re: Hi Heather.

Thanks again. I appreciate it.

Paul Brathwaite
Principal
Podesta Group

RELEASE IN PART B6

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jul 27, 2015, at 2:22 PM, Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov> wrote:
>
> Paul - yes we have something and will be emailing it to you shorlty.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Paul Brathwaite [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com]
> Sent: Monday, July 27, 2015 2:16 PM
> To: Higginbottom, Heather A
> Subject: RE: Hi Heather.
>
> Hi Heather - let me know if you think this is going to be possible to do today. Thanks.
>
> Paul
>
> Paul A. Brathwaite | Principal
>
> Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
>
> 202.879.9306 (d) | [redacted] (c) | pbrathwaite@podestagroup.com | http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com

B6

>
>
>
> The information contained in this transmission is attorney privileged and/or confidential information intended for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

>
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Higginbottom, Heather A [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:HigginbottomHA@state.gov]

> Sent: Saturday, July 25, 2015 1:12 PM
> To: Paul Brathwaite <PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com>
> Subject: Re: Hi Heather.
>
> OK got it
>
>
>
>> On Jul 25, 2015, at 11:33 AM, Paul Brathwaite <PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com> wrote:
>>

B6

Thanks for the effort.

>>
>> Sent from my iPhone
>>
>>> On Jul 25, 2015, at 10:56 AM, Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov> wrote:
>>>
>>> Paul - let me see what we can do by COB Mon.
>>>
>>>
>>>
>>> On Jul 24, 2015, at 8:13 PM, Paul Brathwaite <PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com>> wrote:

>>>
>>> Hope you're well. Need a favor and am hoping you can assist.
>>>

>>>

>>>
>>> Paul
>>>
>>> <image001.jpg>
>>>
>>> PAUL BRATHWAITE PRINCIPAL
>>> O 202.879.9306 / C / W http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.podestagroup.com>

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

>>> 1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001 [cid:image002.jpg@01D0C64D.2BBD1DA0] <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://www.facebook.com/thepodestagroup> [cid:image003.jpg@01D0C64D.2BBD1DA0] <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://www.twitter.com/PodestaGroup>

>

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, July 27, 2015 5:52 PM
To: Fisher, Julie D <FisherJD@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Condolence Letter from the Department of State

Can they just autopen in?

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Fisher, Julie D
Sent: Monday, July 27, 2015 5:20 PM
To: Higginbottom, Heather A
Subject: FW: Condolence Letter from the Department of State

Yikes. Do you want us to try to get S to sign again?

From: Ibrahim, Anjoly NP (D-MR)
Sent: Monday, July 27, 2015 4:41 PM
To: Fisher, Julie D
Subject: FW: Condolence Letter from the Department of State

From: Paul Brathwaite [mailto:PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, July 27, 2015 4:40 PM
To: Ibrahim, Anjoly NP (D-MR)
Subject: RE: Condolence Letter from the Department of State

Thank you so much for the letter. Can you address the letter to both of her sons and resend?

B6

Paul A. Brathwaite | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9306 (d) | [redacted] (c) | pbrathwaite@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

B6

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From: Ibrahim, Anjoly NP (D-MR) [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:IbrahimAN2@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, July 27, 2015 4:26 PM
To: Paul Brathwaite <PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com>
Subject: Condolence Letter from the Department of State

Mr. Brathwaite,

The State Department is so sorry for your family's loss. Please find attached a letter from

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Secretary Kerry to your family acknowledging your aunt's years of public service. Should you like a physical copy, please send us the best mailing address and we would be happy to expedite this to you.

Best wishes,

Anjoly

Anjoly Ibrahim
Office of the Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources
(202) 647-0009

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Gayle Weiswasser <gweiswasser@gmail.com>
Sent: Friday, February 18, 2011 2:28 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F <feldmandf@state.gov>
Subject: Fwd: Starting a new chapter...
Attach: David Morgenstern.vcf

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: "Morgenstern, David (Alexander)" <David_Morgenstern@alexander.senate.gov>
Date: Fri, 18 Feb 2011 14:13:22 -0500
Subject: Starting a new chapter...
To: "Morgenstern, David (Alexander)" <David_Morgenstern@alexander.senate.gov>

Today is my last day in the Alexander office. After 5 ¾ years working for Sen. Alexander - and a grand total of 11 years in the Senate - I'm heading back into the private sector.

Starting on March 7th, I will be joining the Podesta Group. My new contact information is pasted below and attached as an Outlook vcard. Please keep in touch...

RELEASE IN PART B6

David Morgenstern
Chief of Staff
Office of U.S. Senator Lamar Alexander
(202) 224-1953 direct
(202) 224-4944

David Morgenstern
Principal
Podesta Group
1001 G Street, NW
Suite 900 East
Washington, DC 20001
http://www.podesta.com/
202-393-1010 work phone
202-393-5510 work fax
[redacted] cell
dmorgenstern@podesta.com<mailto:dmorgenstern@podesta.com>

B6

--
Sent from my mobile device

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

David Morgenstern

Name (Language=en-us):	David Morgenstern
Full Name:	David Morgenstern
Organization:	Podesta Group
Title:	Principal
Comment:	Podesta Group is located at the corner of 11th and G streets NW. If you are traveling by Metro, get off at Metro Center and take the 11th Street/Grand Hyatt exit.
Telephone Number (Work Voice):	(202) 393-1010
Telephone Number (Cell Voice):	[redacted] B6
Telephone Number (Work Fax):	(202) 393-5510
Address (Work Preferred):	;;1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East;Washington;DC;20001;United States of America
Delivery Label (Work Preferred):	1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East Washington, DC 20001
X-MS-OL-DEFAULT-POSTAL-ADDRESS:	2
Web Page (Work):	http://www.podesta.com/
Electronic Mail Address (Preferred Internet):	dmorgenstern@podesta.com
X-MS-CARDPICTURE (Type=jpeg):	Base64 encoded text blob
X-MS-OL-DESIGN (Charset=utf-8):	<card xmlns="http://schemas.microsoft.com/office/outlook/12/electronicbusinesscards" ver="1.0" layout="left" bgcolor="ffffff"> <fld xmlns="" prop="name" align="left" dir="ltr" style="b" color="000000" size="10"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="org" align="left" dir="ltr" color="000000" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="title" align="left" dir="ltr" color="000000" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="telwork" align="left" dir="ltr" color="000000" size="8"> <label align="right" color="626262"> Work</label> </fld> <fld xmlns="" prop="telcell" align="left" dir="ltr" color="000000" size="8"> <label align="right" color="626262"> Mobile</label> </fld> <fld xmlns="" prop="email" align="left" dir="ltr" color="000000" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="addrwork" align="left" dir="ltr" color="000000" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="webwork" align="left" dir="ltr" color="000000" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="blank" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="blank" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="blank" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="blank" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="blank" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="blank" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="blank" size="8"/> <fld xmlns="" prop="blank" size="8"/> </card>

vCard Version: 2.1 | Revision: 20110203T211141Z

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, September 22, 2015 10:22 AM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Subject: Fwd: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo
Attach: image002.jpg; image003.jpg; image004.jpg; image005.jpg

---

Do you mind reaching out?

RELEASE IN PART B6

Begin forwarded message:

> **From:** David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
> **Date:** September 22, 2015 at 10:17:27 AM EDT
> **To:** "Wadhams, Caroline" <WadhamsC@state.gov>, "Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E" <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
> **Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo**
>
> Hi Caroline – Just wanted to check in on this. Thanks again for your help. Best, Dave
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Wadhams, Caroline [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:WadhamsC@state.gov]
> **Sent:** Friday, September 18, 2015 10:46 AM
> **To:** David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>; Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
> **Subject:** RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo
>
> David –
>
> Thanks for reaching out. I am cc'ing Chichi to help us set this up. Next week may be best, as Tom is traveling soon to NY for UNGA and then the region.
>
> Best,
> Caroline
>
> ---
>
> **From:** David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
> **Sent:** Wednesday, September 16, 2015 10:00 AM
> **To:** Perriello, Thomas
> **Cc:** Wadhams, Caroline
> **Subject:** RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo
>
> Hi Tom – Great. Thanks.
>
> Hi Caroline – look forward to hearing from you. Best, Dave
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Perriello, Thomas [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:PerrielloT@state.gov]
> **Sent:** Tuesday, September 15, 2015 6:46 PM
> **To:** David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
> **Cc:** Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Dave,

Thanks for reaching out. I am asking Caroline (formerly QDDR and headed to this office) to be in tough about this.

Tom

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2015 11:36 AM
To: Perriello, Thomas
Subject: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Tom – I hope this note finds you well and enjoying your new post. If you'll recall we met when you were heading up the QDDR effort at State and were gracious enough to meet with one of my clients, Global Strategies. I'm writing because we represent Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo, the former central bank governor of the DRC. He will be in Washington from September 17-October 10 and I'm wondering if you'd have time to see him while he's here? He is exploring deepening his business engagement in the US, and encouraging more US-DRC economic ties. He keeps his distance from the government, so you would get an interesting perspective on current and future developments in the country, including the political situation, which I'm sure you are following. Mr. Masangu's bio is pasted below. Let me know what you think. Best, Dave

Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

<!--[if !vml]--><!--[endif]-->An author, economist and consultant, Jean-Claude Masangu Mulango is the former chief of the Banque Centrale du Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo's Central Bank. Mr. Masangu led the bank for 16 years, ending in 2013, serving under former president Laurent Kabila and current president Joseph Kabila. In this role, he helped to end hyperinflation and introduce a new national currency, the Congolese franc, while also focusing on microeconomic principles to better serve and empower the country's rural poor.

Mr. Masangu is a member of the American Chamber of Commerce in the DRC and, in an effort to develop US-Congo trade relations, seeks business opportunities as a consultant and a potential partner related to financial inclusion for women, senior citizens and the disabled. He is also active in other development issues and in attracting foreign direct investment to the DRC.

Prior to his time at the Central Bank, Mr. Masangu served as CEO of Citigroup in Kinshasa, the Congolese capital. As chairman of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Group of 24 (G24) between 2007 and 2008, he worked with then-IMF Managing Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn on

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international financial reform. He has also chaired the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Association of African Central Banks (AACB) and the Economic Community of Central African States' (ECCAS) sub-regional committee on central banks. In addition, Mr. Masangu served as an independent non-executive director of Katanga Mining Ltd. from 2006 to 2008.

The son of Jacques Masangu-a-Mwanza, former Congolese ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. Masangu is the author of several publications, including *A Governor's Word*, an encyclopedia published this year that details his time at the Central Bank; *Why I Believe in Africa's Progress*, a book published in 2009 in France that traces his career and his vision for Africa; and the 2004 book, *A Contribution to the Congolese Financial System Stabilization*. He holds an MBA from Louisiana State University, a BS from Massachusetts's Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and a BA from the International School of Geneva in Switzerland.

cid:image003.jp

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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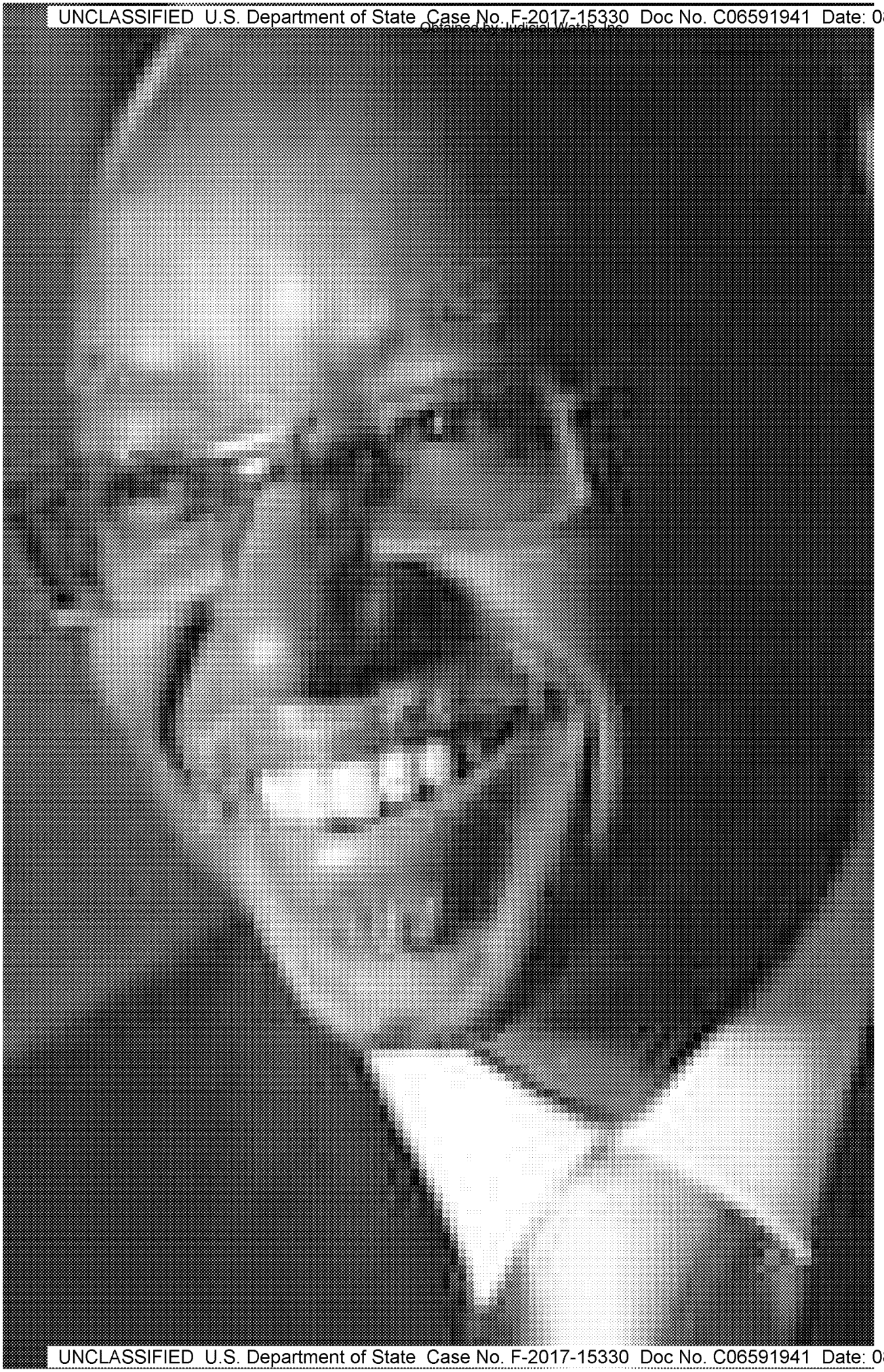

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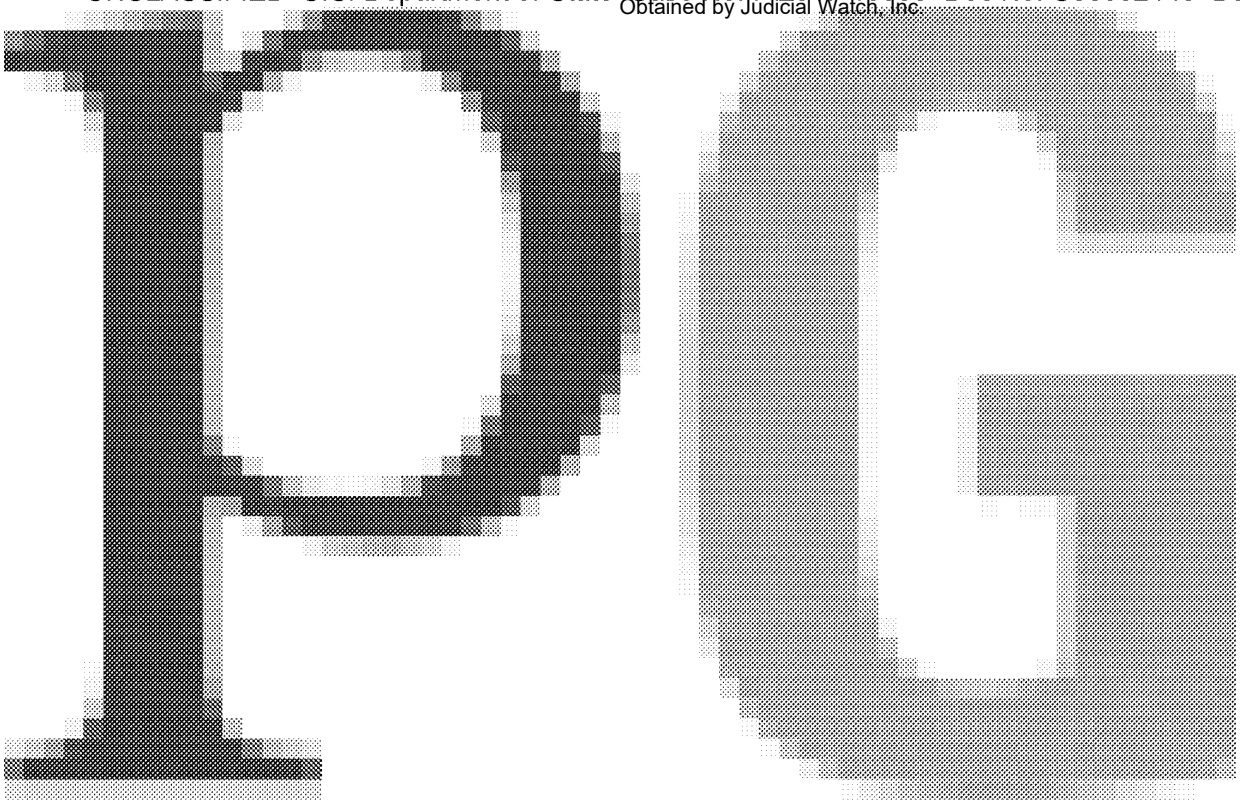

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From:	Kausner, Gregory M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KAUSNER, GREGORY M01F>
Sent:	Friday, October 23, 2015 2:00 PM
To:	Riley Moore <riley.moore@podestagroup.com>
Subject:	RE: say it aint so

Coffee at 3:30?

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, October 23, 2015 1:41 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: RE: say it aint so

RELEASE IN PART B6

I'm free all day except 2-3. Does that work for you?

From: Kausner, Gregory M [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:KausnerGM@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, October 23, 2015 12:42 PM
To: Riley Moore <riley.moore@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: say it aint so

Riley,

That's really kind of you to say. I've enjoyed my time at State immensely, but while this came as a bit of a surprise, I'm proud to put the uniform back on. I will indeed come back to State when I return from my mobilization in Sep 2016.

It would be great to grab a coffee with you before I leave in Dec. Any white space next Tue afternoon?

GK

From: Riley Moore [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, October 23, 2015 10:07 AM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: say it aint so

Greg,

I understand you are leaving State soon to deploy with the Navy (correct me if that's wrong). It's been great to work with you and I hope that we can work together again in the future.

I'll be disappointed if you aren't back here in DC afterward. The country needs more appointees like you. The wide consensus in industry is that we are losing one of the great politicals.

If I can ever be of any help, please let me know. Best of luck in your next endeavor. Please stay in touch.

Best,

PG **RILEY MOORE VICE PRESIDENT**
O 202.448.5217 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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From: Kang, Eliot <KangE@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, May 10, 2016 1:01 PM
To: Countryman, Thomas <CountrymanT@state.gov>; Hochstein, Amos J <HochsteinAJ@state.gov>
Cc: Rusten, Lynn F <RustenLF@state.gov>
Subject: RE: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

Don't know. Up to Susan R.

From: Countryman, Thomas
Sent: Tuesday, May 10, 2016 12:52 PM
To: Hochstein, Amos J
Cc: Rusten, Lynn F; Kang, Eliot
Subject: RE: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

I honestly don't know. Copying Eliot and Lynn in case they have a view.

From: Hochstein, Amos J <HochsteinAJ@state.gov>
Date: May 10, 2016 at 3:24:38 PM GMT+2
To: Countryman, Thomas <CountrymanT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

Do you know the odds of keeping this position?

From: Countryman, Thomas
Sent: Tuesday, May 10, 2016 9:18 AM
To: Hochstein, Amos J
Cc: Kang, Eliot; Rusten, Lynn F
Subject: Re: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

Sorry, Amos, for not looping you into this discussion before. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

Lynn: please forward to Amos a copy of T's letter.
Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Hochstein, Amos J
Sent: Tuesday, May 10, 2016 2:56 PM
To: Countryman, Thomas
Subject: FW: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

Do you have thoughts on this?

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@PodestaGroup.onmicrosoft.com]
Sent: Monday, May 09, 2016 6:46 PM
To: Hochstein, Amos J
Subject: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

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Amos—

As you may or may not know, we represent the Nuclear Energy Institute. They and their member companies (GE, Westinghouse, Bechtel, etc., the list goes on and on) are very eager to make sure that the position of NSC Senior Director for Nuclear Energy Policy is not eliminated as part of the downsizing that is being contemplated in response to complaints that the NSC staff has doubled in size under President Obama. We understand that Susan George is managing the downsizing review currently underway at NSC.

NEI and its members are mounting a campaign to make sure the position is not abolished as part of any downsizing. Their basic argument is that this position has worked very effectively to enhance interagency coordination, and all the Executive Branch agencies with a stake in civil nuclear energy are pleased that it exists. This appears to be in contrast to many other NSC positions where, reportedly, State and other agencies believe NSC has grown too bloated, and therefore too involved in micromanaging their work. In other words, this particular position has advanced rather than set back the cause of good government.

NEI asked my advice on how best to influence this process. My recommendation to them was to get State to weigh in, because in my experience, State has more influence at the NSC than any other agency. Hence this message to you.

Best,

Steve

STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5238 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From:	Kirby, Michael D </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SEOUL AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KIRBYMD>
Sent:	Thursday, August 11, 2016 1:56 PM
To:	'Norah Cox-Peled' <npeled@podestagroup.com>
Cc:	Corine Weiler <cweiler@podestagroup.com>
Subject:	RE: Getting Together for Dinner with Tony Podesta

The first three dates work. We have guests the next weekend.

Michael D. Kirby
Deputy Transparency Coordinator
202.647.5323

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Norah Cox-Peled [mailto:npeled@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 11, 2016 10:35 AM
To: Kirby, Michael D
Cc: Corine Weiler
Subject: Getting Together for Dinner with Tony Podesta

Dear Ambassador Kirby—

I hope you have been enjoying your summer thus far. I wanted to revisit trying to get a dinner scheduled with Tony, Ambassador Matkovic, Ambassador Varricchio and significant others. I know summer was a little tough but would any of the following dates work for you?:

Friday, September 9
Sunday, September 11
Thursday, September 15
Friday, September 23
Saturday, September 24
Sunday, September 25

Kind regards,
Norah

PG
NORAH COX-PELED SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE CHAIRMAN
O 202.879.9381 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From: Tucker, Maureen E <TuckerME@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, February 27, 2017 4:15 PM
To: Corine Weiler <cweiler@podestagroup.com>; Maureen
Subject: RE: Lunch w/ Tony Podesta

Hi Corrine, thanks for the note. I had it down for tomorrow but hadn't heard of a time/place. So, 9, 13, 16, 17 March works for me. Thanks, Maureen

From: Corine Weiler [mailto:cweiler@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, February 27, 2017 3:59 PM
To: Tucker, Maureen E <TuckerME@state.gov>; Maureen
Subject: Lunch w/ Tony Podesta
Importance: High

RELEASE IN PART B6

Maureen –

I wasn't sure if Tony scheduled a lunch with you tomorrow (February 28), but his calendar has shifted and tomorrow no longer works. He could do lunch on March 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, or 17. Let me know if any of these new dates work for you.

Thank you,
Corine

CORINE WEILER EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE CHAIRMAN
O 202.448.5235 / C / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From: Tucker, Maureen E <TuckerME@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, March 9, 2017 9:36 AM
To: Corine Weiler <cweiler@podestagroup.com>; Maureen
Subject: RE: Lunch w/ Tony Podesta

B6

Hi Corine, yes – will be there. Thanks, Maureen

From: Corine Weiler [mailto:cweiler@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 9, 2017 8:42 AM
To: Tucker, Maureen E <TuckerME@state.gov>; Maureen
Subject: RE: Lunch w/ Tony Podesta

RELEASE IN PART B6

Maureen –

Reconfirming lunch with Tony for today, March 9 at 12:30pm at Centrolina (974 Palmer Alley NW).

Thank you,
Corine

From: Tucker, Maureen E [mailto:TuckerME@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, February 27, 2017 4:35 PM
To: Corine Weiler <cweiler@podestagroup.com>; Maureen
Subject: RE: Lunch w/ Tony Podesta

That sounds good – thank you.

From: Corine Weiler [mailto:cweiler@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, February 27, 2017 4:17 PM
To: Tucker, Maureen E <TuckerME@state.gov>; Maureen
Subject: RE: Lunch w/ Tony Podesta

Let's go with 12:30p on March 9 at Centrolina, if that time works for you. Appreciate your quick response.

From: Tucker, Maureen E [mailto:TuckerME@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, February 27, 2017 4:15 PM
To: Corine Weiler <cweiler@podestagroup.com>; Maureen
Subject: RE: Lunch w/ Tony Podesta

Hi Corrine, thanks for the note. I had it down for tomorrow but hadn't heard of a time/place. So, 9, 13, 16, 17 March works for me. Thanks, Maureen

From: Corine Weiler [mailto:cweiler@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, February 27, 2017 3:59 PM
To: Tucker, Maureen E <TuckerME@state.gov>; Maureen
Subject: Lunch w/ Tony Podesta
Importance: High

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Maureen –

I wasn't sure if Tony scheduled a lunch with you tomorrow (February 28), but his calendar has shifted and tomorrow no longer works. He could do lunch on March 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, or 17. Let me know if any of these new dates work for you.

Thank you,
Corine

CORINE WEILER EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE CHAIRMAN
O 202.448.5235 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
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From: William Inglee <
Sent: Wednesday, May 24, 2017 5:17 PM
To: Jim Dyer <jdyer@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Landers, Linda S <LandersLS2@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Call

Jim, want be my guest at State for lunch on the 8th floor. Maybe Friday? Bill

Sent from my iPhone

On May 22, 2017, at 10:20 AM, Jim Dyer <jdyer@podestagroup.com> wrote:

RELEASE IN PART B6

> Bill, before I forget, who is a good person to call to discuss this matter and future arms sales matters. Let me know and best, JD
>
> **From:** William Inglee [mailto:
> **Sent:** Saturday, May 20, 2017 9:50 AM
> **To:** Jim Dyer <jdyer@podestagroup.com>
> **Subject:** Re: Call
>
> Keep me on your social schedule for a dinner sometime Jim. Bill
>
> ***See our Website: http://www.ismstrategies.com***
>
> William Inglee
> Senior Partner
> Inglee Sauer Moseley Strategies, LLC
> Ph: 703-851-0877
> Email:
>
> On May 19, 2017, at 11:00 PM, Jim Dyer <jdyer@podestagroup.com> wrote:
>
> > No problem Billy. Good to know.
> >
> > Sent from my iPhone
> >
> > On May 19, 2017, at 8:20 PM, William Inglee wrote:
> >
> > > Sorry Jim but I've recused myself on arms sales related issues given my past work. Best, Bill
> > >
> > > ***See our Website: http://www.ismstrategies.com***
> > >
> > > William Inglee
> > > Senior Partner
> > > Inglee Sauer Moseley Strategies, LLC
> > > Ph: 703-851-0877
> > > Email: Billinglee@ismstrategies.com
> > >
> > > On May 17, 2017, at 3:26 PM, Jim Dyer <jdyer@podestagroup.com> wrote:
> > >
> > > > Billy: I hope alls OK on your end. Can I ask a favor? Could you and I get on a a-call as soon as your schedule allows with my Colleague, Riley Moore ,to discuss arms sales. As you may know, there is an arms sale package being put together for the Kingdom of Saud Arabia as part of a post POTUS trip deliverable. Through our discussion with DSCA and other officers at State we understand that Textron's 404 sensor fused weapon (SFW) is not part of the package being put forward. The sale of the 404 was in the works last year before being shelved by Obama. This in turn led to a production shutdown and layoffs at Textron. In addition, South Korea and Poland are interest in the 404 as well. This sale and follow on sales could restart the line. Let me know if we can chat. Best regards, JD

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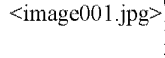
JIM DYER PRINCIPAL

O 202.448.5218 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

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From: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2017 8:54 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Mr. Rademaker – I didn't realize you and Todd would have lunch/meeting somewhere else not at the department.

Best, quynh

Official - Transitory
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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 13, 2017 5:11 PM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Todd—

My calendar shows us meeting for lunch tomorrow. But looking more carefully at our exchange of messages below, it may be that you have us on your calendar for Thursday. If so, it remains the case that [redacted] and so I'm tied up. If tomorrow is good for you, we need to pick a place to meet. If not, we need to reschedule. In any event, I hope to see you again soon. B6

Best,

Steve

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:28 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

We can figure it out between now and then but in meantime I've written it onto my calendar (and blocked off the 15th !!)

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UNCLASSIFIED

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:24 PM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

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The 14th works for me. But let's not push it to the 15th, [redacted] B6

Where would you like to meet? I'm surrounded by lots of great restaurants (11th and G), but it's not convenient to you. I don't think you have many restaurants near you. I'd be happy to try to meet somewhere in between, but I'm not sure what that would be. Bombay Club?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:16 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

[redacted] What would you think of June 14 – we could both catch up and celebrate Flag Day at the same time !! B6

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 11:25 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Actually I just gave the 7th away. How about Friday the 9th?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 11:21 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Let's try June 7, but we should re-confirm at the beginning of that week.

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 10:40 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Want to meet for lunch on Tuesday June 6 or Wednesday June 7?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 8:02 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>

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Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Yes, all well here too. Want to have coffee or lunch sometime. I'm traveling next week, but maybe when I get back ?

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UNCLASSIFIED

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, May 22, 2017 10:51 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Thanks Todd. Yes, all is good with me. I don't think I'll be joining you at State. Among other things, they don't really seem to be hiring….

Are you still handling the War Crimes portfolio? As you may know, I have strong feelings on that issue. Would love to talk to you about it one day.

In any event, I hope you're also doing well.

Steve

From: Todd Buchwald <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Date: Sunday, May 21, 2017 at 9:45 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Thanks for sending Steve. Any chance that you will come into the Administration ? Hope all is well, Todd

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UNCLASSIFIED

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 19, 2017 8:25 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

I thought you might be interested in an op-ed I wrote on North Korea, which was run yesterday by the Washington Post. The text is attached, and can also be found at the following address: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-north-korean-nuclear-threat-is-very-real-time-to-start-treating-it-that-way/2017/05/18/d60cbeec-39a4-11e7-8854-21f359183e8c_story.html?utm_term=.f748cedb8c90

As always, I welcome any feedback you might have.

With best wishes,

Steve

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STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5238 / C [redacted] / Wwww.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From: Shepherd, Nadia C <ShepherdNC@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, March 8, 2012 4:14 PM
To: Nides, Thomas R <NidesTR@state.gov>
Cc: Sullivan, Stephanie S <sullivanss@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides
Attach: PSC Letter to POTUS re Global Dev Council Appointments.pdf

Printed copy will be on your desk. --Nadia

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Missi Tessier [mailto:tessier@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 08, 2012 3:43 PM
To: Shepherd, Nadia C
Subject: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides

Ms. Shepherd, I am following up on a meeting the Deputy Secretary had with Tony Podesta and me several months ago about the role of private international development contractors in implementing and increasing US foreign assistance. We wanted to make sure that the Deputy Secretary was aware of the attached letter to the President. Several member companies of the Professional Services Council and/or the Coalition of International Development Companies submitted their applications to the Global Development Council by the 2/24 deadline for consideration. There are some great candidates to choose from among these companies. Their hope is simple: that the for-profit sector will get a seat or two at the table, to contribute to this important work. Many thanks for considering this request.
All the best,
Missi Tessier

Missi Tessier | Principal
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9375 (d) | [redacted](c) | tessier@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

B6

C06592209 IED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592209 Date: 08/17/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

PSC PROFESSIONAL SERVICES COUNCIL

The Voice of the Government Services Industry

February 14, 2012

RELEASE IN FULL

The Honorable Barack Obama
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The Professional Services Council (PSC) is the leading national association of companies providing professional and technical services to every agency of the federal government, prominently including the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Our membership includes many of the most experienced private sector implementing partners supporting State and USAID development assistance missions around the world. PSC is also a lead partner in the Coalition of International Development Companies (CIDC) which was formed to provide new opportunities for development experts from the private sector to engage in serious efforts to find ways to improve and enhance development outcomes and strategies. In light of the great importance of the work to be done by the new Global Development Council, I write to encourage you to look to the invaluable expertise and hard-earned experience of America's for-profit development companies as you select members to serve on the Council.

The February 9, 2012 Executive Order charges the Global Development Council to provide advice on an important and ambitious range of issues critical to reasserting U.S. leadership in international development. In particular, the administration will seek advice on "innovative, scalable approaches to development with proven demonstrable impact, particularly on sustainable economic growth." To meet that challenge, the Council will need to capitalize on the wisdom and expertise of the full array of expert practitioners from all sectors--public, for profit, not for profit, and academic-- that support this critical component of American engagement around the world. For decades, the U.S. government's international development company partners have brought innovative, efficient and accountable approaches to U.S. development projects. They, like their colleagues in the not for profit sector, will bring to the Council essential, reality-tested, evidence based perspectives and insights.

4401 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 1110, Arlington, Virginia 22203 P: 703-875-8059 F: 703-875-8922 www.pscouncil.org

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592209 Date: 08/17/2018

C06592209 UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592209 Date: 08/17/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

The Hon. Barack Obama
February 14, 2012

We know your administration values the contribution U.S. development firms have made, and will continue to make, to U.S. efforts to enhance global security, prosperity and health. And we are confident that you share our view that the work of the Global Development Council must be informed by the most knowledgeable and diverse array of experts possible. Leaders of development firms from PSC and the CIDC will, on their own, submit their names for your consideration. We hope you will take advantage of their passion and deep knowledge and ensure that the unique capabilities of the international development companies are included among the twelve appointed members of the Council.

Sincerely,



Stan Soloway
President and CEO

cc: Hon. Rajiv Shah
Hon. Thomas Nides

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592209 Date: 08/17/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Shepherd, Nadia C </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SHEPHERDNC>
Sent:	Thursday, March 8, 2012 4:15 PM
To:	Vignarajah, Krishanti <VignarajahK@state.gov>; Newman, Stephanie R <NewmanSR@state.gov>; Cook, Joyce D <CookJD2@state.gov>; Goodman, Jared E <GoodmanJE@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides
Attach:	PSC Letter to POTUS re Global Dev Council Appointments.pdf

Please log. printed copy out for tom already.

From: Missi Tessier [mailto:tessier@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 08, 2012 3:43 PM
To: Shepherd, Nadia C
Subject: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides

RELEASE IN PART B6

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All the best,
Missi Tessier

Missi Tessier | Principal
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9375 (d) | [redacted] (c) | tessier@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

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C06592211 UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592211 Date: 08/17/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

PSC PROFESSIONAL SERVICES COUNCIL

RELEASE IN FULL

The Voice of the Government Services Industry

February 14, 2012

The Honorable Barack Obama
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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The Professional Services Council (PSC) is the leading national association of companies providing professional and technical services to every agency of the federal government, prominently including the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Our membership includes many of the most experienced private sector implementing partners supporting State and USAID development assistance missions around the world. PSC is also a lead partner in the Coalition of International Development Companies (CIDC) which was formed to provide new opportunities for development experts from the private sector to engage in serious efforts to find ways to improve and enhance development outcomes and strategies. In light of the great importance of the work to be done by the new Global Development Council, I write to encourage you to look to the invaluable expertise and hard-earned experience of America's for-profit development companies as you select members to serve on the Council.

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C06592211 IED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592211 Date: 08/17/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

The Hon. Barack Obama
February 14, 2012

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Sincerely,

Stan Soloway
President and CEO

cc: Hon. Rajiv Shah
Hon. Thomas Nides

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592211 Date: 08/17/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Brafman, Wendy S <BrafmanWS@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, April 4, 2012 1:06 PM
To: Pfeuffer, Paul <PfeufferP@state.gov>; Burger, David <BurgerD@state.gov>; Fleming, Mark L <FlemingML@state.gov>; Brown, Dana M <BrownDML@state.gov>; Dell, Christopher W <DellCW@state.gov>; S_SpecialAssistants <S_SpecialAssistants@state.gov>; Gregorian, Raffi <GregorianR@state.gov>
Cc: McDonald, Merlin D <McDonaldMD@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Latest schedule -- Prime Minister Thaci
Attach: Agenda of the PM - USA April 2 2012 (4312).docx

Updated schedule. I haven't compared it to the last one.
Merlin – Please exchange the one DAS Reeker has currently for this one. Thanks.

RELEASE IN PART B6

Wendy Brafman
Kosovo Desk Officer
HST Rm 5221
Office: (202) 736-7012
Cell: [redacted]

B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Andrew Kauders [mailto:AKauders@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 04, 2012 12:47 PM
To: [redacted]; Brafman, Wendy S; [redacted]; Andrew Kauders
Subject: Latest schedule -- Prime Minister Thaci

B6
B7(C)

We have identified the Delaware Boardroom as the location for meetings at the Mayflower.

Based on the Prime Minister's interest, I spoke to the National September 11 Memorial and Museum regarding a possible wreath-laying, which the New York Consul General is now working on as well. They would be happy to accommodate us on the morning of either Tuesday, April 10 or Wednesday, April 11 – the ceremony would have to occur before the memorial opens to the public at 10 a.m. On both mornings, they can schedule a ceremony as early as 8:30 a.m.

Andrew Kauders | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9350 (d) | [redacted](c) | akauders@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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AGENDA FOR H.E. MR. HASHIM THAÇI
PRIME MINISTER
THE REPUBLIC OF KOSOVO
APRIL 3-15, 2012

Members of the Delegation: H.E. Mr. Hashim Thaçi
H.E. Mr. Enver Hoxhaj – Minister of Foreign Affairs
H.E. Ms. Vlora Çitaku – Minister of European Integration
Mr. Avni Spahiu – Ambassador to US
Mr. Bekim Çollaku – Chief of Staff of the PM
Ms. Dhurata Hoxha – Advisor to the PM
Ms. Mrika Kotorri – Advisor to the PM
Mr. Edi Sejdiu – Chief of Protocol of the PM
Mrs. Heroina Telaku – Chief of Cabinet of the FM
Mr. Lulzim Pllana – Advisor to the FM
Mr. Shkumbin Noka – Advisor to the Minister of European Integration
Mr. Xhavit Ferizi – Chief of Security of the PM
Mr. Astrit Ibrahimi – Photographer of the PM

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B7(C),B6

Press members: Mr. Eugen Saraqini (RTV 21)
Mr. Ngadhnjim Kastrati (RTK)
Mr. Halil Mula (RTV 21)
Mr. Arben Llapashtica (RTK)

POC for the PM: Edi Sejdiu, Chief of Protocol, [redacted](c); **Podesta Group:** Andrew Kauders [redacted](c). B6
Embassy Contacts: Jetish Jashari [redacted](c), Ambassador Spahiu [redacted](c), Gjeneza Budima [redacted](c), Driver Ejyp Nushi [redacted](c). B6
U.S. Kosovo Desk: Wendy Brafman 202-320-4908; **U.S. Secret Service:** [redacted], Special Agent [redacted] B7(C)

B7(C)

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TUESDAY, APRIL 3 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	Meeting	Confirmed	Contact Point	Location
17:45	Arrival in Washington, D.C.	YES		Mayflower Hotel 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW 20036 POC Keith McClinsey 202-776-9159

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	Meeting	Confirmed	Contact Point	Location
8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast together with Podesta team Kosovo Delegation:	YES		Mayflower Hotel
11:30 – 12:30	Lunch meeting with Congressman Eliot Engel (D-NY) Kosovo Delegation:	YES	Jason Steinbaum (202) 226-8467	Charlie Palmer, 101 Constitution Avenue, NW
13:00 – 13:30	Meeting with Congressman James Moran (D-VA) Kosovo Delegation:	YES	Gayle Reuter, Scheduler (202-225-4376)	2239 Rayburn House Office Building
14:00 – 14:30	Meeting with Secretary Clinton and Daniel Yohannes, CEO of the MCC Kosovo Delegation:	YES		Department of State
17:30	Meeting with Daniel Serwer	YES		Mayflower

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

19:00 – 21:00	Dinner with Secretary Albright Kosovo Delegation:	YES	Abbey Watson, awatson@ albrightstonebridge.com (202-370-3582)	Albright Stonebridge – 1101 New York Avenue, Suite 900 – Washington, DC 20005

THURSDAY, APRIL 5 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast	YES		Mayflower Hotel
11:30 – 12:15	Meeting with Vice President Biden Kosovo Delegation:	YES	Asel K. Roberts Office of the Chief of Protocol Telephone: 202-647-1664 Cell: [redacted]	B6
13:00 – 13:15	Interview with Al Jezeerah	YES	John Anderson – Podesta Group janderson@podesta.com	Mayflower Hotel
14:00 – 15:00	CSIS table: The Road Ahead for Kosovo: European Integration and Regional Dynamics	YES	Heather Conley – CSIS USSS contact: [redacted]	CSIS - 1800 K Street NW – Washington, DC 2006 B6 B7(C)
15:00 – 16:00 (TBC)	Meeting for Minister Enver Hoxhaj with OAS Secretary General	TBC		
15:15 – 16:15	Group interview/meeting with New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Foreign Policy Magazine, Bloomberg and CNN (no camera)	YES	Cathy Rought – Podesta Group	Mayflower Hotel

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

17:00 – 17:30	Meeting with Elizabeth Littlefield, President and CEO of OPIC Kosovo Delegation:	YES	Rebecca Barnes rebecca.barnes@opic.gov 202-336-8406	1100 New York Avenue, 12th Floor
20:00 -22:00	Dinner at The Source Kosovo Delegation:	YES	Wendy Brafman, Kosovo Desk 202-320-4908	575 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington DC, District Of Columbia 20001

FRIDAY, APRIL 6 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast	YES		Mayflower Hotel - 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW – Washington, DC
9:00	Mtg. w/ Abdullah Celik, Bank ASYA	YES	Becky Moore –Podesta Group	Mayflower Hotel - 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW – Washington, DC
10:30	Meeting with Commerce Secretary John Bryson	YES		Commerce Department
11:45 – 12:30	LIVE interview at VOA	YES	Laura Konda Editor/Anchor VOA/ Albanian Service 202 382 5493 (c)	330 Independence Av. SW is the office (3rd floor)

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12:45 (TBC)	Interview with the Associated Press	YES	Cathy Rought – Podesta Group	AP Offices - 1100 13th St. NW – Washington, DC
13:00	Lunch			
13:30 – 14:15	Meeting for Minister Vlora Çitaku with Mike Scardaville, Director for European and Multilateral Affairs in DHS Office of International Affairs Kosovo Delegation:	YES	Wendy Brafman, Kosovo Desk 202-320-4908	Department of Homeland Security HQ, 3801 Nebraska Avenue NW

SATURDAY, APRIL 7 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast	YES		Mayflower Hotel

SUNDAY, APRIL 8 (WASHINGTON, DC TO DENVER)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast	YES		Mayflower Hotel
TBC	Departure to Denver			
TBC	Dinner with the Amb. Hill in Denver	YES		TBC

MONDAY, APRIL 9 (DENVER)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
8:15 – 8:45	Meeting with Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper	TBC	Valerie Nosler, Office of Governor John Hickenlooper 303-866-6230	Governor's Office, State Capitol
11:00 – 12:00	Presentation on major demographic trends in the Balkans	YES		Pardee Center for International Futures at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies
12:00 – 13:00	Guest lecture – University of Denver (PM, FM, Minister for European Integration)	YES		
13:00 – 13:45	Lunch			
13:45	Departure for Boulder, Colorado			

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15:00 -16:00	Guest lecture of Mrs. Vlora Çitaku at EU Center of Excellence (Prime Minister to join)	YES		
TBC	Departure to NYC			

TUESDAY, APRIL 10 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
9:30	Meeting with Mr. Ban Ki Moon, Secretary General of the UN	YES		TBC
11:30	Interview with Carol Giacomo at the New York Times	YES	John Anderson, janderson@podesta.com	229 W 43rd Street

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

THURSDAY, APRIL 12 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	Meeting	Confirmed	Contact Point	Location

FRIDAY, APRIL 13 (NEW YORK CITY)

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Time	Meeting	Confirmed	Contact Point	Location
10:30 (TBC – also offering Thursday at 15:30 in the Bronx)	Meeting with Congressman Joe Crowley	TBC	Angela D. DenDekker, Office of Rep. Joe Crowley 718-779-1400	PM Hotel

SATURDAY, APRIL 14 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Fried, Daniel </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FRIEDD>
Sent:	Thursday, April 26, 2012 4:30 PM
To:	'Stephen Rademaker' <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject:	RE: Albania

It would be a pleasure to see you. Call my office (7-3893) to set up a time.

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 26, 2012 4:19 PM
To: Fried, Daniel
Subject: Albania

RELEASE IN PART B6

Dan—

I thought I might bump into you yesterday following your meeting with PM Berisha. I brought Senator Coleman in to talk to him on behalf of the Romney campaign at 11:00. But apparently you and he finished up sooner than I expected. (I imagine him—and most other world leaders you meet—becoming fidgety and eyeing the door their watch as you begin to go through your agenda, but maybe I'm wrong about that).

Anyway, I have an issue relating to promoting Kosovo recognition that I would like to discuss with you. It's probably something best discussed face to face. Would you have any time to see me in the next week or two?

Steve

Stephen Rademaker | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5238 (d) | [redacted] (c) | srademaker@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From:	Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent:	Thursday, May 10, 2012 2:41 PM
To:	'Frank Lowenstein' <flowenstein@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: call me!

Checking with HRC's scheduler.

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 10, 2012 1:47 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: RE: call me!

RELEASE IN PART B6

Hey, thanks a million for checking into this – they're looking for some feedback today, any chance that would work from your end? Can always try Sharon Waxman if that's a better beet, just lemme know. Thanks!

From: Frank Lowenstein
Sent: Wednesday, May 09, 2012 5:44 PM
To: 'FeldmanDF@state.gov'
Subject: Re: call me!

Thx dude -- it's a reception Celebrating New Partnerships to Advance Food and Nutrition Security on the Occasion of the 2012 G8 Summit, on Thursday, May 17, 2012 from 6:00 – 8:00 PM -- any color on type of event, how big, who is attending from the corporate side etc would be awesome!

From: Feldman, Daniel F [mailto:FeldmanDF@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, May 09, 2012 05:31 PM
To: Frank Lowenstein
Subject: RE: call me!

Just tried you, but headed into more mtgs. tonight?

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 09, 2012 1:48 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: RE: call me!

Awesome baby – I'm sitting by the phone!

From: Feldman, Daniel F [mailto:FeldmanDF@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, May 09, 2012 1:42 PM
To: Frank Lowenstein
Subject: Re: call me!

Just out of a mtg. Will call in 5.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 09, 2012 01:13 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: call me!

448-5212 – thanks!

Frank Lowenstein | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5212 (d) [redacted](c) | flowenstein@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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B6

From: Benjamin Chang
Sent: Monday, September 17, 2012 7:23 PM
To: Smitham, Thomas D <SmithamTD@state.gov>
Subject: International Team Rollout Release
Attach: International Team Rollout Release FINAL.pdf

www.podesta.com/talent

RELEASE IN PART B6

C06592221 IED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592221 Date: 08/17/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

podestaGROUP



With Three Premier Hires, Podesta Group Aims to Cement International Sector Advantage
Former OAS, NSC and State Department Officials Join Top-Ranked Firm

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
September 13, 2012

RELEASE IN FULL

Contact: Missi Tessier
(202) 879-9375

Striking while the iron is hot, the Podesta Group this week added three new principals who will further elevate the firm's rapidly-growing international practice, Chief Executive Officer Kimberley Fritts announced today.

Joining the Podesta Group this month are **Javier Sancho**, the youngest Spanish ambassador to the Organization of American States and former chief of staff to the Spanish Foreign Minister; **Mark Tavlarides**, the former director of legislative affairs at the National Security Council under President Bill Clinton and former staff director of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations; and **Benjamin Chang**, the former senior adviser for strategic planning and crisis communications at the State Department who previously served as deputy spokesman of the National Security Council and, before that, the US Mission to the United Nations.

"Our international practice is growing at a remarkable pace, and the addition of Javier, Mark and Ben will further ensure our clients have access to the experience, talent and relationships they require to succeed on the global stage," Fritts said. "From foreign sovereigns to multinational companies, clients can rest assured our bipartisan team can navigate the trickiest of global waters and offer unparalleled counsel on global risk and opportunity. With the addition of these three dynamic strategists, we reaffirm our mission to set a new standard for success when it comes to international public affairs."

Ambassador Sancho will draw on his first-hand involvement in some of the most significant foreign policy debates of the last quarter century, where he developed enduring relationships with dozens of fellow ambassadors, ministers and political leaders across the globe. He will bring to the Podesta Group the same skills he displayed on behalf of Spanish citizens and companies, and the same expertise he developed on issues as diverse as European Union (EU) integration, Middle East peace negotiations and Latin American affairs. As an EU official, Ambassador Sancho spent time in Brussels and New York, where he worked as a United Nations (UN) liaison, and traveled throughout the Middle East, actively participating in bilateral negotiations and multilateral conferences. Additionally, Ambassador Sancho was involved in the creation of the Middle East Quartet in 2002.

Tavlarides brings two decades of collaboration with both sides of the political aisle in Congress and the Executive Branch, as well as a stellar past decade representing foreign governments, corporations and nonprofits. At the National Security Council (NSC), he was a top foreign policy adviser to President Clinton, following distinguished stints at the Office of the Secretary of Defense, where he served as the special assistant for international security affairs, and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. On the Hill, Tavlarides worked to strengthen relations with the UN and expand respect for human rights.

Chang has over 17 years of government service under his belt (and bow tie), in both overseas and domestic positions, where he offered both Republican and Democratic administrations his battle-tested political analysis and communications skills. Most recently, he served as the senior adviser for strategic

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592221 Date: 08/17/2018

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planning and crisis communications in the State Department's Bureau of Public Affairs, where he helped establish a crisis communications capacity; bolstered messaging on the ground in Egypt, Japan, South Sudan and Libya; and worked to amplify Secretary Hillary Clinton's broader policies and initiatives at home and abroad. He was deputy spokesman for the NSC under the George W. Bush and Obama administrations, as well as at the US Mission to the UN, forging strong relationships with a broad array of domestic and foreign media and senior agency officials. Early in his career, Chang served as a special assistant to US Ambassador to the UN Bill Richardson and later as special assistant to Secretaries of State Madeleine Albright and Colin Powell.

"Success in the international consulting arena requires a strong bipartisan bench of experts and a diverse range of government and private sector experience," Fritts said. "As we add these three stars to our already robust roster of talent, we look forward to continuing to deliver for our clients."

###

About the Podesta Group
Employing inventive strategies to deliver results, the Podesta Group has been helping leading organizations achieve their policy goals for over 20 years. Ranked among the very best, the Podesta Group is a full-service, bipartisan government relations and public relations firm that *The New York Times* calls one of Washington, DC's "biggest players." With a keen understanding of the intersection between policy and publicity, and the broad, substantive experience to get things done, the Podesta Group changes outcomes. Driven. Inspired. Smart. We are the Podesta Group. For more information, visit www.podestagroup.com.

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From:	Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent:	Thursday, November 8, 2012 10:59 AM
To:	'Gayle Weiswasser' [redacted] B6
Subject:	FW: Sec State Speculation

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 10:55 AM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: FW: Sec State Speculation

Here's the big let JK down easy leak…

From: Matt Baker
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 10:45 AM
To: Mark Tavlarides; Frank Lowenstein
Subject: FW: Sec State Speculation

Susan Rice Emerging as Top Candidate to Succeed Hillary Clinton

By Indira A.R. Lakshmanan and Flavia Krause-Jackson | November 08, 2012 12:01AM ET



Photographer: Spencer Platt/Getty Images
U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice in New York.

(Bloomberg) -- Susan Rice, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, is emerging as the favored candidate to succeed Hillary Clinton as secretary of state, even with the political controversy over her remarks about the fatal Sept. 11 attack on the American diplomatic mission in Benghazi, Libya.

Six current or former White House officials, who all spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss internal deliberations, said Rice remains close to President Barack Obama and shares many of his views on foreign policy. They emphasized that the president hasn't made a final decision, and Clinton may remain in her post for some months into Obama's second term.

Former White House Chief of Staff Bill Daley and other officials said Obama's first move will be choosing a successor to Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner. He also may need to find successors to Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper and U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk, the officials said.

Rice is thought to be the president's preferred choice over two other strong candidates, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Chairman John Kerry of Massachusetts and National Security Adviser Tom Donilon, according to the current and former administration officials.

Rice, who also worked on the presidential campaigns of Kerry and former Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, is known for her strong personality and passionate defense of Obama's foreign policy at Security Council and inter-agency meetings.

Libyan Assistance

She was an advocate of U.S. aid to Libyan rebels who rose up against then-dictator Muammar Qaddafi, and her supporters say she helped win UN Security Council support for a resolution authorizing international intervention in Libya.

Her push for intervention, officials said, might in part have been a product of the failure of former President Bill Clinton's administration to intervene to halt genocide in the central African nation of Rwanda, when Rice was 30 and serving on the National Security Council staff.

Visiting Rwanda last year with her family after a surprise visit to Libya, she said, "Many of us heard strong echoes of 1994 when Muammar Qaddafi promised that he would root out the people of Benghazi."

Still, she also has argued that what worked in Libya couldn't be replicated in Syria, where her anti-interventionist line contrasted with Kerry, who looked more favorably upon the creation of humanitarian corridors.

Pugnacious Style

At the UN, her often pugnacious style has by turns been admired and derided, diplomats there say. Behind closed doors, they say, she pulls no punches and uses colorful language to get her points across.

She has clashed with Vitaly Churkin, her Russia counterpart, most pointedly over Syria. At times their exchanges got personal, such as last year when he publicly chided her for an unusual outburst and said Syria wasn't an issue that could be drowned by expletives.

Friction notwithstanding, she also helped obtain tough 2010 UN resolutions aimed at derailing Iran's suspected nuclear weapons program, which required protracted negotiations with Russian officials, and win UN membership for the new nation of South Sudan.

High Profile

Still, Rice's high profile and relationships with UN ambassadors from Europe, Russia and China are considered an asset, although she lacks Clinton's experience at retail politicking and her celebrity as a presidential candidate, a senator and a two-term first lady.

While several officials said Clinton would be a difficult act to follow, many in the White House regard Rice as the most recognizable successor and a reliable advocate for Obama's positions on Iran, Syria and other difficult issues.

A 47-year-old Stanford University graduate and former Rhodes Scholar, Rice would be the second African-American woman to serve as the top U.S. diplomat if she were nominated and confirmed by the Senate. She isn't related to Condoleezza Rice, who served in George W. Bush's administration.

Susan Rice, who was a National Security Council director and assistant secretary of state for African affairs under President Clinton, joined the Obama campaign in 2007 and helped run the foreign policy team advising the candidate.

Controversial Remarks

Two of the officials said Rice is much closer to Obama than Kerry or Donilon, so putting her at the State Department would ensure that the White House could maintain control over U.S. foreign policy.

Her Sept. 16 remarks on Sunday talk shows that the attack on the U.S. diplomatic mission in Benghazi, Libya, began as a peaceful protest that was "hijacked" by militants were considered a possible obstacle to Senate confirmation and an invitation to continued attacks on the administration's handling of the assault.

This week's elections relieved some -- though not all -- of those anxieties, said two of the officials. These officials observed that Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney dropped the issue during his third and final debate with Obama, and two prominent Republicans, former Secretary of State Rice and former Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, criticized some of the attacks on the administration over the issue.

In addition, said a third administration official, the investigations that are under way into the attacks may reveal that Rice's remarks were based on preliminary intelligence reports that were revised, and that the anti-Muslim video did play a role in inspiring the attacks.

To contact the reporters on this story: Indira A.R. Lakshmanan in Washington at ilakshmanan@bloomberg.net; Flavia Krause-Jackson in United Nations at fjackson@bloomberg.net

To contact the editor responsible for this story: John Walcott at jwalcott9@bloomberg.net

Kenneth Zoeller | Associate

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B6

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From:	Daniel, Joshua J </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DANIELJJ>
Sent:	Tuesday, November 27, 2012 8:21 PM
To:	Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Bringing American Ingenuity to Int'l Development -- paper from lobby group for US development contractors

Thanks – sounds like a smart nuance

Josh Daniel
Director of Speechwriting
U.S. State Department
Desk: 202-647-9841
Cell: 202-679-5606

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Tuesday, November 27, 2012 6:12 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Daniel, Joshua J
Cc: Ballou-Aares, Daniella; Smith, Jeannemarie E
Subject: Fw: Bringing American Ingenuity to Int'l Development -- paper from lobby group for US development contractors

+ josh and jake

From: Ballou-Aares, Daniella
Sent: Tuesday, November 27, 2012 06:05 PM
To: Smith, Jeannemarie E; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Bringing American Ingenuity to Int'l Development -- paper from lobby group for US development contractors

Cheryl and Jeanne,

Find attached the position paper from the lobby group formed by the US development contractors (e.g Chemonics, DAI, etc). B5

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.



Let me know any questions/reactions. Best, Daniella

Daniella Ballou-Aares
Senior Advisor for Development
U.S. Department of State
Ballou-AaresD@state.gov
202-647-2553 (office)
(cell)

B6

From: Tim Kopper [mailto:TKopper@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 27, 2012 12:56 PM
To: Ballou-Aares, Daniella
Subject: ICYMI - CIDC Vision Paper: Bringing American Ingenuity to Int'l Development

Dear Friend:

We recently learned that a number of you did not receive CIDC's new Vision Paper sent on November 13, as it seems to have gotten stuck in your spam filters. I've attached it here in case you missed it, and apologize for the delay.

The vision paper is meant to serve as an 'open letter' to newly elected members of Congress, the Obama Administration, thought leaders, and other interested stakeholders in the foreign assistance arena.

It represents the collective thinking and experience of CIDC's 55 member companies – small, medium and large firms that work every day to support and promote U.S. interests abroad.

The paper poses and answers three fundamental questions: How do international development companies conceive development? What is the ideal role of the US government in promoting development? And what is our value as private development companies in helping the US government achieve its objectives?

Just as importantly, the paper reaffirms CIDC's strong support for the principles of *USAID Forward* and for any and all efforts to make US-led development assistance more effective and efficient – while simultaneously proposing some do's and don't's related to those objectives.

The goal of sustainable development is one we share with the entire development ecosystem, and one we help achieve. We look forward to contributing to the ongoing dialogue on how to get it right moving forward.

If you have any questions or comments, please contact Dave Marin at DMarin@PodestaGroup.com.

Thank you,

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Tim

Tim Kopper | Legislative Assistant
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9384 (d) | [redacted] (c) | tkopper@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

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From:	Dorval, Christopher </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DORVALC>
Sent:	Thursday, December 6, 2012 12:43 PM
To:	'Ben Chang' <bchang@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: greetings!

Hi Ben,

Last I knew you were heading to Afghanistan and then I read you were with Podesta! Good for you.

Sure, give me a buzz anytime. Use 647.3996.

Best,

RELEASE IN PART B6

CD

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 06, 2012 12:22 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: greetings!

Chris!

Greetings from down the street. I hear you met a colleague – Erin Billings. Small world!

Shall we try to catch-up sometime soon? In the meanwhile, can I buzz you briefly – quick question up your alley…

Thanks!
Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From:	Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BOWMANJJ>
Sent:	Friday, December 7, 2012 8:39 AM
To:	Dorval, Christopher <DorvalC@state.gov>; Quam, Lois E <QuamLE@state.gov>
Cc:	Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>
Subject:	Re: meeting next Tuesday

Happy to meet with him. Wade may have someone that works on ntds.

From: Dorval, Christopher
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 08:10 AM
To: Quam, Lois E; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M
Subject: Fw: meeting next Tuesday

RELEASE IN PART B6

Ben used to be in PA and now w tony podesta. Would like us to have courtesy mtg with this person next tuesday.

That work? I told him we were in transition. He said Hotez still expressed interest.

Jason. Other ghi folks you think he should meet?

CD

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 06, 2012 05:11 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: meeting next Tuesday

Chris – thanks for the chat just now.

Here's the skinny: I was hoping that you and Lois might be willing to spend a few minutes on **Tuesday** with Dr. Peter Hotez, who will be in town from Houston where he is dean of the brand-new National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine. (Dr. Hotez is an expert on global health and neglected tropical diseases, and, in addition to his duties at Baylor College of Medicine, he is also president of the Sabin Vaccine Institute.)

We just hope to connect your shop with Dr. Hotez and make sure that you and Lois know him as a potential resource. 20-25 minutes max – anytime.

And thank you for the other reference points you suggested. A couple docs are attached for some additional background.

And let's find time after that for a real catch-up over coffee –

Thanks again,
Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

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From:	Dorval, Christopher </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DORVALC>
Sent:	Friday, December 7, 2012 1:30 PM
To:	Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: meeting next Tuesday

What works for you Tuesday?

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 12:54 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Subject: Re: meeting next Tuesday

RELEASE IN PART B6

Thanks much, Chris.

He has a meeting with Robyn Steffen and tech transfer people at OSTP at 1:30 but is otherwise flexible. Whatever around that that works on your side...

And appreciate the guidance re: Wade!

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 11:59 AM
To: Ben Chang
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Ben,

I am happy to meet you him/you on Tuesday; we will be joined by our chief of staff, Jason Bowman, who is our resident PhD. Lois may or may not be able to attend. I am copying her Exec Assistant Rena Seaholm. Please provide us with a time that works; we will need to clear him in, as you know!!

As for other folks: you might want to reach out to Wade Warren at AID and inquire whether he has someone in NTDs who may wish to meet with Dr. Hotez. See contact info below.

Best,

Chris

Wade Warren
Deputy Assistant Administrator
Bureau for Global Health
U.S. Agency for International Development
wwarren@usaid.gov

202-712-0970

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 06, 2012 5:11 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: meeting next Tuesday

Chris – thanks for the chat just now.

Here's the skinny: I was hoping that you and Lois might be willing to spend a few minutes on **Tuesday** with Dr. Peter Hotez, who will be in town from Houston where he is dean of the brand-new National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine. (Dr. Hotez is an expert on global health and neglected tropical diseases, and, in addition to his duties at Baylor College of Medicine, he is also president of the Sabin Vaccine Institute.)

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And let's find time after that for a real catch-up over coffee –

Thanks again,
Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

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From:	Dorval, Christopher </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DORVALC>
Sent:	Friday, December 7, 2012 1:34 PM
To:	'Ben Chang' <bchang@podesta.com>
Cc:	Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: meeting next Tuesday

Ben: 10 or 230 work best for Jason and I next Tuesday. Please advise.

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 12:54 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Subject: Re: meeting next Tuesday

RELEASE IN PART B6

Thanks much, Chris.

He has a meeting with Robyn Steffen and tech transfer people at OSTP at 1:30 but is otherwise flexible. Whatever around that that works on your side...

And appreciate the guidance re: Wade!

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 11:59 AM
To: Ben Chang
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Ben,

I am happy to meet you him/you on Tuesday; we will be joined by our chief of staff, Jason Bowman, who is our resident PhD. Lois may or may not be able to attend. I am copying her Exec Assistant Rena Seaholm. Please provide us with a time that works; we will need to clear him in, as you know!!

As for other folks: you might want to reach out to Wade Warren at AID and inquire whether he has someone in NTDs who may wish to meet with Dr. Hotez. See contact info below.

Best,

Chris

Wade Warren
Deputy Assistant Administrator
Bureau for Global Health
U.S. Agency for International Development
wwarren@usaid.gov

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

202-712-0970

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 06, 2012 5:11 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: meeting next Tuesday

Chris – thanks for the chat just now.

Here's the skinny: I was hoping that you and Lois might be willing to spend a few minutes on **Tuesday** with Dr. Peter Hotez, who will be in town from Houston where he is dean of the brand-new National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine. (Dr. Hotez is an expert on global health and neglected tropical diseases, and, in addition to his duties at Baylor College of Medicine, he is also president of the Sabin Vaccine Institute.)

We just hope to connect your shop with Dr. Hotez and make sure that you and Lois know him as a potential resource. 20-25 minutes max – anytime.

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And let's find time after that for a real catch-up over coffee –

Thanks again,
Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

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From:	Quam, Lois E </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=QUAMLE>
Sent:	Tuesday, December 11, 2012 12:00 PM
To:	Dorval, Christopher <DorvalC@state.gov>
Cc:	Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>; Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: 230 Baylor meeting today

Got it

From: Dorval, Christopher
Sent: Tuesday, December 11, 2012 11:45 AM
To: Quam, Lois E
Cc: Bowman, Jason (S/GHI); Seaholm, Rena M
Subject: 230 Baylor meeting today

RELEASE IN PART B6

Lois,

Thanks for kicking off the meeting with Dr. Peter Hotez today at 230 before you head to USAID. Jason as our medical expert will carry the ball from there; I will just be a parasite…

See Ben Chang's note and attached data on the new National School of Tropical Medicine.

CD

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 06, 2012 5:11 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: meeting next Tuesday

Chris – thanks for the chat just now.

Here's the skinny: I was hoping that you and Lois might be willing to spend a few minutes on **Tuesday** with Dr. Peter Hotez, who will be in town from Houston where he is dean of the brand-new National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine. (Dr. Hotez is an expert on global health and neglected tropical diseases, and, in addition to his duties at Baylor College of Medicine, he is also president of the Sabin Vaccine Institute.)

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Thanks again,
Ben

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Ben Chang | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From:	Blanc, Jarrett N </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BLANCJN>
Sent:	Wednesday, December 12, 2012 2:46 PM
To:	Feldman, Daniel F <FeldmanDF@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Daily Beast article

RELEASE IN PART
B6

This absurd idea is the "working assumption?" Maybe the guy misunderstood what Chief of Staff job folks are talking about?

> The working assumption among some well-connected members of Washington's foreign-policy community is that, in the end, Obama will nominate John Kerry, the easily confirmable chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for State; pick Rice to replace Tom Donilon as his National Security adviser, a post that doesn't require Senate confirmation; and move Donilon over to the State Department as Secretary Kerry's chief of staff—the same job he did for Clinton-era Secretary Warren Christopher.

From: Feldman, Daniel F
Sent: Wednesday, December 12, 2012 1:59 PM
To: Blanc, Jarrett N
Subject: FW: Daily Beast article

Pretty much what we've been saying all along…

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 12, 2012 12:55 PM
To: Dan Feldman [redacted] Feldman, Daniel F B6
Subject: Daily Beast article

Interesting all around…

http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/12/12/susan-rice-s-personality-disorder.html

Frank Lowenstein | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5212 (d) | [redacted] (c) | flowenstein@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From:	Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BOWMANJJ>
Sent:	Thursday, February 14, 2013 4:06 PM
To:	Rowe, Leslie V <RoweLV@state.gov>
Cc:	Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases
Attach:	13 01 02 Baylor College of Medicine memo re NTD opportunities for State Department OGHD.docx

Ambassador,
This was the notes/request from meeting with Dr. Hotez from the Sabin Institute.
Jason

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 5:13 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay ([redacted]; 'Butrum, Herbert Lee'; Ben Chang B6
Subject: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

Chris and Jason, thanks for taking the time to meet with us on December 11. We appreciated the opportunity to talk to you about ways that Baylor College of Medicine and Dr. Hotez can participate in and support the State Department's global health diplomacy.

I've attached the paper we promised, outlining opportunities for "vaccine diplomacy" in several countries/regions, including:

- Middle East
- Brazil
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Mexico
- Pakistan
- China
- Central Asia

Dr. Hotez will be back in DC on January 10. If you think we should follow up directly with any country desk officers, or anyone else for that matter, please advise. We'd appreciate any further thoughts on the attached as well.

Best regards,
Steve

Steve Northrup | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5223 (d) | [redacted](c) | SNorthrup@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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RELEASE IN FULL

Memo for State Department

The Opportunity for Medical and Vaccine Diplomacy

National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine

Overview

The Sabin Vaccine Institute is a non-profit product development partnership (PDP) of the National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine (Sabin-Baylor), which is developing the next generation of vaccines for neglected tropical diseases (NTDs) in low income countries, including hookworm infection, schistosomiasis, leishmaniasis, and Chagas disease, as well as SARS and selected arbovirus infections (Hotez 2011a). These target diseases are the most common infections in the world's poorest countries. Essentially, all of the "bottom billion" are affected by one or more NTDs, led by the diseases highlighted above.

NTDs have the unique ability to cause poverty and destabilize communities by interfering with child mental and physical development and agricultural worker productivity (Hotez et al, 2009). Indeed there is a unique relationship between endemic NTDs and conflict (Hotez and Thompson, 2009).

These diseases are particular public health problems in areas of strategic foreign policy interest, including the Middle East (Hotez et al 2012), Pakistan (Hotez 2012a), and many if not most of the nations of the Organization of the Islamic Congress (Hotez 2009). They are also highly endemic to the BRICS nations, especially Brazil (Hotez 2008), India (Lobo et al, 2011), China (Hotez, 2012b), and South Africa (Hotez, 2010a). Several of these NTDs are also highly prevalent among the poorest people in the United States (Hotez 2012c).

Sabin-Baylor is pioneering the concept of joint vaccine development with disease-endemic countries, including several nations with emerging market economies that have enormous geopolitical significance for the United States (Hotez, 2010b).

Opportunities for State Department Engagement

Outlined below are several opportunities to engage strategically important regions/nations for joint vaccine development and cooperation for NTD control.

(Currently these vaccine development activities are supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the NIAID, NIH, the Carlos Slim Health Institute and other sources.)

- **Middle East**. An estimated 65 million of the 400 million people of the Middle East live on less than $2 per day. Although NTDs are generally thought of as endemic to sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia, there is a significant but hidden burden of NTDs in the Middle East, especially leishmaniasis, arbovirus infections, brucellosis, toxocariasis, and pockets of schistosomiasis (Hotez et al, 2012a), as well as an emerging SARS threat. As noted above, some of these infections also occur among the poorest people in the southern parts of the U.S. (Hotez 2012c). There is an urgent need

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for vaccine development facilities in the Middle East and to develop and test vaccines that could be used during the Hajj (Hotez 2012a). Sabin-Baylor has explored opportunities to develop vaccines jointly in Saudi Arabia or Qatar and these discussions continue to progress but at a very slow rate. There is an opportunity for the State Department to intervene and accelerate the progress of these discussions, potentially with the Qatar Foundation and their educational city, or in Saudi Arabia with KAUST for King Faisal University, as well as their vaccine vialing facility, Arabio.

- **Brazil.** Almost one-half of the NTD disease burden in the Western Hemisphere occurs in Brazil, which has the largest number of cases of NTDs such as hookworm, schistosomiasis, leprosy, trachoma, and dengue in the Western Hemisphere (Hotez 2008). Sabin-Baylor is working jointly with Brazil's two public-sector vaccine development organizations – FIOCRUZ (federal ministry of health) and Instituto Butantan (Sao Paulo State) to develop vaccines for two NTDs – hookworm and schistosomaisis – which are endemic to Brazil and the remainder of Latin America. The hookworm vaccine is in phase 1 clinical trials in Brazil, while the schistosomiasis vaccine is expected to follow soon thereafter. In addition, it might be possible for the State Department to connect these programs with Brazilian President Rousseff's "Science without Borders" initiative at the post-doc/Ph.D. level.

- **Sub-Saharan Africa.** The NTD endemics to Brazil are also endemic to sub-Saharan Africa, so there is an additional vaccine diplomacy opportunity to facilitate product development there, especially in Portuguese-speaking Africa, i.e., Angola, Guinea Bissau, and Mozambique (Hotez 2011). These activities are currently supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

- **Mexico**. Sabin-Baylor is also pursuing NTD vaccines for two important diseases affecting both the U.S. and Mexico in North America -- Chagas disease and leishmaniasis (Hotez et al 2012b). These activities are being done in collaboration with a consortium of Mexican institutions including their institute of advanced studies (CINVESTAV) and their public-sector vaccine manufacturer (Birmex), as well as other Mexican universities including the Autonomous University of Yucatan. The U.S.-Mexican collaboration could be expanded to embrace the entire Latin American region, and possibly portions of the Middle East where leishmaniasis is endemic.

- **Pakistan**. More than 100 million people live in extreme poverty in Pakistan, and there is a significant NTD problem there resulting from hookworm and other intestinal helminth infections, leishmaniasis, and arbovirus infections. Despite its severe poverty, Pakistan has excellent scientific research institutes and universities, including the International Center for Chemical and Biological Sciences at the University of Karachi and the National Institute for Biotechnology & Genetic Engineering in Faisalabadi, both of which could become vaccine research hubs.

- **China**. NTDs are widespread in Southwest China, particularly in Guizhou, Sichuan, and Yunnan Provinces as well as Hainan in the South China Sea (Hotez 2012b). Both the U.S. and China share many historical aspects of their NTD problem, including high prevalence rates in each country for

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much of the 20th century, great strides in control and elimination efforts, but lingering and severe NTD problems in the southern U.S. and Southwest China, respectively (Hotez 2012b). This historical link and expertise affords new opportunities for the U.S. and China to work jointly to collaborate on NTD control projects for sub-Saharan Africa, where USAID is investing approximately $80 million annually for providing this region access to essential medicines for NTDs, and where China is investing billions of dollars (although nothing for NTDs to date). There are also enormous opportunities to collaborate on NTD vaccine development between U.S. and Chinese vaccine development institutions.

- **Central Asia**. New information indicates a substantial although mostly hidden burden of NTDs in Central Asia, especially leishmaniasis, vivax malaria, and selected arbovirus infections, as well as zoonotic helminthiases (Hotez and Alibek, 2011).

These examples illustrate some extraordinary opportunities for vaccine diplomacy, which could be pursued through the U.S. President's Science Envoy Program, although other suitable mechanisms could be developed and implemented. Ultimately these activities could accelerate an elimination strategy for the world's NTDs (Hotez 2011b), and help to achieve the "soft power" goals of the U.S. Department of State (Hotez 2010b; 2010c; Hotez 2011c).

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From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BOWMANJJ>
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2013 4:18 PM
To: Rowe, Leslie V <RoweLV@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

---

B5

From: Rowe, Leslie V
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2013 4:14 PM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Subject: RE: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

B5

From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2013 4:06 PM
To: Rowe, Leslie V
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M
Subject: FW: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

Ambassador,
This was the notes/request from meeting with Dr. Hotez from the Sabin Institute.
Jason

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 5:13 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay ; 'Butrum, Herbert Lee'; Ben Chang
Subject: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

B6

Chris and Jason, thanks for taking the time to meet with us on December 11. We appreciated the opportunity to talk to you about ways that Baylor College of Medicine and Dr. Hotez can participate in and support the State Department's global health diplomacy.

I've attached the paper we promised, outlining opportunities for "vaccine diplomacy" in several countries/regions, including:

- Middle East
- Brazil
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Mexico
- Pakistan
- China
- Central Asia

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Dr. Hotez will be back in DC on January 10. If you think we should follow up directly with any country desk officers, or anyone else for that matter, please advise. We'd appreciate any further thoughts on the attached as well.

Best regards,
Steve

Steve Northrup | Principal

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From: Seaholm, Rena M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SEAHOLMRM>
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2013 3:37 PM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Meeting request

[redacted] B5

From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2013 3:33 PM
To: Seaholm, Rena M
Subject: FW: Meeting request

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

[redacted] B5

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2013 3:14 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Ben Chang
Subject: Meeting request

Hi Jason and Chris, I was wondering if now that Dr. Goosby has been officially installed as head of OGHD, we might be able to continue the conversation we started in December around "vaccine diplomacy."

Dr. Hotez will be in Washington next Tuesday to deliver the 26th Annual Packard Lecture at the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences in Bethesda. If Dr. Goosby has a few moments on Wednesday (3/6) or Thursday (3/7) to meet with Dr. Hotez and myself, we would be grateful.

I plan to attend Dr. Goosby's town hall at the Kaiser Family Foundation on Thursday of this week, and look forward to hearing about his vision for the OGHD. I'm on the waitlist currently but hope to attend in person, or if not via the webcast.

Also, if you think there is merit to us meeting next week with any of the country-desk officers, we would welcome your thoughts and assistance with that.

I'm sure Dr. Goosby is inundated with requests, even more so now than usual, so thank you for your consideration of this one.

Best regards,
Steve

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2013 11:18 AM
To: Steve Northrup; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: hotez [redacted] Butrum, Herbert Lee; Ben Chang B6

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Subject: RE: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

Thanks, Steve. As the Office of Global Health Diplomacy gets on track, we will pick up the conversation again. This is very helpful.

Best,

Chris

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 5:13 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay [redacted]; 'Butrum, Herbert Lee'; Ben Chang B6
Subject: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

Chris and Jason, thanks for taking the time to meet with us on December 11. We appreciated the opportunity to talk to you about ways that Baylor College of Medicine and Dr. Hotez can participate in and support the State Department's global health diplomacy.

I've attached the paper we promised, outlining opportunities for "vaccine diplomacy" in several countries/regions, including:

- Middle East
- Brazil
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Mexico
- Pakistan
- China
- Central Asia

Dr. Hotez will be back in DC on January 10. If you think we should follow up directly with any country desk officers, or anyone else for that matter, please advise. We'd appreciate any further thoughts on the attached as well.

Best regards,
Steve

Steve Northrup | Principal

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From: Crocker, Bathsheba N </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=CROCKERBN>
Sent: Friday, April 5, 2013 6:05 PM
To: Raddatz, Samantha T <RaddatzST@state.gov>
Subject: Re: David McKean's office

[redacted] B5

From: Raddatz, Samantha T
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 05:58 PM
To: Crocker, Bathsheba N
Subject: FW: David McKean's office

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

[redacted] B5

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 4:48 PM
To: Raddatz, Samantha T
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Great! We are so glad you received it and hope that you will be able to find time on the April 9th to meet. Many thanks again

Sincerely,

Aj

From: Raddatz, Samantha T [mailto:RaddatzST@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 3:01 PM
To: Aranthan Jones
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Got it!!

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 2:31 PM
To: Raddatz, Samantha T
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

From: Aranthan Jones
Sent: Thursday, April 04, 2013 2:36 PM
To: 'McCrackenAB@state.gov'
Cc: 'raddatzst@state.gov'
Subject: FW: Checking-in and Livestrong Foundation CEO Meeting Request

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Greetings Drew,

I hope all is well and that you are having a productive week. My name is Aranthan "AJ" Jones II and I am a Principal at the Podesta Group. I was referred to you by my firm colleague Ben Chang.

I am reaching out to you in reference to a meeting request I submitted on behalf of my client the Livestrong Foundation. Doug Ulman, CEO of the Livestrong Foundation will be in DC on April 9th and would like to briefly meet with David McKean about the Foundation's global health and development investment/policy agenda in State Department focused countries.

Towards this end, would you know if Mr. McKean would be available to briefly meet (20mins) with us on April 9th anytime between 8am and 1pm? Please let us know and we thank you in advance for your consideration of this request.

I have included the original e-mail below for your background. Many thanks

Sincerely,

Aj

From: Aranthan Jones
Sent: Tuesday, March 26, 2013 10:18 AM
To: 'mckeand@state.gov'
Cc: 'raddatzst@state.gov'
Subject: Checking-in and Livestrong Foundation CEO Meeting Request

Greetings again David,

We hope all is well and that you are having a very productive week. I know it has been awhile since we last connected when you and I were both on the Hill but I wanted to reach out to you on behalf of the LIVESTRONG Foundation.

As you know, the LIVESTRONG Foundation is a leading nonprofit organization that provides support for people affected by cancer, and was founded in 1997. Doug Ulman, LIVESTRONG's President and Chief Executive Officer and David Lofye, LIVESTRONG's Vice President of Government Affairs will be in Washington, DC on April 9th and would like to update you on the Foundation's status and discuss their global health and development investment/policy agenda for 2013. Please let me know if you would have anytime on Tuesday, April 9th between 8am and 1pm to briefly meet (20mins. max) with them.

I have pasted additional information about Mr. Ulman and Mr. Lofye below. Many thanks in advance for your consideration of this request. If you have any questions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Aj

About LIVESTRONG:
LIVESTRONG Foundation Facts

- Has raised more than $500 million to support cancer survivors and served 2.5 million people affected by

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cancer

- Has invested 82 percent of each dollar raised directly in programs, initiatives and advocacy efforts that support people affected by cancer. (The industry average is 75 percent.)
- Is recognized as one of the most highly-rated cancer non-profit organizations in the U.S.
  - Better Business Bureau Wise Giving Alliance accredited charity seal holder
  - Completed National Health Council's Standards of Excellence Certification Program
  - Rated four out of four stars by Charity Navigator
  - A- -rated by American Institute of Philanthropy
  - Ranked as one of the top three cancer organizations by Philanthropedia.

About the LIVESTRONG Foundation

The LIVESTRONG Foundation provides free cancer support services to help people cope with the financial, emotional and practical challenges that accompany the disease. Created in 1997 by cancer survivor and philanthropist Lance Armstrong, the Foundation is known for its powerful brand -- LIVESTRONG -- and for its advocacy on behalf of survivors and their families. With its iconic yellow LIVESTRONG wristband, the Foundation has become a symbol of hope and inspiration around the world. Since its inception, the Foundation has served 2.5 million people affected by the disease and raised more than $500 million to support cancer survivors. One of America's top cancer non-profit organizations, the Foundation enjoys a four-star rating from Charity Navigator and has been recognized by the National Health Council and the Better Business Bureau for its excellent governance, high standards and transparency. For more information, visit LIVESTRONG.org.

Bios

Doug Ulman, President and Chief Executive Officer

In his role as President and Chief Executive Officer Doug is ultimately responsible for the strategic vision and direction of LIVESTRONG.

Doug Ulman is a three-time cancer survivor and nationally recognized cancer advocate. After overcoming chondrosarcoma and malignant melanoma twice during his sophomore year in college, Doug and his family founded the Ulman Cancer Fund for Young Adults, a non-profit organization to provide support, education, and resources to young adults, their families and friends who are affected by cancer. He served as Executive Director of the Ulman Cancer Fund for four years before joining LIVESTRONG as director of survivorship in 2001.

Doug has received numerous awards for his leadership and community service. In 2002, Doug was selected from more than 20,000 individuals to appear on more than 15 million boxes of Wheaties Energy Crunch as an American Everyday Hero. In 2003, Doug was selected as the Austin Under-40 award winner in the healthcare category. In 2005, Doug was honored by both the American Psychosocial Oncology Society and the Association of Oncology Social Workers. Most recently Doug was named to the Non-Profit Times Power and Influence Top 50 for 2009, an honor bestowed to the top 50 Non-profit executives. A frequent guest and contributor on national and local media programs, Doug has been featured on CNN, ABC News, NBC Nightly News, and in The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and The Washington Post among many other outlets. Doug also speaks frequently to corporations, civic organizations, schools and Universities covering topics including cancer, philanthropy, grassroots movements, social change, and social media.

Doug currently holds numerous civic and charitable board positions across the country and he just completed serving a four-year term as the Chairman of the National Cancer Institute Director's Consumer Liaison Group. He also sits on the executive board of the Ulman Cancer Fund for Young Adults, and is a founder of the LIVESTRONG Young Adult Alliance among many other board and advisory roles. Following his three cancer diagnoses, Doug returned to the soccer field and helped Brown University to three Ivy League Championships in four years.

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David Lofye, Vice President of Government Relations

In his role as Vice President, his is responsible for LIVESTRONG's federal and state governmental programmatic and policy outreach. Prior to joining LIVESTRONG in 2006 he served as Deputy Chief of Staff in the Office of U.S. Rep. Nick Lampson (D-TX) at U.S. House of Representatives and as a Professional Staff Member on the House Science Committee Subcommittee on Energy since 1998. He received a JD from The University of Texas School of Law and B.A. in Political Science from Indiana University Bloomington.

Aranthan Jones | Principal

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From: Raddatz, Samantha T [mailto:RaddatzST@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 2:29 PM
To: Aranthan Jones
Subject: David McKean's office

Test email

Samantha Raddatz
Special Assistant to the Director
Office of Policy Planning
RaddatzST@state.gov
Office: 202-647-2372
BB: [redacted] B6

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From:	Kausner, Gregory M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KAUSNER, GREGORY M01F>
Sent:	Wednesday, May 22, 2013 5:50 PM
To:	'Riley Moore' <riley.moore@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: Iraq IADS

yup

SBU
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From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 22, 2013 5:50 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: RE: Iraq IADS

Is now an okay time?

From: Kausner, Gregory M [mailto:KausnerGM@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, May 22, 2013 5:46 PM
To: Riley Moore
Subject: RE: Iraq IADS

Give me a ring. [redacted] B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 22, 2013 1:15 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: Iraq IADS

Greg,

Congratulations again on the new position. Very excited for you.

I emailing you because I'm in a position where I think my efforts toward shaking lose IADS could be mutually beneficial.

At Podesta my clients are Lockheed and the Government of Iraq. You can imagine I have a lot of pressure to help get this through. I'm having another call with Lockheed on Friday and one with Iraq tomorrow.

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Would you be able to talk briefly on this?

I want to talk about key points of engagement I have identified that I think could be beneficial, but I also don't want to be redundant in my efforts, or worse, inadvertently throw a wrench in your efforts.

Thanks, Greg.

Riley Moore | Senior Associate

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5217 (d) | [redacted] (c) | riley.moore@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From:	Kausner, Gregory M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KAUSNER, GREGORY M01F>
Sent:	Thursday, January 9, 2014 4:36 PM
To:	Riley Moore <riley.moore@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: Menendez MEK Letter

Happy New Year! Thanks.

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2014 3:34 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: Menendez MEK Letter

RELEASE IN PART B6

Greg,

I hope this email finds you well. We haven't spoken in a while.

The attached letter was sent to Menendez, Corker, Royce, and Engel today. The Embassy sent it over to State earlier. I think it went to Brett McGurk as well.

I hope all is well and Happy New Year!

Riley Moore | Senior Associate

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5217 (d) | [redacted] (c) | riley.moore@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Sewall, Sarah </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SEWALLS>
Sent: Monday, March 31, 2014 2:40 PM
To: Loyet, Cynthia J <LoyetCJ@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Reaching out to Sarah Sewall

Don't really remember him just fyi

All Best,
Sarah

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Under Secretary for Civilian Security,
Democracy, and Human Rights (J)
202-647-1189

From: Loyet, Cynthia J
Sent: Monday, March 31, 2014 02:11 PM
To: Sewall, Sarah
Subject: FW: Reaching out to Sarah Sewall

Please see the note below from Claudio Lilienfeld. Cheers, Cindy

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, March 31, 2014 1:38 PM
To: Loyet, Cynthia J
Subject: Reaching out to Sarah Sewall

Dear Cindy, thank you for forwarding the note below to Sarah.

Regards, Claudio

Dear Sarah,

I know it has been ages, but I haven't forgotten my enjoyable days working with you in the Pentagon. I believe we may have had some contact after that, but the last time was a long time ago.

Congratulations to you for all that you have done in the interim, and particularly for your current position.

I have been holding off for some time to reach out to you, as you have a lot on your plate and likely a lot of people approaching you. But, I at last decided to reach out.

I have bounced around a bit since we last crossed paths. I left the humanitarian affairs office and found myself becoming a South Asia hand handling the new India relationship and the post 9/11 Af/Pak world beginning in 1999 (through 2006 in OSD and then 2006-2010 at USTR – a fascinating and edifying jump from defense to trade policy). I then spent 18 months handling the India/South Asia practice at McLarty Associates, left to go work for a client (Google – covering Asia policy, writ large) and then left Google and joined the Podesta Group last summer (focusing significantly on India, but also on defense and trade issues).

My son is a freshman in college – and I have a feeling your kids are nearing that point, too. Lastly, my tenure

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working with you left one particularly indelible impression and that was when you and Wendy Chamberlin conspired to have me travel to Laos (and the rest of the region). I have had the pleasure of frequently crossing paths with Wendy over the years – including during her stint in Pakistan.

I would love to get together to catch up with you one of these days if your schedule allows.

Warm regards,
Claudio

Claudio Lilienfeld | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9343 (d) | [redacted] (c) | clilienfeld@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Goodman, Jared E </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=GOODMANJE>
Sent:	Wednesday, August 13, 2014 8:37 AM
To:	Renard, Emily E <RenardEE@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: South Sudan Press Release

Thanks. Much appreciated.

From: Renard, Emily E
Sent: Tuesday, August 12, 2014 5:48 PM
To: Goodman, Jared E
Subject: FW: South Sudan Press Release

Jared,

RELEASE IN PART B6

Thanks again for your time today. Here's the statement that I mentioned.

Best,
Emily

Emily Renard
Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL/AF)
Email: renardee@state.gov
Phone: +1 (202) 261-8024
www.HumanRights.gov

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Huaracayo, Jessica M
Sent: Thursday, August 07, 2014 1:57 PM
To: Booth, Donald E (Ambassador); S-USSESSS-Neg; 'Allison_K_Lombardo [redacted]'; Renard, Emily E; Thomas-Jensen, Colin B6
Subject: Fw: South Sudan Press Release

In case you didn't get this.

Jessie Huaracayo
Senior South Sudan Desk Officer

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 07, 2014 01:52 PM Eastern Standard Time
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Subject: South Sudan Press Release

Greetings, and apologies for the group email. We represent the Government of South Sudan. Below and

attached is a statement from President Salva Kiir about the support his government received for its peace efforts during this week's Africa summit hosted by President Obama. Please contact me if you have any questions. Best, Dave

President Salva Kiir Praises US and African Support to Bring Peace to South Sudan

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
August 7, 2014

WASHINGTON – President Salva Kiir of the Republic of South Sudan today thanked US Secretary of State John Kerry and leaders of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) for their tireless efforts to bring peace and stability to South Sudan.

"I am very gratified for the leadership and support of Secretary Kerry and our good neighbors in the IGAD, who all made it very clear that signed agreements must be respected," President Kiir said. "Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn of Ethiopia stated that, 'The region has come a long way in sorting out the problem, and to solve this problem will stand together. And in this regard, we have come to the end now. The violation of ceasefire has taken place by Riek Machar.'"

Prior to his meeting with Secretary Kerry, President Kiir stated, "If peace was to be brought to South Sudan today or tomorrow, I will be happy because the people who are dying on both sides are my people. I am an elected president, and the people who elected me were not from my tribe alone. I was elected by 93% of the registered voters in 2010."

Secretary Kerry at the same meeting said: "I just want the record to be clear that it is our judgment – and the former Vice President Mr. Machar needs to understand this – that he has broken – it was his initiative that broke the agreement and took his troops back into a violent status. And he needs to understand the importance of living by the agreements."

"We have said before and I reiterate now that the president is the duly elected, constitutional president of South Sudan, and this is a rebel group," Secretary Kerry said.

President Kiir said that he is looking forward to a scheduled visit of the UN Security Council to South Sudan next week, saying the group could play an invaluable role in restoring peace and helping to solve the country's on-going humanitarian crisis.

In recognition of continued US support, President Kiir stated "the US has helped us to address the challenges that are the legacy of a century of colonial rule, decades of domination by the North, and 22 years of ruinous civil war. Having done so much over the years, the US is understandably concerned that one of its greatest achievements in Africa may be coming apart. Many Americans are asking how to help South Sudan not only to make peace but also to make progress. My answer: work with us to overcome these challenges."

"The Podesta Group provides representation to the government of the Republic of South Sudan. Additional information is on

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file at the US Department of Justice."

David Adams | Principal
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9325 (d) | [redacted] (c) | dadams@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

B6

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From: Mull, Stephen D </o=SBUState/ou=VCIISNPM AG/cn=Recipients/cn=MullSD>
Sent: Tuesday, October 7, 2014 5:10 AM
To: Hart, Patricia A <HartPA2@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Coming to Warsaw

Really more ODC, who's seeing them already.

RELEASE IN PART B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Hart, Patricia A
Sent: Tuesday, October 07, 2014 10:57
To: Mull, Stephen D
Subject: FW: Coming to Warsaw

Mr. Amb. - Shouldn't they work with FCS/Bill if the Textron people want a meeting?

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 07, 2014 10:55 AM
To: Mull, Stephen D
Cc: Barlow, Warren P; Warsaw Front Office
Subject: Re: Coming to Warsaw

You're correct about my request. I haven't yet discussed this with the Textron folks (in fact, I don't even meet up with them here until this afternoon), so I was just asking in case they tell me they would like to see you too. Let's you and I meet tomorrow as planned, and if they tell me they also want to see you, I'll tell them to make a request along the lines you suggest. I look forward to meeting with you tomorrow.

Steve

On Oct 7, 2014, at 10:40 AM, "Mull, Stephen D" <MullSD@state.gov> wrote:

Steve, I'd understood your request was to meet with you. If you're requesting instead that I meet with the Textron group, please have them make a request with names, positions, interests etc. and we'll take a look.

The meeting would be at the Embassy, 29/31 al. Ujazdowskie in Warsaw.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 07, 2014 10:26
To: Mull, Stephen D
Cc: Hart, Patricia A
Subject: Re: Coming to Warsaw

Yes, that time is good for me. Should I plan to meet you at the embassy? Also, I'm sure the folks I'm traveling with from Textron would like to meet you as well. If they join me it will probably be a different meeting than if I come alone (more focused on Textron than broader issues). I'm happy to do it either way. Do you have A preference?

Steve

On Oct 7, 2014, at 8:39 AM, "Mull, Stephen D" <MullSD@state.gov> wrote:

Hi Steve, would 1630 Wednesday 8 Oct work?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 07, 2014 06:22
To: Mull, Stephen D
Subject: Re: Coming to Warsaw

Steve--

I'm arriving in Warsaw later this morning, and joining later today a meeting Textron has set with your ODC folks. Are you around over the next three days to get together? Besides ODC today and Textron's briefing to the MoD tomorrow, the only other entry on my schedule right now is dinner with Radek tomorrow evening, so I can be pretty flexible with regard to timing. I hope we are able to reconnect while I'm in town.

Steve

From: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Date: Wednesday, October 1, 2014 6:18 PM
To: "mullsd@state.gov" <mullsd@state.gov>
Subject: Coming to Warsaw

Dear Steve,

Please accept my very belated congratulations on your appointment to Warsaw; really a much better place to land than ISN ever would have been.

I used to be a regular visitor to Warsaw back when I was the first (and still only, so far as I know) Washington lobbyist for Poland. But it now turns out that I have two trips there next month.

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The first is next week, when I will accompany a team from Textron that is coming to brief MoD experts on Textron's Sensor Fuzed Weapon (SFW), an air-delivered anti-armor area weapon originally designed to help hold the Fulda Gap in the event of World War III. The SFW went out of fashion for a while, but its virtues have recently been rediscovered, both by the US Air Force and by some of our NATO allies. Working with some of my Polish contacts I helped arrange the briefing for Textron, so they asked me to sit in on it. We will be meeting with the ODC next Tuesday afternoon in preparation for the briefing, and will actually present it to the MoD on Wednesday. If you are going to be around next week, I would welcome a chance to drop by to see you. I'll be in Warsaw next Tuesday through Thursday.

My second visit to Warsaw will be Oct. 25-27. I'm coming for the opening of the new Jewish Museum that weekend. This is an important occasion in our family [redacted] B6
[redacted]. If we cannot meet next week it might be possible to meet during my second visit, though I will be more constrained due to family obligations.

In any event, I hope we can get together in the near future.

Best wishes,

Steve

Stephen Rademaker |Principal
Podesta Group| 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.448.5238 (d[redacted](c)|srademaker@podestagroup.com |www.podestagroup.com B6

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From: Blackmon, Opal F <BlackmonOF2@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, February 9, 2015 1:24 PM
To: SES-CR_Correspondence <SES-CR_Correspondence@state.gov>
Cc: SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL <SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative
Attach: TAPI letter to Sec. Kerry re Sri Lanka FM visit.pdf

Correspondence,

Forwarding for your action!

RELEASE IN PART B6

Thank you, Opal

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Trejo, Maria
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2015 12:39 PM
To: SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Packer, Adam D
Cc: SCA-NSB-only
Subject: FW: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative

Please advise if SCA will transmit this letter to S correspondence. Thank you.

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2015 11:56 AM
To: Millar, McKenzie; Jackson, Rose A; Shane, Lynnea L; Trejo, Maria; DeWine, LeighAnne
Cc: Biswal, Nisha; Malinowski, Tom P
Subject: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative

Dear All:

Attached please find a letter from the Tamil American Peace Initiative's Executive Director addressed to Secretary Kerry concerning the visit of Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister Mangala Samaraweera this week.

Thank you for transmitting the letter to the Secretary.

Best Regards,

Jessica

PG
JESSICA LAWRENCE-VACA VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5216 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

TAMIL AMERICAN
PEACE INITIATIVE

www.TamilAmerican.org
info@tamilamerican.org • 202.595.3123
P.O. Box 33936 Washington, DC 20033-3936

The Honorable John F. Kerry
Secretary of State
US Department of State
2201 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20520

RELEASE IN FULL

Dear Secretary Kerry,

Re: Visit of Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Samaraweera

I write on behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative (TAPI), an American Tamil advocacy group working for peace and reconciliation in Sri Lanka. TAPI welcomes US initiatives to strengthen the US-Sri Lankan relationship. We look to your upcoming meeting with Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Mr. Mangala Samaraweera as an opportunity to assist Sri Lanka as it evolves into an inclusive democracy in which Tamils and members of all religions and ethnicities can feel safe and contribute as equal citizens with guarantees of individual and collective rights and freedom.

Tamils significantly contributed to the positive change in the recent election and now look forward to a country where they are allowed to rebuild their lives with dignity. While the new government in transition has fostered hope, there are still critical matters that we hope you will consider raising with Minister Samaraweera. We have concerns regarding the ongoing, nearly year-long detention of Jeyakumari Balendran, and others like her, to whom charges still have not been brought. In case you're not aware, Balendran is an advocate and activist for mothers whose children disappeared, to include her son, We are still looking for incremental steps towards the demilitarization of the North and East, which are further delayed as President Sirisena renewed military deployment orders on February 5 (1). And, finally, we would ask that you raise the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which is a crucial step towards a more free press. These are some of our major concerns.

While Tamils are aware of the political realities in Sri Lanka, they are also mindful of Sri Lanka's unfortunate history of repeated failure to make good on promises made to Tamils, as well as Hindus, Christians, Muslims and other minorities, for equality and justice. Tamils thus look to the US and the international community to ensure their safety, equality and dignity so that Sri Lanka can move forward and fully recover from its troubled and bloody past.

TAPI is deeply grateful for the US government's persistence in working toward achieving accountability for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by both sides in the final months of the war in Sri Lanka. The need for accountability is deeply felt by the Tamils and is essential for healing and reconciliation. To quote his Holiness Pope Francis, "the process of healing needs the pursuit of truth, not for the sake of opening old wounds but rather as a necessary means of promoting justice, healing and unity." Similarly, we hope you would impress on Minister Samaraweera the need to cooperate with the ongoing United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights Investigation on Sri Lanka (OISL) process.

We are concerned with reports on possible delay in releasing the OISL report, which is due in March, and we respectfully request that the report be released as per the mandate of the United

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Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) Resolution that was sponsored by the US Government last year. The OISL investigation may be the last hope for truth and justice; any changes made in the original plan for the sake of political expediency will be devastating to the Tamils and other marginalized populations in Sri Lanka and their faith in the international system of justice. We strongly urge our government to continue with its efforts in the UNHRC without any changes.

We thank you for all your efforts to create a better Sri Lanka and foster a peaceful, prosperous society.

Sincerely Yours,



K.Arulanantham, MD
Executive Director
Karulmd1@gmail.com

1) http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-2940733/New-Sri-Lanka-president-renews-troop-deployment-orders.html

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From:	Garcia, Indira G </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=GARCIAIG> on behalf of Records Unit Mailbox </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=RECORDSUNITMAILBOX>
Sent:	Monday, February 9, 2015 1:38 PM
To:	Blackmon, Opal F <BlackmonOF2@state.gov>
Cc:	Records Unit Mailbox <RecordsUnitMailbox@state.gov>; SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL <SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative

CR will print for appropriate handling.

Thanks
Indira

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Blackmon, Opal F
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2015 1:24 PM
To: SES-CR_Correspondence
Cc: SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL
Subject: FW: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative

Correspondence,

Forwarding for your action!

Thank you, Opal

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Trejo, Maria
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2015 12:39 PM
To: SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Packer, Adam D
Cc: SCA-NSB-only
Subject: FW: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative

Please advise if SCA will transmit this letter to S correspondence. Thank you.

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2015 11:56 AM
To: Millar, McKenzie; Jackson, Rose A; Shane, Lynnea L; Trejo, Maria; DeWine, LeighAnne
Cc: Biswal, Nisha; Malinowski, Tom P
Subject: Sri Lanka FM Mtg - Letter to Sec. Kerry on Behalf of the Tamil American Peace Initiative

Dear All:

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Attached please find a letter from the Tamil American Peace Initiative's Executive Director addressed to Secretary Kerry concerning the visit of Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister Mangala Samaraweera this week.

Thank you for transmitting the letter to the Secretary.

Best Regards,

Jessica

JESSICA LAWRENCE-VACA VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5216 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Sherman, Wendy R <ShermanWR@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, February 27, 2015 3:08 PM
To: 'David Adams' <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Good speech this morning

Thanks Dave. SO thoughtful of you to write. Hope all is well with you!

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, February 27, 2015 12:10 PM
To: Sherman, Wendy R
Subject: Good speech this morning

Hope you are well. Good luck on Iran. Best, Dave

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DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Loosli, Phillip L <LoosliPL@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, April 26, 2015 2:13 PM
To: Carouso, James A <CarousoJA@state.gov>; Zafar, Shaarik H <ZafarSH@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Introduction

Andrew was a much more interesting meeting than I was expecting.

Let me know if E says anything interesting.

Phill Loosli
U.S. Department of State
Brunei and Singapore Desk Officer
LoosliPL@state.gov
202-320-6630

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Carouso, James A
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 12:31
To: Zafar, Shaarik H; Loosli, Phillip L
Cc: Sheikh, Albar A
Subject: RE: Introduction

B5

From: Zafar, Shaarik H
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 12:29 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Loosli, Phillip L
Cc: Sheikh, Albar A
Subject: RE: Introduction

Take a look at the revised slide for E please

From: Carouso, James A
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 10:59 AM
To: Loosli, Phillip L; Zafar, Shaarik H
Subject: RE: Introduction

My last day in Scot's office. How about we meet there?

From: Loosli, Phillip L
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 10:58 AM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H
Subject: RE: Introduction

I can escort Andrew in. Where shall we meet?

Shaarik: are you planning on joining for this? I can't join you for your E briefing, but Jim might.

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This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Carouso, James A
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 2015 3:43 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Thanks.

From: Andrew Kauders [mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 2015 3:34 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Sure thing.

From: Carouso, James A [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:CarousoJA@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 2015 3:31 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Can you make it 3:15 instead, Andrew? Sorry.
Jim

From: Andrew Kauders [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:22 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Sounds good. Thanks, Jim.

From: Carouso, James A [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:CarousoJA@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:20 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Great, Andrew. We will pick you up at the C Street entrance.

From: Andrew Kauders [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:13 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Jim:

That should work. A little earlier might be better, but I can make 3:30 p.m. work.

Thanks,

Andrew

From: Carouso, James A [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:CarousoJA@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:03 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Andrew;

Any chance Shaarik, Phill and I could meet you here at State 3:30 this Friday?

Best,
Jim

James Carouso
Director
Office of Maritime Southeast Asia Affairs
U.S. Department of State
CarousoJA@state.gov
202-647-2143
Follow us on Twitter @USAsiaPacific:



From: Andrew Kauders [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 3:39 PM
To: Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L; Carouso, James A
Subject: RE: Introduction

Thanks, Shaarik:

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Hope you're doing well.

Would be happy to meet prior to your trip. Just emailed both Phill and Jim as well, following an email intro by Claudio.

Best,

Andrew

From: Zafar, Shaarik H [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:ZafarSH@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 3:25 PM
To: Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Andrew Kauders; Loosli, Phillip L; Carouso, James A
Subject: RE: Introduction

Dear Claudio,

It was great seeing you earlier this week. I actually met Andrew a couple of years ago, when I was leaving the National Security Council. Andrew, it would be great to touch base again and specifically with respect to Brunei. I am including Phil Loosli from our Singapore/Brunei desk and Jim Carouso who is the Office Director for East Asia Maritime States.

I'm headed to Jakarta on Saturday, but can make time to meet before then if that is doable.

Warmly,

Shaarik

Shaarik H. Zafar (Shah-Rik 'Zuh-Fer)
Special Representative to Muslim Communities
U.S. Department of State
HST 7325
ZafarSH@state.gov
(202) 736-7883

Hear my name

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?

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url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:clilienfeld@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 3:02 PM
To: Zafar, Shaarik H
Cc: Andrew Kauders
Subject: Introduction

Dear Shaarik,

Thank you so much for the conversation on Monday afternoon. Great to catch up with you and Phil and to meet the others who you gathered.

As we discussed, I will be departing the Podesta Group as of May 1 and I am hereby introducing you to my close colleague Andrew Kauders who is Podesta Group's lead for our Dorchester Collection client – and all that implies in terms of interest in Brunei and US-Brunei relations. Prior to his arrival at the Podesta Group, Andrew spent many years on the Hill, among other things as Senior Advisor to Senator Robert Menendez.

I hope you and Andrew can connect soon.

Warm regards,
Claudio

CLAUDIO LILIENFELD PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9343 / C [redacted] / W http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Bassin, Ari S <BassinAS@state.gov>
Sent:	Thursday, April 30, 2015 4:26 PM
To:	Rapp, Stephen J <RappSJ@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: Letter to Sec. Kerry from USTPAC in advance of trip to Sri Lanka
Attach:	150430 USTPAC Letter to Secretary of State Kerry.pdf

FYI

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 30, 2015 2:14 PM
To: Biswal, Nisha; Malinowski, Tom P
Cc: Millar, McKenzie; Jackson, Rose A; Shane, Lynnea L; Trejo, Maria; DeWine, LeighAnne; Bassin, Ari S; Taylor, Leslie B; Collins, Elizabeth M
Subject: Letter to Sec. Kerry from USTPAC in advance of trip to Sri Lanka

Dear Assistant Secretary Biswal and Assistant Secretary Malinowski:

Attached please find a letter from the US Tamil Political Action Council President Dr. Karunyan Arulanantham addressed to Secretary Kerry concerning his upcoming visit to Sri Lanka this week.

Thank you, in advance, for your assistance in transmitting this letter to the Secretary, as well as considering its concerns and recommendations. We also thank you for your continued support and commitment to a peaceful and prosperous Sri Lanka.

Best Regards,

Jessica

PG
JESSICA LAWRENCE-VACA VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5216 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

US TPAC

US Tamil Political Action Council • PO Box 35536 • Washington, DC 20033 • 202.595.3123 • info@ustpac.org • www.ustpac.org

April 30, 2015

The Honorable John F. Kerry
Secretary of State
US Department of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, DC, 20520

RELEASE IN FULL

Dear Mr. Secretary,

On the eve of your landmark visit to Sri Lanka, the US Tamil Political Action Council (USTPAC) is pleased at the possibility for change that the new government potentially represents and respectfully urges you to champion the needs of victims by ensuring that US policy encourages the government of Sri Lanka to match its conciliatory words with substantive action.

In May 2009, President Obama called on the Sri Lankan government to "stop the indiscriminate shelling" of innocent civilians. This shelling marked the climax of a brutal war between the government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Caught in the middle of this violence were tens of thousands of innocent Tamil civilians who were killed, maimed, disappeared, or displaced. As the guns fell silent, the government of Sri Lanka celebrated victory with unparalleled triumphalism. However, for the Tamil population, the conflict was far from over. During the post-war period the government militarized life in the North and East. Military and security forces inserted themselves into the personal space of Tamil citizens and important aspects of their economy, while instituting an atmosphere of fear and intimidation and perpetrating widespread and systematic human rights violations.

In March 2014, after the repeated failure by the previous regime to instigate an inquiry into the well-documented, serious and widespread violations of international human rights and humanitarian law, the international community established the OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka (OISL) to investigate war crimes committed by both sides. The OISL is due to report its findings to the Human Rights Council in September. American leadership in establishing the OISL was crucial and we thank you and your officials for the sustained and systematic diplomatic efforts to bring this about. Indeed, since the cessation of hostilities in 2009, the United States has served as a staunch and irreplaceable ally for all victims of the war.

We welcomed the election of President Sirisena who has initiated a new chapter in the country. He has pledged a series of democratic reforms and made overtures to address Tamil grievances. The appointment of civilian governors to the North and East Provincial Councils, and the release of some military-held land back to civilians are noteworthy. The passage of the 19th Amendment this week was another step in the right direction. While these reforms are encouraging, very little has been substantively achieved on key issues affecting the Tamils: accountability; demilitarization; internally displaced persons; resettlement; reconstruction; sexual violence; and missing persons.

In your meetings, we ask you to impress upon Sri Lankan leaders and officials that these matters must be addressed in a comprehensive manner, in consultation with victims, and in cooperation with all affected communities. For example, in accord with standard practices, victims and affected communities must be at the center of the design and decision-making process for accountability mechanisms. There has, to date, been no action from the government to address those requirements. Tremendous distrust characterizes the relationship between the Tamil community and the Sri Lankan government. To ensure the credibility of any inquiry, continued international

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involvement is essential. Simply put, there has been little, and in some cases, no progress on the matters that are at the heart of Tamil concerns. We strongly urge you to communicate to the government of Sri Lanka that not until there has been substantial and permanent progress on these key matters will the United States step back from supporting the continuing need for the international community, at the Human Rights Council and elsewhere, to maintain the process initiated in 2011.

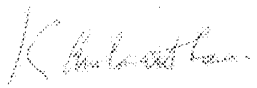
There is a very high expectation from Tamil victims that you will visit and console them. Even if your schedule will not include a visit to the conflict area, we request that you meet with TNA leaders, Northern Provincial Council Chief Minister Wigneswaran, Tamil civil society led by Bishop Rayappu Joseph, and victims' representatives. Meetings with these representatives will ensure full understanding of the Tamil community's grievances and aspirations.

The "civil war" was not a singular instance. It was a heinous manifestation of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict. While truth-telling is desperately needed for victims, that will not alone guarantee Sri Lanka's peace. Sri Lanka needs a full transitional justice process, including mechanisms on accountability, justice, reparation, reconciliation and guarantees for non-recurrence. Crucially, there must be a negotiated political settlement to address the underlying causes of the conflict and root out the culture of impunity that currently exists in Sri Lanka. We respectfully ask that you take this opportunity to make a public commitment to these objectives and offer to assist Sri Lanka in finding a just political solution. Only when the conditions for inclusive democracy are met will Sri Lanka truly be on the path towards meaningful reconciliation.

We conclude with a plea. Six years after the conflict, the whereabouts and fate of thousands of loved ones are still unknown. There are heavy expectations by victims that the government of Sri Lanka will provide information that the government and military have about their loved ones. Our plea to you is to urge the new government to act on this issue without any more delay. Victims look to the international community and particularly to the US to ensure that the new administration does so. As the highest US official to visit Sri Lanka, we urge you to illustrate America's continued commitment to victims to ensure a just and durable peace that can ensure stability and prosperity for all citizens.

We stand ready to support you in this endeavor.

Sincerely,



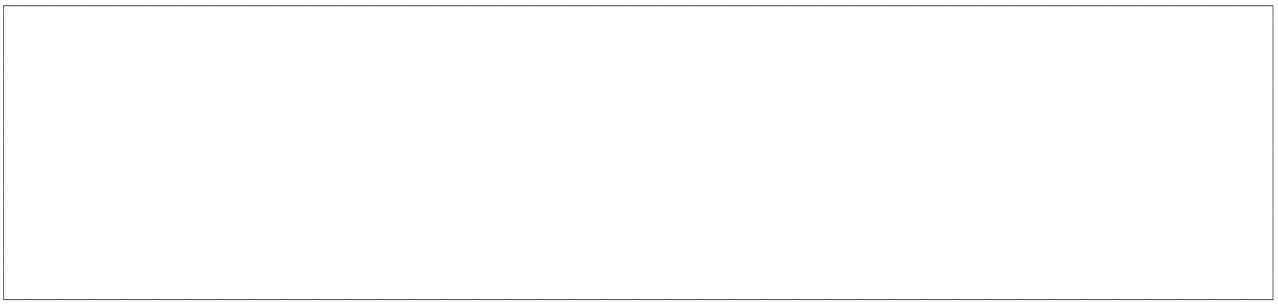
Dr. Karunyan Arulanantham
President
Karulmd1@gmail.com
www.ustpac.org

CC:
The Honorable Nisha Biswal, Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia Affairs
The Honorable Tom Malinowski, Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor
The Honorable Stephen Rapp, Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Nuland, Victoria J <nulandvj@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 7, 2015 11:01 AM
To: Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>; Malinowski, Tom P <MalinowskiTP@state.gov>
Cc: Truesdale, Joseph R., IV <TruesdaleJR@state.gov>; Rosenberger, Laura M <RosenbergerLM@state.gov>; Rubin, Eric S <RubinES@state.gov>; Jones, Paul W <JonesPW2@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Azerbaijan

Tony, happy to give you a full brief on this in person or writing.



B5

t

From: Blinken, Antony J
Sent: Thursday, May 07, 2015 10:31 AM
To: Malinowski, Tom P; Nuland, Victoria J
Cc: Truesdale, Joseph R., IV; Rosenberger, Laura M
Subject: FW: Azerbaijan

RELEASE IN PART B5

Any message you would like me to pass back?

From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 07, 2015 8:09 AM
To: Blinken, Antony J
Subject: Azerbaijan

Dear Tony,

Hope you are well. We represent Azerbaijan.

As you know the country is an important partner of the United States on counterterrorism cooperation. Azerbaijan provides critically important support to our mission in Afghanistan. The government allows U.S. military overflights of its territory to Afghanistan and permits non-lethal supplies to transit through the country to resupply coalition forces in Afghanistan.

As you also know, Azerbaijan has human rights challenges. The State Department has raised human rights issues both privately with Azerbaijan government officials and publicly in Department press briefings. Though well intended, this current approach on human rights isn't producing the results that we all want. The Azerbaijan government's response to such pressure is to hunker down, become even more inflexible, and ascribe sinister political motives to the US actions. As a result, the bilateral relationship is in a downward spiral which could

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eventually spill over into other areas of cooperation that are vitally important to the US.

Rather than continuing to pursue a policy that the Azeris perceive as fundamentally about pressuring them, I urge you to consider a different approach. Why not try engaging President of Azerbaijan at a very senior level without preconditions? The best person to do this would be the Vice President. You could use the engagement to reassure the government that the US is committed to a partnership with Azerbaijan and values the relationship. Such engagement could also include a discussion of human rights, with the clear implication that high level engagement will continue if their human rights performance improves, and it will end if it doesn't. I believe this strategy could yield a positive outcome.

I very much appreciate you consideration of my views and would like to hear your thoughts.

I would be more than happy to discuss this by phone as well.

Thanks,

Mark

PG
MARK TAVLARIDES PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5239 / C / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Malinowski, Tom P <MalinowskiTP@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 7, 2015 11:37 AM
To: Nuland, Victoria J <nulandvj@state.gov>; Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>
Cc: Truesdale, Joseph R., IV <TruesdaleJR@state.gov>; Rosenberger, Laura M <RosenbergerLM@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Azerbaijan

Toria, [redacted] B5

[redacted]

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Nuland, Victoria J
Sent: Thursday, May 7, 2015 11:01 PM
To: Malinowski, Tom P; Blinken, Antony J
Cc: Truesdale, Joseph R., IV; Rosenberger, Laura M
Subject: RE: Azerbaijan

RELEASE IN PART B5

[redacted]

From: Malinowski, Tom P
Sent: Thursday, May 07, 2015 10:59 AM
To: Blinken, Antony J; Nuland, Victoria J
Cc: Truesdale, Joseph R., IV; Rosenberger, Laura M
Subject: Re: Azerbaijan

[redacted]

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Blinken, Antony J
Sent: Thursday, May 7, 2015 10:30 PM
To: Malinowski, Tom P; Nuland, Victoria J
Cc: Truesdale, Joseph R., IV; Rosenberger, Laura M
Subject: FW: Azerbaijan

Any message you would like me to pass back?

From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Sent: Thursday, May 07, 2015 8:09 AM
To: Blinken, Antony J
Subject: Azerbaijan

Dear Tony,

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I very much appreciate you consideration of my views and would like to hear your thoughts.

I would be more than happy to discuss this by phone as well.

Thanks,

Mark

PG
MARK TAVLARIDES PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5239 / C / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Jost, Aaron W <JostAW@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 4:49 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M <KausnerGM@state.gov>; Handelman, Kenneth B <HandelmanKB@state.gov>
Cc: Miller, Michael F <Millermf@state.gov>; Dearth, Anthony M <DearthAM@state.gov>; Marsh, Eric D <MarshED@state.gov>; Hardeman, Kate M <HardemanKM@state.gov>; Baker, Katherine M <BakerKM@state.gov>; Morimoto, Sho J <MorimotoSJ@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Follow-up conversation
Attach: pr.2015.5.31.Cluster Munitions Harm Civilians.doc

All- [redacted] B5

[redacted]

Regards,
Aaron

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Marsh, Eric D
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 4:15 PM
To: Jost, Aaron W
Subject: RE: Follow-up conversation

[redacted] B5

Eric

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Jost, Aaron W

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 3:42 PM
To: Marsh, Eric D
Subject: RE: Follow-up conversation

Regards,
Aaron

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Jost, Aaron W
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 3:42 PM
To: Marsh, Eric D
Subject: FW: Follow-up conversation

Regards,
Aaron

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Dearth, Anthony M
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 3:20 PM
To: Handelman, Kenneth B; Kausner, Gregory M
Cc: Miller, Michael F; Jost, Aaron W
Subject: FW: Follow-up conversation

V/R, Tony

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 28, 2015 2:13 PM
To: Dearth, Anthony M
Subject: RE: Follow-up conversation

Tony,

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Following-up on the below. You may not be in the office this week. Is there any news on the case being noticed to the hill for tiered review?

Thanks,

Riley

From: Riley Moore
Sent: Wednesday, May 27, 2015 2:44 PM
To: 'Dearth, Anthony M'
Subject: Follow-up conversation

Tony,

I wanted to follow-up with you by phone today if possible from last week. If you are booked up do you have any time later in the week?

PG **RILEY MOORE VICE PRESIDENT**
O 202.448.5217 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

For Immediate Release

Yemen: Cluster Munitions Harm Civilians

RELEASE IN FULL

Documented Use of 3 Varieties

(Sanaa, May 31, 2015) – Banned cluster munitions have wounded civilians including a child in attacks in Houthi-controlled territory in northern Yemen, Human Rights Watch said today. Human Rights Watch visited the Saada governorate in northern Yemen, including one of the sites that had been attacked, on May 15 and 16, 2015.

"The Saudi-led coalition and other warring parties in Yemen need to recognize that using banned cluster munitions is very likely to harm civilians," said Ole Solvang, senior emergencies researcher at Human Rights Watch. "These weapons can't distinguish military targets from civilians, and their unexploded submunitions threaten civilians, especially children, even long after the fighting."

In one attack, which wounded three people, at least two of them most likely civilians, the cluster munitions were air-dropped, pointing to the Saudi-led coalition as responsible because it is the only party using aircraft. In a second attack, which wounded four civilians, including a child, Human Rights Watch was not been able to conclusively determine responsibility because the cluster munitions were ground-fired, but the attack was on an area that has been under attack by the Saudi-led coalition.

In these and other documented cluster munition attacks, Human Rights Watch has identified the use of three types of cluster munitions in Yemen.

The 10-member coalition and other parties to the Yemeni conflict should make a public commitment never to use cluster munitions, Human Rights Watch said. Coalition supporters, including the United States, should denounce their use.

A local resident and medical staff told Human Rights Watch that four civilians, including a 10-year-old boy, were wounded on April 29 in Baqim, a village 10 kilometers from the Saudi border, when unexploded submunitions of a type previously undocumented in Yemen detonated after local residents picked them up. Based on photographs, Human Rights Watch identified the weapon as a type of ground-fired cluster munition containing "ZP-39" submunitions with a distinctive red ribbon. The ZP-39's producer and the delivery system used are not publicly known or included in standard international reference materials. Neither Saudi nor Houthi forces are known to possess this type of weapon, but both sides have rocket launchers and tube artillery capable of delivering them.

The discovery of cluster munitions in Houthi-controlled territory that had been attacked by coalition aircraft on previous occasions and the location within range of Saudi artillery suggest that Saudi forces fired the cluster munitions, but further investigation is needed to conclusively determine responsibility, Human Rights Watch said.

Local residents and medical staff told Human Rights Watch that two or three people were wounded when air-dropped submunitions exploded on impact near al-Amar village, about 35 kilometers south of the northern Houthi stronghold of Saada, on April 27. One witness said that one of the wounded was a fighter while others, including medical staff in two hospitals, said that at least two of them were civilians.

The cluster munition used near al-Amar was the CBU-105 Sensor Fuzed Weapon dropped by Saudi-led coalition aircraft. Human Rights Watch had previously documented this attack based on phone interviews and analysis of photographs. During the field investigation, Human Rights Watch examined the remnants of the weapon.

In addition, photographs and information from local residents indicate that Saudi-led coalition aircraft dropped a third type of cluster munition, bombs containing BLU-97 submunitions, in at least two attacks in Saada governorate on May 23. As far as Human Rights Watch has been able to establish, these attacks did not result in any immediate casualties, although unexploded submunitions have the potential to wound and kill if handled by persons in the future. Human Rights Watch documented the use of bombs containing BLU-97 submunitions during Saudi airstrikes on Houthi forces in 2009. Bombs containing BLU-97 submunitions were transferred by the United States to Saudi Arabia as part of arms sales announced in the early 1990s.

Human Rights Watch had also previously documented cluster munition use at al-Shaaf in Saqeen in the western part of Saada governorate on April 17. All documented cluster munition attacks have taken place in Saada governorate, the stronghold of the Houthis, also known as Ansar Allah.

Cluster munitions can be fired by rockets, mortars, and artillery or dropped by aircraft. Cluster munitions contain multiple submunitions designed to explode after spreading out over a wide area, often the size of a football field, putting anyone in the area at the time of the attack at risk of death or injury. In addition, many submunitions often do not explode, becoming de facto landmines.

Cluster munitions are prohibited under the 2008 Convention on Cluster Munitions, which 116 countries have joined. Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and the nine other countries such as the United Arab Emirates participating in the Saudi-led

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coalition are not party to the convention. They should promptly join the treaty and carry out its provisions, Human Rights Watch said.

On May 4 CNN reported that a Saudi military spokesman had acknowledged that Saudi Arabia had been using CBU-105 cluster munitions, and said that they had been used against armored vehicles.

Human Rights Watch has received information suggesting other possible incidents of cluster munitions use. A 47-year-old man from Marran in Saada governorate who was receiving treatment in al-Jumhouri Hospital in Saada City told Human Rights Watch that he had been wounded by a weapon that "first explodes in the air, and then explodes many times on the ground," a description consistent with cluster munition use. Human Rights Watch was not able to investigate this and similar reports because of ongoing fighting in the affected areas.

"Increasing evidence of cluster munition use raises concerns not just for civilians now, but for when the fighting is over," Solvang said. "Saudi Arabia and other warring parties in Yemen should publicly commit to never use this weapon and investigate alleged attacks."

Human Rights Watch is a co-founder of Cluster Munition Coalition and serves as its chair.

Costa Rica condemned the use of cluster munitions in Yemen in a May 5 message issued in its capacity as president of the Convention on Cluster Munitions. The statement reminded all states parties of their 2010 Vientiane Declaration commitment to "raise their voices and publicly condemn the use of these unacceptable weapons."

Norway, the leader of the Oslo Process that created the Convention on Cluster Munitions, condemned the use of cluster munitions in Yemen in a May 11 statement by Foreign Minister Børge Brende that urged countries not to use cluster munitions and to join the international ban.

For more Human Rights Watch reporting on Yemen, please visit:
http://www.hrw.org/middle-eastn-africa/yemen

For more Human Rights Watch reporting on Saudi Arabia, please visit:
http://www.hrw.org/middle-eastn-africa/saudi-arabia

To view the Human Rights Watch report, "Staying Strong: Key Components and Positive Precedent for Convention on Cluster Munitions Legislation," please visit:

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http://www.hrw.org/reports/2014/09/03/staying-strong

For more information, please contact:
In Paris, Ole Solvang (English, Norwegian, Russian): +33 652600049 (mobile); or solvano@hrw.org.
In Berlin, Belkis Wille (English, Arabic, French, German): +1-917-385-41-46 (mobile); or willeb@hrw.org. Twitter: @belkiswille
In Washington, DC, Steve Goose (English): +1-540-630-3011 (mobile); or gooses@hrw.org
In Washington, DC, Mary Wareham (English): +1-646-203-292 (mobile); or wareham@hrw.org. Twitter: @marywareham

Cluster Munition Attack Near al-Amar, April 27
Human Rights Watch visited al-Amar, a village 30 kilometers south of the city of Saada. Based on an analysis of photographs and video, Human Rights Watch previously reported that the Saudi-led coalition had attacked the village in April with a type of cluster munition called CBU-105 Sensor Fuzed Weapons.

Ayid Muhammad Haydar, 37, a resident, told Human Rights Watch that he heard an airplane overhead around 11 a.m. on a Monday in late April, the village's weekly market day. He said that the sky filled with about 40 parachutes. He did not hear any explosions in the air, but said that he heard about 15 small explosions that sounded like hand grenades over the next two hours. When he went to the area where he heard the explosions he found two cylindrical canisters, which he hid under some rocks:

> Because of the market day, hundreds of people from the surrounding villages were in al-Amar when the bombs were dropped. When people saw the parachutes, they fled, leaving all their produce, cars, and livestock. I went to find out what the parachutes had dropped. I do not know what it is, but I thought it was important to keep away from children who might play with it.

Haydar told Human Rights Watch that he heard about 20 more small explosions the next day.

Haydar showed Human Rights Watch the two canisters and the location where he found them, near the main road between Sanaa and Saada, about 100 meters south of al-Amar. One canister was empty and one still contained a submunition. Human Rights Watch found a third empty canister in bushes nearby and residents showed Human Rights Watch a submunition that they had taken back to the village.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Human Rights Watch identified the items as BLU-108 canisters from the CBU-105 Sensor Fuzed Weapon, which is manufactured by the Textron Systems Corporation and supplied to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates by the US in recent years. On May 4 CNN reported that a Saudi military spokesman had acknowledged that Saudi Arabia had been using CBU-105 cluster munitions, and said that they had been used against armored vehicles. A US military spokesman said that the US defense department was looking into the report and called upon all sides to "comply with international humanitarian law, including the obligation to take all feasible measures to minimize harm to civilians.

Human Rights Watch has not been able to determine conclusively how many civilians were wounded in the attack. Haydar told Human Rights Watch that he had heard that the attack had wounded two people, one of them a fighter. Medical personnel at the al-Jumhouri hospital in Saada told Human Rights Watch that they had received three wounded people from this incident, all civilians and two of them with the same last name. An Ansar Allah member at al-Jumhouri hospital in Sanaa told Human Rights Watch that the two people with the same last name were transferred from the hospital in Saada to the burn section of the hospital in Sanaa and that they were civilian. Human Rights Watch was not able to locate and interview the wounded.

Human Rights Watch identified six small craters in the asphalt near the place where the canisters were found, which are consistent with craters created by the explosive submunitions that are released from BLU-108 canisters.

Al-Amar residents said that the closest military target is al-Safra military complex, housing the 72nd Military Brigade, about 2 to 3 kilometers away. Local residents told Human Rights Watch that coalition aircraft had carried out dozens of aerial attacks on April 27, apparently targeting the military complex.

According to a data sheet issued by the Textron Systems Corporation, the CBU-105 disperses 10 BLU-108 canisters that each subsequently release four submunitions that sense, classify, and engage a target such as an armored vehicle, and are equipped with self-destruct and self-deactivation features. The submunitions of the Sensor Fuzed Weapon explode above the ground and project an explosively formed jet of metal and fragmentation downward.

While the CBU-105 is banned under the Convention on Cluster Munitions, its use is permitted under existing US policy because it meets the criteria established for submunition reliability and its export is permitted under existing US export restrictions on cluster munitions. However, under the policy the country receiving must agree that cluster munitions "will only be used against clearly defined military targets and will not be used where civilians are known to be present or in

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areas normally inhabited by civilians." It appears that the attacks using CBU-105 Sensor Fuzed Weapons occurred near populated areas in Yemen.

Cluster Munition Attack Near Baqim, April 29

Adnan Qassim Ali Qaflah, 29, a local resident, told Human Rights Watch that he saw an attack with an unfamiliar weapon on an area one kilometer south of Baqim: "One bomb was falling and then split into smaller bombs." He said that villagers found small unexploded bombs near the road the next day, but when they picked them up, one exploded, injuring four people from the village. Qaflah, who was not at the scene, heard from others that the small bombs were about the size of a fist and that they had a red "loop" attached to them. He later saw the small bombs from about 50 meters away when local Houthi security forces piled them up for destruction.

Qaflah said that the same type of weapon was used in an attack on a different area near the town a few days later, but that the residents by then knew that they were dangerous and that nobody touched them until security forces came to destroy them.

A nurse at al-Jumhouri hospital in Saada City told Human Rights Watch that on April 29 four injured people, three men and one 10-year-old boy, had arrived at the hospital. The nurse said he remembered the patients because they told him that they had been wounded when "bombs that looked like toys" exploded when they picked them up from the ground. The explosion had wounded the child in the stomach, he said. One adult had several wounds, including to his face, the back of his thigh, his penis, and the side of his torso, he said. Human Rights Watch was provided the names and ages of the four injured people, and photos and a short video of the wounded child. Three of the wounded, including the child, had the same last name, indicating that they were family members.

A member of a Houthi civil affairs committee in Saada City provided Human Rights Watch with five photographs that a friend from Baqim had given him. One photograph shows five small cylindrical explosive submunitions with bright red ribbons attached to one end. Two photographs show single submunitions, and two photographs show what appear to be blood stains on the ground. The filename and metadata embedded in the photographs indicate that they were taken on April 29.

Human Rights Watch identified the explosive submunitions in the photograph as a type of dual-purpose improved conventional munition (DPICM). A DPICM submunition is designed to create an anti-material effect, through an explosively formed shaped-charge, and an antipersonnel effect through pre-formed fragments. These submunitions are "spin-armed" and rely on the physical forces from a ground fired artillery projectile or rocket to function properly. Delivery by aircraft would not provide sufficient spin to arm a DPICM submunition.

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Human Rights Watch has not been able to identify the exact model, producer or delivery method, but has documented that Islamic State forces, also known as ISIS, fired the same weapon, whose submunition was marked "ZP-39," in northern Syria in September 2014.

The area where the cluster munitions were found is under Houthi control. Saudi forces control the Saudi side of the border. Given the potential range of possible delivery systems, only Houthi or Saudi forces could have fired them. Both Saudi Arabia and Houthi forces have rocket launchers and tube artillery capable of delivering this type of weapon, but neither side is publicly known to possess this exact type of submunition. While the evidence available suggests that the Saudi's fired the cluster munitions, the Houthis could have fired a weapon that malfunctioned and landed in their own territory, preventing Human Rights Watch from conclusively establishing responsibility for the attack.

Ongoing attacks from both sides prevented Human Rights Watch from visiting Baqim and the lack of cell-phone network prevented further interview by phone.

Cluster Munition Attack in al-Maqsha and al-Nushoor districts, May 23
Photographs and interviews with two local residents indicate that coalition aircraft dropped cluster munitions on at least two locations on May 23.

Abd al-Rahman Ghanem Mansour, 35, the head of al-Sabra municipality, told Human Rights Watch that coalition aircraft attacked al-Nushoor district, about 16 kilometers from Saada City, four times in the early morning on May 23. His description of some of the bombs is consistent with cluster munition use:

> A couple of the bombs exploded in the air and then branched into hundreds of small bombs. Some of the bombs exploded when they hit the ground, sending smoke and shrapnel up to 500 meters away. Some of the bombs did not explode, however.

Abu Muawad, 45, a resident in al-Maqash district, gave Human Rights Watch a similar account of an attack about 1.5 kilometers from his house, also in the morning on May 23.

Abdulbasit al-Sharafi, a correspondent with al-Masirah TV in Sadaa who visited both impact sites, told Human Rights Watch that the bombs that fell in al-Maqash district fell on a village with about 20 houses, partially damaging some of them. He described some of the bombs being yellow and the size of water bottles. He said that local residents had told him that some of the bombs produced white smoke while others burned and created holes in the asphalt.

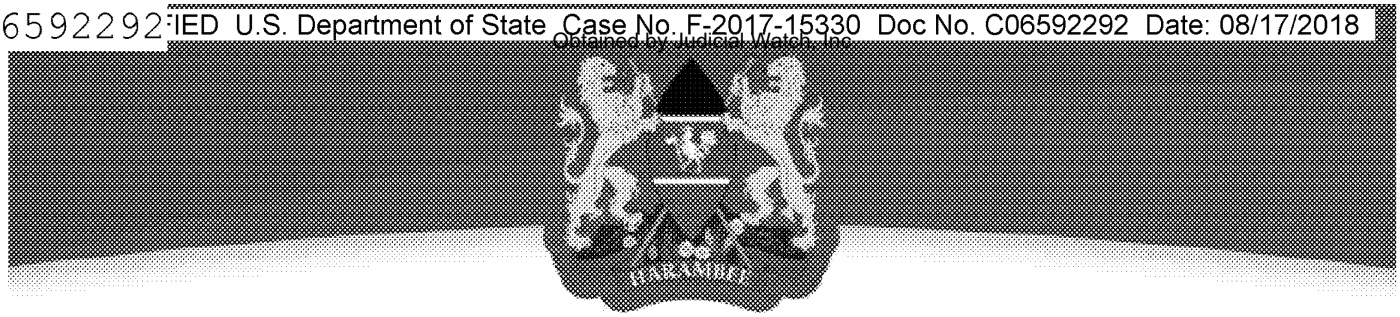
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

All three witnesses said that the attacks had not resulted in any casualties.

Based on photographs from al-Sharafi and a video posted online, Human Rights Watch identified the weapon as BLU-97 submunitions.

The BLU-97 submunition, 202 of which are contained in each bomb, is a widely-used and known to be unreliable submunition, which, for example, had dud rates of at least 5 to 7 percent reported after use in the conflicts in Kosovo and Afghanistan. First produced in 1984, the US used a total of 10,035 bombs containing more than 2 million BLU-97 submunitions during the 1991 Persian Gulf War in Iraq and Kuwait. The BLU-97 submunition contains several fuze systems making it quite sensitive to movement and apt to detonate when disturbed.

C06592292 UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592292 Date: 08/17/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.



RELEASE IN FULL

INVITATION

GLOBAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP SUMMIT 2015
WASHINGTON, DC, KICKOFF

Thursday, July 16, at 5:30 P.M.
(Please note time change)
SVC 212-10, US Capitol Visitor Center

The Embassy of Kenya and Ambassador Robinson Njeru Githae invite you to attend the official Washington, DC, launch of the sixth annual Global Entrepreneurship Summit (GES). Taking place in Nairobi, Kenya, from July 24-26, GES will be a gathering of entrepreneurs, business leaders, mentors and high-level government officials from the United States, Kenya and around the world.

Program to include remarks from:
Ambassador Robinson Njeru Githae, Embassy of the Republic of Kenya
Maria Contreras-Sweet, Administrator, Small Business Administration

PLEASE RSVP BY WEDNESDAY,
JULY 15, AT 12 P.M. TO:
amboffice@kenyaembassy.com

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592292 Date: 08/17/2018

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From: Stevenson, Susan N <StevensonSN@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, July 14, 2015 6:29 PM
To: McClelland, Caryn R <McClellandCR@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Global Entrepreneurship Summit (GES) Kickoff - Embassy of Kenya

Will do!

From: McClelland, Caryn R
Sent: Tuesday, July 14, 2015 6:28 PM
To: Stevenson, Susan N; Sarah K. Heck; Nathan, Scott A; Din, Victoria L; Schwartz, Todd P
Subject: RE: Global Entrepreneurship Summit (GES) Kickoff - Embassy of Kenya

My invite encourages me to share, so feel free to join me ☺

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This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Stevenson, Susan N
Sent: Tuesday, July 14, 2015 6:25 PM
To: McClelland, Caryn R; Sarah K. Heck; Nathan, Scott A; Din, Victoria L; Schwartz, Todd P
Subject: RE: Global Entrepreneurship Summit (GES) Kickoff - Embassy of Kenya

I am still uninvited.

From: McClelland, Caryn R
Sent: Tuesday, July 14, 2015 5:15 PM
To: Stevenson, Susan N; Sarah K. Heck; Nathan, Scott A; Din, Victoria L; Schwartz, Todd P
Subject: FW: Global Entrepreneurship Summit (GES) Kickoff - Embassy of Kenya

Look at what just appeared in my inbox.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Jordan Valdés [mailto:jvaldes@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, July 14, 2015 4:51 PM
To: Jordan Valdés
Subject: Global Entrepreneurship Summit (GES) Kickoff - Embassy of Kenya

Colleagues,

It came to my attention that many of you couldn't view the original invitation, so please find it in the attachment.

The Embassy of Kenya would be pleased if you attended its Global Entrepreneurship Summit Kickoff event on Thursday evening. The Embassy has invited various members of the GES family, the Africa policy community,

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and the media. SBA Administrator Maria Contreras Sweet will make remarks. Senator Coons has also been invited to make remarks (he is as yet unconfirmed).

In the event you cannot attend, we would like to extend this invitation to your colleagues working on Africa policy.

Looking forward to seeing you all in Nairobi.

Best,

JORDAN VALDÉS VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.879.9379 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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From: Macmanus, Joseph E <MacmanusJE@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, July 21, 2015 8:34 PM
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Subject: Re: My past sins

Thanks, Dave.

RELEASE IN PART B6

On Jul 21, 2015, at 8:22 PM, David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com> wrote:

I expect you'll be on the Hill a lot after the big boys are done.

If I can help in some way feel free to ask. Best, Dave

David S Adams

> On Jul 21, 2015, at 8:17 PM, Macmanus, Joseph E <MacmanusJE@state.gov> wrote:
>
> Hey, Politico never contacted me for a comment. I would have given it a run for its money.
>
> On Jul 21, 2015, at 5:22 PM, David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com>> wrote:

>
> Shit Joe – What did you do to deserve this?
>
>
> 7/21/15 5:09 PM EDT
>
> Secretary of State John Kerry has named a longtime diplomat with a background in nuclear inspections to serve as the interim lead coordinator for implementing the Iran nuclear deal.

>
> The appointment of Joseph E. Macmanus, a former U.S. permanent representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency, was announced in an internal memo at the start of the week, a State Department official said Tuesday.

>
> It's unclear if Macmanus is in the running to be the permanent lead coordinator, a role still under discussion among the various U.S. agencies involved in the deal.

>
> Obama administration officials have been hesitant to discuss long-term plans for how they intend to implement the agreement with Iran because it still faces a 60-day review in Congress, where Republicans are threatening to try to derail it.

>
> For now, Macmanus will likely try to help lay the groundwork for a permanent coordinator, including putting together teams involved in overseeing the easing of sanctions on Iran, the State official said.

>
> Macmanus, who joined the foreign service in 1986 and has the title of ambassador, also serves as the executive secretary of the State Department, a role that involves administrative coordination similar to that of a chief operating officer.

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>
> His familiarity with the IAEA, the U.N. nuclear watchdog tasked with verifying that Iran dismantles much of its nuclear program, could help him navigate much of the international politics involved in implementing the deal.

>
> Macmanus did not immediately respond to a request for comment.
>
> — Nahal Toosi
>
>
>
>
> <image001.jpg>
>
> DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
> O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] W http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.podestagroup.com> B6

> 1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001 <image002.jpg><http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://www.facebook.com/thepodestagroup> <image003.jpg><http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://www.twitter.com/PodestaGroup>

>
>
>
> <image001.jpg>
> <image002.jpg>
> <image003.jpg>

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From:	Kirby, Michael D </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SEOUL AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KIRBYMD>
Sent:	Monday, May 23, 2016 5:40 PM
To:	'Corine Weiler' <cweiler@podestagroup.com>
Subject:	RE: Coordinating a Dinner with Tony

No problem. Many, but not all, week nights work for me.

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From: Corine Weiler [mailto:cweiler@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, May 23, 2016 5:39 PM
To: Kirby, Michael D
Subject: RE: Coordinating a Dinner with Tony

Thank you for sending this my way. We may have to look at alternate/later dates as these didn't work for Amb. Varricchio. Will follow up with his team and see if anything has changed.

From: Kirby, Michael D [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:KirbyMD@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, May 23, 2016 5:36 PM
To: Corine Weiler <cweiler@podestagroup.com>
Subject: FW: Coordinating a Dinner with Tony

I got Norah's out of office.

See below for a request from her.

From: Kirby, Michael D
Sent: Monday, May 23, 2016 5:34 PM
To: 'Norah Cox-Peled'
Subject: RE: Coordinating a Dinner with Tony

The ones in yellow are best for us. June 19 is father's day. I am out of town on July 17, August 27 and 28.

Sorry about the delay in responding.

From: Norah Cox-Peled [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:npeled@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 13, 2016 2:32 PM
To: Kirby, Michael D
Cc: Corine Weiler
Subject: Coordinating a Dinner with Tony

Dear Ambassador Kirby—

Tony wanted to see when you and Sara might be available for a dinner (maybe on a weekend night) with Ambassador Varricchio and his wife and Ambassador Matkovic and his wife. I know this will be a little tricky given that it's summer but here goes nothing. Please let me know if any of the following dates work for you:

Sunday, June 12
Saturday, June 18
Sunday, June 19

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Sunday, July 17
Saturday, August 20
Sunday, August 21
Saturday, August 27
Sunday, August 28

Hope lunch was enjoyable and that you have a great weekend.

Kind regards,
Norah

NORAH COX-PELED SPECIAL ASSISTANT
O 202.879.9381 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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From: Nuland, Victoria J <nulandvj@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 1:06 PM
To: Heffern, John A <HeffernJA@state.gov>; Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>; Salvo, David V <SalvoDV@state.gov>
Cc: Montgomery, Molly C <MontgomeryMC@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Moldova

B5

From: Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>
Date: December 22, 2016 at 10:09:23 AM EST
To: Heffern, John A <HeffernJA@state.gov>, Salvo, David V <SalvoDV@state.gov>, Nuland, Victoria J <nulandvj@state.gov>
Subject: Fwd: Moldova

RELEASE IN PART B5

I imagine this is something we are planning to do?

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

> **From:** Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
> **Date:** December 21, 2016 at 5:37:38 PM EST
> **To:** "Blinken, Antony J" <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>
> **Subject: Re: Moldova**
>
> Hi Tony,
>
> I know you are very busy, but per my email to you below, would it be possible for the Department to issue a statement on the 25th anniversary of the US recognizing the independence of Moldova on December 25?
>
> As al always, thanks for your consideration.
>
> Happy Holidays,
>
> Mark
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> On Dec 13, 2016, at 3:18 PM, Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com> wrote:
>
> > Hi Tony,
> >
> > Hope all is well. We represent the Democratic Party of Moldova (PDM), a pro-West, pro-

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business, pro-reform political party that leads the ruling government coalition in Moldova. The United States recognized the independence of Moldova on December 25, 1991 and opened the Embassy of the United States in Chişinău, in March 1992. Would it be possible for the Secretary to issue a statement on December 25 extending best wishes to the people and government of Moldova on the 25th anniversary of the U.S. recognizing the country's independence?

Thanks for considering my request.

Best,

Mark

MARK TAVLARIDES PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5239 / C / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, October 1, 2015 8:45 AM
To: Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>
Cc: Hruska, Jeanne O <HruskaJO@state.gov>; Gilmore, Brennan M <Gilmorebm@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Thanks. Will do.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED. **RELEASE IN PART B6**

From: Wadhams, Caroline
Sent: Thursday, October 01, 2015 8:45 AM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Cc: Hruska, Jeanne O; Gilmore, Brennan M
Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Please reschedule if possible. He wants to meet with Tom.

On Oct 1, 2015, at 8:25 AM, Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov> wrote:

> Caroline,
> Plse advise if I should reschedule this meeting or if you, Brennan or Jeanne will meet with him this Friday.
> Thanks.
>
> This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
>
> **From:** Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
> **Sent:** Wednesday, September 30, 2015 1:42 PM
> **To:** Wadhams, Caroline
> **Cc:** Hruska, Jeanne O; Gilmore, Brennan M
> **Subject:** FW: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo
>
> Or you, Brennan or Jeanne may want to meet him this Friday.
> Plse advise.
> Thanks.
>
> This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
>
> **From:** Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
> **Sent:** Wednesday, September 30, 2015 1:38 PM
> **To:** Wadhams, Caroline
> **Subject:** FW: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo
>
> Caroline,

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Would you like to reach David Adams and re-schedule this meeting for next week? Tom's calendar is still free but assume the week will be pretty busy.
Plse advise.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 23, 2015 4:45 PM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M; Hruska, Jeanne O
Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Maria -- Thank you for your note. Yes, that will be perfect. Do you need additional information from me for building clearance? Thanks. Dave

---

From: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 23, 2015 4:23 PM
To: David Adams
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M; Hruska, Jeanne O
Subject: FW: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Good afternoon David,
We can schedule this for Fri, Oct 2, at 10:00 am in S/E Perriello's office at Navy Hill – south building, suite 131.
Please let me know if this works for Mr. Mulongo.
Thanks,

Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted
Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello

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From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 22, 2015 10:17 AM
To: Wadhams, Caroline; Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Caroline – Just wanted to check in on this. Thanks again for your help. Best, Dave

From: Wadhams, Caroline [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:WadhamsC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 18, 2015 10:46 AM
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>; Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

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David –

Thanks for reaching out. I am cc'ing Chichi to help us set this up. Next week may be best, as Tom is traveling soon to NY for UNGA and then the region.

Best,
Caroline

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 16, 2015 10:00 AM
To: Perriello, Thomas
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Tom – Great. Thanks.

Hi Caroline – look forward to hearing from you. Best, Dave

From: Perriello, Thomas [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:PerrielloT@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2015 6:46 PM
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Dave,

Thanks for reaching out. I am asking Caroline (formerly QDDR and headed to this office) to be in tough about this.

Tom

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2015 11:36 AM
To: Perriello, Thomas
Subject: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Tom – I hope this note finds you well and enjoying your new post. If you'll recall we met when you were heading up the QDDR effort at State and were gracious enough to meet with one of my clients, Global Strategies. I'm writing because we represent Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo, the former central bank governor of the DRC. He will be in Washington from September 17-October 10 and I'm wondering if you'd have time to see him while he's here? He is exploring deepening his business engagement in the US, and encouraging more US-DRC economic ties. He keeps his distance from the government, so you would get an interesting perspective on current and future

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developments in the country, including the political situation, which I'm sure you are following. Mr. Masangu's bio is pasted below. Let me know what you think. Best, Dave

Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

An author, economist and consultant, Jean-Claude Masangu Mulango is the former chief of the Banque Centrale du Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo's Central Bank. Mr. Masangu led the bank for 16 years, ending in 2013, serving under former president Laurent Kabila and current president Joseph Kabila. In this role, he helped to end hyperinflation and introduce a new national currency, the Congolese franc, while also focusing on microeconomic principles to better serve and empower the country's rural poor.

Mr. Masangu is a member of the American Chamber of Commerce in the DRC and, in an effort to develop US-Congo trade relations, seeks business opportunities as a consultant and a potential partner related to financial inclusion for women, senior citizens and the disabled. He is also active in other development issues and in attracting foreign direct investment to the DRC.

Prior to his time at the Central Bank, Mr. Masangu served as CEO of Citigroup in Kinshasa, the Congolese capital. As chairman of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Group of 24 (G24) between 2007 and 2008, he worked with then-IMF Managing Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn on international financial reform. He has also chaired the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Association of African Central Banks (AACB) and the Economic Community of Central African States' (ECCAS) sub-regional committee on central banks. In addition, Mr. Masangu served as an independent non-executive director of Katanga Mining Ltd. from 2006 to 2008.

The son of Jacques Masangu-a-Mwanza, former Congolese ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. Masangu is the author of several publications, including *A Governor's Word*, an encyclopedia published this year that details his time at the Central Bank; *Why I Believe in Africa's Progress*, a book published in 2009 in France that traces his career and his vision for Africa; and the 2004 book, *A Contribution to the Congolese Financial System Stabilization*. He holds an MBA from Louisiana State University, a BS from Massachusetts's Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and a BA from the International School of Geneva in Switzerland.

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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From: Rana, Lubna <RanaL@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2015 2:12 PM
To: Oehlbert, Sean [redacted]; Countryman, Thomas <CountrymanT@state.gov>; DeLaBarre, R. Robin <DeLaBarreR@state.gov>; Beisecker, Randall T <[redacted]>; ISN-SCO-DL <ISN-SPC-DL@state.gov>; ISN-NESS-DL <ISN-NESS-DL@state.gov>; ISN-RA-East Asia Team-DL <ISN-RA-EastAsiaTeam-DL@state.gov>; Wautlet, Mike [redacted]
Cc: Suarez, Gonzalo O <SuarezGO@state.gov>; Kang, Eliot <KangE@state.gov>; Goorevich, Richard [redacted] Bedell, Jeff [redacted]
Subject: RE: San Francisco Korea Event

B6
B6
B6
B6
B6

[redacted]

B5

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RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Rana, Lubna
Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2015 2:02 PM
To: Oehlbert, Sean; Countryman, Thomas; DeLaBarre, R. Robin; Beisecker, Randall T; ISN-SCO-DL; ISN-NESS-DL; ISN-RA-East Asia Team-DL; Wautlet, Mike
Cc: Suarez, Gonzalo O; Kang, Eliot; Goorevich, Richard; Bedell, Jeff
Subject: RE: San Francisco Korea Event

[redacted]

B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Oehlbert, Sean [redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2015 1:37 PM
To: Countryman, Thomas; DeLaBarre, R. Robin; Beisecker, Randall T; Rana, Lubna; ISN-SCO-DL; ISN-NESS-DL; ISN-RA-East Asia Team-DL; Wautlet, Mike
Cc: Suarez, Gonzalo O; Kang, Eliot; Goorevich, Richard; Bedell, Jeff
Subject: RE: San Francisco Korea Event

B6

[redacted]

B5

From: Countryman, Thomas [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:CountrymanT@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2015 1:33 PM
To: Delabarre, Robin <DeLaBarreR@state.gov>; Beisecker, Randall T [redacted]; Rana,

B6

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Lubna <RanaL@state.gov>; ISN-SCO-DL <ISN-SPC-DL@state.gov>; ISN-NESS-DL <ISN-NESS-DL@state.gov>; ISN-RA-East Asia Team-DL <ISN-RA-EastAsiaTeam-DL@state.gov>; Wautlet, Mike

B6

Cc: Suarez, Gonzalo O <SuarezGO@state.gov>; Oehlbert, Sean ; Kang, Eliot <KangE@state.gov>; Goorevich, Richard ; Bedell, Jeff

B6
B6

Subject: RE: San Francisco Korea Event

B5

From: DeLaBarre, R. Robin
Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2015 9:39 AM
To: Beisecker, Randall T; Rana, Lubna; Countryman, Thomas; ISN-SCO-DL; ISN-NESS-DL; ISN-RA-East Asia Team-DL; Wautlet, Mike
Cc: Suarez, Gonzalo O; Oehlbert, Sean; Kang, Eliot; Goorevich, Richard; Bedell, Jeff
Subject: RE: San Francisco Korea Event

B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Beisecker, Randall

B6

Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2015 9:16 AM
To: Rana, Lubna; Countryman, Thomas; ISN-SCO-DL; ISN-NESS-DL; ISN-RA-East Asia Team-DL; Wautlet, Mike
Cc: Suarez, Gonzalo O; Oehlbert, Sean; Kang, Eliot
Subject: RE: San Francisco Korea Event

Looping in Mike—

B5

From: Rana, Lubna [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:RanaL@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, November 17, 2015 1:55 PM
To: Countryman, Thomas <CountrymanT@state.gov>; ISN-SCO-DL <ISN-SPC-DL@state.gov>; ISN-NESS-DL <ISN-NESS-DL@state.gov>; ISN-RA-East Asia Team-DL <ISN-RA-EastAsiaTeam-DL@state.gov>
Cc: Suarez, Gonzalo O <SuarezGO@state.gov>; Beisecker, Randall

B6

Oehlbert, Sean Kang, Eliot <KangE@state.gov>

B6

Subject: RE: San Francisco Korea Event

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This sounds like one of the 123 public diplomacy seminars Mr. Ham had mentioned they would host in the US, they had specifically mentioned San Francisco as one of the locations they had in mind.

B5

SBU
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From: Countryman, Thomas
Sent: Tuesday, November 17, 2015 1:28 PM
To: ISN-SCO-DL; ISN-NESS-DL; ISN-RA-East Asia Team-DL
Cc: Suarez, Gonzalo O; Beisecker, Randall T; Oehlbert, Sean
Subject: FW: San Francisco Korea Event

B5

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, November 16, 2015 5:36 PM
To: Countryman, Thomas
Subject: San Francisco Korea Event

Hi Tom – Hope you are well. I'm writing because the Korean Embassy is hosting an event in San Francisco to discuss civil nuclear cooperation with the United States and I wondered if you would be interested in participating. The event is Friday, Dec. 18. Former Ambassador Kathy Stephens will be participant. As I mentioned Korean Embassy will be the sponsor although we are looking for a West Coast think tank to sponsor as well. Dr. Lee Kwang-seok, Director of the Center for ROK-US Cooperation will also participate. The rest of the lineup is still to-be-determined, but I wanted to see if you thought a USG perspective would be useful and if the date would enable your participation.

If you're willing, we're happy to work with you to define a role you're comfortable with like a speech or participation on a panel that delves more deeply into civil nuclear cooperation.

Please let me know if this is a possibility for you. I'm happy to discuss by phone if you would like; I'm at 202 879 9325. If you can't make it, any other ideas you may have on who would be good participants would be most welcome. Best, Dave

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DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W >http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com<
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Comer, Charles K <ComerCK@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, February 4, 2016 3:14 PM
To: Paul, Joshua M <PaulJM@state.gov>; Bergmann, Max A <BergmannMA@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Sen. Corker

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 04, 2016 2:02 PM
To: Comer, Charles K
Subject: Sen. Corker

RELEASE IN PART B6

Ken,

News from Sen. Corker's office is that they will not clear the sale until the Senator hears personally from the SECDEF…pretty tall order.

PG
RILEY MOORE VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5217 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Cutler, Kirsten B <CutlerKB@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, May 10, 2016 12:44 PM
To: Crail, Peter B <CrailPB@state.gov>
Subject: RE: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

Great news! Thanks so much.
Kirsten

SBU
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RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Crail, Peter B
Sent: Tuesday, May 10, 2016 12:24 PM
To: Cutler, Kirsten B
Subject: RE: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

Thanks Kirsten, I received a come-back copy from records, so I assume that meant it went forward.

From: Cutler, Kirsten B
Sent: Tuesday, May 10, 2016 11:36 AM
To: Crail, Peter B
Subject: FW: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

Peter – FYI below.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Kang, Eliot
Sent: Tuesday, May 10, 2016 9:22 AM
To: Cutler, Kirsten B
Cc: Stratford, Richard J; Burkart, Alex R
Subject: FW: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

From: Countryman, Thomas
Sent: Tuesday, May 10, 2016 9:18 AM
To: Hochstein, Amos J
Cc: Kang, Eliot; Rusten, Lynn F
Subject: Re: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

Sorry, Amos, for not looping you into this discussion before. I

B5

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

[redacted] B5

Lynn: please forward to Amos a copy of T's letter.
Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Hochstein, Amos J
Sent: Tuesday, May 10, 2016 2:56 PM
To: Countryman, Thomas
Subject: FW: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

Do you have thoughts on this?

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@PodestaGroup.onmicrosoft.com]
Sent: Monday, May 09, 2016 6:46 PM
To: Hochstein, Amos J
Subject: NSC Director of Nuclear Energy Policy

Amos—

As you may or may not know, we represent the Nuclear Energy Institute. They and their member companies (GE, Westinghouse, Bechtel, etc., the list goes on and on) are very eager to make sure that the position of NSC Senior Director for Nuclear Energy Policy is not eliminated as part of the downsizing that is being contemplated in response to complaints that the NSC staff has doubled in size under President Obama. We understand that Susan George is managing the downsizing review currently underway at NSC.

NEI and its members are mounting a campaign to make sure the position is not abolished as part of any downsizing. Their basic argument is that this position has worked very effectively to enhance interagency coordination, and all the Executive Branch agencies with a stake in civil nuclear energy are pleased that it exists. This appears to be in contrast to many other NSC positions where, reportedly, State and other agencies believe NSC has grown too bloated, and therefore too involved in micromanaging their work. In other words, this particular position has advanced rather than set back the cause of good government.

NEI asked my advice on how best to influence this process. My recommendation to them was to get State to weigh in, because in my experience, State has more influence at the NSC than any other agency. Hence this message to you.

Best,

Steve

PG **STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL**
O 202.448.5238 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001 B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Sara Kirby [redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, August 11, 2016 1:38 PM
To: Kirby, Michael D <KirbyMD@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Getting Together for Dinner with Tony Podesta

The only dates that work for us are sept. 9, 11, and 15. [redacted] B6

[redacted]

Sent from my iPhone

On Aug 11, 2016, at 1:18 PM, Kirby, Michael D <KirbyMD@state.gov> wrote:

> Does these work for you?
>
> Michael D. Kirby
> Deputy Transparency Coordinator
> 202.647.5323
>
> **RELEASE IN PART B6**
>
> **From:** Norah Cox-Peled [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:npeled@podestagroup.com]
> **Sent:** Thursday, August 11, 2016 10:35 AM
> **To:** Kirby, Michael D
> **Cc:** Corine Weiler
> **Subject:** Getting Together for Dinner with Tony Podesta
>
> Dear Ambassador Kirby—
>
> I hope you have been enjoying your summer thus far. I wanted to revisit trying to get a dinner scheduled with Tony, Ambassador Matkovic, Ambassador Varricchio and significant others. I know summer was a little tough but would any of the following dates work for you?:
>
> Friday, September 9
> Sunday, September 11
> Thursday, September 15
> Friday, September 23
> Saturday, September 24
> Sunday, September 25
>
> Kind regards,
> Norah
>
> <image001.jpg> **NORAH COX-PELED SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE CHAIRMAN**
> O 202.879.9381 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com B6
> 1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC
> 20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

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From:	Fischer, Patrick J </O=SBUSTATE/OU=FSI AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FISCHERPJ>
Sent:	Friday, September 9, 2016 10:55 AM
To:	Parbhoo, Omar E <ParbhooOE@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

Yes, I'm covering AF and handling the trip. Feel free to connect me with your colleague.

Thanks,

RELEASE IN PART B6

Patrick Fischer
202-647-9038

From: Parbhoo, Omar E
Sent: Friday, September 09, 2016 10:51 AM
To: Fischer, Patrick J
Subject: FW: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

Hi Patrick,

You're covering AF too, right? An old colleague was reaching out about Novelli's trip to Africa. If the site visit mentioned below sounds interesting, could I put her in touch with you?

Thanks,
Omar

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From: Jordan Valdés [mailto:jvaldes@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 08, 2016 8:38 AM
To: Parbhoo, Omar E
Subject: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

Dear Omar,

I hope you're well! Thank you again for meeting Preston Mendenhall and me at GES to discuss Rendeavour.

In follow up to our conversation, Rendeavour's CEO, Frank Mosier, has been invited to attend the US Africa Business Forum (USABF) by Secretary Pritzker, and in those conversations, became aware of U/S Novelli's trip to Africa. With whom can I discuss the details of this trip, and potentially pitch a site visit or similar to one of Rendeavour's properties? I would be grateful for your help here.

Thank you, Omar! Hope to see you soon.

Best,

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

JORDAN VALDÉS VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.879.9379 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, November 19, 2016 7:50 PM
To: 'Mark Tavlarides' <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Job well done

Mark – very belatedly, thank you for your kind note. It was much appreciated. I look forward to catching up on the other side! tony

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RELEASE IN FULL

From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, November 09, 2016 2:24 PM
To: Blinken, Antony J
Subject: Job well done

Hi Tony,

I just wanted to thank you for everything that you, the President and his team have done over the last 8 years to advance U.S. interests around the globe. We are a better nation because of your work.

After you leave government, let's get together for lunch or coffee to catch up.

Best,

Mark

PG
MARK TAVLARIDES PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5239 / C / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 18, 2017 5:32 PM
To: Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Drinks

Thanks, Mark. I'll make a note to circle back with you that morning. [redacted] B6

[redacted]

Warm regards,

RELEASE IN PART B6

Max

Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State
2201 C St., NW | Rm 7250 | Washington, DC 20520 | ☎ 202.647.5200 | ✉ HamiltonMJ@state.gov

Official
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From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 18, 2017 5:29 PM
To: Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Drinks

No problem Max. May 30 is a possibility. [redacted] Let's put May 30 on the books and touch base that day. Best, Mark B6

Sent from my iPhone

On May 18, 2017, at 5:26 PM, Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov> wrote:

> Hi Mark,
>
> Thanks for the email. This evening might be difficult. Any chance that May 30 or June 2 could work for you? The boss will be travelling around that time so I should be able to leave earlier.
>
> Warm regards,
>
> Max
>
> **Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State**
> 2201 C St., NW | Rm 7250 | Washington, DC 20520 | ☎ 202.647.5200 | ✉ HamiltonMJ@state.gov
>
> **Official**
> **UNCLASSIFIED**
>
> **From:** Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
> **Sent:** Thursday, May 18, 2017 5:00 PM
> **To:** Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
> **Subject:** RE: Drinks
>
> Hi Max,
>
> How does your schedule look for this evening?

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Best,

Mark

From: Hamilton, Maxwell J [mailto:HamiltonMJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, May 05, 2017 6:02 PM
To: Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Drinks

Terrific, Mark. Have a great weekend.

Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State
2201 C St., NW | Rm 7250 | Washington, DC 20520 | ☎ 202.647.5200 | ✉ HamiltonMJ@state.gov

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From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 5, 2017 2:48 PM
To: Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Drinks

Let's put it on the calendar and keep in touch as the date gets closer.

From: Hamilton, Maxwell J [mailto:HamiltonMJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, May 05, 2017 2:32 PM
To: Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Drinks

I think I could make 6:30 at Centrolina work.

Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State
2201 C St., NW | Rm 7250 | Washington, DC 20520 | ☎ 202.647.5200 | ✉ HamiltonMJ@state.gov

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From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 5, 2017 1:33 PM
To: Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Drinks

How early can you get out of work? As a former USG employee I know the hours are long. Is 6:30 to early? Have you been to Centrolina at City Center?

Sent from my iPad

On May 4, 2017, at 11:21 AM, Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov> wrote:

> Hi Mark, great to hear from you. Drinks on May 18 would be terrific. What would be a good time/location?

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Regards,

Max

Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State
2201 C St., NW | Rm 7250 | Washington, DC 20520 | ☎ 202.647.5200 | ✉ HamiltonMJ@state.gov

Personal
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 4, 2017 10:48 AM
To: Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
Subject: Drinks

Hi Max,

Hope all is well. Are you free for drinks on May 18?

Best,

Mark

<image001.jpg>
MARK TAVLARIDES PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5239 / C / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

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From:	Buchwald, Todd F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BUCHWALDTF>
Sent:	Wednesday, June 14, 2017 4:26 PM
To:	Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject:	RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.
Attach:	AJIL.109.2.257.KohBuchwald.pdf

Steve- It was great to see you. The article is attached. Any thoughts/comments most welcome. [redacted] B6
[redacted] hopefully I'll see you against soon. Todd

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RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2017 11:46 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

I've made a reservation for us at Zaytinya, 701 9th St., NW, at 12:30. It's under my name. See you there!

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2017 11:40 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Thanks Steve - any are good for me – please just let me know where and I can meet you there.

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2017 10:08 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

12:30 is good for me. Nearby places that I like include Zaytinya (Jose Andres' Mediterranean place), Oceanaire (seafood), Brasserie Beck (Belgian), Centrolina (Italian) and Casa Luca (one of Fabio Trabocchi's Italian restaurants). Also, there's the Tadich Grill which just opened on Penna. Ave. If one of these appeals to you, let me know and I'll make a reservation.

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2017 9:14 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

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It's today, assuming that you are still available. I can come down to your neighborhood – it's probably easier than finding a place in the middle. Around 12:30?.

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 13, 2017 5:11 PM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Todd—

My calendar shows us meeting for lunch tomorrow. But looking more carefully at our exchange of messages below, it may be that you have us on your calendar for Thursday. [redacted] B6 [redacted] If tomorrow is good for you, we need to pick a place to meet. If not, we need to reschedule. In any event, I hope to see you again soon.

Best,

Steve

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:28 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

We can figure it out between now and then but in meantime I've written it onto my calendar (and blocked off the 15th !!)

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:24 PM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

The 14th works for me. [redacted] B6

Where would you like to meet? I'm surrounded by lots of great restaurants (11th and G), but it's not convenient to you. I don't think you have many restaurants near you. I'd be happy to try to meet somewhere in between, but I'm not sure what that would be. Bombay Club?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:16 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

[redacted] What would you think of June 14 – we could both catch up and celebrate Flag Day at the same time !! B6

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 11:25 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Actually I just gave the 7th away. How about Friday the 9th?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 11:21 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Let's try June 7, but we should re-confirm at the beginning of that week.

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 10:40 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Want to meet for lunch on Tuesday June 6 or Wednesday June 7?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 8:02 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Yes, all well here too. Want to have coffee or lunch sometime. I'm traveling next week, but maybe when I get back ?

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]

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Sent: Monday, May 22, 2017 10:51 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Thanks Todd. Yes, all is good with me. I don't think I'll be joining you at State. Among other things, they don't really seem to be hiring….

Are you still handling the War Crimes portfolio? As you may know, I have strong feelings on that issue. Would love to talk to you about it one day.

In any event, I hope you're also doing well.

Steve

From: Todd Buchwald <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Date: Sunday, May 21, 2017 at 9:45 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Thanks for sending Steve. Any chance that you will come into the Administration ? Hope all is well, Todd

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 19, 2017 8:25 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

I thought you might be interested in an op-ed I wrote on North Korea, which was run yesterday by the Washington Post. The text is attached, and can also be found at the following address: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-north-korean-nuclear-threat-is-very-real-time-to-start-treating-it-that-way/2017/05/18/d60cbeec-39a4-11e7-8854-21f359183e8c_story.html?utm_term=.f748cedb8c90

As always, I welcome any feedback you might have.

With best wishes,

Steve

STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5238 / C [redacted] / Wwww.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION: THE UNITED STATES PERSPECTIVE

*By Harold Hongju Koh & Todd F. Buchwald**

At the 2010 Review Conference in Kampala, the states parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) decided to adopt seven amendments to the Rome Statute that contemplate the possibility of the Court exercising jurisdiction over the crime of aggression subject to certain conditions. One condition was that the exercise of jurisdiction would be "subject to a decision to be taken after 1 January 2017 by the same majority of States Parties as is required for the adoption of an amendment to the Statute," and another was that such jurisdiction could be exercised "only with respect to crimes of aggression committed one year after the ratification or acceptance of the amendments by thirty States Parties."[1] As these dates approach, we—two lawyers who represented the United States at the Kampala conference and who worked many hours on the United States' reengagement with the ICC during the Obama administration—thought it an appropriate moment to take stock of where we are, how we got here, and where we might or should be headed with respect to the crime of aggression.

I. THE ROAD TO KAMPALA

The relationship between the United States and the ICC has been rocky,[2] an awkwardness in which the crime of aggression issue has prominently figured. From the outset, the United States expressed deep misgivings about jurisdiction over that crime. Speaking in 1995 before the UN General Assembly's Sixth Committee, the U.S. representative underscored the problematic nature of the issue:

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[1] Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, July 17, 1998, 2187 UNTS 90 [hereinafter Rome Statute]; International Criminal Court, Assembly of States Parties, Review Conference, The Crime of Aggression, ICC Res. RC/Res.6, Arts. 15 *bis*(2–3), 15 *ter*(2–3) (June 11, 2010). The resolution on the crime of aggression, as well as the other resolutions from the Kampala conference, is contained in the Review Conference's Official Records, ICC Doc. RC/11 (2010). Part I includes the proceedings, and Part II the resolutions, declarations, and various annexes. The Web page for the Assembly of States Parties, http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/asp/Pages/asp_home.aspx, provides access to all official records, general debates, and other records and documentation. The Rome Statute itself and other legal texts are available at http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/legal%20texts%20and%20tools/Pages/legal%20tools.aspx.

[2] For a recent comprehensive review, see Harold Hongju Koh, *International Criminal Justice 5.0*, 38 YALE J. INT'L L. 525 (2013).

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> This is fundamentally a crime of States, as to which the Security Council would have to play a central role. It thus presents all the risks of politicization in a serious form. It is, moreover, a crime which is still very ill-defined. The Nuremburg Tribunal did not have to confront this problem, as it was dealing, after the fact, with a clear and specific case. In the abstract, however, it is not at all universally established what fits even within the limited concept of "waging a war of aggression." What are the possible defenses or mitigating factors in connection with such a charge? What if it concerns disputed territory?[3]

The U.S. representative went on to question how "controversial concepts such as humanitarian intervention or a war of liberation" would be handled, saying that "[i]ncluding the crime of aggression would require clear, universally-accepted answers to these questions." She urged that it would be far better for the negotiators to focus, instead, "on the core crimes of international humanitarian law for which there is universal support."[4]

The treatment of aggression contributed significantly to the sense of disappointment with which the United States reacted to the ICC treaty adopted at Rome (the Rome Statute). In testifying before Congress and in speaking before the Sixth Committee shortly after the Rome Conference ended, Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues David Scheffer was candid about U.S. concerns. Although the Rome Conference had essentially punted the issue—by delaying until a future Review Conference the adoption of a definition of the crime of aggression and the conditions under which the Court would be able to exercise jurisdiction[5]—he pointed to the elusiveness of a widely acceptable definition of the crime. He noted that there was no guarantee that the definition would include the vital linkage with a prior UN Security Council decision that a state had committed aggression, and he made clear the U.S. concern that how the provisions on aggression "will be resolved is too unclear for so important an issue."[6]

Aggression continued to figure prominently thereafter. Even when the United States finally signed the Rome Statute in December 2000, President Clinton took pains to warn that "we are not abandoning our concerns about significant flaws in the treaty" and that he would not recommend that his successor submit the treaty to the Senate for advice and consent "until our fundamental concerns are satisfied."[7] Within the United States, domestic opponents criticized the signing of the Rome Statute as being "as outrageous as it is inexplicable."[8] After the George

[3] *See* Press Release, United States Mission to the United Nations, Statement by Jamison S. Borek, Deputy Legal Adviser, United States Department of State, at the 50th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Sixth Committee (Nov. 1, 1995) (regarding the establishment of an international criminal court), *at* http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/65827.pdf.

[4] *Id.*

[5] *See* Rome Statute, *supra* note 1, Art. 5(2) ("The Court shall exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression once a provision is adopted in accordance with articles 121 and 123 defining the crime and setting out the conditions under which the Court shall exercise jurisdiction with respect to this crime."); *id.*, Art. 123 (Review Conference to be convened seven years after entry into force of the treaty).

[6] *Is a U.N. International Criminal Court in the U.S. National Interest?, Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Int'l Operations of the S. Comm. on Foreign Relations*, 105th Cong. 10–47 (July 23, 1998) (statement of David J. Scheffer, ambassador-at-large for war crimes issues); UN GAOR, 53d Sess., 9th mtg., para. 58, UN Doc A/C.6/53/SR.9 (Nov. 4, 1998) (remarks of David J. Scheffer before the 6th Committee of the General Assembly on Oct. 21, 1998).

[7] William J. Clinton, Statement on the Rome Treaty on the International Criminal Court, 3 PUB. PAPERS 2816 (Dec. 31, 2000).

[8] Press Release, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms, Helms on Clinton ICC Signature: "This Decision Will Not Stand" (Dec. 31, 2000), *at* http://www.amicc.org/docs/Helms_Sign.pdf.

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W. Bush administration took office, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs John Bolton famously wrote to the UN secretary-general to "un-sign" the Rome Statute.[9] The United States thereafter boycotted the Court, declining to participate in the meetings of the Assembly of States Parties, the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression (Special Working Group) established by the Assembly of States Parties, or the "Princeton Process," the informal intersessional meetings established to help develop a package of draft aggression amendments for the anticipated ICC Review Conference.

Under President Bush, the United States thus entered a period that many characterized as overt hostility to the Court.[10] Even before the end of the Bush administration, however, a thaw, of sorts, began to emerge.[11] And in 2009, as the Barack Obama administration assumed office, Secretary of State–designate Hillary Clinton showed new openness to the Court, saying, "Whether we work toward joining or not, we will end hostility toward the ICC, and look for opportunities to encourage effective ICC action in ways that promote U.S. interests by bringing war criminals to justice."[12]

But it was also no secret that there remained differences of view about the ICC within the U.S. government, both inside the executive branch and among members of the U.S. Congress.[13] As Secretary-designate Clinton noted, we would need "to consult thoroughly within the government, including the military, as well as non-governmental experts, and examine the

[9] International Criminal Court: Letter to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan (May 6, 2002), *at* http://2001–2009.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2002/9968.htm.

[10] Many of the Court's supporters particularly criticized the effort by the United States to conclude bilateral "Article 98 agreements," including the enactment into U.S. law of the American Servicemembers' Protection Act. *See, e.g.*, Human Rights Watch, *United States Efforts to Undermine the International Criminal Court* (Oct. 3, 2002), *at* http://www.hrw.org/legacy/campaigns/icc/docs/art98analysis.htm (stating that "[s]uch impunity agreements violate the Rome Statute and should be opposed"). Many also criticized the U.S. insistence on including language in Security Council resolutions to provide protections that it considered necessary for personnel from non–Rome Statute parties against the Court's jurisdiction, *see* SC Res. 1422 (July 12, 2002), 1492 (July 28, 2003), U.S. efforts to prevent references to the ICC in the resolutions adopted by United Nations and other bodies, and the U.S. decisions not to join consensus on the annual UN General Assembly resolutions regarding the Court or to participate in the meetings of the Assembly of States Parties. *See, e.g.*, UN GAOR, 57th Sess., 52d plen. mtg. at 10, UN Doc. A/57/PV.52 (Nov. 19, 2002) (Rafael Martinez for the United States).

[11] Most notably, the Bush administration instructed the U.S. Mission in New York to abstain on Security Council Resolution 1593 (Mar. 31, 2005), so as to allow the Council to refer the situation in Darfur to the Court's prosecutor in March 2005. Soon thereafter, senior U.S. officials made statements that "not only do we not oppose the ICC's investigation and prosecutions in Sudan but we support its investigation and prosecution of those atrocities." George Gedda, *U.S. Sees ICC in More Benevolent Light*, WASH. POST, Dec. 29, 2006 (statement of John B. Bellinger III), *at* http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/12/29/AR2006122900119.html. There were numerous other statements to the same effect. *See, e.g.*, U.S. Department of State, Remarks at the Brookings Institution on the Situation in Darfur (Apr. 13, 2006) (statement of Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick), *at* http://2001–2009.state.gov/s/d/former/zoellick/rem/2006/64622.htm; *'Meet the Press' transcript for Dec. 21, 2008*, NBC (Dec. 21, 2008) (interview with U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice), *at* http://www.nbcnews.com/id/28337897/ns/meet_the_press/t/meet-press-transcript-dec/#.VS6i-fIA4k0; *see also* Wasil Ali, *ICC: 'No Sudanese Official Immune from Prosecution,'* SUDAN TRIB. (Dec. 18, 2006) (remarks of the chief ICC prosecutor, Luis Moreno Ocampo, noting shift in U.S. policy and "mounting signs of the U.S. warming up to the ICC"), *at* http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article19321. Toward the end of the Bush administration, Legal Adviser John Bellinger gave a speech acknowledging the valuable role that the Court can play and making clear that the United States does not seek to prevent other countries from deciding to become parties to the Rome Statute. John B. Bellinger III, Speech Before the Council on Foreign Relations (Apr. 25, 2008), *at* http://www.cfr.org/courts-and-tribunals/bellingers-speech-united-states-international-criminal-court/p16110.

[12] *Nomination of Hillary R. Clinton to Be Secretary of State, Hearing Before the Senate Comm. on Foreign Relations*, 111th Cong. 135 (2009), *at* http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/13/us/politics/13text-clinton.html.

[13] *See* Koh, *supra* note 2, at 534 ("many in our country still have fundamental concerns about the Rome Statute that have prevented us from becoming a party").

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full track record of the ICC before reaching decisions on how to move forward."[14] As the Obama administration settled into office, the Review Conference that would take place in Kampala in the first half of 2010 presented an opportunity to reengage with the Court and the Rome Statute parties. Kampala emerged as a decision-forcing event that would help the administration marshal its efforts and energies, and also as a ready-made chance for the United States to publicly reconfirm its commitment to international criminal justice. Yet that sense of opportunity was tempered by a note of challenge: much of the world saw the raison d'être of the Kampala conference to be the adoption of amendments on the crime of aggression, and to bring to closure the seven-year process that had led to a package of amendments with which the United States had fundamental concerns. With those expectations, how could the United States work toward an outcome in Kampala on the crime of aggression that would allow it to maintain its trajectory toward a more mutually beneficial relationship with the Court?

An additional complication was that, absent U.S. participation, the Special Working Group had produced a completed package of proposals,[15] with compromises worked out on all but those issues relating to the provisions on entry into force and on the Security Council (or other) "filter" for the exercise of ICC jurisdiction. But the United States' concerns extended well beyond those two issues. A special report written by a bipartisan panel sponsored by the influential Council on Foreign Relations on the eve of the Review Conference concluded that a decision by the Rome Statute parties to enable the Court to exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression "would jeopardize U.S. cooperation with the Court."[16]

The U.S. delegation thus went to Kampala understanding that it would have to view the impending negotiations through two different lenses. On the one hand, many partners in the international community would be critical of the United States for having absented itself from the Princeton Process and for then "parachuting in" with new ideas and proposed changes. On the other hand, the U.S. delegation feared that the Kampala conference might produce an outcome with which the United States fundamentally disagreed and that could provoke a serious crisis in the warming United States relationship with the Court. The delegation thus needed to gauge how the U.S. Congress and domestic audience would react to anything that might be agreed in Kampala. ICC jurisdiction over the crime of aggression was a politically charged issue, in which key U.S. views and interests seemed to be shared by only a small number of other states, creating significant potential for charges that the Obama administration's decision to engage with the Court had been futile and naive.

[14] *See Nomination of Hillary R. Clinton to Be Secretary of State*, *supra* note 12, at 131.

[15] On an official level, the negotiations took place on a "general understanding that 'nothing is agreed until everything is agreed.'" Report of the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression, para. 4, ICC Doc. ICC-ASP/7/SWGCA/2 (Feb. 20, 2009). At an informal level, however, many participants proceeded on the basis that the crime-of-aggression package had consensus support subject only to resolution of the elements that had been included in brackets. *See* Stefan Barriga, *Against the Odds: Results of the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression*, *in* INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE: LAW AND PRACTICE FROM THE ROME STATUTE TO ITS REVIEW 621, 623 (Roberto Bellelli ed., 2010) ("On the face of it, only two issues remain to be resolved. The first is whether the provisions on aggression should only be binding upon those States Parties that have accepted the amendment (Article 121(5) [of the Rome Statute]), or whether the amendment would enter into force for all States Parties once ratified by seven-eighths of them (Article 121(4) [of the Rome Statute]). The second is the question of the role of the Security Council, and implicitly the role of the Permanent Members of the Council.").

[16] VIJAY PADMANABHAN, COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, SPECIAL REPORT NO. 55: FROM ROME TO KAMPALA: THE U.S. APPROACH TO THE 2010 INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT REVIEW CONFERENCE 4 (2010).

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The Obama administration thus initiated a review of the overall posture of the United States toward the ICC, including review of the draft provisions that already had been developed on the crime of aggression. The administration's most important symbolic decision may have been its decision to attend in November 2009 the first meeting of the Assembly of States Parties that was held after the administration took office. In his introductory speech to the assembly, the new ambassador-at-large for war crimes issues, Stephen Rapp, struck a conciliatory note in an intervention that was widely welcomed for its positive tone and sense of renewed U.S. engagement.[17]

But even at that moment of reconciliation, the United States felt it necessary to sound a cautionary note about the aggression issue. Said Rapp:

> I would be remiss not to share with you my country's concerns about an issue pending before this body to which we attach particular importance: the definition of the crime of aggression, which is to be addressed at the Review Conference in Kampala next year. The United States has well-known views on the crime of aggression, which reflect the specific role and responsibilities entrusted to the Security Council by the UN Charter in responding to aggression or its threat, as well as concerns about the way the draft definition itself has been framed.[18]

As indicated above, there was concern within the U.S. government about the general feeling—held by many of those who had participated in the Special Working Group and the Princeton Process—that only two issues remained open, despite the formally stated agreement that those discussions had been conducted on the principle that "nothing is agreed until everything is agreed."[19] In our view, five issues beyond those considered "open" needed more work. First, the definition of aggression itself—as set out in the amendment for Article 8 *bis*—seemed exceedingly problematic. Nor did we agree that the terms of that definition should logically be evaluated independently of the questions related to the conditions for exercising jurisdiction. Second, the United States was concerned about the decision to address the role of the Security Council through what the participants called "filter"—as opposed to "trigger"—mechanisms.[20] Third, there were questions about the extent to which states parties could or should use any aggression amendments to the Rome Statute as a point of departure for enacting legislation providing for jurisdiction over the crime of aggression in domestic courts. Fourth, we became increasingly concerned about the extent to which enabling the Court to exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression could do harm to the Court itself. Those in the administration who were most supportive of a strengthened relationship with the Court feared that

[17] Rapp said:

> Having been absent from previous rounds of these meetings, much of what we will do here is listen and learn. Our presence at this meeting, and the contacts that our delegates will seek with as many of you as possible, reflects our interest in gaining a better understanding of the issues being considered here and the workings of the Court.

Stephen J. Rapp, U.S. Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues, Speech to Assembly of States Parties (Nov. 19, 2009), *at* http://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/asp_docs/ASP8/Statements/ICC-ASP-ASP8-GenDeba-USA-ENG.pdf.

[18] *Id.*

[19] *See supra* note 15.

[20] Under the package that had been produced by the Special Working Group, "trigger" mechanisms included those that exist under Article 13 of the Rome Statute for state referral and *proprio motu* situations, whereas the question of "filters" would arise at a later stage, after the prosecutor had concluded that there was a reasonable basis to proceed with an investigation. *See* Barriga, *supra* note 15, at 632.

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aggression jurisdiction would divert and distract the Court from its core mission of combatting the "atrocity crimes"—war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide—over which the Court was already able to exercise jurisdiction. They questioned whether adding aggression into the mix would inevitably politicize the Court and the prosecutor, who would have to decide—one way or the other—whether to pursue the inevitable allegations that both sides would make in the event of armed conflict, charging that the other side had committed aggression? Finally, we asked, how would the aggression project affect overall relations between the Court and the United States? Would the outcome of the Kampala conference deflect the trajectory of our warming relationship with the Court, and undermine broader prospects for promoting interests and values that the United States and the Court clearly shared?

Over many months, the United States team undertook extensive diplomatic efforts to better understand the "crime of aggression package" developed through the Princeton Process and the Special Working Group and the issues that it presented. The team engaged in detailed discussions with those who had been immersed in the process, including through participation in informal, exceedingly useful meetings sponsored by the MacArthur Foundation in Glen Cove, New York, and hosted by the Mexican Foreign Ministry in Mexico City, as well as discussions at the meeting of the Assembly of States Parties itself and at the resumed session held in New York in March 2010. Those discussions identified a range of questions that concerned the United States, some of which we discuss below.

II. THE ROLE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

The United States' views about the role of the Security Council were well known from the outset: the Court should not exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression unless the Security Council had first determined that a state act of aggression has occurred. We recognized that few beyond the other permanent members of the Security Council shared this view, which some in the international community saw as designed simply to protect the permanent members from the possibility of prosecution. In fact, however, our views were anchored in the UN Charter, its negotiating history, and the special importance attached to the role of the Security Council in making determinations about whether a *state* has committed aggression.[21] There are obvious differences in kind between the crime of aggression and the atrocity crimes. Unlike a prosecution for those other crimes, a prosecution of an individual for the crime of aggression must necessarily turn on a prior determination that a *state* act of aggression has been committed. For that reason, the notion that the Security Council would first need to determine that a state had committed an act of aggression appeared central to the approach of the International Law Commission in its draft statute for an international criminal court.[22] Indeed, the very premise of UN General Assembly Resolution 3314 (discussed further below)—upon which

[21] *See* Remarks by D. Stephen Mathias, in *The Definition of Aggression and the ICC*, 96 ASIL PROC. 181, 182 (2002).

[22] *See id.* at 182 (noting that Article 23, paragraph 2, of the draft statute adopted by the International Law Commission provided that no complaint related to an act of aggression could be brought before the Court "unless the *Security Council* has first determined that a State has committed the act of aggression which is the subject of the complaint") (emphasis added); International Law Commission, Report on the Work of Its Forty-Sixth Session, UN GAOR, 49th Sess., Supp. No. 10, at 84, 86, UN Doc. A/49/10 (1994) ("Any criminal responsibility of an individual for an act or crime of aggression necessarily presupposes that a State had been held to have committed

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the entire package of amendments adopted at Kampala purportedly rests—was the mainstream view that core responsibility for determining whether aggression has occurred lies with the Security Council.

At a more conceptual level, the crime of aggression demands deeper consideration of how international institutions should balance the interests of peace versus justice. ICC supporters firmly believe in the notion of "No peace without justice."[23] With respect to atrocity crimes, there is a widespread view that agreements ending conflicts must not absolve those responsible for such crimes, and the Rome Statute speaks of crimes that "must not go unpunished." Justice interests in ensuring accountability must not be sacrificed to the interests of peace, even if real-life issues of sequencing and timing complicate the application of that principle in particular cases. When political solutions immunize those responsible for such atrocities, more damage than good may be caused to peace itself.[24]

But there appears to be no such consensus with respect to the crime of aggression. The crime of aggression seems fundamentally different insofar as members of the international community must consider political factors in deciding whether to investigate and prosecute, or even to forgo assigning blame in the interests of bringing a conflict to a close. Suppose two countries fight a war, each accusing the other of having committed aggression in starting the war; after protracted conflict, they are finally ready to sign a peace treaty, each insisting on assurances that their leaders will not be prosecuted for having started the war. Should claims of justice obstruct peace? Peace agreements commonly avoid assessing blame regarding who started a conflict in the first place. How prepared will the international community be to intervene to prevent the parties from agreeing that each others' leaders should not be prosecuted? And what damage will be done to the fabric of international criminal law, as well as efforts to promote peace, if such protections from prosecution are declared inadmissible?

Inevitably, the international community will want to strike a different balance between peace and justice when asking "who started this war?" than when asking "did the combatants commit atrocities?" Aggression determinations are different in kind: they fundamentally require a political assessment and political management. In our view, such assessment is of the type that the Charter has traditionally assigned to the Security Council. But whether or not one agrees with that, assigning that role to an ostensibly apolitical Court would inject the ICC into treacherous political waters that would threaten to undermine both the Court's credibility and that of the greater international criminal justice project.

III. THE DEFINITIONS IN ARTICLE 8 *BIS*

As discussed above, Princeton Process participants widely considered that they had finalized a definition of aggression and that all that remained for the Kampala conference to address were the conditions for exercising jurisdiction and the process by which the amendments would enter into force. The United States did not agree with that definition, nor did it share the view

aggression, and such a finding would be for the *Security Council* acting in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter . . . to make.") (emphasis added).

[23] See, for example, the nongovernmental organization of the same name, at http://www.npwj.org/.

[24] *See, e.g., Peace and Justice in Post-conflict Societies—the UN Position*, 3 INT'L ORG. L. REV. 395, 395 (2006) (legal opinions of the Office of Legal Affairs of the United Nations) ("The UN does not recognize any amnesty for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and other serious violations of international humanitarian law.").

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that the issue of the definition should be viewed as independent of the other two issues. As indicated above, the crime of aggression differs from the other ICC crimes in that an individual cannot be found guilty of having committed the crime of aggression without a prior determination that the state itself had committed aggression. The Princeton Process and the Special Working Group had developed highly debatable definitions of both the state "act of aggression" and the individual "crime of aggression."

A. The Definition of the State "Act of Aggression"

Paragraph 2 of Article 8 *bis* of the draft amendments produced by the Special Working Group defined the state act of aggression.[25] The first sentence provided a generic definition of "act of aggression" as "the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations." The second sentence then contained an enumerative definition, listing specific acts that qualify as an act of aggression. Both these sentences draw heavily from language in the annex to General Assembly Resolution 3314 (XXIX) of December 1974 ("Resolution 3314"),[26] but they stripped out clear limitations found in the text of that resolution. The manner in which that language was embedded without limitation in draft Article 8 *bis* risked fundamentally changing the way that it would operate.

1. The first sentence of the definition of the state "act of aggression." Specifically, the first sentence of draft Article 8 *bis*(2)—nominally drawn from Resolution 3314—made it appear that *any* illegal use of armed force would constitute an act of aggression, even though Resolution 3314 clearly contemplated that only certain illegal uses of force would do so.[27] By calling upon states "to refrain from all acts of aggression *and other uses of force contrary to the Charter*,"[28] paragraph 3 of Resolution 3314 made clear that not all illegal uses of force constitute aggression. But the amendments produced by the Special Working Group eliminated the phrase that made clear that aggression occurs only "as set out in this Definition."[29] The Special Working Group's draft Article 8 *bis*(2) thus seemed to eliminate the other elements that had been incorporated into Resolution 3314 to make clear that—to constitute an act of aggression—a use of force not only must violate Article 2(4) of the UN Charter but must also satisfy other criteria.

First, gravity: to constitute an act of aggression, an illegal use of force must be of sufficient gravity, a notion reflected throughout Resolution 3314. For example, in the annex that includes the definition of aggression, preambular paragraph 5 states that "aggression is the most serious . . . form of the illegal use of force." Article 2 of the definition itself adds that a determination that an act of aggression has been committed is not justified if "the acts concerned or their consequences are not of sufficient gravity."

[25] ICC Doc. ICC-ASP/7/SWGCA/2, *supra* note 15.

[26] Definition of Aggression, GA Res. 3314 (XXIX), annex (Dec. 14, 1974).

[27] Article 1 of the Resolution 3314 definition states: "Aggression is the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations, *as set out in this Definition.*" *Id.*, Art. 1 (emphasis added).

[28] Definition of Aggression, *supra* note 26, para. 3 (emphasis added).

[29] Specifically, the first sentence of Article 8 *bis* (2) omits the key phrase from Article 1—"as set out in this Definition"—a phrase that, by incorporating the seven other articles that contained additional elements modifying what the meaning of the sentence would otherwise be, was clearly intended to establish that not all violations of Article 2(4) constitute acts of aggression.

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Second, other relevant circumstances: under Resolution 3314, a determination whether an illegal use of force constitutes an act of aggression requires a consideration of "other relevant circumstances." Thus, preambular paragraph 10 of the annex containing the definition of aggression made clear that "whether an act of aggression has been committed must be considered *in the light of all the circumstances* of each particular case" (emphasis added) and that the Resolution 3314 definition constitutes only "guidance" regarding the ultimate determination. Similarly, Article 2 of the Resolution 3314 definition makes clear that, apart from whether the acts concerned or their consequences are of sufficient gravity, "other relevant circumstances" can justify a conclusion that an act of aggression has not been committed.

Third, purpose: the negotiating record of Resolution 3314 contains specific statements by the United States that the phrase "other relevant circumstances" includes the particular *purposes* for which the state concerned had acted, such as whether the purpose was to acquire territory. An earlier draft of what became Resolution 3314 specifically stated that "the purposes of the States involved" were among the "other relevant circumstances" to be taken into account in determining whether an act of aggression had occurred.[30] The United States agreed that "it was unnecessary to make special reference to the intent or purpose (including the proof of *animus*) of the States involved, that notion being covered by the phrase 'other relevant circumstances.'"[31] Similarly, the Soviets—hardly at that point a partner of the United States—"attached great importance to the intentions of the States parties to a conflict" and stated that the Security Council "must analyse the intentions of the States involved . . . to identify the true aggressor."[32]

At bottom, Resolution 3314 was a political declaration that did not contain an actual definition at all, at least in a legal sense. The "other relevant circumstances" that Resolution 3314 recognized as needing assessment extended beyond purpose. Inclusion of the phrase "other relevant circumstances" thus reflected a recognition that determining an act to be aggression required a political assessment of the situation as a whole, whatever conclusion might otherwise be suggested by the other provisions of Resolution 3314. If the drafters of the Kampala amendments are taken to have expressly provided that it was for the Court to "conclude that a determination that . . . aggression has been committed would not be justified in the light of other

[30] Consolidated Text of the Reports of the Contact Groups and of the Drafting Group, *in* Report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, Annex II, App. A, UN Doc. A/9019, A, at 16 (1973). The draft of the so-called Six Powers (Australia, Canada, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, and United States) that was considered in the run-up to the adoption of Resolution 3314 included an illustrative list of purposes that were of the type that might be consistent with a conclusion that a particular use of force constituted aggression. In particular, uses of force might constitute acts of aggression if they were undertaken "[i]n order to: (1) Diminish the territory or alter the boundaries of another State; (2) Alter internationally agreed lines of demarcation; (3) Disrupt or interfere with the conduct of affairs of another State; (4) Secure changes in the government of another State; or (5) Inflict harm or obtain concessions of any sort." The precise list of purposes in the Six Powers draft is less important than the fact that it was clearly contemplated that *purpose* should be an element to be considered in determining whether an act of aggression had occurred. Draft Proposals Before the Special Committee, *in* Report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, *supra*, Annex I, at 11–12.

[31] *See* Report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, UN GAOR, 29th Sess., Supp. No. 19, UN Doc. A/9619, at 23 (1974).

[32] *Id.* at 36; *see also* Andreas L. Paulus, *Peace Through Justice? The Future of the Crime of Aggression in a Time of Crisis*, 50 WAYNE L. REV. 1, 27 (2004) (discussing litigation under German domestic law distinguishing aggression from "a mere violation of the prohibition on the use of force" and noting that the absence of a specific intent "to disturb the peaceful coexistence of peoples" and the "benign motives of NATO action" rendered the German government non-prosecutable).

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relevant circumstances," there would be no guidance as to what those circumstances are or how they would affect a determination about whether aggression had occurred. Inclusion of the "other relevant circumstances" language would have risked revealing that application of the definition required essentially political judgments. But because Resolution 3314 clearly *did* assume that the making of such political judgments would be required, stripping out the element of political judgment that had made the Resolution 3314 "definition" workable turned the logic of the resolution on its head. Our view was, of course, that under the Charter system it was the Security Council that was responsible for making the necessary political judgments. But even those who feel that these decisions should not be left to the Security Council must concede that *someone* must make these political judgments in order to make it workable to use Resolution 3314 as a starting point to evaluate what constitutes aggression. It seems inconsistent with the essential judicial nature of the ICC to place such fundamentally political determinations in the hands of a criminal prosecutor and a group of judges.

2. The second sentence of the definition of the state "act of aggression." We also found confusing the second sentence of Article 8 *bis*(2), which provides:

> Any of the following acts, regardless of a declaration of war, shall, in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, qualify as an act of aggression:
>
> (a) The invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof;
>
> (b) Bombardment by the armed forces of a State against the territory of another State or the use of any weapons by a State against the territory of another State;
>
> (c) The blockade of the ports or coasts of a State by the armed forces of another State;
>
> (d) An attack by the armed forces of a State on the land, sea or air forces, or marine and air fleets of another State;
>
> (e) The use of armed forces of one State which are within the territory of another State with the agreement of the receiving State, in contravention of the conditions provided for in the agreement or any extension of their presence in such territory beyond the termination of the agreement;
>
> (f) The action of a State in allowing its territory, which it has placed at the disposal of another State, to be used by that other State for perpetrating an act of aggression against a third State;
>
> (g) The sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State of such gravity as to amount to the acts listed above, or its substantial involvement therein.

This sentence drew from Article 3 of the Resolution 3314 definition but, like the first sentence, did so in a manner that omitted key elements that had been essential for making the language of the Resolution 3314 definition workable. This enumerative list had been workable in Resolution 3314 only because it had been designed as "guidance" for the Security Council, effectively allowing the Council to modify or supplement the list as it considered necessary to fit a given situation. To decide whether a particular act indeed constituted an act of aggression,

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the Council would take into consideration such issues as gravity, intent, and "other relevant circumstances." Thus, a determination as to whether aggression has occurred would necessarily require an assessment of broader "relevant circumstances" and the making of political judgments in applying the definition—assessments that Resolution 3314 had presumed the Security Council would need to make. The need for this approach becomes clear when one takes a closer look at the nature of the acts listed in the second sentence. For example, absent such an assessment:

- Subparagraph (a) would appear to define as aggression "any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from [an invasion or attack by the armed forces of a state of the territory of another state]," and thus on its face would appear to characterize as aggression such things as the Allied occupations following World War II.
- Subparagraph (b) would appear to cover the "use of any weapons by a State against the territory of another State [or part thereof]" and thus on its face would appear to cover brief skirmishes of relatively little real consequence.
- Subparagraph (e) would appear to cover the "use of armed forces of one State which are within the territory of another State with the agreement of the receiving state, in contravention of the conditions provided for in the agreement," and thus on its face would appear to cover such non-aggressive matters as relatively minor violations of bilateral agreements.

Strangely, the enumerative list appeared not only overinclusive but also underinclusive. For example, the list seemed woefully out-of-date with respect to the modern threat posed by international terrorism. Paragraph (f) applies to a state's action in putting its territory at the disposal of another "state" for perpetrating an act of aggression against a third state, but never addresses the possibility of a state putting its territory at the disposal of nonstate actors. Similarly, having drawn from a list that had been finalized in 1974, there was understandably no mention or even hint of how Resolution 3314's definition might apply in the cases of cyberwarfare that have recently emerged as one of the greatest potential security threats facing the international community.

Because the second sentence of Article 8 *bis*(2) does include the phrase "in accordance with . . . General Assembly Resolution 3314," it could be argued that any of the seven enumerated acts would qualify as acts of aggression only insofar as they would do so under Resolution 3314. But for several reasons, we lacked sufficient confidence that that reading would, in fact, be attached to the sentence. First, the parallel to the phrase "in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolution 3314" used in Article 8 *bis*(2) was the phrase "*subject to* and in accordance with the provisions of article 2" that the General Assembly included in Article 3 of the annex to Resolution 3314. This wording left no doubt that the extent to which the enumerated acts constituted acts of aggression was "subject to" the provisions of Resolution 3314.[33] But "in accordance with"—by itself—does not necessarily mean the same thing as

[33] The precise language of Article 2 of the Resolution 3314 definition, to which the provisions of Article 3 are subject, is as follows:

> The first use of armed force by a State in contravention of the Charter shall constitute *prima facie* evidence of an act of aggression although the Security Council may, in conformity with the Charter, conclude that a determination that an act of aggression has been committed would not be justified *in the light of other relevant circumstances, including the fact that the acts concerned or their consequences are not of sufficient gravity.*

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"*subject to and* in accordance with"; the argument that the two phrases might be intended to mean the same thing is undermined by the fact that the drafters had excluded the "subject to" portion of the phrase used in Resolution 3314.

Furthermore, it seemed dubious that the drafters intended to make application of the entire list "subject to" the conditions of the Resolution 3314 definition, because doing so, on the face of the language, would have made the entire question subject to a determination by the Security Council, as it is in Resolution 3314. Yet a great number of states participating in the Princeton Process negotiations had clearly resisted accepting such a role for the Security Council. If the Court itself, rather than the Security Council, was supposed to decide whether the acts at issue were of "sufficient gravity" or whether "other relevant circumstances" warranted a conclusion that a state had not committed aggression, the language of Article 8 *bis*(2)—and, indeed, the language of the entire package of amendments, as well as the reports of the Special Working Group and the Princeton Process—did not offer the guidance that the Court would need on exactly how to exercise that discretion. Thus, Article 8 *bis*(2)'s language created ambiguity about whether gravity or other circumstances must be considered in determining whether a particular use of force constitutes an act of aggression. This issue seemed far too important to leave ambiguous, especially when defining an international crime.

3. The relationship between the two sentences in the definition of the state "act of aggression." Finally, we were concerned about the lack of clarity in the relationship between the two sentences of Article 8 *bis*(2). As we have seen, the first (generic) sentence suggested that *any* illegal use of force constituted an act of aggression, while the second (enumerative) sentence listed seven categories of acts that would qualify as an act of aggression. This structure left unclear whether

- an act must fall within both the generic *and* enumerative definitions in order to constitute an act of aggression;
- an act qualifies as aggression if it falls within *either* of the two sentences in the definition; or
- the second sentence is intended as a non-exhaustive list of acts that are considered automatically to fall within the generic definition; in other words, any of the enumerated acts are considered *automatically* to constitute the use of armed force "against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of a state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations."[34]

The italicized language at the end of the sentence (our emphasis) made clear that it would not be justified to conclude that any of the enumerated acts would be an act of aggression absent the requisite gravity or "other relevant circumstances."

[34] This last approach—that the two sentences are considered coterminous—was perhaps suggested by the draft Elements of Crimes, the third element of which was as follows: "The act of aggression—the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations—was committed." This last approach also appears consistent with the views expressed by delegations during the negotiations that were summarized as follows in the Special Working Group's report of its June 2008 meeting:

> Those delegations that supported the drafting of paragraph 2 expressed their understanding that the list of crimes was, at least to a certain extent, open. Acts other than those listed could thus be considered acts of aggression, provided that they were of a similar nature and gravity to those listed and would satisfy the general criteria contained in the chapeau of paragraph 2. In this connection, it was stressed that the right balance had been

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Apparently, the lack of clarity about the relationship between the two sentences was raised in the course of the work of the Special Working Group and the Princeton Process. The two sentences had previously been set forth as separate paragraphs within what had become Article 8 *bis*(2). The February 2009 Special Working Group report states that the two paragraphs were combined in order to address that lack of clarity.[35] But simply moving the two sentences physically closer to one another only highlighted the lack of clarity about the relationship between the two sentences.

In sum, Article 8 *bis* was, in our view, woefully lacking in providing a workable definition of "act of aggression." The text failed to grapple in an appropriate manner with the ideas of gravity or "other relevant circumstances," failed to ensure against being interpreted in a way that was inconsistent with customary international law, and failed to accurately reflect the elements of Resolution 3314 upon which it was purportedly based. We were troubled by the extent to which others were willing to gloss over what seemed to us to be obvious shortcomings in the legal definition of a term that carries such central importance.

B. The Definition of the Individual "Crime of Aggression"

Paragraph 1 of proposed Article 8 *bis* provided that a "crime of aggression," for which an individual could be criminally liable, would mean the following:

> the planning, preparation, initiation or execution, by a person in a position effectively to exercise control over or to direct the political or military action of a State, of an act of aggression which, by its character, gravity and scale, constitutes a manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

This definition raised at least two important issues: (1) whether the predicate for individual responsibility should be that the state has committed "an *act* of aggression" as opposed to a "*war* of aggression"; and (2) what the threshold for seriousness should be before individual criminal liability would properly lie.

1. An "act of aggression" versus a "war of aggression." Most of General Assembly Resolution 3314 was focused on whether a state act of aggression had occurred. The only provision of the Resolution 3314 definition that spoke to criminal responsibility of individuals was Article 5, which spoke of criminal responsibility only in the context of a "war of aggression."[36] The phrase "war of aggression" was drawn directly from Article 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, which defined the crimes that were subject to prosecution at Nuremberg. Thus, it was the "planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a *war of aggression*"—as opposed to

> struck in the Chairman's paper by including a generic definition in the chapeau of paragraph 2, along with the non-exhaustive listing of acts of aggression.

Report of the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression, para. 34, *in* ICC Doc. ICC-ASP/6/20/Add.1, Annex II (2008).

[35] *See* Report of the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression, ICC Doc. ICC-ASP/7/SWGCA/2, *supra* note 15, para. 14 (stating that the space between the two sentences was deleted to "enhance clarity").

[36] *See* GA Res. 3314 (XXIX), *supra* note 26, annex, Art. 5(2) ("A war of aggression is a crime against international peace.").

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an individual act or acts of aggression—that was the necessary predicate for criminal liability.[37] It had been the United States' view that only wars of the type launched by Nazi Germany would appropriately form a model for the crime of aggression. The distinction between "act of aggression" and "war of aggression" was clearly noted in the comments of delegates leading to the adoption of Resolution 3314.[38] Later, that distinction was widely recognized, including famously by Germany's statements in 2000 that "use of the term 'war'—instead of 'act'—of 'aggression' is of great significance" and that "[t]here is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that . . . the crime of aggression under customary international law could have undergone a broadening beyond its narrow content as expressed by the term 'war of aggression.'"[39]

The Special Working Group amendments nevertheless took a different approach, contemplating that liability for the crime of aggression could be triggered by an individual's involvement in a mere "act of aggression." Of course, many of the acts listed in the enumerative portion of Article 8 *bis* that were explicitly referred to as "acts" of aggression might be elements of a war of aggression if undertaken as part of a broader campaign. But it is hardly self-evident that they should be considered by themselves to qualify as the necessary predicate for the crime of aggression. The absence of an explicit requirement that a state have waged a "war of aggression" appeared to depart from customary international law and was another point that significantly concerned the United States.

2. The "threshold" issue. The Special Working Group amendments further stated that the "crime of aggression"—the offense for which an individual may be criminally prosecuted "means the planning, initiation or execution . . . of an act of aggression which, by its character, gravity and scale, constitutes a *manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations*" (emphasis added). Under this language, the threshold test was thus whether the act committed by the state constituted a "manifest" violation of the Charter. The "character, gravity and scale" of the state's action appeared relevant only insofar as they bore on the question whether the violation of the Charter is "manifest." Yet, standard definitions of the word "manifest" suggest something that is evident, obvious, apparent, or plain,[40] without necessarily connoting the egregiousness or flagrance that would ordinarily be considered essential to distinguish aggression for which individual criminal liability might lie from other illegal uses of force. Thus, a use of force, such as the firing of a single bullet that flies across a border, might constitute a plain—or

[37] Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Art. 6, Aug. 8, 1945, 59 Stat. 1544, 8 UNTS 279 (Nuremberg Charter) (defining "crimes against peace" as "namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy"); *see also* Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, Art. 5, Jan. 19, 1946, TIAS No. 1589 (Tokyo Tribunal); Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, GA Res. 2625, pmbl. (Oct. 24, 1970) (specifying that it is a *"war of aggression* [that] constitutes a crime against the peace" (emphasis added)).

[38] *See, e.g.*, Report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, *supra* note 31, at 16 (Japan affirming "that an act of aggression which was not part of a war of aggression gave rise only to State responsibility").

[39] *See* Proposal Submitted by Germany: The Crime of Aggression, paras. 20–21, PCNICC/2000/WGCA/DP.4 (Nov. 13, 2000).

[40] *See* THE RANDOM HOUSE DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, COLLEGE EDITION 813 (New York, 1980). The entry goes on to give "clear," "distinct," and "unmistakable" as synonyms. In a similar vein that appears to focus on considerations related to clarity, Article 46(2) of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, May 23, 1969, 1155 UNTS 331, provides that a state may not invoke the fact that its consent to be bound by a treaty has been expressed in violation of its internal law regarding competence to conclude treaties unless that violation was, inter alia, manifest; and then proceeds to provide that "[a] violation is manifest if it would be objectively evident to any State conducting itself in the matter in accordance with normal practice and good faith."

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"manifest"—violation of the Charter but nevertheless be relatively trivial in real terms. The blurring of the distinction between the two situations thus became another point of significant concern for the United States.

C. Would Overbroad Definitions Chill Lawful Uses of Force?

In the course of our discussions, some argued that the absence of appropriate thresholds in Article 8 *bis* should not concern us because separate provisions of the Rome Statute—for example, Articles 1 and 5—would erect a sufficient threshold for prosecution. They argued that the Court, in any event, is empowered to prosecute only "the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole"[41] and consequently both that the Court would find a case inadmissible if it is "not of sufficient gravity to justify further action by the Court"[42] and that a case would not proceed if it would "not serve the interests of justice."[43]

For at least four reasons, however, these arguments offered us insufficient comfort. First, a decision not to investigate or prosecute would not obviate the fact that such acts would have been deemed to constitute either an "act of aggression" by a state or the "crime of aggression" by an individual, under what would be taken as widely accepted definitions that would be treated as having the imprimatur of the ICC. Others in the international community could be readily expected to label them as such for their own political advantage, using the definition to "demonstrate" that another country had committed aggression, perhaps even using that fact to justify supposedly defensive military action of their own. Even assuming that the Court ultimately agreed not to investigate or prosecute, action by the Office of the Prosecutor could cast a long shadow and, during the typically long period during which it conducts its preliminary examinations, provide opportunities for critics to rally opposition to legitimate actions. Second, the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg itself called the initiation of a war of aggression "not only an international crime [but] *the supreme international crime*."[44] Thus, the nature of aggression is such that it would be difficult for the Court, in the case of acts that literally met the definition of aggression, either to dismiss those acts as falling outside the most serious crimes of concern to the international community or to leave them unprosecuted in response to an appeal to the interests of justice. Third, the adoption of the definition in a treaty as significant as the Rome Statute might well affect the way that states and others in the international community view customary international law, as is often said to have happened with respect to the definitions of "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity" in the Rome Statute. Fourth, even if it was true that the Court might decide not to investigate or prosecute any particular act that fell within the definition of the "crime of aggression," the act would not necessarily escape attempts to investigate or prosecute elsewhere, such as in domestic courts. This concern seemed all the more important in view of the ICC's foundational principle of complementarity, which calls for states to adopt national laws to investigate or prosecute crimes defined in the Rome Statute. Indeed, the basic notion underlying Article 5 of the Rome Statute is not that lesser cases—that is, cases that are not among the most serious crimes of

[41] Rome Statute, *supra* note 1, Art. 5(1).

[42] *Id.*, Art. 17(1)(d).

[43] *Id.*, Art. 53(1)(c).

[44] *Judicial Decisions, International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg), Judgment and Sentences*, 41 AJIL 172, 186 (1947) (emphasis added).

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concern to the "international community as a whole"—will remain uninvestigated or unprosecuted, but rather that such investigations and prosecutions will be left to be pursued in national legal systems.

As a policy matter, the ambiguities embedded in the Article 8 *bis* definitions risk a profound chilling effect. Supporters of ICC jurisdiction over the crime of aggression claim that fear of individual responsibility will make those responsible for the use of military force think twice before resorting to force. But there is a concomitant risk that a broad or vague definition will over-chill by *discouraging* states from using force in cases where they should. Thus, states may become unduly reluctant to risk involvement even in military actions that are lawful and appropriate, if such involvement creates an inherent and unpredictable risk of ICC investigation or prosecution. Ironically, one such result could be that the ICC ends up prolonging violence and abuses of human rights by deterring future military actions—for example, ones parallel to the intervention frequently urged in Rwanda in 1994—aimed at stopping the commission of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, which the Rome Statute sought to eliminate. It would be hugely tragic if this chilling effect discouraged states from stopping preventable genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, and thus limited states' responses to *post hoc* efforts at accountability. These amendments could also chill non–Rome Statute parties by offering a new political weapon to those who would criticize legitimate action as aggression, thereby greatly complicating the task of building the multilateral coalitions that are necessary for such actions.[45]

D. The Understandings

The Understandings attached as Annex III to the resolution on aggression adopted at Kampala were intended to address these concerns, but they ended up addressing only some of the weaknesses of the definition of "act of aggression" identified above. For these purposes, the most important Understanding was contained in paragraph 6, which provided:

> It is understood that aggression is the most serious and dangerous form of the illegal use of force; and that a determination whether an act of aggression has been committed requires consideration of all the circumstances of each particular case, including the gravity of the acts concerned and their consequences, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Happily, this language clarified at least two points: (1) only "the most serious and dangerous" forms of illegal use of force constitute aggression, and (2) the determination whether an illegal use of force constitutes aggression "requires consideration of all the circumstances of each particular case," including "the gravity of the acts concerned and their consequences."[46] Still, as

[45] We have heard anecdotal evidence that such a chilling effect has already hindered international efforts to stop the ongoing slaughter in Syria. Such a chilling effect could well encourage international actors to engage in behavior against which force would otherwise appropriately be used, and thereby have the perverse effect of undermining rather than strengthening international peace and security. *Cf.* William H. Taft, *Self-Defense and the Oil Platforms Decision*, 29 YALE J. INT'L L. 291, 299–300 (2004).

[46] Another Understanding related to the definition of "crime of aggression" as opposed to "act of aggression." Specifically, paragraph 7 provided:

> It is understood that in establishing whether an act of aggression constitutes a manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the three components of character, gravity and scale must be sufficient to justify

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discussed above, the assessment of these issues inevitably requires judgments that are almost wholly political in nature, with little direct guidance for the prosecutor and Court to apply.

Regrettably, the Kampala Review Conference failed to include a further Understanding proposed by the United States to address questions related to humanitarian intervention more explicitly. Whatever one's legal views on whether humanitarian intervention is a permissible basis under international law for resorting to force, a true humanitarian intervention should not be considered "aggression" and should not entail the risk of international criminal prosecution. The language that the United States put forward would clearly have excluded the use of force to prevent the very atrocity crimes that the Rome Statute itself aims to prevent: genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.[47] One can argue that this principle is implicit in the other elements of paragraph 6 of the Understandings, but the Kampala conference's reluctance to address explicitly such an important concern leaves the issue with an unfortunate ambiguity that may make it harder to prevent atrocity crimes in the future.

The United States also remained concerned about arguments that the Understandings are legally irrelevant and not part of what the Court should take into account in considering any cases involving the crime of aggression.[48] In our view, the Understandings are both legally correct and legally relevant as they reflect the meaning that the states parties attributed to the terms of the amendments at the time that the parties adopted them.

We believe it important for the states parties and others to continue to affirm all of these principles in the months and years ahead, thereby eliminating doubt and guarding against backsliding on these vital points.

IV. JURISDICTION IN NATIONAL COURTS OVER THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION, AND THE ROLE OF STATE CONSENT

In the diplomatic discussions leading to the Kampala Review Conference, there were considerable discussions about "state consent"—that is, whether the Court should be able to proceed with investigations and prosecutions of the crime of aggression where only the "victim

a "manifest" determination. No one component can be significant enough to satisfy the manifest standard by itself.

This Understanding was designed to underscore that the three factors in determining whether an act of aggression is a manifest violation of the UN Charter—character, gravity, *and* scale—must be read conjunctively; that is, the use of the word "and" in Article 8 *bis*(1) is based on an understanding that any one element could not be sufficient for this purpose and that all must be present. This does not directly address, of course, the more fundamental concerns, as described above, about the way that the Court may ultimately interpret the word "manifest." The Kampala participants declined to adopt proposed language that more straightforwardly stated that "it is only *a war of aggression* that is a crime against international peace." Still, it remained our view that it is on that basis that the Court would need to proceed if a crime of aggression case was ever prosecuted—a point made by Resolution 3314 itself.

[47] Non-paper by the United States, *reproduced in* THE TRAVAUX PRÉPARATOIRES OF THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION 751–52 (Stefan Barriga & Claus Kress eds., 2012); *see also* Statement at the Review Conference of the International Criminal Court (June 4, 2010), *at* http://www.state.gov/s/l/releases/remarks/142665.htm (statement by Legal Adviser Harold Hongju Koh, U.S. Department of State, arguing for Understandings that would "make clear that those who undertake efforts to prevent war crimes, crimes against humanity or genocide—the very crimes that the Rome Statute is designed to deter—do not commit 'manifest' violations of the UN Charter within the meaning of Article 8 *bis*. Regardless of how states may view the legality of such efforts, those who plan them are not committing the 'crime of aggression' and should not run the risk of prosecution.").

[48] *See, e.g.*, Kevin Jon Heller, *The Uncertain Legal Status of the Aggression Understandings*, 10 J. INT'L CRIM. JUST. 229 (2012) (arguing that the Court would have the right to ignore the Understandings unless they are adopted by *all* of the states parties to the Rome Statute).

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state" has consented, or whether, instead, the consent of the alleged "aggressor state" should also be required.[49] As described above, the United States' view had been that the ICC should be able to exercise jurisdiction only if the Security Council has made a prior determination that aggression had, in fact, occurred. The United States was therefore less focused upon whether the consent of the "aggressor state" should be required for the Court to proceed than were many of the other states that attended the meetings in Kampala. Nevertheless, the question had important implications for how the adoption of the amendments could "spill over" to parties outside the Court itself—in particular, how the crime of aggression might be investigated and prosecuted in national courts.

Describing the risk of unjustified domestic prosecutions at the start of the Review Conference, one of us (speaking as Legal Adviser) said:

> Too little attention has yet been paid to the question of how, if at all, the principle of complementarity would apply to the crime of aggression. The definition does little to limit the risk that State Parties will incorporate a definition—particularly one we believe is flawed—into their domestic law, encouraging the possibility that under expansive principles of jurisdiction, government officials will be prosecuted for alleged aggression in the courts of another state. Even if states incorporate an acceptable definition into their domestic law, it is not clear whether or when it is appropriate for one state to bring its neighbor's leaders before its domestic courts for the crime of aggression. Such domestic prosecutions would not be subject to any of the filters under consideration here, and would ask the domestic courts of one country to sit in judgment upon the state acts of other countries in a manner highly unlikely to promote peace and security.[50]

Under Article 12 of the Rome Statute, for the Court to have jurisdiction over genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes, the alleged crime must have been committed either on the territory of a Rome Statute party or by the national of a Rome Statute party. The theory upon which the Court's jurisdiction rests thus derived from the jurisdiction of one or both of those states, either one of which would normally have jurisdiction to prosecute the case in its national courts.[51] As is well-known, the United States has objected to the Court's assertion of jurisdiction with respect to nationals of nonparties to the Rome Statute for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. But the United States' objections to analogous treatment for the crime of aggression extend deeper: is it appropriate for a territorial state to prosecute the leader of a state that it accuses of aggression, without that state's consent?

The International Law Commission addressed this point in 1996, when it provided—in Article 8 of the draft *Code of Crimes Against the Peace and Security of Mankind*—that states should establish jurisdiction over war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide, but should not establish jurisdiction over the crime of aggression *except possibly with respect to its own nationals*.[52] The Commission's commentary provided:

[49] *See, e.g.*, Report of the Working Group on the Review Conference, ICC Doc. ICC-ASP/8/20/Add.1, Annex II (2010).

[50] Statement at the Review Conference of the International Criminal Court, *supra* note 47.

[51] *See, e.g.*, Sharon A. Williams, *Article 12, in* COMMENTARY ON THE ROME STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT 329, 340 (Otto Triffterer ed., 1999) ("When an alien commits a crime . . . on the territory of another State, a prosecution in the latter State is not dependent on the State of nationality being a Party to the pertinent treaty or otherwise consenting. . . . There is no rule of international law prohibiting the territorial State from voluntarily delegating to the ICC its sovereign ability to prosecute." (footnotes omitted)).

[52] Article 8 of the draft code provided:

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> This principle of exclusive jurisdiction is the result of the unique character of the crime of aggression in the sense that the responsibility of an individual for participation in this crime is established by his participation in a sufficiently serious violation of the prohibition of certain conduct by States contained in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations. The aggression attributed to a State is a *sine qua non* for the responsibility of an individual for his participation in the crime of aggression. An individual cannot incur responsibility for this crime in the absence of aggression committed by a State. *Thus, a court cannot determine the question of individual criminal responsibility for this crime without considering as a preliminary matter the question of aggression by a State.* The determination by a national court of one State of the question of whether another State had committed aggression would be contrary to the fundamental principle of international law *par in parem imperium non habet* [one sovereign power cannot exercise jurisdiction over another sovereign power]. Moreover, the exercise of jurisdiction by the national court of a State which entails consideration of the commission of aggression by another State would have serious implications for international relations and international peace and security.[53]

The Commission went on to say:

> The only State that could try an individual for the crime of aggression in its national courts under this provision is the State referred to in article 16, namely *the State whose leaders participated in the act of aggression.* This is the only State which could determine the responsibility of such a leader for the crime of aggression without being required to also consider the question of aggression by another State.[54]

There are, of course, examples of states that have enacted some form of aggression legislation and that have, in a few cases, conducted prosecutions of foreign nationals.[55] Even these examples, however, mainly dating to the unsettled era immediately following World War II, are of questionable reliability.[56] The prosecutions at Nuremberg were conducted, of course, during a period of military occupation. In the case of occupied Germany, the right to provide the relevant consent had passed to the Allied powers following the unconditional surrender of Germany.[57]

> Without prejudice to the jurisdiction of an international criminal court, each State Party shall take such measures as may be necessary to establish its jurisdiction over [genocide, crimes against humanity, crimes against UN personnel, and war crimes], irrespective of where or by whom those crimes were committed. Jurisdiction over the crime set out in article 16 [aggression] shall rest with an international criminal court. However, a State referred to in article 16 is not precluded from trying its nationals for the crime set out in that article.

Code of Crimes Against the Peace and Security of Mankind, *in* Report of the International Law Commission on the Work of Its Forty-Eighth Session, UN GAOR, 51st Sess., Supp. No. 10, UN Doc. A/51/10, at 27.

[53] *Id.*, Art. 8, cmt. 14 (emphasis (of full sentence) added).

[54] *Id.*, cmt. 15 (emphasis added).

[55] *See* Astrid R. Coracini, *Evaluating Domestic Legislation on the Customary Crime of Aggression Under the Rome Statute's Complementarity Regime*, *in* THE EMERGING PRACTICE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT 733 (Carsten Stahn & Goran Sluiter eds., 2009).

[56] It is also noteworthy that the definitions in the relevant national legislation do not necessarily match the definitions adopted by the Special Working Group. *See* Beth Van Schaack, *Par in Parem Imperium Non Habet*, 10 J. INT'L CRIM. JUST. 133, 138–141, 152 (2012) ("Legislators incorporating the crime into national penal codes may drop or change definitional elements of the crime, enabling more expansive prosecutions than have been deemed acceptable by the [Assembly of States Parties].").

[57] *See* Dapo Akande, *Prosecuting Aggression: The Consent Problem and the Role of the Security Council*, 31–32 (Oxford Inst. for Ethics, Law & Armed Conflict, Working Paper, 2010), *at* http://www.elac.ox.ac.uk/downloads/dapo%20akande%20working%20paper%20may%202010.pdf (footnotes omitted). Akande states:

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At the end of the day, the supporters of the Kampala amendments appear to have accepted the principle that, absent action by the Security Council, the consent of the aggressor state *should*, in fact, be required in order for jurisdiction to exist over the crime of aggression. With respect to non–Rome Statute parties, that acceptance is made clear by Article 15 *bis*(5), which precludes the Court from exercising its jurisdiction over the crime of aggression when committed by the national of a non–state party. With respect to Rome Statute parties, there is a range of views regarding what constitutes a sufficient manifestation of consent of the state involved, but—even among those with the most expansive views of the circumstances of what qualifies as sufficient consent to enable the Court to exercise jurisdiction—the Kampala amendments clearly proceed on the basis that the Court cannot exercise its jurisdiction with respect to an act of aggression committed by a state that has not consented to the Court's aggression jurisdiction.[58]

Absent such consent, the Kampala amendments do not treat the territorial nexus with the victim state, standing alone, as a sufficient basis to confer jurisdiction on the Court. It would be incongruous for states, having agreed that such a territorial nexus was an insufficient basis to confer jurisdiction on the Court, nevertheless to treat it as an appropriate basis for conferring jurisdiction on their domestic courts.[59]

> Even if one were to take the view that the Nuremburg Tribunal was not a national or quasi- national tribunal but instead was a tribunal operating exclusively on the plane of international law, there would still be the question whether it operated in the absence of the consent of the State whose acts it judged when it considered the waging of aggressive war. At the relevant time Germany had surrendered to the Allied powers and had been occupied by those countries. Strictly speaking, Germany had lost its sovereignty, in the sense of its independence, as a matter of international law, and the Allied powers had assumed governmental control over it. In fact, and in law, they had joint supreme authority or sovereignty over Germany. This means that Allied powers possessed the right and power to exercise for Germany all acts and all competences which the German government could have exercised and possessed. From this perspective, the establishment of the Nuremberg Tribunal cannot be regarded as departing from the principle of consent or indeed of establishing a new principle whereby an international tribunal can be established which pronounces, as an essential aspect of its jurisdiction, on the obligations and responsibilities of a State, without the consent of that State. Clearly, the Allied powers, which were the governing authorities of Germany, consented to the exercise of jurisdiction over German acts by the Nuremburg Tribunal, for they established it.

See also the Berlin Declaration of June 5, 1945, 60 Stat. 1649, 1650 ("The Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom, and the Provisional Government of the French Republic hereby assume supreme authority with respect to Germany, including all powers possessed by the German Government, the High Command and any state, municipal, or local government authority."). The situation was different with respect to Japan, the government of which continued to exist after World War II and consented to the establishment of the Tokyo Tribunal. *See* Neil Boister, *The Tokyo Trial, in* ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW 18 (William A. Schabas & Nadia Bernaz eds., 2011).

[58] *See* Stefan Barriga & Leena Grover, *A Historic Breakthrough on the Crime of Aggression*, 105 AJIL 517, 532 n.38 (2011) (noting agreement that Kampala adopted a consent-based regime and that differences of view involve only how that consent needs to be expressed).

[59] It was with this possibility in mind that paragraph 5 was included in the Understandings attached as Annex III to the resolution that the states parties adopted in Kampala. Paragraph 5 provided: "It is understood that the amendments shall not be interpreted as creating the right or obligation to exercise domestic jurisdiction with respect to an act of aggression committed by another State." While on its face this Understanding does not preclude arguments that a state might otherwise have authority to prosecute the crime of aggression (and surely nothing in international law would prevent it from doing so with respect to its own leaders), it does separate the crime of aggression from the atrocity crimes in the Rome Statute—genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes—with respect to which many in the international community look to the Rome Statute as verifying that it is appropriate and desirable for states to prosecute such cases.

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Ultimately, these seemingly technical legal issues connect to political considerations of great importance. It might be useful for states to prosecute their own leaders for the crime of aggression, particularly when a new government has taken over from one that is responsible for aggression. But how much would the international community actually benefit by encouraging states to use their national courts to sit in judgment on whether another state's action constituted aggression? Imagine two states at war, each making accusations of aggression against the other: it is all too predictable how an aggression case would come out. The leader of one state would likely be held criminally liable in the domestic courts of the other. But would the interests of the international community in either peace or justice be promoted by establishing a norm that promotes such cases or domestic prosecutions in third states?[60]

V. Issues Related to the Entry-into-Force Provisions—Articles 121(4) and 121(5)

Perhaps the most befuddling discussions surrounding the Kampala amendments surrounded the "entry into force provisions": Articles 121(4) and (5). These seemingly technical issues took on profound importance in the discussions leading up to Kampala because they were so tightly tied to critical questions of when the Court would be able to exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression, and whether the Court would be able to exercise jurisdiction when the accused state had not ratified the amendments.

As events evolved, the discussion involved two key subsections of Article 121 of the Rome Statute, which provide:

> (4) Except as provided in paragraph 5, an amendment shall enter into force for all States Parties one year after instruments of ratification or acceptance have been deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations by seven-eighths of them.
>
> (5) Any amendment to articles 5, 6, 7 and 8 of this Statute shall enter into force for those States Parties which have accepted the amendment one year after the deposit of their instruments of ratification or acceptance. In respect of a State Party which has not accepted the amendment, the Court shall not exercise its jurisdiction regarding a crime covered by the amendment when committed by that State Party's nationals or on its territory.

Under these provisions, a different "entry-into-force regime" would apply, depending on whether or not a provision was an amendment to four provisions—Articles 5 through 8—that establish the crimes over which the Court has jurisdiction and define those crimes. Specifically, Article 5 provides that the Court has jurisdiction in accordance with the Rome Statute with respect to the crime of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, *and the crime of aggression,* and Articles 6 through 8 provide the definitions of "genocide," "crimes against humanity," and "war crimes" for purposes of the Court's jurisdiction. At Rome, of course, no definition was agreed for the crime of aggression; instead, a provision was included in Article 5 under which the Court would not be able to exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression until a provision defining the crime and setting out the conditions under which the Court

[60] For a thorough discussion of the many still-unaddressed issues involved in reconciling the principle of complementarity and the crime of aggression, see generally Julie Veroff, Note, *Reconciling the Crime of Aggression and Complementarity: Unaddressed Tensions and a Way Forward,* 125 Yale. L.J. (forthcoming).

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would be able to exercise jurisdiction with respect to it was adopted in accordance with Articles 121 and 123 of the Rome Statute.[61] In this context, it is helpful to look back at the negotiating history of those articles.

A. Negotiating History of Article 121 of the Rome Statute

Until shortly before the text of the Rome Statute was finalized, the contents of what are now Articles 5, 6, 7, and 8 were all contained in a single provision, the original Article 5. Under that draft article, the first subsection listed the crimes over which the Court would have jurisdiction—war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, and the crime of aggression—and subsequent subsections defined each of the crimes.[62] The text of Article 121(5) at that time said that it would apply to "any amendment to article 5 of this Statute."

Article 5 was broken into separate articles only in the final stages of the Rome Conference. However, no corresponding change was made to Article 121(5). Thus, when the states actually voted on adoption of the text for the Rome Statute in July 1998, the text of Article 121(5) still said that it would apply to "[a]ny amendment to article 5 of this Statute,"[63] without adding that it would also apply to amendments that were now contained in Articles 5 through 8.

After the Rome Conference, on September 3, 1998, Ambassador Philippe Kirsch, who had presided over the conference at Rome, wrote to Ambassador Hans Corell, the UN under-secretary general for legal affairs, to make what he characterized as a "technical correction" to the text adopted at Rome. Under Article 125, the UN secretary-general serves as depositary of the Rome Statute. As described in more detail in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, in the case of error in the text of treaties, the responsibilities for a depositary include notifying the signatory and contracting states of errors and of the proposals to correct them—and in the absence of objection, to make and initial corrections in the text and to inform those entitled to become parties.[64] These procedures apply only in "cases where there is no dispute as to the existence of the error or inconsistency" and do not apply if "there is a dispute as to whether or not the alleged error or inconsistency is in fact such."[65]

Ambassador Kirsch's letter was thus written to make clear that the fact that Article 121(5) referred only to Article 5 was merely a technical error, and to have the secretary-general make the necessary corrections so that Article 121(5) would be revised to refer not just to Article 5 but to the new Articles 5 through 8.[66] Ambassador Kirsch's letter noted specifically that the Bureau of the Committee of the Whole of the Conference had confirmed that this error was simply a technical one and that it had not been "the intent of the Bureau in Rome to make a substantive change to Article 121, paragraph 5" when it had broken what had been a single

[61] Article 5(2) went on to provide that "[s]uch a provision shall be consistent with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations."

[62] *See, e.g.*, Report of the Preparatory Committee on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court, UN Doc. A/CONF.183/2/Add.1 (Apr. 14, 1998).

[63] *See* Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Art. 121(5), July 17, 1998, UN Doc. A/CONF.183/9*, 37 ILM 999 (1998). An online copy is available at http://legal.un.org/icc/docs.htm.

[64] *See* Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, *supra* note 40.

[65] Draft Articles on the Law of Treaties with Commentaries, [1966] 2 Y.B. INT'L L. COMM'N 187, 272.

[66] The UN secretary-general, for whom the head of the Office of Legal Affairs serves as legal counsel, had been designated as the depositary for the treaty. Rome Statute, *supra* note 1, Art. 121(5). *See also* Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, *supra* note 40, Art. 79 (describing role of depositary in the correction of errors in the texts of treaties).

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Article 5 into four separate articles.[67] This history obviously suggests that Article 121(5) applies in the same way as it would have applied had the content of these four articles been retained as a single Article 5.

So, how would Article 121(5) apply with respect to such an undivided Article 5? Looking at war crimes as an example, the amendment of the definition of war crimes would clearly be an amendment to the portion of Article 5 dealing with war crimes. Accordingly, in the event of an amendment of the definition of war crimes, that amendment would fall within the purview of Article 121(5), and the Court would not be able to exercise its jurisdiction regarding a war crime covered by the amendment when committed by the nationals of a state party that had not accepted the amendment, or when committed on the territory of such a state party. In essence, that state party would have to "opt in" to a crime —that is, specifically consent to its exercise by ratifying or accepting the amendment—for any exercise of jurisdiction to occur with respect to it.

Exactly the same reasoning should apply to the crime of aggression. The crime of aggression would be set out in Article 5, alongside the other crimes over which Article 5 specified that the Court would have jurisdiction. As with the other crimes, the amendment would fall within the purview of Article 121(5), and the Court would not be able to exercise its jurisdiction regarding the crime of aggression when committed by the nationals of a state party that had not ratified or accepted the amendment, or when committed on the territory of such a state party. Under the plain meaning of the article, a state party would have to "opt in" to the crime of aggression for an exercise of jurisdiction to occur.

In short, Article 121(5) embodied two simple ideas: that the states parties were signing onto a Court with jurisdiction over crimes the definitions of which the parties had accepted, and that legislatures of those states had had an opportunity to review those definitions in the process of ratifying the treaty. In ratifying the Rome Statute, states were thus committing to a set of crimes under Article 5 over which the Court would have jurisdiction. Article 121(5) guarded against the risk that two-thirds of the states parties might amend those definitions to extend the Court's jurisdiction to acts that other parties did not agree should be subject to the Court's jurisdiction or should even be treated as criminal offenses.[68] This provision gave states parties confidence that their nationals could not be hauled before the Court to face criminal charges for such acts without that state's consent, and that the Court in which they had invested their resources and support could not be "turned against them" in ways to which they had not specifically consented.

[67] Letter from Philippe Kirsch to Hans Corell, UN Under-Secretary-General and Legal Counsel (Sept. 3, 1998), *partially reprinted in* Allain Pellet, *Entry into Force and Amendment of the Statute*, 1 THE ROME STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT: A COMMENTARY (Antonio Cassese, Paolo Gaeta & John R. W. D. Jones eds., 2002), at 145, 181.

[68] *See* Andreas Zimmerman, *Amending the Amendment Provisions of the Rome Statute: The Kampala Compromise on the Crime of Aggression and the Law of Treaties*, 10 J. INT'L CRIM. JUST. 209, 218 (2012) ("[W]hile contracting parties were generally willing to automatically submit to the Court's jurisdiction by way of their ratification of the Statute (which, in itself, constituted a major step forward as compared to, for instance, the jurisdiction of other international courts and tribunals, such as the International Court of Justice), they were only willing to do so to the extent they had accepted the substantive law governing the exercise by the Court of its jurisdiction. Otherwise, they wanted to shield themselves, as well as their nationals, from the exercise of jurisdiction by the Court on the basis of any amendments they could not foresee and, ultimately, could not prevent from entering into force.").

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B. Consideration of Articles 121(4) and 121(5) by the Special Working Group

The records of the Special Working Group reflect considerable discussion about what to make of Articles 121(4) and 121(5) with respect to the crime of aggression, and the Special Working Group's final package contained six separate amendments:

(1) an amendment to delete Article 5(2) of the Rome Statute

(2) an amendment to insert a new Article 8 *bis*, containing the definitions of "act of aggression" and "crime of aggression" described in part III above

(3) An amendment to insert a new Article 15 *bis*, regarding the conditions for the exercise of jurisdiction

(4) An amendment to Article 25(3), limiting to whom the provisions on the crime of aggression would apply ("only to persons in a position to effectively exercise control over or to direct the political or military action of a state")

(5) An amendment to Article 9(1), providing that the Elements of Crime shall assist the Court in interpreting and applying the crime of aggression (as the Elements of Crime had previously provided assistance with respect to genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes)

(6) An amendment to Article 20(3), protecting persons who have been tried by another court for the crime of aggression from trial by the ICC (as had previously been the case with respect to genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes)[69]

The final package ultimately contained a seventh amendment, as Article 15 *bis* gave way to separate articles 15 *bis* and 15 *ter*, with Article 15 *bis* dealing with conditions for exercising jurisdiction in cases of state referrals or *proprio motu* jurisdiction, and Article 15 *ter* dealing with the conditions in cases of Security Council referrals.

At least on their face, each of these six proposals would appear to present different issues in terms of the 121(4)/121(5) regime. The amendment of Article 5 would seem on its face to fall under Article 121(5). The amendments of Articles 9, 20, and 25, along with the insertion of Article 15 *bis*, would seem on their face *not* to fall under Article 121(5), from which it would follow that they would not enter into force unless and until ratified or accepted by *seven-eighths of the states parties*. Not only were these provisions not physically placed within Articles 5 through 8, they did not fit there conceptually, in the sense that they were not providing a definition of a crime, the nonacceptance of which by a state would trigger a rule under which its nationals could not be prosecuted for that crime.

Article 8 *bis* was at least facially different: it could be said to fall physically outside Article 121(5) in that it was not, literally, an amendment to Article 5, 6, 7, or 8. But it served the same function as the provisions contained in those articles in that it defined acts that had not been—but would become—subject to investigation and prosecution by the Court. Moreover, the negotiating history reviewed above supported the conclusion that amendments regarding the

[69] *See* Draft Amendments to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court on the Crime of Aggression, para. 1 (Feb. 2009), *reprinted in* THE PRINCETON PROCESS ON THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION: MATERIALS OF THE SPECIAL WORKING GROUP ON THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION, 2003–2009, at 60–62 (Stefan Barriga, Wolfgang Danspeckgruber & Christian Wenaweser eds., 2009).

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definition of the crime of aggression should be treated in the same manner as amendments to Articles 5 through 8. Specifically, taken together, these facts—that Articles 5 through 8 had originally been contained in a single article to which Article 121(5) referred, that the substance of Article 8 *bis* would clearly have been appropriate to include within that original Article 5, and that the breaking of Article 5 into separate articles was treated as a technical change that was not intended to alter the way the provisions would operate—strongly suggested the propriety of treating Article 8 *bis* as subject to Article 121(5).

In any event, by the time the United States began engaging in the process, the participants had already concluded that all the amendments should be treated as a single package falling under either Article 121(4) or Article 121(5).[70] The apparent theory was that the parties could have framed the amendments as a single amendment that fell physically either inside or outside Articles 5 through 8. For example, it was posited that, if the desire had been to frame all the amendments to come within Articles 5 through 8, the substance of Article 25—modifying the rules for attributing criminal responsibility so that, for the crime of aggression, only those in a position of leadership could be prosecuted—could have been squeezed into Article 5, rather than included in a separate Article 25.

Yet the reality was far more complicated. It was *not* clear that some of the provisions could have been framed to come within Article 5, at least without torturous drafting. This problem was especially apparent in the case of the provisions on the conditions for exercising jurisdiction that eventually emerged as Articles 15 *bis* and 15 *ter*. These amendments were of a very different character, modifying the application of portions of the Rome Statute that were separate from the definitions of the crimes. For example, Article 15 *bis* was specifically framed as a modification of the jurisdictional rules that would otherwise apply under Article 13 of the Rome Statute ("Exercise of Jurisdiction").[71]

What would it mean, under the first sentence of Article 121(5), that such a provision was in force for parties that ratified, and not in force for parties that had not? The jurisdiction of an international court such as the ICC can easily cover particular acts committed by the nationals of one state, but not those of another, when all states agree that that is the way that the Court's jurisdiction should operate. Indeed, this is the way in which the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice operates.[72] But it is quite another thing to say that provisions that endow the Court with jurisdiction over particular acts are in force for some Rome Statute parties but not others. Such an approach would create myriad paradoxes. Would states for which

[70] At the same time, there was a general view that Articles 121(4) and 121(5) were alternatives; that is, one or the other, but not both, could apply at the same time. Barriga, *supra* note 15, at 635 (footnotes omitted) ("So far, any attempts to consider the two provisions as complementary rather than mutually exclusive have been rejected, and it is thus likely that in the final decision on the matter, the Review Conference will simply have to choose one or the other option."). Yet this conclusion, too, was not completely obvious.

[71] *See, e.g.*, Article 15 *bis*(1) ("The Court may exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression in accordance with article 13, paragraphs (a) and (c), subject to the provisions of this article."). Both Articles 15 *bis* and 15 *ter* modify the Court's ability to exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression under Article 13, with the consequence that the otherwise applicable rules under Article 13 are made subject to the provisions of these two new articles. Thus, the rules would limit the Court's jurisdiction in state referral and *proprio motu* cases, meaning that the Court may exercise jurisdiction only after thirty states ratified and only after a decision, referred to in the amendments, taken by the states parties after January 1, 2017.

[72] Specifically, the pattern here is the same as with the Statute of the International Court of Justice, under which all parties to the ICJ Statute have agreed that the Court will have compulsory jurisdiction only over those states that make a declaration under Article 36.

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the amendments are not in force be under a legal obligation to recognize judgments that, insofar as they are concerned, the Court is not competent to make? Would such states be under an obligation to cooperate with investigations or prosecutions being pursued by the Court under provisions that, for those states, are not in force? Indeed, would such states be required to *fund* the operations of the Court to pursue cases under provisions that, insofar as they are concerned, are not in effect? None of these issues would be problematic if the amendments establishing conditions for exercising jurisdiction were adopted under Article 121(4). The obligations under such amendments—including the requirements to recognize judgments, to cooperate with investigations and prosecutions, and to provide funding—would apply equally to all states parties.

The decision to treat all the amendments as if each were an amendment to Articles 5 through 8 thus opened an intellectual and legal quagmire. It seemed one thing to treat provisions as if they fell under Articles 5 through 8 if, logically, their content fit comfortably within those provisions. But it is quite another thing to do so for provisions that, in reality, were of a very different character. Nevertheless, the states parties appear to have proceeded on the basis that all the amendments would be treated as a single package that fit either wholly within Articles 5 through 8 or wholly outside those articles. For its part, having absented itself from the process since 2003, the United States made a tactical decision not to press the view that the different elements of the package should be treated differently under the 121(4)/121(5) regime. At least at the time, the tactical costs of pressing to revisit this issue appeared to outweigh the benefits of bringing what might be seen as greater legal clarity and intellectual order to the issue.

C. The Decision That the Aggression Amendments Would Enter into Force Under Article 121(5) and Questions About "Positive" Versus "Negative" Understandings

In the end, the text of the resolution adopted at Kampala was clear on at least one point: none of the Kampala amendments would require ratification or acceptance by seven-eighths of the parties in order to enter into force, and paragraph 1 of the resolution adopted on the last night of the Kampala conference stated explicitly that all the amendments "are subject to ratification or acceptance and shall enter into force in accordance with article 121, paragraph 5."[73] But if that is so, what did the second sentence of Article 121(5) mean when it said that, in respect of a state that has not ratified or accepted the amendment, "the Court shall not exercise its jurisdiction regarding a crime covered by the amendment when committed by that State Party's nationals or on its territory"? The reports of the Special Working Group reflect extensive discussion of two schools of thought on this question: the so-called negative versus positive understandings of Article 121(5).

The first of these schools of thought involved the so-called negative understanding: the second sentence of Article 121(5) meant exactly what it said. Thus, if there were amendments to expand the definitions of genocide, crimes against humanity, or war crimes to apply to new acts, the Court would not be able to exercise jurisdiction under those amendments to prosecute those new crimes against the nationals of a state party that had not ratified or accepted the amendment, even if that national's action occurred on the territory of a state that had accepted or ratified the amendment. Similarly, the Court would not be able to exercise jurisdiction with

[73] ICC Res. RC/Res.6, *supra* note 1.

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respect to acts committed on the territory of a state party that had not ratified the amendment, even if the allegedly offensive action had been taken by a national of a state that had ratified the amendment.

A second, opposing school of thought supported the so-called positive understanding that the second sentence of Article 121(5) meant the *opposite* of what it actually said. Thus, while Article 121(5) said on its face that the Court could not exercise jurisdiction over acts when committed by the nationals of a state that had not ratified an amendment, the positive understanding was that the Court could nonetheless exercise jurisdiction over such nationals if the crimes were committed on the territory of a state that had ratified. And while Article 121(5) said on its face that the Court could not exercise jurisdiction over acts committed on the territory of a state that had not ratified, under the positive understanding the Court could nonetheless exercise jurisdiction over crimes committed on the territory of such a state if they were committed by the national of a state that did ratify.

The purported logic of the positive understanding was that the result better matched the jurisdictional regime in other parts of the Rome Statute, under which the Court would have jurisdiction if either the state of nationality *or* the territorial state was a Rome Statute party. But in the United States' view, this interpretation had many problems. Most obviously, the positive understanding was inconsistent with what Article 121(5) actually said, and the interpretation thus would not be—in the words of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties—"in accordance with the ordinary meaning to be given to the terms of the treaty."[74] While normal principles of treaty law, reflected in the Vienna Convention, allow recourse to supplementary means of interpretation when the interpretation based on the ordinary meaning either "leaves the meaning ambiguous or obscure" or "leads to a result which is manifestly absurd or unreasonable,"[75] the plain meaning of the words here was neither "ambiguous" nor "obscure," nor did it yield a result that was "manifestly absurd or unreasonable." Indeed, as described above, the ordinary meaning of that sentence is fully consistent with the manifestly reasonable desire of states parties to protect themselves from the possibility that the Court that they had committed to support could not be turned against them, so as to expose their nationals to investigations or prosecutions for acts that they did not agree were crimes or that they did not agree should be subject to the Court's jurisdiction.

The U.S. delegation was concerned with the very fact that the Special Working Group had had such an extended debate on the issue of the positive versus negative understandings. Some proponents of the positive understanding appeared too willing to disregard explicitly limiting language in favor of interpretations that sought, as a matter of policy, to maximize the scope of the Court's jurisdiction. This phenomenon raised troubling questions about whether countries could depend upon the institutions created by the Rome Statute to abide by those legal protections to state interests that had been painstakingly included in the text.

In any event, whatever credibility the arguments in favor of the "positive understanding" might have had, it dissolved in Kampala itself. Specifically, paragraph 5 of Article 15 *bis* of the Kampala Outcome Document, which addressed the Court's jurisdiction over the crime of aggression in cases involving states that are not parties to the Rome Statute, provides: "In respect of a State that is not a party to this Statute, the Court shall *not* exercise its jurisdiction

[74] Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, *supra* note 40, Art. 31(1).
[75] *Id.*, Art. 32.

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over the crime of aggression when committed by that State's nationals or on its territory" (emphasis added). This Article 15 *bis* language thus directly mirrors the second sentence of Article 121(5): both this language and Article 121(5) say that the Court shall not exercise its jurisdiction over the crimes to which they apply "when committed by that State's nationals or on its territory." In Kampala, nothing could have been clearer than that, under this provision, the Court *would not* be able to exercise jurisdiction over acts committed by nationals of non–state parties, even if the alleged crime occurred on the territory of a state party that had ratified the aggression amendments.[76] It is thus hard to see how the same language in the parent provision, Article 121(5), could be read in exactly the opposite way: to mean that, somehow, the Court *would* be able to exercise jurisdiction if the alleged crime occurred on the territory of a ratifying state.

Thus, one would have expected from the above that the crime of aggression would not be prosecutable before the Court in cases that involved a state party that did not ratify or accept the amendments, either as the state of nationality of the accused or as the state in which the crime was alleged to have taken place. But suddenly, an entirely different, and deeply implausible, "theory" of the aggression amendments arose among some of the Kampala participants, based on the unlikely notion that the aggression amendments were governed by neither Article 121(4) nor Article 121(5), but by two completely different Rome Statute articles that had heretofore barely been mentioned seriously in the discussion of this matter.

VI. ENTRY INTO FORCE UNDER THE ARTICLE 5(2)/ARTICLE 12 THEORY

What we call here "the Article 5(2) theory" appears to contain several steps. As we have heard it articulated,[77] the theory starts with the language in Article 12 of the Rome Statute: "A state

[76] *See, e.g.*, Christian Wenaweser, *Reaching the Kampala Compromise on Aggression: The Chair's Perspective*, 23 LEIDEN J. INT'L L. 883, 887 (2010) (highlighting importance in the amendments of "the wholesale exemption for non–states parties"); Stefan Barriga, *Exercise of Jurisdiction and Entry into Force of the Amendments on the Crime of Aggression*, *in* FROM ROME TO KAMPALA: THE FIRST 2 AMENDMENTS TO THE ROME STATUTE 31, 41 (Gérad Dive, Benjamin Goes & Damien Vandermeersch eds., 2012) ("article 15 *bis*(5) is very unambiguous" as to whether the Court lacks jurisdiction if a non–state party is the alleged aggressor); Niels Blokker & Claus Kress, *A Consensus Agreement on the Crime of Aggression: Impressions from Kampala*, 23 LEIDEN J. INT'L L. 889, 893 (2010) ("the ICC will be precluded from exercising jurisdiction over the crime of aggression with respect to acts of aggression by and against non–state parties"); Claus Kress & Leonie von Holtzendorff, *The Kampala Compromise on the Crime of Aggression*, 8 J. INT'L CRIM. JUST. 1179, 1212–13 (2010) ("the Court will not be able to exercise its jurisdiction over an alleged crime of aggression arising from an act of aggression of a non–State Party"); HANDBOOK: RATIFICATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE KAMPALA AMENDMENTS TO THE ROME STATUTE OF THE ICC: CRIME OF AGGRESSION, WAR CRIMES 10 (Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, n.d.) (According to Article 15 *bis*(5), "Non–States Parties are thus excluded both as potential aggressor and victim States.").

[77] *See* Barriga, *supra* note 76, at 38–39 ("Notably, article 5(2) does not state that the conditions for the exercise of jurisdiction over the crime of aggression shall include the limits of article 121(5), second sentence. Instead, it leaves it up to the provision to be adopted by States Parties to set out the conditions for the exercise of jurisdiction, and in doing so confers broad powers upon States Parties to find an aggression-specific solution for this issue."); Wenaweser, *supra* note 76, at 885–86 (jurisdictional regime under the amendments is "on the basis of the acceptance already given by states parties"); Kress & von Holtzendorff, *supra* note 76, at 1215 ("Article 5(2) of the ICC Statute must be taken to entitle States Parties to devise the *sui generis*–regime which has made its way into draft Article 15 *bis* (4) of the ICC Statute" even if the legal foundation "is perhaps not rock solid.").

The proponents of the Article 5(2)/Article 12 theory argue that the language of Article 15 *bis*(4)—providing that the Court may exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression "in accordance with article 12"—requires that either the alleged aggressor or the alleged victim has ratified the amendments. *See, e.g.*, Barriga & Grover, *supra* note 58, at 532 ("Since [the amendment] enters into force for each ratifying state party individually under 121(5), the

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which becomes a Party to this Statute thereby accepts the jurisdiction of the Court with respect to the crimes referred to in Article 5." Article 5(1), in turn, includes the crime of aggression—along with genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes—in the list of crimes over which the Court has jurisdiction.[78] Article 5(2) then states: "The Court shall exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression *once a provision is adopted in accordance with articles 121* and 123 defining the crime and setting out the conditions under which the Court shall exercise jurisdiction with respect to this crime" (emphasis added).

The proponents of the Article 5(2) theory thus argue that the Rome Statute allowed the Court to exercise jurisdiction as soon as an amendment was "adopted" at a Review Conference. In the view of these proponents, Rome Statute parties had previously accepted the Court's jurisdiction over the crime of aggression pursuant to Article 12. The underlying theory is that states consented, in the Rome Statute itself, to be bound by whatever provisions on aggression the Review Conference might later adopt many years later. *Yet if this theory were true, there would not, insofar as the Rome Statute is concerned, be any need for the aggression amendments to be ratified at all.*

The proponents of this theory appear to agree that other theories may also have merit, but claim that their theory is "available." The United States' view has been not simply that the position is weak but that the position simply is not legally plausible. Continued efforts to rely on the Article 5(2) theory will bring discredit to the post-Kampala process and, ultimately, to the Court itself. To elaborate: on its face, such a position would seem to imply that the Court could—upon ratification by thirty states and the making of the necessary decision after January 1, 2017—exercise jurisdiction over any case of aggression involving a Rome Statute party *even if none of the alleged "aggressor states" and none of the alleged "victim states" had ratified the amendments*, on the theory that the Rome Statute party had already accepted the Court's jurisdiction by becoming party to the Rome Statute.

In our view, it is inconceivable that this conception of how the Rome Statute parties would deal with aggression is anything remotely like what states had agreed at Rome. Given the deep division of views that impeded the finalization of the crime of aggression at Rome, how could one conclude that all states there nevertheless agreed to submit themselves to whatever a two-thirds majority might adopt years later—at a future Review Conference (which turned out to

Court would have no jurisdiction whenever the amendment has not entered into force for any of the states parties involved."). However, if the Article 5(2)/Article 12 theory is based on the proposition that states parties already accepted the Court's jurisdiction over the crime of aggression when they became parties to the Rome Statute, it is not self-evident why ratification of the aggression amendments by either the alleged aggressor or the alleged victim would be necessary in order for the Court to be able to exercise jurisdiction. The fact that the proponents do not appear to accept this seemingly natural extension of their theory as a plausible result would seem further to undercut the logic of the Article 5(2)/Article 12 theory.

[78] The complete text of Article 5(1) is as follows:

> The jurisdiction of the Court shall be limited to the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole. The Court has jurisdiction in accordance with this Statute with respect to the following crimes:
>
> (a) The crime of genocide;
>
> (b) Crimes against humanity;
>
> (c) War crimes;
>
> (d) The crime of aggression.

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be Kampala 2010)—as either the definition of the crime of aggression or the conditions under which jurisdiction would be exercised? It is even less conceivable that that is what states parties agreed at Rome when one considers that everyone agrees that this rule would not apply to any expansion of the Court's jurisdiction in relation to any amendment to expand the definition of war crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide. The thoroughly implausible implication of the Article 5(2) theory is that states took great pains to protect themselves against any incremental expansion, however minor, of the Court's ability to exercise jurisdiction over existing crimes in future Rome Statute amendments. Nevertheless, these same states took no similar steps to protect themselves against the Court's ability to exercise jurisdiction over an entirely new, controversial, and at-the-time wholly undefined crime of aggression!

The Article 5(2) theory rests on the implausible notion that all states agreed to be bound by whatever a two-thirds majority of states parties might later eventually agree. Yet surely, such an idea would have caused widespread consternation within any serious legislature considering ratification. Can one imagine a foreign ministry telling its country's legislators that, if the country ratified the Rome Statute, it would thereafter be subject to the possibility of aggression jurisdiction under *whatever* definition two-thirds of the states parties might subsequently agree, and under *whatever* conditions for exercising jurisdiction those parties might proclaim should apply?

To us, this notion seems utterly fantastic. And we have seen absolutely no evidence that that is what ratifying governments actually told their legislatures. To the contrary, those that addressed the issue appear—correctly—to have told their legislators exactly the opposite. In Australia, for example, the attorney-general and foreign minister provided assurances for the Parliament that the aggression amendments could not be adopted for at least seven years after entry into force of the treaty and that—in light of the principles that apply under Article 121(5)—the Court, even then, would lack jurisdiction over the crime if committed by nationals of states that did not accept the definition.[79]

The government of Switzerland seems to have made similar representations in a report submitted to the Swiss Parliament:

> Sept ans au plus tôt après l'entrée en vigueur du Statut, la conférence de révision décidera de l'adoption d'une définition détaillée du crime d'agression. La procédure d'adoption sera conforme aux art. 121 et 123 du Statut. *Ceci veut dire qu'un Etat pourra faire objection à l'adoption et ainsi garder la faculté d'exclure l'application de l'agression pour ses ressortissants ou son territoire.*
>
> [Seven years after the entry into force of the Statute, the Review Conference will decide on the adoption of a detailed definition of the crime of aggression. The adoption procedure

[79] *See* PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA, JOINT STANDING COMMITTEE ON TREATIES, REPORT 45: THE STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT 46 (May 2002), *at* http://www.iccnow.org/documents/AustraliaICCReport45.pdf:

> In relation to the crime of aggression, advice from the Attorney-General and the Minister for Foreign Affairs was that the crime has not yet been defined and that it cannot be added to the Court's jurisdiction until a definition is adopted by the State Parties. The earliest that the crime could be added to the Court's jurisdiction is 7 years after the establishment of the Court. At this time, a State Party may decline to accept the definition, in which case the Court may not exercise jurisdiction over that crime when committed by the nationals of that State Party or on its territory.

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> is consistent with art. 121 and 123 of the Statute. *This means that a State may object to the adoption and thus keep the right to exclude the application of aggression to its nationals or territory.*][80]

Indeed, the basic argument that parties had already, in Rome, accepted the Court's jurisdiction over aggression pursuant to Article 12 rings no truer for the crime of aggression than it does for any additions to the definitions of genocide, war crimes, or crimes against humanity. Article 12 simply says that the parties accept the jurisdiction of the Court over the crimes referred to in Article 5. It is, of course, self-evident that Article 5 refers to the crime of aggression, but it is no less self-evident that Article 5 refers to war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. How could anything in Article 12 render the protections of Article 121(5) less applicable to provisions that define the crime of aggression from scratch than they would be to far less significant modifications to the existing definitions of war crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide?

Even assuming *arguendo* that the states parties at Kampala *could have* proceeded under a theory that it was permissible for their decision to become operational upon adoption in Kampala without ever amending the Rome Statute, that is not what they, in fact, did. On its own terms, the Article 5(2) theory posits that the mere adoption of a provision could be sufficient, and that the parties in Kampala were free to circumvent the normal rule of amendment by action at a Review Conference, without provisions for subsequent acceptance or ratification in a legislative process in which parliaments would have an opportunity to participate. But even were that theory correct, the vehicle by which the parties expressly chose to proceed was, in fact, via "amendments" to the Rome Statute. Indeed, the word "amendment" was used repeatedly and consistently. The Kampala resolution was quite clear, in numerous places, in saying that it was "amendments" that the Rome Statute parties were adopting.[81] The resolution refers to the provisions as "amendments" every time it refers to them, saying, for example, that the provisions

[80] *Message relatif au Statut de Rome de la Cour pénale internationale, à la loi fédérale sur la coopération avec la Cour pénale internationale ainsi qu'à une révision du droit pénal* [Message on the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, the Federal Law on Cooperation with the International Criminal Court, as Well as a Revision of the Criminal Law], LA FEUILLE FÉDÉRALE 359, 393 (2000 VII) (dated Nov. 15, 2000) (emphasis added) (authors' translation), *at* http://www.admin.ch/ch/f/ff/2001/359.pdf.

Interestingly, the issue also came up much earlier in the context of commentators who argued that the fact that the definition of the crime of aggression remained to be decided should not deter the United States from becoming a party to the Rome Statute. Such commentators argued that, if amendments defining aggression were later adopted, the Court's jurisdiction would not apply against the nationals of a state that did not ratify the amendments. *See, e.g.*, Philippe J. Sands, *The Future of International Adjudication*, 14 CONN. J. INT'L L. 1, 9 (1999) (emphasis added):

> The specter was raised that in the event that the United States decided to launch a military attack against another state, the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court might be able to commence proceedings directly against a United States President for aggression. In my view the fear is misplaced: it is clear from the Statute that the definition of aggression has not been settled and jurisdiction on this head will not apply until there is a definition of aggression established by amendment of the Statute. Since such amendment cannot take effect without ratification by seven-eighths of the parties to the Statute and will not cover nationals of states not ratifying, *there is no prospect of a charge of aggression being laid against a United States national in the absence of United States ratification of the amendment.*

[81] One argument that has been raised is that paragraph 1 of Resolution RC/Res.6 says that the amendments "shall enter into force in accordance with article 121, paragraph 5" but does not say that jurisdiction created pursuant to it will operate in the same way as would be the case under (other) amendments that enter into force under that provision. Under this argument, the language in paragraph 1 of Resolution RC/Res.6 means that the first sentence of Article 121(5) applies but that, somehow, the second sentence does not apply. *See* Astrid R. Coracini, *More Thoughts on "What Exactly Was Agreed in Kampala on the Crime of Aggression,"* EJIL: TALK! (July 2, 2010), *at* http://www.ejiltalk.org/more-thoughts-on-what-exactly-was-agreed-in-kampala-on-the-crime-of-aggression/. But it is hard to

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being adopted were "*amendments* to the Statute,"[82] that the Review Conference was adopting understandings "regarding the interpretation of the above-mentioned *amendments*,"[83] that it would at a future time "review the *amendments*,"[84] and that it called upon states "to ratify or accept the *amendments*."[85] The package as a whole was specifically entitled "*Amendments* to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court on the crime of aggression,"[86] consistently referred to itself as constituting "amendments,"[87] has been consistently referred to (both before and after Kampala) as the *amendments* on aggression, and was clearly structured in the form of "amendments" (as opposed to some other kind of provision that might theoretically have recorded the decision of the states parties to allow the Court to begin exercising jurisdiction absent amendments).[88]

Thus, even if it might have been legally possible in Kampala to proceed without adopting any amendments to the Rome Statute, the states parties decided to proceed through "amendments" to the Rome Statute. Lawful amendments require that either Article 121(4) or Article 121(5) would apply to the amendments. And if these amendments are amendments under Article 121(5), as the resolution specifically says, then that provision of the Rome Statute could not be more specific that, in respect of a state party that does not accept them, "the Court shall

understand why the second sentence—which is a sentence specifically about the effect on jurisdiction of amendments that enter into force in accordance with the first sentence—would be inapplicable. The amendment adopted by the Kampala conference earlier during the night of adopting the aggression amendments—ICC Resolution RC/res/.5 (June 10, 2010), often referred to as the Belgian Amendment—used the same phrase in specifying that the amendment "is subject to ratification or acceptance and shall enter into force in accordance with article 121, paragraph 5," and there has been no serious argument that the second sentence of Article 121(5) should not apply to it. Perhaps more importantly, the drafts of the aggression amendments developed by the Special Working Group in the run-up to Kampala all contained a version of the same sentence, with the language bracketed to show that the only thing unclear was whether it was Article 121(4) or Article 121(5) in accordance with which the amendments would enter into force. *See, e.g.*, Report of the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression, App. I, *in* ICC Doc. ICC-ASP/7/20/Add.1, ch. II, Annex II (language by which Review Conference would adopt the amendments, "which are subject to ratification or acceptance and shall enter into force in accordance with article 121, paragraph [4 / 5] of the Statute"). *See* Conference Room Paper on the Crime of Aggression, *in* UN Doc. RC/WGCA/1, Annex III (May 25, 2010). The debate about whether to refer to Article 121(4) or Article 121(5) was consistently cast in terms of (1) the effect it would have on the conditions for exercising jurisdiction and (2) the implications that a decision to refer to Article 121(5) would have because the second sentence would then apply. All this preparatory work makes it even less plausible that the reference to "Article 121(5)" should be interpreted to mean that the first sentence of that article applies but that the second sentence is irrelevant.

[82] ICC Res. RC/Res.6, *supra* note 1, para. 1.

[83] *Id.*, para. 3 (emphasis added).

[84] *Id.*, para. 4 (emphasis added).

[85] *Id.*, para. 5 (emphasis added).

[86] *Id.*, Annex I (emphasis added).

[87] *See, e.g.*, Article 15 *bis*(2) (jurisdiction can only be exercised one year after ratification or acceptance of the *amendments* by thirty states); Article 15 *ter*(2) (same); ICC Res. RC/Res.6, *supra* note 1, Annex III (referring to the Understandings as "Understandings regarding the *amendments* to the Rome Statute") (emphasis added). Similarly, the depositary notifications by the secretary-general upon notification of ratification similarly refer to the provisions as "amendments," *see, e.g.*, Depositary Notification, UN Doc. C.N.249.2012.TREATIES-XVIII.10.b (June 11. 2010), *at* http://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CN/2012/CN.249.2012-Eng.pdf (Liechtenstein); Depositary Notification, UN Doc. C.N.636.2012.TREATIES-XVIII.10.b (June 11, 2010), *at* http://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CN/2012/CN.636.2012-Eng.pdf (Trinidad and Tobago), and, in fact, the secretary-general's authority to circulate documents under Article 121(7) of the Rome Statute, *supra* note 1, is specified as an authority to circulate *amendments*.

[88] It is also worth noting that Article 123(3) of the Rome Statute, *supra* note 1, provides that "[t]he provisions of article 121, paragraphs 3 to 7, shall apply to the adoption . . . of any amendment to the Statute considered at a Review Conference." It was, of course, specifically understood that the *amendments* to be considered at the Review Conference would include those on the crime of aggression.

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not exercise its jurisdiction regarding a crime covered by the amendment when committed by that State Party's nationals or on its territory."

Finally, it is worth recalling that, under the Rome Statute, one type of amendment could, in fact, have entered into force simply upon adoption by a two-thirds majority at the Review Conference, without need for any subsequent ratifications or acceptances: Article 122 of the Rome Statute governs amendments "which are of an exclusively institutional nature." Such amendments are subject to a streamlined procedure under which they can enter into force for all parties upon adoption by two-thirds vote of the states parties.[89] But to our knowledge, no one has argued—and, indeed, no one could credibly argue—that the Article 122 procedure was meant to apply to the aggression amendments. Yet the result supported by proponents of the Article 5(2) theory exactly mirrors the process that would apply under Article 122. The idea that the framers would have structured the Rome Statute so that the highly controversial aggression amendments could enter into force on the same basis as the streamlined entry-into-force provisions for amendments "which are of an exclusively institutional nature" under Article 122 appears to us, with all due respect, preposterous.

In the end, critically important amendments to a treaty must be accomplished by an amendment process agreed upon at the time the organic treaty is adopted. Amendments cannot become binding through a clever shortcut developed after the fact. To be direct, the Article 5(2) theory risks bringing fundamental discredit to the ICC and Assembly of States Parties processes. Even before Kampala, there was much about which to be concerned in the insufficiently rigorous discussion in the Princeton Process of how Articles 121(4) and 121(5) should actually work as a legal matter. From our perspective, a faction at Kampala saw maximizing the situations covered by the amendments as its central policy objective—even without the consent of the affected states—whether that be in the form of expanding the definitions of aggression to encompass all illegal uses of force, or of having the Court's jurisdiction apply even with respect to those states that did not ratify or accept the amendments. As lawyers, our concern grew when, in the early days of the Kampala Review Conference, proposals were put forward that seemed to pick and choose between Articles 121(4) and 121(5) in internally inconsistent ways. But our concern reached its crescendo when some participants abandoned the notion of "amendment" altogether. Instead, they seized upon a novel theory based on a "nonamendment amendment" interpretation of Article 5(2) that, in our view, lacked any semblance of legal credibility.

To be clear: the Rome Statute is not an ordinary treaty. It makes rules that govern an international judicial body empowered to impose severe criminal penalties. It is thus especially important that that statute operate forthrightly and fairly. There is a heightened need for states inside and outside the Court to have complete confidence that important decisions will be made in a serious manner that reinforces the Court's reputation as a credible institution. Clarity about the process for amending such an important treaty is crucial, and the international community will do itself no favor if it puts in place "amendments relating to a crime under conditions that ensure that every aggression prosecution will begin with a challenge to the

[89] Rome Statute, *supra* note 1, Art. 122(2). Unlike the situation under Article 5(2), Article 122 does not say that the adoption of the amendments must take place "in accordance with articles 121 and 123."

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legitimacy of the process by which the crime was adopted."[90] States are entitled to a clear understanding about the extent to which becoming parties to a treaty, particularly to one involving judicial institutions, can subject them to the effects of possible future amendments.

In this setting, a far-fetched theory of "nonamendment amendments" can only sow confusion and distrust. Twisting beyond plausibility the words of the Rome Statute or claiming that the Statute has somehow been amended outside any recognizable amendment process will do little to build a climate that is internationally favorable for encouraging states to abide by either the letter or the spirit of their legal obligations to the ICC. As Japanese ambassador Ichiro Komatsu presciently said on the final night of the Kampala Review Conference:

> In light of the absolute necessity of the legal integrity for a treaty dealing with criminal responsibility of individuals, the upshot of adopting such a resolution, I am afraid, is the undermining of the credibility of the Rome Statute and the whole system it represents. We have also a serious concern that this amendment may entail non-negligible difficulties in our relationship with the ICC system.[91]

VII. THE "OPT OUT" PROVISION

One of the most interesting elements of the Kampala Amendments is the "opt out" provision contained in Article 15 *bis*(4): the Court may exercise its jurisdiction "arising from an act of aggression committed by a State Party, unless that State Party has previously declared that it does not accept such jurisdiction by lodging a declaration with the Registrar." The provision thus says that in order for the declaration to block the Court from exercising its aggression jurisdiction, it must have been submitted "previously"; significantly, however, it does not explicitly say what the submission must have been "previous" to. Based on the syntax of Article 15 *bis*(4), one might possibly conclude that (1) the submission must be "previous" to the exercise of jurisdiction by the Court, (2) the declaration must be submitted "previous" to the commission of the crime or "previous" to the state act of aggression that would be the predicate for a particular prosecution, (3) the declaration must be submitted "previous" to the point at which the state ratifies or accepts the amendments, or (4) the declaration must be submitted "previous" to the time that thirty states ratify the amendments (or within one year thereafter) or "previous" to the post–January 1, 2017, decision contemplated in Article 15 *bis*(3). The main drafter of the provision, Stefan Barriga, has written that *previously* means "prior to the act of aggression,"[92] but any confusion about a provision of such importance is, at best, profoundly unfortunate and, at worst, intolerable.

[90] Statement at the Review Conference of the International Criminal Court, *supra* note 47.

[91] Statement of Japan, *in* Statements by States Parties in Explanation of Position Before the Adoption of Resolution RC/Res.6, *in* ICC Doc. RC/11, *supra* note 1, Annex VII, at 121.

[92] *See* Barriga, *supra* note 76, at 32, 42. The records from Kampala reflect that provisions that would have suggested that such declarations had to be submitted before a date certain, or before ratification, were considered but that the parties declined to include such provisions in the amendments that were ultimately included in Resolution RC/Res.6. *See, e.g.*, Declaration (Draft of 9 June 2010 16h00), *in* J. Trahan, *The Rome Statute's Amendment on the Crime of Aggression: Negotiations at the Kampala Review Conference*, 11 INT'L CRIM. L. REV. 49, App. D (2011). In this compromise proposal between the proposal submitted by Argentina, Brazil, and Switzerland (Appendix A) and that submitted by Canada (Appendix B), Article 15 *bis*(4*ter*) would state that a declaration of nonacceptance "may be submitted to the Secretary General of the United Nations at any time before December 31, 2015 or, in the case of States that ratify or accede to the Rome Statute after that date, upon ratification or accession." *See* Trahan, *supra*, at 73 n.97, Apps. A, B.

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Assuming that states parties take a decision to "activate" the amendments, there would also be unfortunate confusion from the perspective of a state seeking to protect itself against the risk of retroactive operation of the Court's jurisdiction, to cover acts committed before it accepted or ratified the amendments. For example, if one assumes a situation in which thirty states ratify and the states parties take a decision to activate the Court's jurisdiction in 2017, a state that thereafter ratifies the amendments, say in 2025, could be subject to the risk of arguments that its leaders could be prosecuted with respect to acts or crimes of aggression alleged to have been committed any time between 2017 and 2025. Under such a reading, the Court's aggression jurisdiction would "reach back" to events that occurred before the state in question had ever ratified the amendments. Paragraph 1 of the Kampala resolution offers some basis for states to guard against such an eventuality when it "notes" that a state party may lodge a declaration prior to ratification or acceptance.[93] But that would not appear to offer sufficient protection against such a reading to a state party that only subsequently decided to ratify the amendments and did not exercise this option before doing so.

All of the above points to the need for much greater clarity on the meaning and application of the opt-out provision. Whether and when a state may opt out goes to the core of whether a particular state consents to the aggression regime. This issue is not one on which it would be appropriate for the Court to impose a conclusion on states that they never understood at the time that they ratified the Rome Statute or its subsequent amendments. Yet in Kampala, the states failed to speak with even a modicum of clarity on such issues, leaving it to the Court to resolve differences of view on such basic political issues at a much later date. This ambiguity risks saddling a fledgling Court with a role that can hardly be expected to enhance the prospects for respect for its authority.

Another reason to focus on the opt-out provision is to address other problems that, in our view, were insufficiently addressed at Kampala, including the ambiguities discussed above about the definitions of "act of aggression" and "crime of aggression" in Article 8 *bis*. One possibility going forward is that states concerned about the risk that the definitions might, even wrongly, be construed to cover certain types of cases—for example, humanitarian interventions—might fashion a declaration, a "partial opt-out," to limit the extent to which the Court's jurisdiction would apply to them in such cases.[94] Or, given the differences in the nature between, on the one hand, the crime of aggression and, on the other hand, the atrocity crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes, one could imagine the fashioning of partial opt-outs for *proprio motu* situations—those in which no state had stepped forward to

[93] ICC Res. RC/Res.6, *supra* note 1, para. 1. Some have pointed to the language in paragraph 1 as suggesting that the parties at Kampala must have intended the Court to have jurisdiction with respect to alleged acts of aggression committed by states parties that did not ratify or accept the amendments unless they lodged such a declaration. Besides not being logically true—for example, the very discussion above demonstrates how states parties might want to use an advance opt-out to protect themselves from the Court exercising jurisdiction with respect to acts of aggression alleged to have been committed before they accept or ratify the amendments—such a result would, as we have seen above, be inconsistent with Article 121(5) of the Rome Statute. It thus would have been possible to achieve this result only if the parties had amended Article 121(5)—something that, to our knowledge, none of the proponents have claimed to have been agreed at Kampala, and something that could not have been done with respect to those states that decline to ratify or accept the amendments.

[94] A number of states could potentially agree upon the wording of such an opt-out and enter it at the same time. For a description of how such a collective opt-out might be fashioned, see Leslie Esbrook, *Exempting Humanitarian Intervention from the Definition of the Crime of Aggression: Ten Procedural Options for 2017*, 55 VA. J. INT'L L. (forthcoming 2015).

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refer a situation to the ICC, or those in which (as part of a peace settlement) both sides to a conflict agreed that the leaders of the other side should not be prosecuted for aggression. A further possibility is that states might fashion partial opt-outs to cover situations in which they had acted within the framework of a regional body, such as the African Union, that has expressly endorsed some forms of humanitarian intervention or other action—thereby avoiding situations in which the prosecutor or the Court might be compelled to review or sit in judgment on whether decisions duly authorized by such a body fell within the ambit of the Article 8 *bis* definitions.[95] Similarly, an opt-out for coalition operations involving states that had not accepted the amendments would reduce the risk that the Court would be drawn into "proxy" prosecutions of state officials for supporting actions of another state that was not subject to the amendments. Yet another possibility is that a state might want to consider a partial opt-out under which the Court would not exercise jurisdiction in a nonreciprocal situation—that is, one in which the state with which it was involved in a conflict had itself opted out—because it considered it unfair for the Court to be able to exercise aggression jurisdiction only over one, and not both, parties to a conflict. In short, at least some of the lingering confusion over the breadth of the Kampala provisions can be addressed by affirmative steps by concerned states between now and 2017. The express availability of opt-out declarations identified by the Kampala Outcome Document raises numerous possibilities for discussion among interested states between now and 2017.

VIII. THE POST–JANUARY 1, 2017, DECISIONS

Both Article 15 *bis*(3) and Article 15 *ter*(3) contemplate further decisions after January 1, 2017. Under these articles, the Court's ability to exercise jurisdiction is subject to decisions by the same majority of states parties as is required for adopting an amendment to the Statute. To be sure, nothing precludes states from ratifying the amendments before the taking of such a decision, and, indeed, some states have already ratified.[96] That said, there are many logical reasons not to do so. For example, states choosing to ratify the entire package of amendments—and their parliaments, as they consider the matter domestically—must do so without knowing the elements of the post–January 1, 2017, decision that the parties might take. At the most basic level, states choosing to ratify in advance cannot even be assured that states parties would decide to activate the Court's jurisdiction under only one of Articles 15 *bis* and 15 *ter* but not the other. Perhaps even more important, they cannot be assured that the decision of the states parties would not affect the way in which the amendments would operate—for example, by a decision to allow the Court to begin exercising jurisdiction over the crime of aggression but only, in the words of both Article 15 *bis*(3) and Article 15 *ter*(3), "subject to" additional Understandings or further elements.

In its statement on the final night in Kampala, the United States specifically referred to the possibility that post–January 1, 2017, decisions would be used to address such concerns:

[95] Article 4 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (2000), *at* http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/ConstitutiveAct_EN.pdf, provides for "the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity," and "the right of Member States to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security." For a fuller discussion of this "regional framework" possibility, see generally Esbrook, *supra* note 94.

[96] At this writing, twenty-three states parties have ratified the aggression amendments.

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> We also believe that at such a [post–January 2017] Review Conference, the States Parties should be allowed to consider any related amendments proposed for the Statute with the aim of strengthening the Court. We read the wording of paragraphs 3 of new articles 15 *bis* and 15 *ter* to allow for this sensible approach.[97]

On the same night, the delegation of Brazil asserted that "States Parties will have to make a decision to 'activate' the current provisions."[98] This statement may be seen as suggesting that states would need to decide on a yes-no basis on each of the Article 15 *bis* and Article 15 *ter* decisions without additional action to adjust or clarify their terms. However, since the terms of Articles 15 *bis* and 15 *ter* simply say that exercising jurisdiction under those provisions is subject to a later decision, it is hard to see why only yes-no decisions would be permissible.

A crucially important political question that must be made by the states parties is whether the Kampala presumption that decisions should be taken only by consensus should apply to new decisions taken after January 1, 2017. If the foregoing discussion proves anything, it is that genuine consensus about the substance in Kampala was elusive and that statements by certain states make clear that there was, in fact, no consensus on many critical issues.[99] There does not appear to be a strictly legal requirement under which post–January 1, 2017, decisions would need to be made at a Review Conference rather than at a meeting of the Assembly of States Parties. Nevertheless, the profound questions surrounding the nature of any such decisions argue in favor of treating them as involving constitutional moments for the Court, to be considered with the solemnity of, and the preparation that would accompany, the holding of a Review Conference. As the United States said in its remarks on the last evening at Kampala,

> there is an important difference between the procedures that should be used for constitutional decisions of the International Criminal Court and for routine decisions of this body. Decisions regarding organic amendments to the Rome Statute should take place in periodic, constitutional gatherings such as the Review Conference—where the precedents set by this Review Conference strongly indicate that the rule of decision is consensus—and not as part of contested votes held amid the shifting representation and ordinary decision-making that occurs at regular meetings of the Assembly of States Parties . . . .[100]

IX. CONCLUSION

As we have noted, none of the foregoing analysis should be taken to suggest that the overall U.S. reaction to the Kampala Review Conference was negative. Apart from the difficult work on the amendments, we were impressed by the thoughtfulness of the stocktaking exercise and by the thoughtful consideration of issues of peace and justice, cooperation, complementarity, and impact on victims and affected communities. The delegation representing the United States ranked among the largest present in Kampala, comprising representatives from the

[97] ICC Doc. RC/11, *supra* note 1, at 127 (statement of U.S. Legal Adviser Harold Hongju Koh).

[98] *Id.* at 122.

[99] *See, e.g.*, *id.* at 123 (Norway: emphasizing the need for "an assessment as to whether any further clarification would be called for as a precondition for the entry into force"). Indeed, there was not even consensus on whether it would be appropriate to allow aggression cases to proceed on the basis of state referral or *proprio motu*. *See id.* at 122 (France: Article 15 *bis* "restricts the role of the United Nations Security Council and contravenes the Charter of the United Nations"); *id.* at 124 ("The United Kingdom has fundamental issues of principles at stake with regard to aggression" and, in that respect, "draw[s] attention to Article 39 of the United Nations Charter.").

[100] *Id.* at 126–27.

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Departments of State, Justice, and Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the National Security Council. We welcomed the opportunity to meet with other delegates, discuss important issues, and get a better and fuller sense of the priorities of those involved with the Court's work and with efforts to promote global criminal justice more generally.

On the specific issue of the crime of aggression, we do think that the discussions leading to, and taking place in, Kampala were important and positive, bringing greater appreciation to the concerns of not only the United States but the many countries on all sides of the many issues associated with the aggression project. From the perspective of our domestic audience, there seems no doubt that the provision included as Article 15 *bis*(5)—which provides that the Court shall not exercise its jurisdiction over the crime of aggression when committed by the national of a state that is not a party to the Rome Statute, or on its territory—was essential to temper what would have been an outcry in U.S. political circles that could have made it impossible to continue building a constructive relationship between the United States and the Court. And the delay provision—which ensured that there would be no investigations or prosecutions for the crime of aggression at least until 2017—provided essential breathing space for the Court to consolidate what we see as its core functions: the investigation and prosecution of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. That delay effectively deferred an issue that could otherwise have deflected the trajectory of the United States in its relationship with the Court, and consequently away from a result that would better serve the interests of both and of the international community generally.[101]

But to say that the Kampala Review Conference produced important results is not to say that there are no problems going forward. As this article has detailed, it has become increasingly

[101] An important, bipartisan report submitted by then Senators Kerry and Lugar of the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations underscored the importance of these provisions from the perspective of the U.S. domestic audience. Among other things, the report noted:

> The proposed aggression regime is flawed in several respects, but nonetheless contains important protections for U.S. interests. Most significantly, U.S. persons, including U.S. officials and military members, could not be investigated or prosecuted for aggression by the ICC without the consent of the United States. The proposed regime will not enter into force for at least seven years, and will do so only after a further decision by the ICC's parties to bring it into force. U.S. participation at the Kampala Conference played an important role in securing these protections.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT, REVIEW CONFERENCE, KAMPALA, UGANDA, MAY 31–JUNE 11, 2010: A JOINT COMMITTEE STAFF TRIP REPORT PREPARED FOR THE USE OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, UNITED STATES SENATE, 111th Cong., 2d Sess., at v (Sept. 2, 2010). With respect to the delay provision, the report stated:

> Because the aggression regime will not go into effect for at least seven years, the United States will have opportunities to further address concerns not resolved by the outcome. It could seek greater clarity in the definition of aggression, either through changes to the definition or the elements of crimes accompanying it, or through further understandings. It will also have the opportunity to consult with allies and to develop plans to mitigate risks an ICC aggression regime might pose to the ability to plan and carry out coalition military operations.

Id. at 10.

> With respect to the definitions, the report stated:
>
> Interpretive understandings adopted in connection with the definition serve to mitigate some of its deficiencies, but the definition remains an unsound basis for addressing these issues. Were the definition to influence the future development of international law outside the context of the ICC, future U.S. leaders could face increased criticism in connection with some decisions regarding the use of force, including claims that their decisions amount to criminal conduct.

Id.

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clear that key elements of the consensus achieved in Kampala masked what turned out to be very different understandings among participants about how, for example, the entry into force provisions apply to the aggression amendments, and how they would affect the Court's jurisdiction. Perhaps the most important point of this article is to make clear that there are numerous issues to which serious intellectual and political energies must now be turned. The resolution in Kampala wisely deferred the decision to allow the Court to exercise jurisdiction at least until 2017. It would be prudent for those who care about the Court's future to use the time we have left wisely, to address the very real issues that need to be faced. The importance of doing so has only been accentuated by some of the divisions that have come into focus much more clearly since Kampala.

So how to clarify contested issues? As we have noted above, there are any number of ways that points could be clarified or that issues such as those described above could otherwise be addressed, including through the terms of any post–January 1, 2017, decisions, resolutions, or understandings, through other statements of the Assembly of States Parties, or through subsequent Review Conferences. Individual states may also address particular points at the time of ratification, in the process of lodging individual or collective opt-outs, or through other statements or actions. It is not our purpose in this article to identify all the different means through which points could be addressed, or to choose among them. Instead, we simply underscore that important disagreements and confusion have emerged that will need to be addressed forthrightly and be resolved before 2017.

At the end of the day, the International Criminal Court does not exist in isolation. Its future success depends vitally on its ability to reinforce, and be reinforced by, other institutions within the international community. There are many difficult issues left. But there is still time for countries of good will, including the United States, to tackle them together. The year 2017 is close, but it is not yet here. The main message of this article is that the international community should take advantage of the time it has left, before 2017, to address these crucial issues in a cooperative and constructive way that contributes to the long-term success of the Court.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

ECONOMIC "NECESSITY" IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

*By Alan O. Sykes**

Exigent circumstances can extinguish or suspend a wide range of legal obligations. They may empower governments to seize property or quarantine individuals. They may excuse the nonperformance of private or public contractual obligations. And, of especial interest here, they may permit governments to deviate from their obligations under treaties or customary international law (CIL).

The focus of this Comment is on exigent economic circumstances that may afford a defense of "necessity" to the nonperformance of CIL obligations or that become a basis for deviation from commitments pursuant to express treaty language delineating necessity-like contingencies. An example of such language—prominently at issue in a number of investment disputes between U.S. investors and Argentina—is Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina bilateral investment treaty (BIT):[1] "This treaty shall not preclude the application by either Party of measures necessary for the maintenance of public order, the fulfillment of its obligations with respect to the maintenance or restoration of international peace or security, or the Protection of its essential security interests."

As described at greater length below, Argentina invoked both this language and the CIL defense of necessity as a basis for certain measures that it had taken during a period of domestic economic crisis and that would otherwise violate investment treaty obligations. A series of controversial arbitral decisions followed, along with subsequent annulment decisions, raising a variety of questions about the scope of the necessity defense and the appropriate construction of Article XI. Some of the underlying disputes remain ongoing.[2]

The issues raised by the Argentine investment cases have received much attention from legal scholars. With particular reference to necessity and Article XI, the issues that have been addressed include the contours of the necessity defense in CIL, the question whether Article XI implicitly incorporates the limits of the CIL defense or is instead a broader and less restrictive defense, the question whether Article XI should be viewed as a "defense" or as a "primary rule" that averts any violation altogether, the question whether Article XI can be construed as self-judging, and the question of what happens when the exigent circumstances abate

* Professor of Law, Stanford University. I have benefited immensely from the comments of workshop and conference participants at Pepperdine, Northwestern, and Toronto, and at the annual meeting of the American Law and Economics Association, New York, May 2015.

[1] Treaty Concerning the Reciprocal Encouragement and Protection of Investment, U.S.-Arg., Nov. 14, 1991, 31 ILM 124 (1991).

[2] The status of cases against Argentina under World Bank arbitration (International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes) may be found at the ICSID website, https://icsid.worldbank.org/apps/ICSIDWEB/cases/Pages/AdvancedSearch.aspx?gE=s&rntly=ST4.

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(including the possibility that compensation may be owed to investors for their losses). Other commentators have done an extensive job of analyzing these doctrinal issues and their historical origins.[3]

Considerably less attention has been paid to the necessity defense and related legal principles (such as those contained in Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT) from an optimal contracting perspective.[4] What inferences can be drawn from the history of the CIL necessity defense about its economic logic and function? How can an understanding of its function enlighten its application to situations of exigent economic circumstances? Why would rational treaty drafters include a provision such as Article XI, and how might conditions of economic distress relate to its objectives? Are matters of "necessity," "public order," and "essential security interests" verifiable by adjudicators? What is the economic function of the word necessary? How do the answers to these questions bear on the degree of moral hazard created by the opportunity to deviate from international obligations? When is a deviation from commitments an appropriate policy instrument in response to necessity when other instruments may be available?

The goal of this Comment is to suggest possible answers to these questions and to offer some thoughts on how they might be used in the future to guide adjudicators in their thinking about when and to what extent economic exigency should excuse or postpone legal obligations under the CIL rubric of necessity or some similar treaty principle. Part I reviews necessity and related ideas in other fields of law, with an emphasis on the apparent economic rationale for these pockets of doctrine. It will suggest several hypotheses about the possible function of necessity and related concepts in CIL and treaty law. Part II reviews the CIL defense of necessity as it pertains to economic exigency. Part III turns to the particular subject of economic distress in the investment law area and assesses Argentina's defenses from an economic perspective. It further considers the verifiability of circumstances that give rise to necessity and related exigencies, and the attendant implications for accommodating the tension between the need to address economic emergencies, on the one hand, and the need to limit opportunism and moral hazard, on the other, as well as the need to encourage an appropriate choice of policy instruments. The role of compensation requirements is a particular focus.

[3] The literature addressing the Argentina cases in whole or in part includes José Alvarez, *The Public International Law Regime Governing International Investment*, 344 RECUEIL DES COURS 193, 369–443 (2009); José Alvarez & Kathryn Khamsi, *The Argentine Crisis and Foreign Investors: A Glimpse into the Heart of the Investment Regime*, [2009] 1 Y.B. INT'L INVESTMENT L. & POL'Y 379; José Alvarez & Gustavo Topalian, *The Paradoxical Argentina Cases*, 6 W. ARB. & MEDIATION REV. 491 (2012); Andrea K. Bjorklund, *Emergency Exceptions: State of Necessity and Force Majeure*, *in* OXFORD HANDBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT LAW 459 (Peter Muchlinski, Federico Ortino & Christoph Schreuer eds., 2008); William W. Burke-White, *The Argentine Financial Crisis: States Liability Under BITs and the Legitimacy of the ICSID System*, 3 ASIAN J. WTO & INT'L HEALTH L. & POL'Y 199 (2008); Jurgen Kurtz, *Adjudging the Exceptional at International Investment Law: Security, Public Order and Financial Crisis*, 59 INT'L & COMP. L. Q. 325 (2010); August Reinisch, *Necessity in Investment Arbitration*, 2010 NETH. Y.B. INT'L L. 137; JESWALD W. SALACUSE, THE LAW OF INVESTMENT TREATIES 342–48 (2012); Alec Stone Sweet, *Investor-State Arbitration: Proportionality's New Frontier*, 4 L. & ETHICS HUM. RTS. 47 (2010); Anne van Akken, *Smart Flexibility Clauses in International Investment Treaties and Sustainable Development: A Functional View*, 15 J. WORLD INVESTMENT & TRADE 827 (2014); and MICHAEL WAIBEL, SOVEREIGN DEFAULTS BEFORE INTERNATIONAL COURTS AND TRIBUNALS (2011).

[4] A general discussion of "commitment" versus "flexibility" in investment treaties, touching briefly on the necessity cases, can be found in Anne van Akken, *International Investment Law Between Commitment and Flexibility: A Contract Theory Analysis*, 12 J. INT'L ECON. L. 507 (2009).

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I. NECESSITY AND RELATED CONCEPTS IN OTHER AREAS OF LAW: POSSIBLE LESSONS

Exigent circumstances, including exigent economic circumstances at times, allow actors to circumvent obligations that would otherwise be unavoidable in a variety of fields of law. Examining the apparent rationale for these principles helps to understand how necessity and similar ideas might contribute usefully to CIL and international investment law. This part offers a non-exhaustive survey of how exigent circumstances may excuse obligations in other contexts. It begins with the most familiar territory in tort and contract law, and then addresses the area of international trade.

Before beginning this survey, however, it is helpful to delineate precisely what is meant by an "act of necessity." For purposes of the present discussion, such an act is a voluntary act by the defendant that intrudes on some ordinarily recognized right of the plaintiff. The act is done to avert some harm that threatens the defendant's or a third party's interests and that emanates from a source other than the plaintiff. By "voluntary," I mean that the defendant has the capacity to choose some other course of conduct. Thus, situations of necessity are to be distinguished from cases of *force majeure,* for example, where the defendant is unable to protect the plaintiff's rights because of some superior force. They are also to be distinguished from situations in which the defendant's act is compelled by coercion or duress. Finally, because the exigent circumstances are not attributable to the plaintiff, acts of necessity must be distinguished from cases in which the defendant's act constitutes a form of self-defense or countermeasure.

Tort and Contract

Most first-year law students in the United States are familiar with the classic tort tandem of *Ploof v. Putnam*[5] and *Vincent v. Lake Erie Transportation*,[6] both involving situations in which a boat owner secured a boat to a dock owned by another party during a severe storm rather than take the boat out in the storm at great risk to the boat and its crew. In *Ploof,* the dock owner's servant responded by casting the boat adrift, and the owner was held liable for damages. In *Vincent*, the dock owner sustained significant damages to its property from the boat that was secured during the storm, and recovered damages.

A conventional summary of the necessity defense in this area suggests that it includes the following components: "(1) the defendant acted to avoid a significant risk of harm; (2) no adequate lawful means could have been used to escape the harm; and (3) the harm avoided was greater than that caused by breaking the law."[7] This description of necessity contains its own economic rationale; necessity's purpose is to enable an actor to avoid a greater harm either by causing a lesser harm at the expense of the plaintiff or by violating an otherwise applicable legislative enactment. In this sense, acts of necessity are efficient acts.

Buried in this simple description of necessity, however, are several additional considerations. Although necessity cases, by definition, involve some threat to the defendant's interests emanating from a source other than the plaintiff, the classic cases typically do not address whether the condition of necessity might have been occasioned, in part, by the defendant's imprudence

[5] 71 A. 188 (Vt. 1908).

[6] 124 N.W. 221 (Minn. 1910).

[7] *Necessity, in* THE FREE DICTIONARY BY FARLEX, *at* http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Necessity+defense.

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and, if so, whether the privilege to act out of necessity should be lost. In *Ploof*, for example, there is no discussion of whether the boat owner should have put into port sooner due to prospects of an impending storm or perhaps should not have taken the boat out at all given the weather, rather than risk encountering the peril that necessitated a trespass to save the boat and crew. One suspects, however, that even if the boat was imperiled by an imprudent decision to be on the water, the court would still take a dim view of the dock owner casting off the boat to founder, perhaps causing the people on board to drown.

If this suspicion is right, a moral hazard problem is immediately apparent; actors will take risks that imperil them to an excessive degree if they can save themselves by imposing costs on others. A similar issue arises when the defendant sacrifices the plaintiff's property interest to save his own, as in *Vincent*. Even if such behavior is considered acceptable when what is saved is more valuable than what is lost, what incentivizes the actor to make that choice properly?

Both problems are addressed by a requirement that the defendant who acts out of necessity must pay for the actual harm caused to the plaintiff—the principle that emerges from *Vincent*. The boat owner who saves his boat from the storm by tying up to the plaintiff's dock must pay for the damage to the dock.[8] This mechanism eliminates the inefficiencies that would arise if the defendant could damage the dock with impunity. The compensation requirement forces the defendant to internalize the costs and benefits of each decision in sequence—the decision to take the boat out in questionable weather conditions and the decision to save the boat after the storm arises at the expense of damaging the plaintiff's dock.

To be sure, a compensation requirement is not the only way to address these concerns. An alternative legal rule might provide that one loses the privilege to act out of necessity if one's own negligence contributed to the condition of necessity. Likewise, the privilege to act out of necessity might be denied if a court determines ex post that the defendant acted in a manner that sacrificed a greater interest to save a lesser interest. The rule of *Vincent* is a type of strict liability rule (the actor must pay for harm caused), whereas the alternatives are a form of negligence rule (the actor must pay if, and only if, the act was inefficient). Either mechanism can, in principle, induce efficient acts.[9] The negligence mechanism, however, requires the adjudicator ex post to gather and evaluate the information bearing on the efficiency of the defendant's behavior, which may be costly or even impossible to obtain—a consideration that favors the strict liability approach.

Finally, the scope of the necessity defense may depend, in part, on whether the actor is serving his own interests or the interests of third parties. Suppose that a wildfire threatens a town, and the fire department makes a reasonable decision to destroy property belonging to one citizen to create a firebreak that will stop the fire from reaching the town. Should the property owner have a cause of action for damages against the official who makes this decision? A simple answer might be that damages are zero because the plaintiff's property would have been destroyed anyway. But suppose the wind later shifted, and the property would have avoided fire damage—although at the time of the fire department's decision, all experts would agree that the firebreak was the appropriate precaution to take. The defense of public necessity shields

[8] This principle may be limited to cases where physical damage is done; it is doubtful that a boat owner trespassing under circumstances such as those in *Ploof* could be held liable for the fair rental value of a dock that suffered no actual damage. This result has economic justification, however, if the dock owner suffers no opportunity cost due to the temporary use of the property by another.

[9] *E.g.*, Steven Shavell, *Strict Liability Versus Negligence*, 9 J. LEGAL STUD. 1 (1980).

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public officials who make such decisions from liability.[10] The evident rationale is to insulate the actor from personal liability when the act of necessity spares other parties' interests. If the actor were required to compensate, and thus bore the costs of the act but did not reap the benefits, efficient acts would be discouraged. The broader lesson is that liability may chill socially beneficial decisions and that the liability rule must be attentive to that possibility. The concern is especially acute when the relevant actor must make a decision that implicates the interests of third parties.

Turning from tort to contract, threats of physical harm that create necessity are much less common, but exigent economic circumstances often arise. These situations beget doctrines that are related to necessity, even if they do not employ that label.

The treatment of exigent circumstances in contract proceeds from the observation that contracting parties are free to provide for such contingencies explicitly, and often do. Specific provisions regarding the contracting parties' rights in exigent circumstances will be respected. Contracts routinely address transactions that are complex, however, and the transaction costs of contracting prevent parties from addressing every conceivable contingency. The "complete contingent contract" in economic parlance is simply too expensive to write. Instead, most contracts are "incomplete." Contract law supplements incomplete contracts with background default rules, some of which address rights and responsibilities in the event of various unspecified, often unanticipated, and sometimes exigent contingencies.

One default principle facilitating efficient deviation from commitments in response to economic exigency is the standard U.S. remedy for most contract breaches: expectation damages.[11] A virtue of expectation damages is that it facilitates what has become known in the literature as "efficient breach." If the costs of performance to a promisor exceed the value of performance to the promisee, performance is socially inefficient. With a rule of expectation damages in place, and neglecting complications associated with litigation and error costs, a rational promisor will breach and pay damages if breach is efficient.[12] To be sure, parties to an incomplete contract can also achieve efficient deviation from obligations through renegotiation (the only option where the default remedy is specific performance). Defenders of the expectation-damages rule argue, however, that such renegotiation is costly and may be afflicted by holdup and strategic bargaining behavior, which renders it inferior to the expectation damages liability rule. Proponents of the specific performance remedy observe, among other things, that the computation of lost expectation is costly and often fraught with error.[13] The general lesson is that the best options for facilitating efficient deviation from commitments are unlikely to be the same in all cases. A liability rule approach affording compensation is more likely to be useful, other things being equal, the less costly and error prone the computation of compensation.[14]

[10] *E.g.*, Mayor of New York v. Lord, 18 Wend. 126 (N.Y. 1837).

[11] To be sure, this rule applies not only to cases of economic exigency but to much more mundane settings, as when the seller of a good receives a better offer from another buyer.

[12] The classic article is by Steven Shavell, *Damage Measures for Breach of Contract*, 11 BELL J. ECON. 466 (1980).

[13] The arguments on both sides are found in Alan Schwartz, *The Case for Specific Performance*, 89 YALE L.J. 271 (1979).

[14] Expectation damages may be seen as a liability rule since the breaching party need not secure permission to avoid performance. Specific performance is a "property rule" that forces a party who wishes to breach, to perform the required action anyway. The distinction originates in Guido Calabresi & A. Douglas Melamed, *Property, Rules, Liability Rules and Inalienability: One View of the Cathedral*, 85 HARV. L. REV. 1089 (1972).

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Other aspects of contract law are tailored more directly to situations in which exigent economic circumstances warrant deviation from commitments in incomplete contracts. Two principles that excuse performance altogether are the impossibility doctrine under the common law and its analogue under the Uniform Commercial Code (UCC)—commercial impracticability. Both the common law impossibility doctrine and especially the commercial impracticability doctrine of the UCC encompass some instances[15] in which performance has become extraordinarily costly because of some unanticipated contingency. The First Restatement of Contracts extended the concept of impossibility to "not only strict impossibility but impracticability because of extreme and unreasonable difficulty, expense, injury or loss involved."[16] UCC section 2-615 addresses performance that has "been made impracticable by the occurrence of a contingency the non-occurrence of which was a basic assumption on which the contract was made."

A prominent example is *Mineral Park Land Co. v. Howard*, in which the defendants agreed to take their requirements of gravel from the plaintiff's land, bearing the cost of excavation themselves and also paying five cents per ton to the plaintiff.[17] They later discovered that much of the gravel was below the water table, increasing the cost of excavation ten- to twelvefold, and the court excused performance. Another group of cases involve crop failures,[18] in which it has been held that if a contract calls for the delivery of crops grown on a particular parcel of land and is followed by a complete or partial crop failure, the promisor is discharged to the extent that the crop volume falls below the contractual commitment. The crop failure cases are also best viewed as cases of impracticability rather than true impossibility because the promisor could be required to perform by procuring cover for the buyer from another source.

Careful economic analysis of such cases raises many doubts concerning the efficiency of the impossibility and impracticability doctrines as applied in practice.[19] Nevertheless, one can detect two general themes in the cases and the commentary in support of the doctrines. In a situation such as *Mineral Park*, it is a safe bet that performance had become inefficient due to an unanticipated contingency and that it was best for the defendant to source its gravel elsewhere. A discharge of contractual obligations facilitates that result. In addition, contingent discharge of obligations may in some cases improve the efficiency of risk sharing between the contracting parties. The crop failure cases, in particular, insulate potentially risk-averse farmers who have already suffered heavy losses due to crop failure from the further burden of compensating buyers for the costs of cover.[20] The broader point—potentially applicable in the international setting as well—is that when a commitment becomes exceptionally burdensome due to events that were not anticipated at the time of contracting, the optimal contractual response depends not only on the efficiency of performance but also on the parties' attitudes toward risk.

[15] To be sure, the cases in which nonperformance results from true impossibility—such as the death of the promisor to a personal services contract—do not involve acts of necessity as defined herein and are not pertinent.

[16] AMERICAN LAW INSTITUTE, RESTATEMENT (FIRST) OF CONTRACTS §454 (1932); *see also* AMERICAN LAW INSTITUTE, RESTATEMENT (SECOND) OF CONTRACTS §261 (1981).

[17] Mineral Park Land Co. v. Howard, 156 P. 458 (Cal. 1916).

[18] *E.g.*, Pearce Young Angel Co. v. Charles R. Allen, Inc., 213 S.C. 578, 50 S.E. 2d 698 (1948).

[19] Alan O. Sykes, *The Doctrine of Commercial Impracticability in a Second-Best World*, 19 J. LEGAL STUD. 43 (1990).

[20] *E.g.*, Richard Posner & Andrew Rosenfield, *Impossibility and Related Doctrines in Contract Law: An Economic Analysis*, 6 J. LEGAL STUD. 83 (1977).

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Finally, the literature on impossibility and impracticability cautions against certain collateral consequences of discharging obligations because performance has become impracticable. In particular, if a promisor can take measures to avert impracticability—perhaps the farmer can store water against the danger of drought or use pesticides to guard against pest-related crop failures—a discharge of the promisor's obligations can uneconomically diminish the incentive to take such precautions. Likewise, the incentive to gather information about possible adverse events, so as to guard against them or hedge against them in insurance markets, may be diminished.[21] Where such matters are important, rules that force actors to internalize the consequences of their actions to others may be superior, such as rules requiring expectation damages to be paid regardless of exigent circumstances.

International Trade

International trade agreements address exigent circumstances in a variety of provisions. In the interest of brevity, this section will focus on the law of the World Trade Organization (WTO), although related provisions may be found in various preferential trade agreements.

The most direct analogy to necessity under CIL and to Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT is to be found in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Article XXI on security exceptions (and its parallel provision in the General Agreement on Trade in Services Article XIV *bis*):[22]

> Nothing in this Agreement shall be construed . . .
>
> (*b*) to prevent any contracting party from taking any action which it considers necessary for the protection of its essential security interests
>
> (i) relating to fissionable materials or the materials from which they are derived;
>
> (ii) relating to the traffic in arms, ammunition and implements of war and to such traffic in other goods and materials as is carried on directly or indirectly for the purpose of supplying a military establishment;
>
> (iii) taken in time of war or other emergency in international relations[.]

This provision has not been a subject of any formal dispute since the founding of the WTO, although it was at issue several times during the GATT years, most prominently in relation to British Commonwealth measures against Argentina because of the Falklands dispute,[23] a U.S. embargo against Nicaragua during the Reagan administration,[24] and European measures against Yugoslavia during the Balkans crisis of the early 1990s.[25]

A brief attempt to invoke GATT Article XXI to deal with difficult economic circumstances in a domestic industry was made by Sweden in 1975, when it imposed restrictions on certain footwear imports. It argued that footwear was an essential domestic industry that had to be

[21] Sykes, *supra* note 19.

[22] General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994, Apr. 15, 1994 [hereinafter GATT], Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization [hereinafter WTO Agreement], Annex 1A, 1867 UNTS 187; General Agreement on Trade in Services, Apr. 15, 1994, WTO Agreement, *supra*, Annex 1B, 1869 UNTS 183.

[23] *See* 1 WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION, GATT ANALYTICAL INDEX 601–03 (1995).

[24] *Id.* at 603.

[25] *Id.* at 604–05.

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preserved at some minimum production capacity to protect Sweden's national security interests. The restrictions were the subject of intense criticism in the GATT Council, and Sweden ultimately withdrew them after less than two years.[26]

Why has Article XXI proven relatively uncontroversial over the seventy-year history of the GATT/WTO system? The key provisions quoted above are explicitly self-judging; a party may take action "which it considers necessary for the protection of its essential security interests." This attribute suggests that adjudicators will afford great deference to national government decisions to invoke Article XXI or else conclude that they lack a basis for adjudication (as occurred with a GATT panel composed to address the U.S. embargo of Nicaragua).[27]

But Article XXI is limited to concerns about fissionable materials, arms trafficking, and measures taken during war or during other *international* emergencies. Despite its self-judging character, opportunistic use of Article XXI to address domestic political or economic concerns seems squarely out of bounds. The only serious disputes have related to measures undertaken in relation to bona fide military conflicts.

The general lesson is that narrowly tailored security exceptions, limited on their face to circumstances that are well defined and observable, can function reasonably well, even when made self-judging. It is noteworthy that Article XXI does *not* encompass exigencies such as a member government's financial distress or domestic economic crises that are unrelated to war and international emergencies.[28] Opportunism is policed by the same self-enforcement mechanism that holds trade agreements together under ordinary circumstances; cheating is observable and is likely to carry a cost in the form of formal and informal retaliatory measures, and perhaps reputational sanctions.

GATT Article XX, on "General Exceptions," contains additional provisions permitting deviation from commitments under enumerated circumstances. Permitted deviations include those "necessary to protect public morals," "necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health," and "relating to the conservation of exhaustible natural resources," among others. A complete discussion of Article XX's history and interpretation is far beyond the scope of this comment, and none of the provisions involve circumstances that one can easily characterize as economic necessity. Nevertheless, a few features warrant brief mention. Article XX is plainly not self-judging, and WTO/GATT panels have often been asked to ascertain whether a challenged measure falls within its purview. Nevertheless, the general tendency of WTO adjudicators has been to defer to members' claims that their policy aims come within the enumerated exceptions.[29] Adjudicators have been much less deferential to the choice of means to achieve these objectives, however, and regularly inquire whether a measure is "necessary" to achieve the

[26] *Id.* at 603.

[27] *Id.* at 601.

[28] Interestingly, some more recent investment treaties provide exceptions for adopting reasonable measures for prudential reasons, such as those to maintain the integrity of the financial system. *See* Article 10 of the 2004 Canadian model BIT, *available at* http://www.italaw.com/documents/Canadian2004-FIPA-model-en.pdf. Such exceptions are not self-judging, however, and leave open the question whether the cancellation of a debt would ever be a "reasonable measure."

[29] To give two examples, the WTO has ruled that measures to protect extraterritorial seal populations against animal cruelty fall within the "public morals" exception and that measures to protect clean air come within the "exhaustible natural resources" exception. *See* Appellate Body Report, European Communities—Measures Prohibiting the Importation and Marketing of Seal Products, WT/DS400/AB/R & WT/DS401/AB/R (adopted June 18, 2014); Appellate Body Report, United States—Standards for Reformulated and Conventional Gasoline, WT/DS2/AB/R (adopted May 20, 1996).

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stated objective or whether it violates the prohibition on "arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination" in the Article XX chapeau.[30]

In broad brush, Article XX's jurisprudence may thus be characterized as deferential to members' policy objectives but considerably less deferential to their choice of policy instruments. Measures that intrude importantly on other members' trading interests and that require justification under Article XX often receive a searching "least restrictive means" analysis grounded in textual hooks such as "necessary" and "discrimination."[31] This approach has the virtue of preserving a broad degree of policy sovereignty for members to pursue nontrade objectives, while ensuring that they do not deliberately or inadvertently impose excessive costs on trading partners. Its efficacy depends, however, on the capacity of adjudicators to make reasonably accurate judgments about the existence of less trade-restrictive alternatives. This task is a plausible one for WTO adjudicators because of their trade expertise and attendant ability to weigh the trade impact of alternative approaches to the same policy goal. When adjudicators possess both the information and expertise to evaluate policy alternatives, least-restrictive-means analysis or its equivalent under another rubric can play a useful role in policing unnecessary deviation from international commitments.

We now turn to two other aspects of WTO/GATT law that address circumstances of economic exigency. The first, GATT Article XIX,[32] as elaborated by the WTO Agreement on Safeguards,[33] concerns "Emergency Action on Imports." The standard for such action, known as a safeguard measure, is found in GATT Article XIX:1(a):

> If, as a result of unforeseen developments and of the effect of the obligations incurred by a contracting party under this Agreement, including tariff concessions, any product is being imported into the territory of that contracting party in such increased quantities and under such conditions as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic producers in that territory of like or directly competitive products, the contracting party shall be free, in respect of such product, and to the extent and for such time as may be necessary to prevent or remedy such injury, to suspend the obligation in whole or in part or to withdraw or modify the concession.

The evident objective is to permit WTO members to escape the economic consequences of negotiated import concessions that result in unexpected import surges that seriously imperil an import-competing industry.

Much has been written about the economic rationale for safeguard measures. Although the stated goal of safeguards under national law (such as section 201 of the 1974 U.S. Trade Act)[34] is to allow measures that restore the competitiveness of domestic firms or permit a more "orderly" contraction of a declining industry, it is difficult to offer a convincing account of how safeguard measures are desirable for such purposes on grounds of efficiency as conventionally

[30] *See, e.g.*, Appellate Body Report, Korea—Measures Affecting Imports of Fresh, Chilled and Frozen Beef, WT/DS161 & WT/DS169/AB/R (adopted Jan. 10, 2001) (necessity test violated); Appellate Body Report, United States—Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products, WT/DS58/AB/R (adopted Nov. 6, 1998) (chapeau violated).

[31] The proposition that such analysis can be understood as a form of cost-benefit analysis that is attentive to error costs is developed in Alan O. Sykes, *The Least Restrictive Means*, 70 U. CHI. L. REV. 403 (2003).

[32] *Supra* note 22.

[33] Apr. 15, 1994, WTO Agreement, *supra* note 22, Annex 1A, 1869 UNTS 154.

[34] 19 U.S.C. §2251 (2012).

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defined. Worthwhile efforts to restore competitiveness should be financed by the capital markets, and "orderly contraction" typically delays the inevitable while exacerbating the economic costs due to a period of protectionism. If any intervention is useful in times of labor market rigidities, direct intervention in the labor market through adjustment assistance makes more sense.[35]

Nevertheless, safeguard measures can be "efficient" in a political sense, and political accounts of the safeguard mechanism have come to predominate. One account posits that safeguard measures address situations of political exigency in which government officials will be compelled to deviate from their international trade commitments. If such deviation is defined as "cheating," trade agreements may unravel; it is in the parties' interest to permit temporary "cheating" to preserve long-term cooperation.[36] An alternative perspective emphasizes that the politicians who agree to treaties are concerned about their own political futures and face uncertainty about the consequences of treaties. It makes sense for them to provide options to deviate from commitments that prove unexpectedly burdensome from a political standpoint, particularly if the actors who are allowed to deviate enjoy significant political gains by so doing, while their counterparties' political losses remain modest. Protection for troubled industries besieged by unexpected import competition arguably fits the bill.[37] The safeguard mechanism has the further virtue that it makes politicians less skittish about negotiating trade concessions and leads to more concessions ex ante, even if some are temporarily revoked ex post.[38]

One difficulty with the safeguard mechanism, however, is that the conditions under which deviation from trade commitments is politically efficient are difficult to observe and verify; indeed, the legal preconditions for the proper use of safeguards under GATT Article XIX are defined in exceedingly imprecise terms. What is an "unforeseen development"—unforeseen by whom and at what point in time? What is "serious injury?" How does one determine whether "increased quantities" of imports, rather than something else, are the "cause" of serious injury? Article XIX (as well as the more recent WTO Agreement on Safeguards) leaves these questions largely open, raising the danger of the opportunistic use of safeguard measures.

The original solution in Article XIX was to require compensation. Members invoking Article XIX were obligated to negotiate compensatory trade concessions with affected parties or else suffer limited "retaliation" in the form of those parties' withdrawal of "substantially equivalent concessions."[39]

[35] *See* Alan O. Sykes, *Protectionism as a "Safeguard": A Positive Analysis of the GATT "Escape Clause" with Normative Speculations*, 58 U. CHI. L. REV. 255 (1991); ALAN O. SYKES, THE WTO AGREEMENT ON SAFEGUARDS (2006).

[36] Kyle Bagwell & Robert W. Staiger, *A Theory of Managed Trade*, 80 AM. ECON. REV. 779 (1990).

[37] Declining industries are commonly observed to invest heavy resources in the pursuit of trade protection. This phenomenon has two possible explanations: (1) they are more likely to succeed in securing protection because they are politically sympathetic suitors due to high unemployment among their workers, and (2) the returns to protection will not be competed away by the entry of new firms as long as investment returns do not rise above the competitive level. Likewise, if competing foreign exporters that would be affected by safeguards measures are growing and profitable, restrictions on their exports may not engender as much political outcry if the exporting firms expect their returns to be diminished anyway by competitive entry. These observations afford a plausible account of why protection for troubled industries against efficient foreign competitors may yield joint political gains to treaty partners on average, even if it reduces economic efficiency in the conventional sense. Sykes (1991), *supra* note 35.

[38] See sources cited *supra* note 35.

[39] GATT, *supra* note 22, Art. XIX:2–3.

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The compensation requirement was itself problematic, however, in part because the "substantial equivalence" standard is also vague. Demands for compensation were often high. To avoid the requirement, GATT members began to negotiate extralegal arrangements—often termed "voluntary restraint agreements"—which were discriminatory and potentially permanent, and which sometimes ignored the prerequisites for the use of safeguards. The proliferation of extralegal measures resulted in the WTO Agreement on Safeguards, which elaborated some of the prerequisites for safeguards, with an eye toward adjudication (not very successfully as it turned out),[40] while softening the compensation requirement to allow safeguard measures for a period of three years without compensation in many cases.[41] The agreement was accompanied by an arbitral process that can assess "substantial equivalence" pursuant to the WTO Dispute Settlement Understanding. Finally, the agreement introduced further provisions to limit and discourage opportunism; if a nation imposes safeguards in a particular industry, it must phase them down over a few years, remove them altogether after at most eight years, and cannot reapply them for a period equal to the length of time that they were in force.[42] With regard to the latter principle, a nation that invokes the safeguards mechanism opportunistically may find itself confronted with a legitimate need to use safeguards later yet be unable to act. Opportunism becomes riskier and less likely.[43]

In summary, the WTO/GATT escape clause is an example of a treaty provision aimed at facilitating deviation from the bargain under exigent economic circumstances—albeit circumstances that create political exigency more than any conventional efficiency justification for deviation. The political actors who negotiate treaties under conditions of uncertainty may find such provisions optimal. We return in part III to the question whether a provision such as Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT can be understood through the same lens.

Such provisions tend to create additional challenges in administration because economic exigency can be much more difficult to define with precision than emergency conditions associated with wars, arms trafficking, hazards to human health, and the like. The result tends to be vague standards regarding conditions that other parties find difficult to observe and that adjudicators find difficult to verify. In turn, serious problems of opportunism may arise. A compensation requirement is one possible solution, although not the only option.

The other GATT provisions that address economic exigency concern balance-of-payments crises. These provisions (GATT Articles XII–XV) are complex, but the central intuition is simple. Assume that a government wishes to maintain a fixed exchange rate or at least a rate within some narrow band. Assume further that it runs a substantial balance-of-trade deficit at this exchange rate, so that it imports considerably more than it exports. The demand for foreign currency to buy imports then exceeds foreigners' demand for domestic currency to buy exports. Unless foreigners are content to accumulate the domestic currency for investment purposes, the excess demand for foreign currency will cause foreign currency to appreciate relative to the domestic currency. But this situation may push the exchange rate away from the target value.

[40] The jurisprudential confusion engendered by these issues is address in Alan O. Sykes, *The Safeguards Mess: A Critique of WTO Jurisprudence*, 2 WORLD TRADE REV. 261 (2003), *reprinted in* THE WTO, SAFEGUARDS, AND TEMPORARY PROTECTION FROM IMPORTS (Chad P. Bown ed., 2006).

[41] WTO Safeguards Agreement, *supra* note 33, Art. 8.3.

[42] *Id.*, Art. 7.

[43] Kyle Bagwell & Robert W. Staiger, *Enforcement, Private Political Pressure and the GATT/WTO Escape Clause*, 34 J. LEGAL STUD. 471 (2005).

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To avoid that result, the domestic government must use its reserves of foreign currency to intervene in exchange markets, buying domestic currency to support its price and selling its holdings of foreign currency. But what happens if its reserves start to run out? It may be unable to support its currency, and devaluation may become imminent. Private actors holding assets denominated in domestic currency will then want to dump them, foreign capital will pull out of the country, and difficult macroeconomic circumstances may follow.

This problem was a common concern in the days of fixed exchange rates, as contemplated at the formation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Nations obliged to maintain their currency's par value could easily find themselves running short of foreign exchange reserves. They could borrow reserves from the fund, but it was also contemplated that import restrictions might be necessary to curb the excess of imports over exports. GATT permits such restrictions for the purpose of addressing balance-of-payments crises, but limits them. Article XII: 2(a) provides:

> Import restrictions instituted, maintained or intensified by a contracting party under this Article shall not exceed those necessary:
>
> (i) to forestall the imminent threat of, or to stop, a serious decline in its monetary reserves, or
>
> (ii) in the case of a contracting party with very low monetary reserves, to achieve a reasonable rate of increase in its reserves.[44]

Additional obligations require that the measures be limited to the period of balance-of-payments distress and that they be administered in a nondiscriminatory fashion among the foreign exporters of competitive products (Article XIII).

The demise of fixed exchange rates for most developed countries reduced the need for currency market intervention by major countries such as the United States, but developing countries often seek to maintain fixed exchange rates today, in part to "tie their hands" against irresponsible monetary policies. Macroeconomic crises attributable to loss of confidence in local currencies still occur (recall the Asian financial crisis of the 1990s, which began when Thailand was forced to abandon its peg for the baht).

In short, economic exigency may at times arise because of balance-of-payments crises that threaten capital flight. Such exigencies afford a justification for deviation from trade commitments in the WTO when they are properly linked to bona fide crises and properly time limited. So, too, might they justify deviation from other international commitments if reasonably necessary to conserve important and scarce foreign exchange reserves. We will return below to the question whether investment treaty commitments might fall into this category.

Like the security provisions and general exceptions of GATT Articles XXI and XX, the balance-of-payments provisions have proven to be reasonably enforceable in adjudication. Although they have been invoked opportunistically in the past to afford a pretense for selective protectionism in politically sensitive industries, adjudicators have proven able to rule that they are illegal when a close linkage to a serious monetary reserve crisis is absent.[45]

[44] *Supra* note 22.

[45] *See* Appellate Body Report, India—Quantitative Restrictions on Imports of Agricultural, Textile and Industrial Products, WT/DS90/AB/R (adopted Sept. 22, 1999).

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II. THE NECESSITY DEFENSE IN CIL

The preceding review of necessity and related concepts in other fields of law offers important insights into what might be meant by necessity, how economic exigency might create circumstances relating to necessity, and how necessity might bear on collateral issues, such as the obligation to compensate for acts of necessity. We now turn to the evolution of necessity as a defense in CIL. Many of the same ideas emerge.

The CIL necessity defense dates back to Grotius.[46] It has been acknowledged in a number of CIL decisions through the years and is now enshrined in the International Law Commission (ILC) Articles on State Responsibility.[47] Article 25 provides:

> 1. Necessity may not be invoked by a State as a ground for precluding the wrongfulness of an act not in conformity with an international obligation of that State unless the act:
>
> (a) Is the only way for the State to safeguard an essential interest against a grave and imminent peril; and
>
> (b) Does not seriously impair an essential interest of the State or States towards which the obligation exists, or of the international community as a whole.
>
> 2. In any case, necessity may not be invoked by a State as a ground for precluding wrongfulness if:
>
> (a) The international obligation in question excludes the possibility of invoking necessity; or
>
> (b) The State has contributed to the situation of necessity.

A review of the cases suggests that necessity here, as in other fields of law, arises only if the interest to be saved by an act of necessity exceeds in value the harm done by the violation of an international obligation. Necessity has been invoked to justify a wide range of actions under circumstances that seemingly satisfy this criterion, including a brief incursion into the territory of another state to interdict support for rebels (the *Caroline* case),[48] measures to protect animal populations from serious overfishing or hunting to extinction (the *Fisheries Jurisdiction*[49] and *Russian Fur Seals*[50] cases), the destruction of a foundering ship to prevent a massive oil spill (the

[46] "In cases of necessity men have a right of using that which has already become the property of others. To sanction this indulgence, the necessity must be such that it cannot otherwise be avoided." HUGO GROTIUS, ON THE LAW OF WAR AND PEACE [DE JURE BELLI AC PACIS], bk. II, ch. 2 (A. C. Campbell trans., 1814), *available at* http://www.bartleby.com/172/202.html.

[47] Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts, *in* Report of the International Law Commission on the Work of Its Fifty-Third Session, UN GAOR, 56th Sess., Supp. No. 10, at 26, UN Doc. A/56/10 (2001). The ILC commentaries on what were then the draft articles, UN Doc. A/56/10, at 59, include a thorough history of the ILC discussions. For the commentary relevant to our current discussion, see *id.* at 80–84 [hereinafter ILC Commentary].

[48] *See id.* at 81 (discussion).

[49] Fisheries Jurisdiction (Spain v. Can.), 1998 ICJ REP. 432 (Dec. 4).

[50] ILC Commentary, *supra* note 47, at 81.

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Torrey Canyon case),[51] and the appropriation of foreign property that was necessary to provide subsistence to troops engaged in resisting a rebellion (the Anglo-Portuguese dispute of 1832).[52]

Considerable support exists for the proposition that economic exigency may create necessity, as in the series of cases regarding obligations to repay external debt in times of economic crisis.[53] At an international law conference in 1930, the South African government expressed the following view:

> Foreigners lending money to a particular State can hardly expect not to be prejudicially affected under any circumstances by the vicissitudes of the State in question. If, through adverse circumstances beyond its control, a State is actually placed in such a position that it cannot meet all its liabilities and obligations, it is virtually in a position of distress. It will then have to rank its obligations and make provisions for those which are of a more vital interest first. A State cannot, for example, be expected to close its schools and universities and its courts, to disband its police force and to neglect its public services to such an extent as to expose its community to chaos and anarchy merely to provide the money wherewith to meet its moneylenders, foreign or national. There are limits to what may be reasonably expected of a State in the same manner as with an individual. If, in such a contingency, the hardships of misfortune are equitably divided over nationals as well as foreigners and the latter are not specially discriminated against, there should be no reason for complaint.[54]

This view, more or less, has received broad acceptance. In *Société Commerciale de Belgique*,[55] Belgium had won arbitral awards against Greece that had not been paid. In an action against Greece seeking a declaration that Greece had violated its international obligations, Greece pleaded necessity on the grounds that its budgetary and monetary situation was dire, and Greece could not afford to pay the award at the time. Counsel for Greece argued that "the duty of a Government to ensure the proper functioning of its essential public services outweighs that of paying its debts."[56] Both parties accepted that proposition in principle, with Belgium insisting only that such circumstances merely suspended the debt obligation and did not discharge it.[57] A similar argument was advanced by the Ottoman Empire to avoid repayment of a debt to Russia in the *Russian Indemnity* case. Once again, the tribunal accepted that such a defense might be available but disputed that it applied at the time to the situation facing the Ottoman Empire.[58] The argument and outcome were similar in the *Serbian Loans* case, where Serbia resisted payment in gold to its foreign bondholders, claiming that necessity allowed it to pay in paper francs instead.[59] The tribunal quarreled with the factual basis for the claim but not the underlying principle.

[51] The "Torrey Canyon," Cmnd. 3246 (1967) (UK).

[52] ILC Commentary, *supra* note 47, at 81.

[53] A nice review of "financial necessity" arguments in cases involving sovereign debt defaults may be found in chapter 5 of MICHAEL WAIBEL, SOVEREIGN DEFAULTS BEFORE INTERNATIONAL COURTS AND TRIBUNALS (2011).

[54] *See* Roberto Ago (Special Rapporteur), Addendum to the Eighth Report on State Responsibility, [1980] 2 Y.B. INT'L L. COMM'N, pt. 1, at 13, 24, UN Doc. A/CN.4/318/ADD.5-7 (emphasis deleted) ("The internationally wrongful act of the State, source of international responsibility").

[55] Société Commerciale de Belgique (Belg. v. Greece), 1939 PCIJ (Ser. A/B) No. 78, at 160 (June 15).

[56] As quoted in Report of the International Law Commission on the Work of Its Thirty-Second Session, UN GAOR, 35th Sess., Supp. No. 10, at 37, UN Doc. A/35/10 (1980).

[57] *See* Addendum to the Eighth Report on State Responsibility, *supra* note 54, at 25.

[58] *Id.* at 22–23.

[59] *Id.* at 24.

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The debt cases thus add another form of economic exigency to the scenarios contemplated in, for example, the balance-of-payments provisions of GATT. Where compliance with an international obligation would impose such an economic burden that vital public services would be jeopardized, there is no violation of international law in *postponing* payment. None of the cases suggests, however, that payment should be discharged altogether. The Articles on State Responsibility also preserve that issue in Article 27, which provides: "The invocation of a circumstance precluding wrongfulness in accordance with this chapter is without prejudice to . . . [t]he question of compensation for any material loss caused by the act in question."

Finally, the Articles on State Responsibility take a hard-line approach to policing the moral hazard problem that may accompany a necessity defense. Under Article 25, the necessity defense is not available if the "State has contributed to the situation of necessity." As noted earlier, however, an alternative approach to policing moral hazard is a compensation requirement that encourages states to internalize the costs to others from its acts, even if they may be said to "contribute" to the necessity. The effect of "cost internalization" by states is subject to some uncertainty, however, which will be addressed further below.

III. "NECESSITY" AND RELATED ISSUES IN THE INVESTMENT CONTEXT

We now turn to the investment treaty setting and to the question of when economic exigency might justify a departure from ordinary investor-protection rules. The discussion will be much informed by the role of economic exigency in the other settings discussed above, but the investment context assuredly injects some additional wrinkles.

Economic theorizing regarding the rationale for investment treaties is limited and generally informal. The conventional account in the literature emphasizes the time-inconsistency problem that can arise in countries that have difficulty making credible commitments to investors through their domestic legal systems. After investors incur the costs of sunk investments,[60] host countries may adopt policies that impair the returns to investment in a variety of ways—expropriation, onerous tax policies, breach of contract, and so on. These prospects create risk for investors (and "uncertainty" as well, in the sense of Knight).[61] Risk will increase the net price of imported capital (the required rate of return) by an amount that exceeds its expected cost to investors if investors are risk averse. The net price of imported capital will also increase to the degree that the expected costs to investors exceed the expected benefits of these policies to the home country, even if investors are risk neutral.[62] In addition, uncertainty in the sense of Knight makes it difficult even for risk-neutral investors to price the risk that they are facing, potentially scaring them away. Asymmetric information further complicates the problem since host countries may know their own propensities to engage in policies that impair investment

[60] A sunk investment is an investment that cannot be sold to recover its cost. If an investor drills an oil well, for example, it is impossible to "undrill" the well to recover the initial cost. Many capital investments have a significant sunk component.

[61] Knight distinguishes risk, which is quantifiable, from uncertainty, which is not. Uncertainty is more difficult for markets to handle because by definition it is difficult to price. FRANK KNIGHT, RISK, UNCERTAINTY, AND PROFIT (1921).

[62] Because investments are sunk, host countries have no reason to limit their policies to measures that generate joint efficiency gains.

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returns yet be unable credibly to disclose their "type" in that respect, leading investors to overestimate the risk of dealing with relatively "safe" host countries.[63]

Accordingly, to reduce the price of imported capital (an unambiguous benefit to a capital-importing nation), many host countries would like to make credible commitments not to act opportunistically toward the owners of sunk investments.[64] Some countries may be able to do so through commitments under domestic law that are difficult to modify (for example, the takings clause of the U.S. Constitution) and that are enforceable in domestic courts that investors consider unbiased and reliable. But commitments under domestic law may not be credible, especially in developing countries afflicted by problems such as weak legal systems, corruption, and political instability. Investment treaties afford a partial solution. They typically give investors the right to pursue claims before neutral international arbitrators and often provide a right of action for money damages. Although the collection of judgments may still prove problematic, these investor rights under international law may considerably improve on the credibility of host country commitments to investors.[65]

To be sure, capital-importing countries have important policy goals in addition to their desire to enjoy cheaper imported capital, and optimal investment treaties do not eliminate all risk for investors. Instead, they ideally eliminate all *inefficient* risks—risks that increase the price of imported capital by more than the value of retaining the policy flexibility that creates risk.[66] Various strategies may be employed to this end. Primary obligations may be construed to insulate desirable domestic policy measures from challenge.[67] Express exceptions to primary obligations may be included for the same purpose; Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT is an obvious example.[68]

[63] This situation is a variant of the classic "lemons" problem. The seminal article is George Akerlof, *The Market for Lemons: Quality Uncertainty and the Market Mechanism*, 84 Q. J. ECON. 488 (1970).

[64] *See, e.g.*, Andrew T. Guzman, *Why LDCs Sign Treaties That Hurt Them: Explaining the Popularity of Bilateral Investment Treaties*, 38 VA. J. INT'L L. 639 (1997); van Akken, *supra* note 3. This conventional account of the rationale for investment treaties is subject to some dispute, however, based on various pieces of empirical evidence. They include some studies that find little impact of BITs on inbound foreign direct investment and survey evidence suggesting that the signing of a BIT does not affect investor decisions or political risk insurance premiums. See generally Lauge Poulsen, *The Importance of BITs for Foreign Direct Investment and Political Risk Insurance: Revisiting the Evidence*, 2010 Y.B. INT'L L. & POL'Y, and the articles collected in THE EFFECT OF TREATIES ON FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT: BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATIES, DOUBLE TAXATION TREATIES, AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT FLOWS (Karl P. Sauvant & Lisa E. Sachs eds., 2009). A more recent survey of the empirical evidence, however, observes that "the majority of studies conclude that [international investment agreements] have a positive impact on [foreign direct investment]." UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT, THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT AGREEMENTS ON FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT: AN OVERVIEW OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES 1998–2014 (2014), *at* http://investmentpolicyhub.unctad.org/Upload/Documents/unctad-web-diae-pcb-2014-Sep%2024.pdf.

[65] *See* Alan O. Sykes, *Public Versus Private Enforcement of International Economic Law: Standing and Remedy*, 34 J. LEGAL STUD. 631 (2005).

[66] *See generally* van Akken, *supra* note 3. It is also important to note that investment treaties are not the only way for investors to avoid risk; political risk insurance can serve as a partial substitute. Insurance does not eliminate risk, however, but simply transfers it to a less risk averse entity. An appropriate investment treaty may actually eliminate inefficient risk by discouraging opportunistic behavior toward sunk investments.

[67] For example, sensible domestic regulatory measures that reduce the value of foreign investments might be deemed not to constitute measures "tantamount to expropriation." *See, e.g.*, Vicki Been & Joel Beauvais, *The Global Fifth Amendment: NAFTA's Investment Protections and the Misguided Quest for an International Regulatory Takings Doctrine*, 78 N.Y.U. L. REV. 30 (2003).

[68] See also the exceptions for health and conservation measures contained in Article (8)(3)(c) of the 2012 U.S. Model Bilateral Investment Treaty, *at* https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/BIT%20text%20for%20ACIEP%20Meeting.pdf.

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But investment treaties cannot address all possible contingencies clearly and expressly, any more than trade treaties or private contracts. They are inevitably incomplete, requiring ex post interpretation of vague obligations (e.g., "essential security interests") and possible gap fillers derived from sources such as CIL. This concluding part offers some thoughts on the relevance of economic exigency to this incomplete contracting problem.

The first of the three sections below considers possible circumstances in which economic exigency plausibly supports deviation from investment treaty obligations. The second section discusses the recent spate of litigation against Argentina, its claims of CIL necessity, and its invocation of Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT. Finally, the third section considers the question whether economic exigency should ever discharge treaty obligations or merely suspend them, including the possible role of compensation for harm done to investors during the period of economic exigency.

When Might Economic Exigency Justify a Departure from Investor Protection Rules?

The earlier discussion of economic exigency as a basis for deviation from commitments in other settings immediately suggests some macroeconomic scenarios of potential importance in the investment context. It also suggests the importance of some attention to risk-distribution and political-efficiency issues.

Fiscal and currency crises. Drawing on the CIL cases involving repayment of external public debt, the host country may experience a severe imbalance of revenues and obligations to the point that a prospect of curtailing vital public services may result. If departure from an investor protection rule allows the host government to conserve its funds and maintain essential public services such as education, public health, and the like, then it may well be efficient ex ante for the operation of the rule to be delayed until the period of crisis abates. Examples might include an obligation to make payments to investors under a contractual agreement that comes within the "umbrella clause"[69] of a BIT, or the obligation to pay compensation for a taking of investor property.

This rationale for a suspension of obligations rests on the assumption that the host government cannot borrow in the capital markets at reasonable rates to cover its obligations—a plausible assumption, for example, in the case of a country that has defaulted on its external public debt or is threatening default, or when default has been avoided only through some mechanism such as an IMF bailout. One can then view a suspension of obligations as an opportunity to engage in borrowing more cheaply from creditors in the short term.[70] A mere suspension of obligations, rather than a substantial restructuring, makes sense (more below) if the fiscal crisis is likely to be transitory (in other words, if the problem is more one of liquidity than insolvency). The implications of this observation are elaborated in "Accommodating the Tensions" (see below).

The GATT balance-of-payments provisions suggest another possibility. If an obligation to investors is denominated in outside currency and can be met only with scarce currency reserves

[69] Many investment treaties contain "umbrella clauses" that allow investors to pursue treaty-based claims for violations of host state obligations that arise in another context, such as by contract or domestic statute. *See* SALACUSE, *supra* note 3, ch. 11.

[70] IMF bailouts, of course, have the same property; they are of little value unless they are implicitly undertaken at below market rates.

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that are needed to support the price of the home currency, thereby to avoid capital flight and serious macroeconomic consequences, then it may be efficient to delay the obligation until the reserve crisis abates.

At first blush, fiscal and currency crises offer a rationale for suspending the rules only in cases where the obligation in question requires an expenditure of funds or currency reserves by the host country government. This view, however, is too narrow. Suspending payments owed to investors by private actors might facilitate taxation to address a fiscal crisis or might enable the government to control the expenditure of scarce foreign exchange in private hands so that it can be redirected to assist the government in rebuilding its reserves (for example, by enabling the government to purchase it from private actors at the target exchange rate). A direct savings to the government is not necessary as long as a clear linkage can be made to a source of funds for the government to address the fiscal or currency crisis.

Four additional observations apply to this class of cases. First, fiscal and currency crises are generally observable and verifiable. Outsiders can determine whether a country faces a severe imbalance of revenues and expenditures (consider the recent Eurozone crises in Greece and elsewhere), and whether downward pressure on the currency stresses currency reserves and may lead to sudden capital flight (for example, the Asian financial crisis). To an extent, therefore, the authority to suspend the rules under such conditions will not be subject to false claims of crisis.

Second, a suspension of obligations is not justified if alternative policies can address the crisis adequately. As noted, countries facing fiscal and currency crises will typically have a great deal of difficulty borrowing in international capital markets at reasonable rates. Nevertheless, other changes in tax policy, monetary policy, and the like may be possible to address the crisis, along with options such as IMF assistance. An issue arises as to the optimal mix of policy instruments in this regard and whether a suspension of obligations to creditors is a part of that mix.

Third, and related, a discriminatory suspension of investor protection rules will rarely be justified. Just as GATT requires a degree of nondiscrimination in balance-of-payment measures,[71] it will be difficult to justify the targeting of particular foreign investors over others in fashioning policies to address fiscal and currency crises, or the targeting of foreign investors and not domestic investors. Only if suspending the rules for a subset of investors can be shown to advance legitimate public policy goals (such as ensuring a supply of essential goods) would discrimination seem justifiable.

Finally, fiscal and currency crises are not always exogenous events. Host country fiscal and monetary policies often contribute to such conditions, and if economic exigency relieves the host government of substantial costs attributable to the government's own policy choices, a significant moral hazard arises. This observation has important implications for the scope of flexibility that can be justified by economic exigency.

Risk distribution? Recall the pocket of contract doctrine that applies to crop failure cases. The common justification for discharging the farmer's obligation rests on the proposition that

[71] It is something of a puzzle as to why GATT allows any discrimination in balance-of-payments measures. Article XIII requires that the producer of competing products be treated equally, but why allow a nation facing a currency crisis to restrict imports of footwear, say, but not imports of electronics? Perhaps the answer is that certain categories of products are more essential and that the burden of a currency crisis should fall on the imports of less essential products. But the WTO/GATT system has done little historically to implement such a principle, leaving it to importing nations to decide which categories of products to target.

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farmers are typically risk averse, the farmer has already suffered a large casualty loss, and an obligation to pay damages to the promisee for cover would impose a sizable additional risk on the farmer. Contractual discharge splits the loss in a manner that is more likely to accord with optimal risk sharing. In effect, the argument is that the promisee serves as an efficient partial insurer for the farmer's potential losses.

Is the relationship between a host country obligor and an investor ever analogous to the relationship between an insured and an insurer, so as to provide a further justification for relaxing investment obligations under times of financial stress? With regard to the investors, those holding a diversified portfolio of investments may indeed be approximately risk neutral. Investors with large sunk costs in a particular investment, however, may be poorly diversified and thus risk averse, as may the managers of such operations. Indeed, as noted, part of the gains from an investment treaty may lie in the reduction of risk borne by risk-averse investors.

Might a host country nevertheless be *more* risk averse than investors? Not exactly, but a host country government may exhibit characteristics akin to risk aversion. In individuals, risk aversion is a product of the diminishing marginal utility of money.[72] Governments may also experience shocks that affect the marginal utility of money. Indeed, we have already discussed some of them. For a government facing a fiscal or balance-of-payments crisis, when the funds to provide essential public services or to support the local currency may be lacking, the implicit marginal utility of money may increase much as it does to individuals who experience an adverse shock to wealth. A justification might then arise for shifting the risk of fiscal distress from the government to investors. This argument for relaxing investor obligations during fiscal and currency crises, however, is just another way of phrasing the points made earlier.

But host governments may experience other shocks to the implicit marginal utility of money. Imagine a developing country facing a deadly tropical disease, and suppose that a costly cure has just been discovered. The government may then have an extremely valuable use for funds that it did not have before. Accordingly, to the list of economic exigencies plausibly justifying measures to conserve government funds, we might add certain scenarios in which the government experiences a new and pressing need for funds to address some unanticipated domestic emergency—a public health crisis, a natural disaster, and the like. To be sure, one must again ask whether a suspension of investor obligations is a sound option in relation to possible alternative sources of funds.

Political crises? Recall the prevailing economic understanding of the GATT escape clause. Few commentators believe that temporary protection for troubled industries is economically efficient in the conventional sense. Rather, troubled industries create intense political pressure for renewed protection, and politicians wish to retain the option to respond to it. If they could not, trade agreements might unravel, and politicians might be reluctant to make trade concessions in the first place. The temporary protection allowed by the escape clause may be the lesser of evils. In any event, the political officials who enter trade treaties will inevitably seek to promote their own political welfare and so will reserve the right to deviate whenever it is jointly optimal from a political standpoint.

Can a similar logic support deviation from investment treaty obligations to address situations of great political exigency? The answer may well be yes. The issue involves a considerable degree of speculation, however, as I am not aware of any theorizing as to which investment

[72] *See, e.g.*, Kenneth Arrow, ESSAYS IN THE THEORY OF RISK BEARING (1970).

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treaty commitments might prove especially problematic ex post from a political rather than conventional welfare standpoint. One conjecture is that scenarios might arise in which an investor reaps a windfall return at the expense of ordinary citizens. Perhaps the investor was promised an opportunity to price its output in foreign currency even though its production costs are largely paid in local currency, and an unanticipated depreciation of the local country results in an output price far above costs and hence a windfall profit. If the output is an essential good or service that is not subject to much competition (for example, if the investment is the local waterworks), one can imagine that the government would be under great political pressure to relieve the citizens of exorbitant prices for that necessary good or service, and that such a policy would contravene some treaty obligation (such as an umbrella clause).

No doubt other scenarios can be imagined. The range of low-probability, politically exigent circumstances that might warrant some departure from the bargain may be vast—yet, because of transaction costs, be unlikely to be addressed specifically in a treaty. A justification may then exist for a broad catchall provision that allows departure from treaty obligations under somewhat vague standards that are elastic enough to capture conditions involving intense political pressure to deviate.

The difficulty, of course, is that vague standards—particularly those encompassing political exigency rather than readily observable phenomena such as fiscal or monetary crises—raise a greater possibility of opportunism (much like the GATT escape clause). If outsiders cannot observe and verify the conditions that justify a departure from commitments, adjudicators have little hope of policing such opportunism. One must then wonder whether the cure is worse than the disease. In some cases, mechanisms might be devised to police opportunism in other ways, such as a requirement that investors be compensated for losses in appropriate cases.

"Public" necessity? As discussed earlier, necessity doctrine in tort includes a special rule immunizing public servants against *personal* liability for acts of necessity (recall the example of a fire department that destroys private property to create a fire break). The evident rationale is to relieve individual actors of liability for socially constructive acts when others enjoy the benefits, lest the actors be discouraged from acting. To what degree might analogous considerations be operative in the investment context?

At first blush, the answer seems to be "not at all." Investment treaty liabilities attach to host governments, not to individual public officials. But the issue is more complex.

Public policy decisions are taken by government officials. What incentivizes those decisions is unclear. Agency costs and the familiar insights of public choice theory regarding interest group politics raise a variety of doubts about public officials' incentives to act systematically in the public interest. It is easy to hypothesize scenarios in which officials may be led to make poor choices out of political self-interest. Imagine a policy choice that results in a substantial welfare gain to a minority of the population, yet the costs are spread throughout the population via the tax system. The majority of voters might then oppose the policy choice even if the net benefits to society as a whole are clear and substantial. A self-interested political official might well respond to the majority preference despite the net social costs.

Transplanting the concern to the investment context, one can imagine scenarios in which the obligation to compensate investors for the effects of policy changes might discourage socially desirable policy adaptations. This observation is hardly novel and lies at the heart of a literature discussing "regulatory chill"—questioning the wisdom of requiring compensation

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for "regulatory takings."[73] The harder question is whether it should factor into the definition of "necessity" and related justifications for departing from investment law commitments.

Ideally, these issues will be addressed through proper delineation of basic obligations (such as the definition of "expropriation" and "fair and equitable treatment") rather than through exceptions such as necessity. One is thus tempted to suggest that this rationale for limiting investor obligations does not add to the list of conditions that create necessity. One cannot rule out the possibility, however, that exigent circumstances might distort public officials' incentives in a manner that warrants a relaxation of the usual rules regarding exigent circumstances.

The Argentina Litigation

The last century of economic history in Argentina has been turbulent indeed. Political instability, cycles of boom and bust, sovereign debt defaults, and bouts of hyperinflation have plagued the country since the 1930s. Argentina went from being one of the ten richest nations in 1930 (in per capita terms) to having, in recent years, a per capita income about 30 percent that of the United States.[74]

One of the most dismal periods in the last century occurred in the late 1970s and 1980s. Following a military coup in 1976, economic growth slowed, external public debt began to rise sharply, and inflation accelerated. Argentina sought IMF assistance on multiple occasions and borrowed from friendly nations such as the United States. A first period of hyperinflation led to the substitution of the austral for the peso but was followed by yet another hyperinflation and another IMF bailout package. In 1992, the austral was replaced by a new peso that was to be pegged to the U.S. dollar at a one-to-one ratio.[75]

During this period a number of government-owned enterprises were privatized. Foreign investors were important participants in the process of privatization, including the privatization of various utility services. But the monetary reform of 1992 was not enough to persuade investors that monetary stability would persist; the experience with the austral was clear evidence that monetary reforms did not always succeed. Accordingly, various investors in enterprises that were regulated by the government or that sold output under long-term contracts sought and received arrangements that allowed them to price their output in U.S. dollars and to index their prices to inflation using an external price index such as the U.S. Producer Price Index.

Initially, this sort of arrangement was quite favorable to investors since their prices rose with U.S. inflation at a time when the relative prices of other things in Argentina were falling. But difficulties soon returned. A series of events led to a crisis of confidence in the peso, including a steep expansion of public debt. Investors began to convert pesos to dollars, straining the country's exchange reserves. Banks were forced to take on government debt, leading to bank runs and an eventual freeze on withdrawals. The one-to-one peg between the peso and the dollar became unsustainable and was abandoned. A partial debt default occurred in December 2001.

[73] *E.g.*, Been & Beauvais, *supra* note 67.

[74] Eugenio Diaz-Bonilla, *Argentina: The Myth of a Century of Decline*, ECONOMONITOR (Feb. 27, 2014), *at* http://www.economonitor.com/blog/2014/02/argentina-the-myth-of-a-century-of-decline/.

[75] *See* Graciela Kaminsky, Amine Mati & Nada Choueiri, Thirty Years of Currency Crises in Argentina: External Shocks or Domestic Fragility? (2009), *at* http://home.gwu.edu/graciela/HOME-PAGE/RESEARCH-WORK/WORKING-PAPERS/argentina.pdf.

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By 2002, the peso had depreciated to roughly four pesos to the dollar.[76] In the background, unemployment and poverty rates increased dramatically.

The details of the ensuing investor claims against Argentina vary somewhat, but I will focus here on a set of measures that were common to a number of cases. As noted, a number of investors had secured the right to price in U.S. dollars and to index their prices to U.S. inflation. As part of its response to the economic crisis of the late 1990s and early 2000s, however, Argentina decreed that obligations denominated in dollars would be repaid in pesos at a one-to-one rate. Indexing was suspended.[77] Thus, in effect, investors would receive going forward about 25 percent of the amount per unit of output that their original arrangements provided, with no further indexation. The measures were nondiscriminatory in the sense that they applied to all obligations, regardless of the nationality of the obligee. But they were said to breach other investment treaty obligations, such as the obligation of fair and equitable treatment, and "umbrella clauses" that ostensibly enabled investors to bring breach of contract claims and similar matters under the treaty.

I assume *arguendo* that these claims were meritorious, save for the possible applicability of two "defenses" offered by Argentina—the CIL defense of necessity and, in the case of claims by U.S. investors, a defense based on Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT. Detailed surveys of how these two issues were resolved by various arbitral panels and subsequent annulment panels may be found elsewhere.[78] Painting with a broad brush, a frequent response to the CIL necessity defense was to suggest that it was inapplicable because of the condition in ILC Article 25 denying the defense when the "State has contributed to the situation of necessity." A defense based on Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT was considered more plausible, particularly by some annulment panels. The dire economic conditions in Argentina, including high unemployment, poverty, and social unrest, were within the broad sweep of conditions that posed a threat to "public order" or to Argentina's "essential security interests."[79] Some panels were inclined to import into Article XI the additional condition of the CIL necessity defense that no state could invoke Article XI if it had "contributed" to the state of necessity,[80] whereas others rejected that proposition.[81] Still other panels saw no textual basis for importing that requirement[82] or were not persuaded that Argentina's contribution to the situation was sufficient to justify rejecting the defense.[83]

[76] *See* J. F. Hornbeck, *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress: The Argentine Financial Crisis: A Chronology of Events* (2003), *at* http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/8040.pdf.

[77] *See* Alvarez, *supra* note 3, at 368–70.

[78] *See especially* José Alvarez & Gustavo Topalian, *supra* note 3. As noted earlier, some of the Argentina cases are still pending.

[79] *E.g.*, LG&E Energy Corp. v. Argentine Republic, ICSID Case No. ARB/02/1, Decision on Liability, paras. 226–61 (Oct. 3, 2006); Continental Casualty Co. v. Argentine Republic, ICSID Case No. ARB/03/9, Award, para. 178 (Sept. 5, 2008).

[80] National Grid P.L.C. v. Argentine Republic, Award, paras. 260–62 (UNCITRAL Arb. Trib. Nov. 3, 2008).

[81] *E.g.*, CMS Gas Transmission Co. v. Argentine Republic, ICSID Case No. ARB/01/8, Decision of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Application for Annulment of the Argentine Republic, paras. 128–35 (Sept. 25, 2007).

[82] Contrast the original decision on liability in *Sempra Energy Int'l v. Argentine Republic*, ICSID Case No. ARB/02/16, with the decision on annulment in the same case (paragraphs 198–219).

[83] *E.g.*, *LG&E Energy Corp.*, *supra* note 79, para. 256; Enron Creditors Recovery Corp. v. Argentine Republic, ICSID Case No. ARB/01/3, Decision on the Application for Annulment, paras. 355–405 (July 30, 2010).

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My objective is not to critique any particular panel decision or to opine on which panel, if any, "got it right." The analysis above suggests a number of considerations that may help to clarify certain issues, however, and suggests others that deserve more extensive attention.

Two important considerations cut in favor of Argentina's "defenses." First, the conditions facing Argentina in the early 2000s unquestionably involved fiscal and currency crises within the potential scope of the CIL necessity defense historically as well as within the balance-of-payments exceptions to other international obligations, such as those of GATT. Argentina faced a heavy external debt, much of it denominated in foreign currency. It lacked the resources to service the debt and, in fact, defaulted partially in 2001. Domestic fiscal expenditures were deeply curtailed at a time of severe macroeconomic distress. Currency reserves were low and being depleted. Ordinary citizens suffered from extraordinary levels of unemployment and poverty.

Second, the measures taken by Argentina in the face of this crisis were, in important particulars, nondiscriminatory. Foreign investors were not targeted, nor were particular sectors targeted. Nothing in the course of events suggests that the measures taken were other than measures of general applicability applied in a reasonably evenhanded fashion.

But there are weighty concerns on the other side that cut against Argentina. In particular, why did investors seek arrangements that allowed them to price in dollars and use a dollar price index in the first place? The answer, of course, is that Argentina's history of excessive borrowing and inflationary monetary policies created grave doubts about the ability of the country to avoid a repetition of the same mistakes in the future. Dollar-peso convertibility at parity was a comforting first step at "hand-tying" in the monetary realm, but it was not credible and could always be abandoned (as indeed it was). Pricing in dollars gave investors much more confidence that their investment returns would not be wiped out by a free-falling peso. Thus, the economic rationale for the investor protection arrangements that Argentina abrogated in the early 2000s was a fear of precisely what happened—excessive government borrowing, burdensome public debt, and a policy of printing more pesos when money ran short for the government. It is jarring to assert that investors forfeit their treaty remedy when a government acts in exactly the way that the investment protections were meant to counteract.

The broader issue, noted at several points in the analysis above, is the moral hazard problem that attends the opportunity for a host country to invoke necessity or a related defense when it has contributed to the condition of necessity. The incentive to avoid the mistakes of the past is seriously undermined. Indeed, it borders on deceit if a country can agree to arrangements to protect investors from unsound macroeconomic policies and then abrogate those arrangements within a decade, using the excuse that unsound macroeconomic policies have wrecked the economy.

Yet it remains uncomfortable to suggest that a country is disabled from taking steps essential to avoid macroeconomic disaster and massive social unrest because of its political officials' past mistakes. A crude analogy is to the boat owner in *Ploof v. Putnam*, who may have been negligent to take the boat out on the water in the face of an impending storm. Despite such negligence, most of us would resist the notion that the defendant should be permitted to cut the boat adrift and send the boat to founder and its passengers to drown in the name of policing moral hazard.

A hard-line approach to the moral hazard problem—such as that embodied in ILC Article 25—seems compelling only if it can be expected systematically to deter imprudent behavior

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that contributes to exigent circumstances. That hope may be unrealistic with respect to imprudent macroeconomic policy, whether in Argentina or elsewhere. The political officials who are responsible for imprudent policies do not bear the costs directly, with the bulk of the costs falling on ordinary citizens. Argentina's history is replete with political revolt against a sequence of administrations with failed economic policies, and the notion that a strict application of investor protection rules will eliminate the problem of unsound macroeconomic policy seems fanciful. For this reason, a more nuanced approach to the moral hazard problem may be preferable. The next section offers some thoughts in this regard.

Yet a further issue plagues Argentina's position. Under ILC Article 25 an act of necessity is acceptable only if the act is "the only way for the State to safeguard an essential interest." Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT is slightly softer but nevertheless applies only to measures that are "necessary" to the maintenance of public order or an essential security interest. Even if some drastic measures were necessary to address the fiscal and currency crises facing Argentina in the early 2000s, could Argentina have gotten by without the particular measures that impaired investor protection in the cases that resulted in claims? Argentina might have discriminated *in favor* of foreign investors, for example, suspending dollar-peso convertibility only for obligations not protected by its investment treaties. Of course, discriminatory policies might produce their own economic distortions, but are they enough to establish that the actual policies were "necessary?"

Putting discriminatory actions to the side, a host of macroeconomic policy options exist for a nation facing macroeconomic distress, encompassing tax policy, monetary policy reform, IMF assistance, and the like. How can one plausibly know if abrogating investor protection rules is "necessary" in such a context? Even more to the point, how can an arbitral panel composed of experts on international economic law begin to assess the optimal policy instrument package for responding to a macroeconomic crisis? One suspects that the arbitral process is ill equipped to pursue that task and that an adjudication as to whether the policies at issue were "necessary" or "the only way" will be fraught with speculation and error.[84] Here, especially, the information that is essential to adjudicate the issue is unlikely to be observable by outsiders or is at least unlikely to be verifiable in the adjudicative process. This problem, too, should inform how "necessity" and related defenses are construed and implemented.

Accommodating the Tensions: Moral Hazard and Policy Instrument Uncertainty

The preceding section identifies two core problems with implementing a necessity or similar defense under the conditions that confronted Argentina. Adjudicators can plausibly observe and verify the existence of fiscal and currency crises, but they are not in a position to assess whether abrogation of international obligations is "necessary" or "the only way" to address them. Likewise, where a state has contributed to the underlying crisis through imprudent policy choices, excusing obligations can encourage the behavior that leads to these crises.

One can imagine three sorts of options for dealing with these issues. The first option is simply to ask adjudicators to do the best they can in assessing the necessity of abrogating international obligations and in deciding whether the moral hazard issue is sufficiently acute that

[84] See the discussion in *Continental Casualty Co.*, *supra* note 79, paras. 196–236 (importing WTO law into the interpretation of "necessary").

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allowing a necessity defense under the circumstances would do more harm than good. ILC Article 25 incorporates this basic approach, with the further proviso that any evidence of imprudent behavior by a state seeking to invoke necessity results in denial of the defense. Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT, by contrast, entrusts the necessity issue to adjudicators but is silent on the moral hazard issue.

A second approach is suggested by the WTO Safeguards Agreement,[85] which employs an imprecise standard for allowing deviation from commitments that turns on issues that are hard to verify. As noted earlier, one mechanism found in the agreement is a rule that any member that employs a safeguard measure must phase it out and is disabled from instituting a new measure in the same industry for a period of years. The limitation on duration encourages members to use the measures only during times of genuine and pressing need, as does the prohibition on using them again in the near future. Likewise, such limitations on the use of safeguard measures can penalize moral hazard to a degree by increasing the costs to governments of policies that may create conditions of distress. They also, to a degree, encourage governments to use efficient policy instruments to respond to distress, lest they lose the opportunity to deviate from international obligations in situations where that course of action is actually the best option.

No formal structure along these lines is to be found in CIL or the U.S.-Argentina BIT, but both can plausibly be interpreted with these considerations in mind. The "only way" principle in ILC Article 25 could be interpreted permissively for measures that are tightly circumscribed in time, in effect affording a deferential standard of review for short-term emergency measures; but the inquiry might be considerably more searching when a government seeks to invoke necessity for longer periods. The "necessary" standard of Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT can be similarly implemented, on the premise that the longer a measure remains in place, the more reasonable it is to expect a government to identify other effective policy instruments.

A third approach is suggested by the necessity doctrine in tort law, the original safeguards system under GATT Article XIX, and the expectation-damages approach to facilitating "efficient breach" in contract. An adjudicator can defer to a nation claiming necessity or a similar defense (such as that under Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT) but require that a measure of compensation be paid for the harm done due to breach of international obligations. The compensation can be deferred until such time as the state claiming necessity has recovered from the emergency situation sufficiently to be in a position to compensate without impairing its essential interests. Likewise, measured against the rates that the host country would have to pay to borrow during the depths of crisis, the interest rate (if any) on the deferred obligation may need to be "below market" to provide meaningful relief; in this sense, compensation will be partial.

This approach is readily available under the ILC Articles on State Responsibility. Article 27 provides in pertinent part: "The invocation of a circumstance precluding wrongfulness [such as necessity] in accordance with this chapter is without prejudice to . . . (b) The question of compensation for any material loss caused by the act in question." Thus, an arbitral panel applying the necessity defense under CIL has the discretion to rule that compensation is required, at least after the period of necessity abates.

In my view, Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT can be construed in this manner as well. Consider the phrase "this treaty shall not preclude the application by either party of measures

[85] *Supra* note 33.

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necessary" to maintain public order or protect an essential security interest. If a measure such as the suspension of dollar pricing and indexing in Argentina is "necessary," the treaty shall not preclude it. But once the measure is taken, the treaty is arguably silent on the question of compensation. Only if a compensation requirement would itself "preclude" a "necessary" measure does the text seem to rule out compensation. It is difficult to imagine why a requirement of compensation, deferred until such time as the exigent circumstances abate and the nation has the resources to compensate, and appropriately limited in magnitude, would be preclusive.

Among the three options discussed above, only the compensation option can induce a state that deviates from its international obligations to "internalize" a substantial portion of the cost. As noted earlier, cost internalization can do much to eliminate the moral hazard problem, at least for private actors who also internalize the benefits of their choices. It further encourages actors to select the least expensive way to protect their interests (the optimal policy instrument).

One must acknowledge some limitations and concerns about compensation, however, especially when required from governments. First, recalling the debate in the contract literature over the utility of expectation damages versus specific performance, compensation induces efficient choices only if it can be computed and administered with reasonable accuracy. In some investment disputes, valuation issues can be challenging (such as determining the fair value of expropriated property when market valuation is absent). This objection does not seem terribly compelling, however, since the same techniques of valuation can be used here as in domestic takings and related cases. Further, many investment claims are not difficult to value using market benchmarks (such as the claims for lost revenue from abandoning dollar pricing and indexing in the Argentina cases).

Another concern is the possibility that compensation requirements will induce excessive "reliance" investments by those who are to be compensated. The contract damages literature makes the point nicely. A promisee who makes investments in reliance on a contract, and who is guaranteed the return of its expectancy in the event of breach, will make excessive investments. The reason is that from a private perspective, the returns to investment are a certainty, whereas from a social perspective, the reliance investment is valuable only in those states of the world where breach is inefficient.[86] Similar points have been made about compensation in the takings literature.[87] An investor guaranteed compensation for a taking, for example, may invest in enhancing the value of the investment on the assumption that its resulting stream of returns is a certainty, even if significant probability exists that future developments will justify shutting down the investment for some public purpose. When other mechanisms to police excessive investments of this sort are lacking, a degree of undercompensation may be desirable,[88] which perhaps affords a further argument for below-market interest rates in computing the award. It seems unlikely that *zero* compensation will be the best response to the problem, however, as it provides no incentive for a promisor to respect commitments that have become privately unattractive but are jointly efficient.

Another type of objection to compensation emphasizes that policy decisions are made by public officials who do not internalize the social benefits of those choices. When a government

[86] *See* Shavell, *supra* note 12 (discussion of excessive reliance expenditure under expectation damages).

[87] *See* Lawrence Blume & Daniel L. Rubinfeld, *Compensation for Takings: An Economic Analysis*, 72 CAL. L. REV. 569 (1984).

[88] *See* Thomas W. Merrill, *Incomplete Compensation for Takings*, 11 N.Y.U. ENVTL. L.J. 110 (2002).

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is required to pay full compensation, it "internalizes" costs, but by no means can one assume that officials will henceforth respond by making efficient choices (as would a private actor who internalizes the benefits of choices in its own self-interest).[89]

Undoubtedly, government officials do not always make decisions that are first-best efficient from a cost-benefit standpoint. Moreover, there is no widely accepted model of what bureaucrats "maximize" and, consequently, no conventional wisdom as to how they will be affected by a prospect of governmental liability. They may well have incentives to pursue their personal or political objectives reasonably efficiently, however, because resources that are wasted cannot be used to reward politically influential interest groups. If so, governments may be motivated to minimize or at least reduce the costs of providing services and also may, to some degree, respond to liability in ways similar to that of a profit-maximizing (cost-minimizing) private firm.[90] A compensation requirement in the investment setting thus has the potential to encourage both the curtailment of moral hazard and the best choice of policy instruments to address crises, even if it does not induce ideal behavior in this regard.

Moreover, the cost internalization that is brought about by a compensation requirement may be expected to incentivize *politically efficient* policy choices. An analogy may be found in the modern theory of trade agreements, in which internalizing the harm that tariffs and other trade barriers cause to foreign nations leads to politically efficient trade agreements.[91] Politically efficient choices can have normative appeal. If government officials are the citizenry's faithful agents, choices that deviate from the economic "first best" nevertheless have democratic legitimacy and may be understood as responsive to other citizen concerns, such as income distribution.

More generally, it is a commonplace in the literature on policy making with international externalities to suppose that governments tend to ignore the welfare of actors who are not among their constituents,[92] such as foreign investors. A compensation requirement forces governments to consider the welfare of those who might otherwise be ignored, plausibly leading to policy choices that better serve the global interest rather than simply the national parochial interest.

Nonetheless, compensation requirements imposed on political systems that reflect various types of agency problems can create a variety of distortions. One must be attentive to arguments in particular cases that the potential distortions are serious and may swamp the benefits of compensation requirements—a familiar type of problem in the economic theory of the "second best." As with most second-best concerns about public policy, however, it may be prudent to proceed pragmatically on the assumption that second-best problems are also second-order problems, at least in the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary.

[89] The potential lack of efficiency is the core of the concern about compensation requirements in Daryl Levinson, *Making Government Pay: Markets, Politics, and the Allocation of Constitutional Costs*, 67 U. CHI. L. REV. 345 (2000). *See also* Been & Beauvais, *supra* note 67.

[90] See the discussion of municipal liability for constitutional torts in Larry Kramer & Alan O. Sykes, *Municipal Liability Under §1983: A Legal and Economic Analysis*, 1987 SUP. CT. REV. 249.

[91] *See* KYLE BAGWELL & ROBERT W. STAIGER, THE ECONOMICS OF THE WORLD TRADING SYSTEM (2002).

[92] *See* ERIC A. POSNER & ALAN O. SYKES, ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, ch. 1 (2013).

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IV. Conclusion

Conditions of economic exigency that are sufficient to justify a suspension of international obligations can surely arise—a proposition that has been accepted by the international community for many years in various settings. The full range of such conditions is difficult to specify ex ante, although certain scenarios such as fiscal and currency crises can be identified fairly accurately. The much harder problem relates to the question whether the opportunity to deviate from international obligations will create an unacceptable moral hazard in policy making and whether deviation from international obligations is the best policy instrument for addressing exigent circumstances. Such issues are not easily adjudicated because the necessary information can be difficult to observe or verify.

A possible response to the problem that preserves policy flexibility for states facing exigent economic circumstances, while policing both the moral hazard problem and the incentive to choose efficient policy instruments (albeit no doubt imperfectly), is to marry deference to a state's claim for a need to apply emergency measures with a compensation requirement, appropriately limited in magnitude and timed to allow states facing economic emergencies to recover from them before compensation is payable. Arguably, this approach is permissible under existing principles of customary international law and under more specialized treaty provisions, such as Article XI of the U.S.-Argentina BIT.

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From:	Shepherd, Nadia C </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SHEPHERDNC>
Sent:	Friday, March 9, 2012 9:34 AM
To:	Newman, Stephanie R <NewmanSR@state.gov>; Vignarajah, Krishanti <VignarajahK@state.gov>; Cook, Joyce D <CookJD2@state.gov>; Goodman, Jared E <GoodmanJE@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides

No tasking necessary since he was just cc:d.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Newman, Stephanie R
Sent: Friday, March 09, 2012 9:20 AM
To: Shepherd, Nadia C; Vignarajah, Krishanti; Cook, Joyce D; Goodman, Jared E
Subject: RE: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides

Will do. I assume no red border tasking is needed since the letter was addressed to the president, right?

From: Shepherd, Nadia C
Sent: Thursday, March 08, 2012 4:15 PM
To: Vignarajah, Krishanti; Newman, Stephanie R; Cook, Joyce D; Goodman, Jared E
Subject: FW: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides

Please log. printed copy out for tom already.

From: Missi Tessier [mailto:tessier@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 08, 2012 3:43 PM
To: Shepherd, Nadia C
Subject: Message for Deputy Secretary Nides

Ms. Shepherd, I am following up on a meeting the Deputy Secretary had with Tony Podesta and me several months ago about the role of private international development contractors in implementing and increasing US foreign assistance. We wanted to make sure that the Deputy Secretary was aware of the attached letter to the President. Several member companies of the Professional Services Council and/or the Coalition of International Development Companies submitted their applications to the Global Development Council by the 2/24 deadline for consideration. There are some great candidates to choose from among these companies. Their hope is simple: that the for-profit sector will get a seat or two at the table, to contribute to this important work. Many thanks for considering this request.
All the best,
Missi Tessier

Missi Tessier | Principal
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9375 (d) [redacted] (c) | tessier@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

B6

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From: Brafman, Wendy S <BrafmanWS@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, April 3, 2012 3:27 PM
To: Meehan, Bernadette M <MeehanB@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Latest schedule -- Prime Minister Thaci
Attach: Agenda of the PM - USA April 2 2012 (4312).docx

Hi Bernadette - This is what I have so far. A wreath laying ceremony at Arlington National Cemetery has also been requested (this morning).

Wendy

RELEASE IN PART B6

Wendy Brafman
Kosovo Desk Officer
HST Rm 5221
Office: (202) 736-7012
Cell: [redacted] B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Andrew Kauders [mailto:AKauders@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 11:33 AM
To: Jetish Jashari; Heroina Telaku; Edi Sejdiu; edisejdiu[redacted] lulipllana[redacted]; Gjeneza Budima [redacted] B6
Cc: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca; Rebecca Edgar; John Anderson; Cathy Rought; Kevin Griffis; Kenneth Zoeller; Stephen Rademaker; [redacted] Brafman, Wendy S; [redacted] B6 B7(C)
Subject: Latest schedule -- Prime Minister Thaci

Attached and in text format below, please find the latest schedule. Note a few changes in red (including additional interview participants at the Mayflower and change of interview time with Jazeerah and time/location for VOA). Also, we have been asked to request a wreath laying ceremony at Arlington National Ceremony, which we are currently pursuing.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Andrew

TUESDAY, APRIL 3 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
17:45	*Arrival in* Washington, D.C.	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW 20036 POC Keith McClinsey*

				202-776-9159

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:30 – 9:30	*Breakfast together with Podesta team* *Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel*
11:30 – 12:30	*Lunch meeting with Congressman Eliot Engel (D-NY)* *Kosovo Delegation:*	*TBC*	*Jason Steinbaum* (202) 226-8467	*TBC*
13:00 – 13:30	*Meeting with Congressman James Moran (D-VA)* *Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Gayle Reuter, Scheduler (202-225-4376)*	*2239 Rayburn House Office Building*
14:00 – 14:30	*Meeting with Secretary Clinton and Daniel Yohannes, CEO of the MCC* *Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*		*Department of State*
19:00 – 21:00	*Dinner with Secretary Albright* *Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Abbey Watson,* [redacted] *(202-370-3582)*	Albright Stonebridge – 1101 New York Avenue, Suite 900 – Washington, DC 20005

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THURSDAY, APRIL 5 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:30 – 9:30	*Breakfast*	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel*
11:30 – 12:15	*Meeting with Vice President Biden* *Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Asel K. Roberts* *Office of the Chief of Protocol* *Telephone: 202-647-1664* *Cell:* [redacted]	
13:00 – 13:15	*Interview with Al Jezeerah*	*YES*	*John Anderson – Podesta Group* janderson@podesta.com	*Mayflower Hotel*
14:00 – 15:00	*CSIS table: The Road Ahead for Kosovo: European Integration and Regional*	*YES*	*Heather Conley – CSIS* *USSS contact:* [redacted]	*CSIS* - 1800 K Street NW – Washington, DC

B6

B6
B7(C)

	Dynamics			2006
15:15 – 16:15	*Group interview/meeting with New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal,* Foreign Policy Magazine, Bloomberg and CNN *(no camera)*	*YES*	*Cathy Rought – Podesta Group*	*Mayflower Hotel*
17:00 – 17:30	*Meeting with Elizabeth Littlefield, President and CEO of OPIC Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Rebecca Barnes* [redacted] *202-336-8406*	*1100 New York Avenue, 12th Floor*
20:00 - 22:00	*Dinner at The Source Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Wendy Brafman, Kosovo Desk 202-320-4908*	*575 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington DC, District Of Columbia 20001*

B6

FRIDAY, APRIL 6 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:30 – 9:30	*Breakfast*	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel* - 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW – Washington, DC
9:00	*Mtg. w/ Abdullah Celik, Bank ASYA*	*YES*	*Becky Moore –Podesta Group*	*Mayflower Hotel* - 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW – Washington, DC
10:30	*Meeting with Commerce Secretary John Bryson*	*YES*		Commerce Department
12:00 – 12:30	*LIVE interview at VOA*	*YES*	Laura Konda Editor/Anchor VOA/ Albanian Service 202 382 5493 [redacted]	330 Independence Av. SW is the office (3rd floor)
12:45 (TBC)	*Interview with the Associated Press*	*YES*	*Cathy Rought – Podesta Group*	AP Offices - 1100 13th St. NW – Washington, DC
13:30 – 14:15	*Meeting for Minister Vlora Çitaku with Mike Scardaville, Director for European and Multilateral Affairs in DHS Office of International Affairs Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Wendy Brafman, Kosovo Desk 202-320-4908*	Department of Homeland Security HQ, 3801 Nebraska Avenue NW
	Meeting with OAS Secretary			17th Street and Constitution Ave.,

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

3:30 – 4:15	*General Kosovo Delegation:*	*TBC*	*Embassy of Kosovo*	N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

SATURDAY, APRIL 7 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:30 – 9:30	*Breakfast*	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel*

SUNDAY, APRIL 8 (WASHINGTON, DC TO DENVER)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:30 – 9:30	*Breakfast*	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel*
TBC	*Departure to Denver (or Saturday departure?)*			

MONDAY, APRIL 9 (DENVER)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:00 – 8:30	*Meeting or breakfast with Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper (Democrat)*	*TBC*	*Valerie Nosler, Office of Governor John Hickenlooper 303-866-6230*	*TBC*
9:00 – 11:00	*Breakfast followed by a reception with Denver political and business community*	*YES*		
11:15 – 12:00	*Presentation on major demographic trends in the*	*YES*		*Pardee Center for International Futures at the Josef Korbel*

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	Balkans			*School of International Studies*
12:00 – 13:00	*Guest lecture – University of Denver (PM, FM, Minister for European Integration)*	*YES*		
13:00 – 13:45	*Lunch*			
13:45	*Departure for Boulder, Colorado*			
15:00 -16:00	*Guest lecture of Mrs. Vlora Çitaku at EU Center of Excellence*	*YES*		
TBC	*Departure to NYC*			

TUESDAY, APRIL 10 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
TBC	*Meeting with Mr. Ban Ki Moon, Secretary General of UN*			
11:30	*Interview with Carol Giacomo at the New York Times*	*YES*	*John Anderson,* janderson@podesta.com	229 W 43rd Street

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*

THURSDAY, APRIL 12 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*

FRIDAY, APRIL 13 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
10:30 (TBC – also offering Thursday at 15:30 in the Bronx)	*Meeting with Congressman Joe Crowley*	*TBC*	*Angela D. DenDekker, Office of Rep. Joe Crowley 718-779-1400*	*PM Hotel*

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SATURDAY, APRIL 14 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*

Andrew Kauders | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9350 (d) [redacted] (c) | akauders@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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AGENDA FOR H.E. MR. HASHIM THAÇI
PRIME MINISTER
THE REPUBLIC OF KOSOVO
APRIL 3-15, 2012

Members of the Delegation: H.E. Mr. Hashim Thaçi
H.E. Mr. Enver Hoxhaj – Minister of Foreign Affairs
H.E. Ms. Vlora Çitaku – Minister of European Integration
Mr. Avni Spahiu – Ambassador to US
Mr. Bekim Çollaku – Chief of Staff of the PM
Ms. Dhurata Hoxha – Advisor to the PM
Ms. Mrika Kotorri – Advisor to the PM
Mr. Edi Sejdiu – Chief of Protocol of the PM
Mrs. Heroina Telaku – Chief of Cabinet of the FM
Mr. Lulzim Pllana – Advisor to the FM
Mr. Shkumbin Noka – Advisor to the Minister of European Integration
Mr. Xhavit Ferizi – Chief of Security of the PM
Mr. Astrit Ibrahimi – Photographer of the PM

RELEASE IN PART B7(C),B6

Press members:
Mr. Eugen Saraqini (RTV 21)
Mr. Ngadhnjim Kastrati (RTK)
Mr. Halil Mula (RTV 21)
Mr. Arben Llapashtica (RTK)

POC for the PM: Edi Sejdiu, Chief of Protocol, [redacted] (c); **Podesta Group:** Andrew Kauders [redacted] (c). B6
Embassy Contacts: Jetish Jashari [redacted] (c), Ambassador Spahiu [redacted] (c), Gjeneza Budima [redacted] (c), Driver Ejyp Nushi [redacted] (c).
U.S. Kosovo Desk: Wendy Brafman 202-320-4908; **U.S. Secret Service:** [redacted] Special Agent [redacted] B7(C)

TUESDAY, APRIL 3 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	Meeting	Confirmed	Contact Point	Location

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17:45	Arrival in Washington, D.C.	YES		Mayflower Hotel 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW 20036 POC Keith McClinsey 202-776-9159

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast together with Podesta team Kosovo Delegation:	YES		Mayflower Hotel
11:30 – 12:30	Lunch meeting with Congressman Eliot Engel (D-NY) Kosovo Delegation:	**TBC**	Jason Steinbaum (202) 226-8467	**TBC**
13:00 – 13:30	Meeting with Congressman James Moran (D-VA) Kosovo Delegation:	**YES**	Gayle Reuter, Scheduler (202-225-4376)	2239 Rayburn House Office Building
14:00 – 14:30	Meeting with Secretary Clinton and Daniel Yohannes, CEO of the MCC Kosovo Delegation:	**YES**		Department of State
19:00 – 21:00	Dinner with Secretary Albright Kosovo Delegation:	**YES**	Abbey Watson, [redacted] (202-370-3582)	Albright Stonebridge – 1101 New York Avenue, Suite 900 – Washington, DC 20005

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THURSDAY, APRIL 5 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast	**YES**		Mayflower Hotel
11:30 – 12:15	Meeting with Vice President Biden Kosovo Delegation:	**YES**	Asel K. Roberts Office of the Chief of Protocol Telephone: 202-647-1664 Cell:	
13:00 – 13:15	Interview with Al Jezeerah	**YES**	John Anderson – Podesta Group janderson@podesta.com	Mayflower Hotel
14:00 – 15:00	CSIS table: The Road Ahead for Kosovo: European Integration and Regional Dynamics	**YES**	Heather Conley – CSIS USSS contact:	CSIS - 1800 K Street NW – Washington, DC 2006
15:15 – 16:15	Group interview/meeting with New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Foreign Policy Magazine, Bloomberg and CNN (no camera)	**YES**	Cathy Rought – Podesta Group	Mayflower Hotel
17:00 – 17:30	Meeting with Elizabeth Littlefield, President and CEO of OPIC Kosovo Delegation:	**YES**	Rebecca Barnes 202-336-8406	1100 New York Avenue, 12th Floor
20:00 -22:00	Dinner at The Source Kosovo Delegation:	**YES**	Wendy Brafman, Kosovo Desk 202-320-4908	575 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington DC, District Of Columbia 20001

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FRIDAY, APRIL 6 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast	**YES**		Mayflower Hotel - 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW – Washington, DC
9:00	Mtg. w/ Abdullah Celik, Bank ASYA	**YES**	Becky Moore –Podesta Group	Mayflower Hotel - 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW – Washington, DC
10:30	Meeting with Commerce Secretary John Bryson	**YES**		Commerce Department
12:00 – 12:30	LIVE interview at VOA	**YES**	Laura Konda Editor/Anchor VOA/ Albanian Service 202 382 5493 (c)	330 Independence Av. SW is the office (3rd floor)
12:45 (TBC)	Interview with the Associated Press	**YES**	Cathy Rought – Podesta Group	AP Offices - 1100 13th St. NW – Washington, DC
13:30 – 14:15	Meeting for Minister Vlora Çitaku with Mike Scardaville, Director for European and Multilateral Affairs in DHS Office of International Affairs Kosovo Delegation:	**YES**	Wendy Brafman, Kosovo Desk 202-320-4908	Department of Homeland Security HQ, 3801 Nebraska Avenue NW
3:30 – 4:15	Meeting with OAS Secretary General Kosovo Delegation:	**TBC**	Embassy of Kosovo	17th Street and Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

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SATURDAY, APRIL 7 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast	YES		Mayflower Hotel

SUNDAY, APRIL 8 (WASHINGTON, DC TO DENVER)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast	YES		Mayflower Hotel
TBC	Departure to Denver (or Saturday departure?)			

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MONDAY, APRIL 9 (DENVER)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
8:00 – 8:30	Meeting or breakfast with Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper (Democrat)	**TBC**	Valerie Nosler, Office of Governor John Hickenlooper 303-866-6230	**TBC**
9:00 – 11:00	Breakfast followed by a reception with Denver political and business community	**YES**		
11:15 – 12:00	Presentation on major demographic trends in the Balkans	**YES**		Pardee Center for International Futures at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies
12:00 – 13:00	Guest lecture – University of Denver (PM, FM, Minister for European Integration)	**YES**		
13:00 – 13:45	Lunch			
13:45	Departure for Boulder, Colorado			

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15:00 -16:00	Guest lecture of Mrs. Vlora Çitaku at EU Center of Excellence	**YES**		
TBC	Departure to NYC			

TUESDAY, APRIL 10 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
TBC	Meeting with Mr. Ban Ki Moon, Secretary General of UN			
11:30	Interview with Carol Giacomo at the New York Times	**YES**	John Anderson, janderson@podesta.com	229 W 43rd Street

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11 (NEW YORK CITY)

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Time	Meeting	Confirmed	Contact Point	Location

THURSDAY, APRIL 12 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	Meeting	Confirmed	Contact Point	Location

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

FRIDAY, APRIL 13 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**
10:30 (TBC – also offering Thursday at 15:30 in the Bronx)	Meeting with Congressman Joe Crowley	TBC	Angela D. DenDekker, Office of Rep. Joe Crowley 718-779-1400	PM Hotel

SATURDAY, APRIL 14 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	**Meeting**	**Confirmed**	**Contact Point**	**Location**

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Outstanding Washington, DC Requests:

- Secretary of Defense – Leon Panetta
- USAID – Raj Shah

Outstanding Colorado Requests:

- Sen. Bennet

Outstanding New York/New Jersey Requests:

- Rep. Greg Meeks
- Rep. Charlie Rangel
- Rep. Albio Sires
- Rep. Steven Rothman

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- Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand
- Meeting with Mayor Bloomberg (Kosovars handling)
- Meeting with President Clinton (Kosovars handling)
- Meeting with some Ambassadors - perm UN Reps (Kosovars handling)
- A reception with the Albanian community (Kosovars handling)
- Paying respects at the memorial of the 9/11 victims (Kosovars handling)

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From:	Gottemoeller, Rose E </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=GOTTEMOELLERRE>
Sent:	Friday, August 3, 2012 3:24 PM
To:	McIntosh, Valerie A <McIntoshVA@state.gov>; Moeller, Patricia A <MoellerPA@state.gov>
Cc:	Paulopol, Andreea I <PaulopolAI@state.gov>; Flores, Michael <FloresM@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: HASC Testimony
Attach:	Nuclear Disarmament Testimony to HASC 8-1-12.docx; AMBASSADOR TGRAHAM JR_CongressionalSUBCMTTE_08-01-12.pdf

Valerie: Please make copies of the attachments for my weekend reading file.

PJ: Please make a note to contact Steve next week to arrange for a lunch sometime in August. Thanks much, RG

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, August 03, 2012 3:10 PM
To: Gottemoeller, Rose E
Subject: HASC Testimony

Dear Rose,

Thank you again for your efforts on behalf of Textron. They are deeply appreciated by everyone I've been working with at the company.

As promised, I am forwarding to you the prepared testimony that I delivered on Wednesday before the HASC. Knowing that you are unlikely to agree with all of it, I am also attaching Tom Graham's statement, which I suspect you'll find more to your liking.

If you're interested in discussing these issues further over lunch, I would be happy to do so. But since this is now a hobby for me, while for you it remains a profession, I would certainly understand if you preferred to leave it at the office.

Best wishes,

Steve

Stephen Rademaker | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5238 (d) | [redacted] (c) | srademaker@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

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C06592599 UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592599 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

STATEMENT OF STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER
Principal, The Podesta Group

RELEASE IN FULL

"Nonproliferation and Disarmament: What's the connection and what does that mean for U.S. security and Obama Administration policy?"

Committee on Armed Services
Subcommittee on Strategic Forces
U.S. House of Representatives
August 1, 2012

Mr. Chairman, Congresswoman Sanchez, Members of the subcommittee, I thank you for inviting me to testify today about the connection between nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation.

The context for this discussion is, of course, the goal President Obama has articulated of achieving a world without nuclear weapons. It is not unusual, of course, for presidents and other political leaders to commit to ambitious goals like this. We can all recall, for example, previous presidential commitments to end poverty, cure cancer, and stop drug abuse. What sets President Obama's goal apart from these other examples is that he appears to really mean it. This is not a pious aspiration that he has embraced, knowing full well that it can never be fully achieved. To the contrary, he appears to believe his goal of global nuclear disarmament is achievable, and he is committed to using the power of his office to try to bring it about. Because he takes this goal seriously, we have to as well.

President Obama and other advocates of global disarmament offer a number of reasons for wanting to abolish nuclear weapons from the planet. The one that brings us here today is their oft-repeated contention that decisive movement in the direction of nuclear disarmament will better position America to prevent nuclear weapons proliferation. Because preventing proliferation is one of our nation's top national security concerns, they argue, nuclear disarmament is a small price to pay to protect ourselves against the risks attendant upon the spread of nuclear weapons, such as nuclear terrorism, regional instability, and nuclear war.

I have two principal quarrels with this line of argument. First, I think the proponents of nuclear disarmament seriously underestimate the value of America's nuclear arsenal as a tool of nuclear nonproliferation. By advocating that we abolish that tool, or at least move decisively in the direction of abolishing it, they are advocating a course that may actually increase the risks of nuclear proliferation.

Second, I know of no evidence to support the theory that nuclear disarmament by the United States will translate to increased leverage in the struggle against nuclear proliferation. I know of earnest assertions that are regularly made in this regard, but those assertions do not withstand rigorous analysis. This is a case where, regrettably, the wish is the father of the thought. I say regrettably because I also wish the vexing problem of nuclear proliferation could be solved by such a simple step as getting rid of our own nuclear weapons. Sadly, it cannot.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592599 Date: 08/21/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Nuclear Weapons as a Tool of Nuclear Nonproliferation

Nuclear weapons have been with us for more than sixty-five years, and for most of that time the main reason more countries didn't acquire nuclear weapons was that they were confident they didn't need them thanks to America's nuclear umbrella. The proliferation problems we face today from countries like Iran and North Korea tend to obscure the fact that traditionally the risk of proliferation has been greatest in countries that are technologically and economically advanced. During the Cold War, countries like Germany, Japan and South Korea that feared nuclear attack from the Soviet Union and China gave serious thought to developing nuclear weapons. So did others like Sweden, Taiwan, and Australia.

The reason none of these countries developed nuclear weapons was that they concluded that they didn't need such weapons because they could rely on America to defend them. This has long been one of the declared goals of America's nuclear arsenal. Experts label this "extended deterrence". The concept is that America's nuclear weapons exist to deter not only attacks on the United States, but also to deter attacks on our friends and allies. The label is unfortunate, because only experts understand what it means. To the extent it is about reassuring potential nuclear powers that there is no need for them to realize that potential, a better label might be "active nonproliferation."

For proponents of nuclear disarmament, the historical success of extended deterrence is an inconvenient fact. They tend to dismiss it as an artifact of the Cold War, something that has become irrelevant in the 21st century. A good example is the report issued two months ago by a Commission of the Global Zero organization entitled "Modernizing U.S. Nuclear Strategy, Force Structure and Posture." This report airily dismissed the importance of extended deterrence with the assertion that

> No sensible argument has been put forward for using nuclear weapons to solve any of the major 21st century problems we face—threats posed by rogue states, failed states, proliferation, regional conflicts, terrorism, cyber warfare, organized crime, drug trafficking, conflict driven mass migration of refugees, epidemics or climate change. A large standing Cold War-like nuclear arsenal cannot productively address any of these dangers—for instance, it is untenable to reliably deter or defeat terrorists with no return address, and its impact on proliferation may be largely counterproductive. Nuclear weapons have on balance arguably become more a part of the problem than any solution. For instance, our large nuclear stockpiles and infrastructures run risks of theft by non-state actors.[1]

This kind of "end of history" triumphalism has fallen out of favor in other areas, but not among supporters of nuclear disarmament. Sadly, there is no reason to believe that the end of the Cold War has changed the psychology that led countries facing nuclear threats during the Cold War to consider acquiring nuclear weapons of their own.

[1] http://dl.dropbox.com/u/6395109/GZ%20US%20Nuclear%20Policy%20Commission%20Report.pdf, p. 2.

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Consider the two cases that we worry about most today: North Korea and Iran. North Korea has broken out of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), but its two non-nuclear armed neighbors, South Korea and Japan, have so far resisted calls to deploy nuclear weapons of their own. The reason for this has little to do with the NPT, and everything to do with the confidence they have in our treaty commitments to them and in the reliability of America's nuclear arsenal. Notwithstanding this, there are periodic calls in both countries to match North Korea's nuclear weapons with nuclear weapons of their own. As a nation, we have every interest in discouraging such calls and reassuring our allies of the reliability of our defense guarantees. It would be perilous for us to take any steps with our nuclear arsenal that would lead them to question the reliability of those guarantees. The risk of "theft by non-state actors" of American nuclear weapons pales by comparison to the risks to the global nonproliferation regime that would follow from a decision in Seoul or Tokyo that America's nuclear umbrella was no longer reliable.

With regard to Iran, the experts tell us that one of the main reasons we have to worry about that country's nuclear weapons program is that if Iran follows North Korea in breaking out of the NPT, we will face a "cascade of proliferation" in the Middle East, which will result in the "unraveling of the NPT." Fundamentally what the experts are telling us is that the situation in the Middle East is different than in Northeast Asia. North Korea could break out of the NPT without triggering a cascade of proliferation in Northeast Asia because all of North Korea's neighbors either already have nuclear weapons (Russia and China), or live under the U.S. nuclear umbrella (South Korea and Japan). In the Middle East, by contrast, only one of Iran's neighbors lives under the U.S. nuclear umbrella (Turkey), and all of Iran's Arab neighbors will confront the question whether they need to match Iranian nuclear weapons with nuclear weapons of their own.

I do not believe that America will react to an Iranian nuclear breakout by saying "How regrettable. Now there's going to be a cascade of proliferation in the Middle East." To the contrary, I believe we will immediately go to work trying to persuade the Arab countries of the region that they do not need to deploy nuclear weapons of their own. How will we persuade them of this? We know of only one model for doing this, and that is the model we successfully employed during the Cold War of defense guarantees and extended deterrence.

Proponents of nuclear disarmament would have us believe that with our increasingly precise and powerful conventional weapons, America is today capable of providing extended deterrence with conventional rather than nuclear weapons. This theory overlooks the fact that Iran's nuclear weapons are not really warfighting weapons, but rather weapons of mass terror. Does anyone really believe that the Saudis, for example, will accept that they can relax about the potential obliteration of Riyadh because, should Iran do that, America will use its precise conventional weapons to surgically decapitate the Iranian leadership and wipe out Iran's key military and nuclear installations so that kind of thing can never happen again?

Nuclear breakout is not an improbable scenario with Iran, but rather the most likely one should events continue on their current trajectory. Again, it would be perilous to take steps today with America's nuclear forces that would render us incapable of stopping the cascade of proliferation in the Middle East that has been predicted should Iranian breakout occur.

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Leverage to Combat Nuclear Proliferation

One of the principal claims offered by the Obama Administration in support of its disarmament agenda is that it will strengthen America's hand in seeking to prevent nuclear weapons proliferation. As stated in the Obama Administration's 2012 Nuclear Posture Review:

> By demonstrating that we take seriously our NPT obligation to pursue nuclear disarmament, we strengthen our ability to mobilize broad international support for the measures needed to reinforce the non-proliferation regime and secure nuclear materials worldwide.[2]

The comment about "our NPT obligation to pursue nuclear disarmament" is, of course, a reference to Article VI of the NPT. Contrary to what many proponents of disarmament would have us believe, Article VI of the NPT does not impose on the United States and the other four nuclear-weapons states a free-standing obligation to eliminate their nuclear weapons. This Article consists of only one sentence, stating that:

> Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

If one parses this language, it is evident that it imposes no binding legal obligation to abolish nuclear weapons. Rather, the operative legal requirement is to "pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating . . . to nuclear disarmament. . . ." Further, Article VI imposes this requirement in parallel with an obligation on all parties to the NPT—those with nuclear weapons and those without—to "pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating . . . to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control."

The treaty's eleventh perambulatory paragraph makes clear the understanding of the parties that these two obligations are linked, and that final "elimination from national arsenals of nuclear weapons" would take place not prior to, but rather "pursuant to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament." There is, of course, no treaty on general and complete disarmament, nor has there ever been a serious effort to negotiate one.

It is no wonder, therefore, that in a 1969 memo to then National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger, Spurgeon Keeny of the NSC staff stated that Article VI "is an essentially hortatory statement and presents no problems."[3]

Since then, however, the United States has acquiesced in increasingly aggressive interpretations of the obligations imposed on the nuclear weapon states by Article VI, to the point where few today would be able even to explain, much less publicly agree with, Mr.

[2] http://www.defense.gov/npr/docs/2010%20nuclear%20posture%20review%20report.pdf, p. 12.
[3] http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e2/83203.htm.

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Keeny's assessment in 1969. As a result, it is certainly the case that expectations have been created in the international community going well beyond the actual requirements of Article VI of the NPT. Essentially what the Obama Administration is telling us, therefore, is that if the United States appears to be moving resolutely to satisfy those expectations, we will be rewarded by progress on the problem of nuclear proliferation.

It is fair to ask, however, how that reward will be delivered. One way it could be delivered is by the nuclear proliferators themselves. Perhaps countries like Iran and North Korea will be so inspired by the example we set that they will decide to join us in committing to nuclear disarmament. It would, of course, be nice if these countries were moved by the power of our example to abandon their nuclear weapons programs. This notion is so preposterous, however, that not even the most ardent supporters of nuclear disarmament would argue this with a straight face.

So if the theory isn't that proliferators will be inspired to follow our example, it must be that the rest of the international community will be inspired to reciprocate by stepping up their insistence on full compliance by other countries with the nonproliferation obligations set forth elsewhere in the NPT.

This is a plausible-sounding theory, but there is no evidence that the theory works in the real world. In order for the theory to be true, there would have to be members of the international community willing and able to do more to stop nuclear proliferation, but holding back out of frustration over the slow pace of nuclear disarmament by the United States. If this theory is true, it should be possible to name at least one or two countries that are acting in this manner. I am unable to do so, however, and I've never heard supporters of President Obama's theory identify the countries that will do more to stop proliferation in response to our doing more to eliminate our nuclear weapons.

There are, of course, plenty of countries that could do more to stop proliferation. Indeed, all countries, including the United States, could do more. But I know of no country that is doing less than it otherwise would do but for perceived foot-dragging by the United States on nuclear disarmament.

The reason the United States isn't doing more to combat proliferation isn't because we don't care about it, and it certainly isn't because we're angry with the other nuclear weapons states for not disarming faster. It's because we have other national priorities in addition to nonproliferation, and because we face political, economic, and diplomatic constraints on what we're prepared to do in confronting determined proliferators like Iran and North Korea. The same is true, in my opinion, of every other country in the world.

Not only can I not think of a country that would do more to help us stop the Irans and North Koreas if only we disarmed faster, I have a hard time thinking of a category of countries for which this might be true. Let's review the categories of countries when it comes to disarmament and nonproliferation.

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First, there are the NPT-recognized nuclear weapon states—Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and France. Countries in this category are in fact the biggest obstacle to more concerted international pressure against Iran and North Korea. The reason international economic sanctions on Iran and North Korea are not more biting is because Russia and China stand prepared to veto any U.N. Security Council resolution that would tighten sanctions, and for most of the world, the Security Council's requirements define how far they are prepared to go in pressuring Iran and North Korea. And why are Russia and China blocking the imposition of tougher sanctions? In both cases there is a long list of reasons that boils down to a calculation of where their national interests lie. But in neither case are they holding back because they are worried that America isn't disarming fast enough.

Next there are America's close friends and allies, the countries that benefit most directly from the American nuclear umbrella. Some of these countries are in fact strong champions of nuclear disarmament—Germany and Japan in particular come to mind. A closely related category is passionately anti-nuclear non-allies, countries like Sweden, Ireland, Austria and New Zealand.

From countries in both of these categories there is certainly plenty of criticism of America's nuclear weapons policies. But there is also at least as much concern about nuclear proliferation, because these countries are acting out of genuine conviction that nuclear weapons are bad, not anti-American animus. So to suggest that they are holding back in their efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation in Iran and North Korea in order to pressure America to do more on nuclear disarmament ascribes to them a degree of tactical calculation that they likely would find offensive. These countries might well try to persuade us that there are other countries that would do more if America would disarm faster, but they themselves would never consciously allow Iran to inch closer to obtaining the bomb in order to pressure America on disarmament.

The final category is the nonaligned movement, or NAM, led on nuclear issues by such countries as Brazil, Egypt and South Africa. These are among the most outspoken countries in the world in favor of nuclear disarmament, so if anyone is holding back on nonproliferation in order to coax more progress on disarmament, it is most likely them.

The Obama Administration cannot be faulted for not doing enough to impress the NAM with the sincerity of its commitment to nuclear disarmament. Since taking office it has:

- Issued a Nuclear Posture Review disavowing the development of new nuclear weapons types and significantly limiting the circumstances under which America would use nuclear weapons.
- Negotiated and brought into force the New START agreement, mandating a one-third reduction in the number of strategic nuclear weapons deployed by the United States and Russia.
- Organized the first-ever Nuclear Security Summit, to which 47 nations were invited.
- Attended the 2010 NPT review conference, where it promised U.S. participation in regional nuclear-weapon-free zones.

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- Prepared an implementation study pursuant to the Nuclear Posture Review, which press reports say will recommend a further one-third reduction in the number of strategic weapons deployed by the United States.

Speaking at the NPT review conference in 2010, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton clearly articulated the Administration's expectation that these steps toward nuclear disarmament will be reciprocated:

> as we work to uphold our end of the basic bargain of the NPT, we are asking all signatories to do the same, to work with us to strengthen global nonproliferation rules and hold accountable those who violate them.[4]

So how has the world responded?

The Administration achieved no meaningful progress at the NPT review conference on any of the ideas it proposed for strengthening the NPT. And the conference issued a final statement criticizing Israel on nonproliferation grounds, but not Iran.

Later in 2010, the Administration persuaded the U.N. Security Council to impose a fourth round of economic sanctions on Iran. Not only were these sanctions watered down by Russia and China, as has happened in the past, but NAM member Brazil, along with Turkey, voted against the resolution imposing the sanctions. This was in stark contrast to the three previous Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions on Iran, all of which were approved unanimously.

Not only that, Brazil and Turkey brokered a deal with Iran prior to the vote with the express purpose of scuttling additional U.N. sanctions. In addition, they declared their flat-out opposition to the goal—formally adopted by the Security Council in 2006—of requiring Iran to suspend uranium enrichment. The word for this is not progress, but regress.

Since that time, additional progress has been achieved in tightening economic sanctions on Iran, but that progress is almost entirely attributable to mandates of the U.S. Congress and decisions of the European Union. Significantly, the aim of many of the new U.S. and E.U. sanctions is to pressure NAM members and others to do things in their relations with Iran that they have heretofore been unwilling to do on their own.

So it's fair to say that if President Obama was expecting additional cooperation on nonproliferation from the NAM or anyone else as a reward for picking up the pace of nuclear disarmament, he's still waiting.

Conclusion

All of these facts demonstrate that nuclear disarmament affords no silver bullet solution to the continuing problem of nuclear proliferation. Perhaps there are other reasons for America to consider modest additional nuclear weapons reductions. And certainly we need to continue to

[4] http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/05/141424.htm.

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fulfill our obligation under Article VI of the NPT to negotiate in good faith on effective measures relating to nuclear disarmament. But as we make decisions relating to these matters, we should not allow our judgment to be clouded by fanciful notions that our actions are going to be rewarded with stepped up cooperation by others in combatting nonproliferation.

We will make progress against proliferation as we always have, on the merits of the issue, by persuading others that it is in their interest to cooperate with us against nuclear dangers. By the same token, we need to make decisions about our nuclear force structure in the same manner, on the basis of a sober and objective assessment of our global defense requirements, not wishful thinking.

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From: John Caliste [redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, November 7, 2012 5:12 PM
To: Tony Podesta <podesta@podesta.com>
Cc: ambefbagley [redacted]; Rebecca Edgar <REdgar@podesta.com>; Burns, Deborah M <BurnsDX@state.gov> B6
Subject: Re: USDC Follow-up **RELEASE IN PART B6**
Attach: General Dynamics Proposal.docx

I've called his assistant, Sylvia to confirm the fellow in the meeting. It might have been Kendall, but I want to be sure.

Attached is the proposal we sent.

On Wed, Nov 7, 2012 at 4:55 PM, Tony Podesta <podesta@podesta.com> wrote:

> Can u figure out who was in meeting?
> Can u send me copy of proposal
>
> Tony Podesta
> Office: 202-879-9300
> Cell: [redacted] B6
> Podesta@podesta.com
> 1001 G St. NW, Suite 1000 West
> Washington, DC 20001
>
> ---
>
> **From**: John Caliste [redacted] B6
> **Sent**: Wednesday, November 07, 2012 04:52 PM
> **To**: Tony Podesta
> **Cc**: ambefbagley [redacted]; Rebecca Edgar; Burns, Deborah M <BurnsDX@state.gov> B6
> **Subject**: Re: USDC Follow-up
>
> Thanks very much, Tony.
>
> We will reach out to Geoff and Greg for a meeting.
> We sent Jay Johnson a $1 million proposal in late April, and have not heard from him. There was another fellow in the meeting, but I'm not sure it was Kendal. We've waited this long, We can wait until January for good news.
>
> Best,
> John
>
> On Wed, Nov 7, 2012 at 3:57 PM, Tony Podesta <podesta@podesta.com> wrote:
>
> > Elizabeth, John –

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Here are a few updates. Will keep you posted as I know more on others.

BP – I have shared information with both Geoff Morrell and Greg Saunders and there is interest in a meeting. You should reach out to them directly and I would recommend, as a best approach, that you meet with them at the same time. Greg's email is greg.saunders[redacted] and Geoff's is Geoff.Morrell[redacted] B6 B6

General Dynamics – I understand that your point of contact has been Jay Johnson. What is the level of engagement there? Have you sent him a letter that he hasn't responded to or have you met with him and he is considering? I can put you in touch now with Kendall Pease, Vice President of Government Affairs and Communications, or if it is possible to wait a few months, their incoming CEO who I have a strong relationship with, starts January 1 and may very well have an interest in this project. Please let me know where things stand with Jay Johnson and how you would like to handle GD going forward.

Best,
Tony

Tony Podesta
Office: 202-879-9300
Cell:[redacted] B6
podesta@podesta.com
1001 G St. NW, Suite 1000 West
Washington, DC 20001

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--
John Caliste
Campaign Director
Foreign Affairs Museum Council for the United States Diplomacy Center
[redacted]c

B6

--
John Caliste
Campaign Director
Foreign Affairs Museum Council for the United States Diplomacy Center
[redacted]c

B6

C06592611 UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592611 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

RELEASE IN FULL

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

www.state.gov

April 19, 2012

Mr. Jay L. Johnson
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
General Dynamics
2941 Fairview Park Drive, Suite 100
Falls Church, VA 22042-4513
jjohnson@generaldynamics.com

Dear Jay,

Thank you very much for taking the time to meet with John Caliste and me on Wednesday, April 4, in your offices. We appreciate your interest and the information you shared with us.

On behalf of the U.S. Department of State, I am writing to request your serious consideration of a $1 million gift from General Dynamics in support of Peace and Prosperity exhibit and education programs that highlight the issue of diplomacy and security assistance at the U.S. Diplomacy Center (USDC)—our nation's first education center dedicated to telling the story, teaching the lessons, and preserving the legacy of diplomacy and its role in American security.

The USDC, together with our partners at the Foreign Affairs Museum Council, is conducting the capital campaign to construct the new facility, design the displays and program the Center at the Harry S Truman building at Department of State headquarters in Washington, DC. Former Secretary of State James A. Baker III has been most generous with a $1 million gift and, as you know, former Secretary Kissinger is an enthusiastic supporter.

It is our hope that General Dynamics will join with Secretaries Baker and Kissinger and our other distinguished partners to invest in this important project. The support of General Dynamics would be used to underwrite Peace and Prosperity educational exhibit focusing on the role of security assistance, arms control, and national security in both the entrance Pavilion and in the educational

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592611 Date: 08/21/2018

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Hall III dedicated to Dr. Kissinger.

The Department's concern for maintaining American security at home and abroad is one of the most crucial goals of our diplomats, as it is for General Dynamics. Yet, few citizens realize how closely diplomacy and security are entwined around the world, and perhaps even fewer realize how careers in diplomacy parallel military careers in helping to ensure our nation's peace and prosperity. Our educational programs will address these issues. Interactive exhibits, hand-held PDA devices to augment reality and immersive education programs make the U.S. Diplomacy Center's no ordinary museum experience.

Exhibits focusing on the essential topics of arms control, national security, and security assistance will excite, motivate, and intellectually stimulate visitors—especially those potentially entering diplomatic and military careers. Our staff and designers are working to create interactives and exhibits that challenge visitors to draw on their courage to lead in crises, and apply their negotiation skills to secure our country's interests through diplomatic solutions. General Dynamics is well aware of the importance of encouraging and inspiring our potential leaders to their find their inner strengths, and the USDC will welcome all to step up to this challenge.

If you have any questions or need additional information, please do not hesitate to contact me at 202-647-7883, or John Caliste, our director of at 202-736-9045.

Again, thank you for your serious consideration of the U. S. Diplomacy Center.

With best regards,

Elizabeth F. Bagley

Ambassador Elizabeth Frawley Bagley
Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State for Special Initiatives

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From: Ben Chang FSO [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, November 9, 2012 7:56 PM
To: Macmanus, Joseph E (S) <MacmanusJE2@state.gov>
Subject: Congrats!

Joe, Mr. Ambassador,

Congratulations – I saw news of your official swearing-in today!

I hope all is well. When do you head out to Vienna?

Best,
Ben

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Ben Chang | Principal

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202.448.5226 (d) | [redacted] (c) |bchang@podestagroup.com |www.podestagroup.com B6

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From:	Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent:	Thursday, November 29, 2012 6:20 PM
To:	Blanc, Jarrett N <BlancJN@state.gov>
Subject:	Re: Susan Rice's Enrichment Program

Hmph.

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B6

From: Blanc, Jarrett N
Sent: Thursday, November 29, 2012 06:15 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: Re: Susan Rice's Enrichment Program

It's hard not to have friends.

The money is from her husband's family, by the way.

From: Feldman, Daniel F
Sent: Thursday, November 29, 2012 05:36 PM
To: Blanc, Jarrett N
Subject: FW: Susan Rice's Enrichment Program

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 29, 2012 5:34 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: Fw: Susan Rice's Enrichment Program

Now this could get interesting...

From: Matt Baker
Sent: Thursday, November 29, 2012 05:32 PM
To: Frank Lowenstein
Subject: Susan Rice's Enrichment Program

U.N. ambassador has investments in companies doing business with Iran, disclosure forms show

BY: Adam Kredo
November 29, 2012 4:32 pm

The portfolio of embattled United Nations Ambassador Susan Rice includes investments of hundreds of thousands of dollars in several energy companies known for doing business with Iran, according to financial disclosure forms.

Rice, a possible nominee to replace Secretary of State Hillary Clinton when she steps down, has come under criticism for promulgating erroneous information about the September 11, 2012, attacks in Benghazi, Libya, that killed four Americans.

Rice has the highest net worth of executive branch members, with a fortune estimated between $24 to $44

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million, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. A Free Beacon analysis of Rice's portfolio shows thousands of dollars invested in at least three separate companies cited by lawmakers on Capitol Hill for doing business in Iran's oil and gas sector.

The revelation of these investments could pose a problem for Rice if she is tapped by President Barack Obama to replace Clinton. Among the responsibilities of the next secretary of state will be a showdown with Iran over its nuclear enrichment program.

"That Susan Rice invested in companies doing business in Iran shows either the Obama administration's lack of seriousness regarding Iran or Rice's own immorality," said Michael Rubin, a former Pentagon adviser on Iran and Iraq. "Either way, her actions undercut her ability to demand our allies unity on Iran."

The companies in question appear to have conducted business with Tehran well after Western governments began to urge divestment from the rogue nation, which has continued to enrich uranium near levels needed to build a nuclear bomb.

Financial disclosures reveal that Rice has had $50,001-$100,000 in Royal Dutch Shell, a longtime purchaser of Iranian crude oil.

Royal Dutch Shell currently owes Iran nearly $1 billion in back payments for crude oil that it purchased before Western economic sanctions crippled Tehran's ability to process oil payments, Reuters reported.

"A debt of that size would equate to roughly four large tanker loads of Iranian crude or about 8 million barrels," according to the report.

Rice has additional investments in Norsk Hydro ASA, a Norwegian aluminum firm, and BHP Billiton PLC, an Australian-based natural resources company, financial disclosure show.

Norway's Norsk Hydro was awarded in 2006 a $107 million exploration and development contract for Iran's Khorramabad oil block, according to the Wall Street Journal. Rice's portfolio includes an investment of up to $15,000 in the company.

Norsk acknowledged at the time that it was working in Iran against the wishes of the U.S. government.

America is "not happy that we're there," Norsk Hydro spokeswoman Kama Holte Strand told the Journal at the time. Holte admitted that the company was working with Tehran because it is "profitable."

Rice has up to $50,000 invested with another Iranian partner, BHP Billiton, which was probed by the Securities and Exchange Commission in 2010 for its dealings with Cuba and Iran, according to reports.

The company, which had leased office space in Tehran, admitted to making more than $360 million from the Iranians, according to The Australian.

BHP Billiton sought to build a natural gas pipeline between 2002 and 2005 in conjunction with the National Iranian Oil Company, according the report. The company's subsidiaries additionally "sold alumina, coking coal, manganese, and copper to state-owned Iranian companies."

The House of Representatives passed a bill in 2007 that took aim at these companies and other that had done business with Iran. The bill enabled state and local governments to divest from these companies due to their dealings with Iran.

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Then-senator Obama proposed and supported a similar bill at the time.

It is unclear how White House press secretary Jay Carney will respond to the latest revelations about Rice. Previous questions from the media about Rice's investment in the company building the controversial Keystone XL pipeline were dismissed by Carney as information from "Republican opposition researchers."

Matt Baker | Staff Assistant

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PLEASE NOTE NEW ADDRESS

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From:	Seiden, Maya D </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SEIDENMD>
Sent:	Tuesday, December 4, 2012 12:02 PM
To:	Whelan, Moira <WhelanM@state.gov>; 'bchang@podesta.com'
Cc:	'benchangdiplo [redacted] B6
Subject:	Re: Econ Statecraft - woo hoo!

I miss Ben Chang.

I may be in Dubai on the 10th - pursuing economic statecraft ;). But if not, I'll go just to get the gang back together.

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From: Whelan, Moira
Sent: Tuesday, December 04, 2012 11:44 AM
To: 'Ben Chang' <bchang@podesta.com>; Seiden, Maya D
Cc: benchangdiplo [redacted] B6
Subject: RE: Econ Statecraft - woo hoo!

Yeah, I'm going to ping Al and figure out if we're doing anything to promo this…

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 04, 2012 11:43 AM
To: Whelan, Moira; Seiden, Maya D
Cc: benchangdiplo@me.com
Subject: Econ Statecraft - woo hoo!

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/economic-statecraft-developing-partnerships-the-private-sector

Hi!

See y'all at this??

Miss you!!

Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

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From: Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent: Wednesday, December 12, 2012 1:58 PM
To: 'Frank Lowenstein' <flowenstein@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: Daily Beast article

Very. And effectively what we've been saying all along. I still don't think JK is the presumptive nominee, but it certainly seems more in the realm of possible now. The idea that Donilon would go from NSA to his COS, though, is loony-tunes.

I saw JK and Danvers yesterday with Marc for about an hour – really good convo with JK, who was rapid-fire Qs as usual, and seemed in a good mood. I have to say, though, that Billy never overly impresses…

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 12, 2012 12:55 PM
To: Dan Feldman [redacted] Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: Daily Beast article

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B6

Interesting all around…

http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/12/12/susan-rice-s-personality-disorder.html

Frank Lowenstein | Principal

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From:	Shepherd, Nadia C </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SHEPHERDNC>
Sent:	Wednesday, January 2, 2013 12:54 PM
To:	'Rebecca Moore' <rmoore@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: Lunch with Tony Podesta

Hi Becky – Happy New Year! We are confirmed for Friday at 730 a.m. at the Four Seasons. Cheers, Nadia

---

From: Rebecca Moore [mailto:rmoore@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 11:09 AM
To: Shepherd, Nadia C
Subject: RE: Lunch with Tony Podesta

RELEASE IN PART B6

Hi Nadia –

Happy New Year!
Just reconfirming breakfast on Friday, January 4 at 7:30a at the Four Seasons.

Best,
Becky

From: Shepherd, Nadia C [mailto:ShepherdNC@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 3:00 PM
To: Rebecca Moore
Subject: RE: Lunch with Tony Podesta

Great! Thanks, Nadia

From: Rebecca Moore [mailto:rmoore@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 10:48 AM
To: Shepherd, Nadia C
Subject: RE: Lunch with Tony Podesta

Nadia –

Breakfast at 7:30a on Friday, January 4 at the Four Seasons works perfectly.
I will make a reservation under Podesta.
I hope you have a wonderful holiday.

Best,
Becky

From: Shepherd, Nadia C [mailto:ShepherdNC@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 10:42 AM
To: Rebecca Moore
Subject: RE: Lunch with Tony Podesta

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Hi Rebecca – Let's plan for breakfast on Friday, January 4. Will 730 at Four Seasons be okay? Cheers, Nadia

---

From: Rebecca Moore [mailto:rmoore@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, December 17, 2012 1:17 PM
To: Shepherd, Nadia C
Subject: Lunch with Tony Podesta

Nadia –

I hope this e-mail finds you well as the holidays approach.
Tony Podesta was hoping to catch up with Mr. Nides over breakfast or lunch sometime soon.
Below are some dates that work for Tony.
I completely understand if none of these work but wanted to give a starting point.

Best,
Becky

Breakfast –
Friday, December 21
Tuesday, January 2
Friday, January 4
Tuesday, January 8
Friday, January 11

Lunch –
Friday, December 21
Thursday, December 27
Friday, December 28
Tuesday, January 2
Monday, January 7
Friday, January 11

Rebecca Moore |

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202.879.9312 (d) | [redacted] (c) | rmoore@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From:	Dorval, Christopher </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DORVALC>
Sent:	Thursday, January 3, 2013 11:17 AM
To:	Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases
Attach:	13 01 02 Baylor College of Medicine memo re NTD opportunities for State Department OGHD.docx

This will be the type of memo you will want to bring to the attention of Rowe at some point.

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 5:13 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay [redacted]; 'Butrum, Herbert Lee'; Ben Chang
Subject: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

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B6

Chris and Jason, thanks for taking the time to meet with us on December 11. We appreciated the opportunity to talk to you about ways that Baylor College of Medicine and Dr. Hotez can participate in and support the State Department's global health diplomacy.

I've attached the paper we promised, outlining opportunities for "vaccine diplomacy" in several countries/regions, including:

- Middle East
- Brazil
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Mexico
- Pakistan
- China
- Central Asia

Dr. Hotez will be back in DC on January 10. If you think we should follow up directly with any country desk officers, or anyone else for that matter, please advise. We'd appreciate any further thoughts on the attached as well.

Best regards,
Steve

Steve Northrup | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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Memo for State Department

The Opportunity for Medical and Vaccine Diplomacy

National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine

Overview

The Sabin Vaccine Institute is a non-profit product development partnership (PDP) of the National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine (Sabin-Baylor), which is developing the next generation of vaccines for neglected tropical diseases (NTDs) in low income countries, including hookworm infection, schistosomiasis, leishmaniasis, and Chagas disease, as well as SARS and selected arbovirus infections (Hotez 2011a). These target diseases are the most common infections in the world's poorest countries. Essentially, all of the "bottom billion" are affected by one or more NTDs, led by the diseases highlighted above.

NTDs have the unique ability to cause poverty and destabilize communities by interfering with child mental and physical development and agricultural worker productivity (Hotez et al, 2009). Indeed there is a unique relationship between endemic NTDs and conflict (Hotez and Thompson, 2009).

These diseases are particular public health problems in areas of strategic foreign policy interest, including the Middle East (Hotez et al 2012), Pakistan (Hotez 2012a), and many if not most of the nations of the Organization of the Islamic Congress (Hotez 2009). They are also highly endemic to the BRICS nations, especially Brazil (Hotez 2008), India (Lobo et al, 2011), China (Hotez, 2012b), and South Africa (Hotez, 2010a). Several of these NTDs are also highly prevalent among the poorest people in the United States (Hotez 2012c).

Sabin-Baylor is pioneering the concept of joint vaccine development with disease-endemic countries, including several nations with emerging market economies that have enormous geopolitical significance for the United States (Hotez, 2010b).

Opportunities for State Department Engagement

Outlined below are several opportunities to engage strategically important regions/nations for joint vaccine development and cooperation for NTD control.

(Currently these vaccine development activities are supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the NIAID, NIH, the Carlos Slim Health Institute and other sources.)

- **Middle East**. An estimated 65 million of the 400 million people of the Middle East live on less than $2 per day. Although NTDs are generally thought of as endemic to sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia, there is a significant but hidden burden of NTDs in the Middle East, especially leishmaniasis, arbovirus infections, brucellosis, toxocariasis, and pockets of schistosomiasis (Hotez et al, 2012a), as well as an emerging SARS threat. As noted above, some of these infections also occur among the poorest people in the southern parts of the U.S. (Hotez 2012c). There is an urgent need

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for vaccine development facilities in the Middle East and to develop and test vaccines that could be used during the Hajj (Hotez 2012a). Sabin-Baylor has explored opportunities to develop vaccines jointly in Saudi Arabia or Qatar and these discussions continue to progress but at a very slow rate. There is an opportunity for the State Department to intervene and accelerate the progress of these discussions, potentially with the Qatar Foundation and their educational city, or in Saudi Arabia with KAUST for King Faisal University, as well as their vaccine vialing facility, Arabio.

- **Brazil.** Almost one-half of the NTD disease burden in the Western Hemisphere occurs in Brazil, which has the largest number of cases of NTDs such as hookworm, schistosomiasis, leprosy, trachoma, and dengue in the Western Hemisphere (Hotez 2008). Sabin-Baylor is working jointly with Brazil's two public-sector vaccine development organizations – FIOCRUZ (federal ministry of health) and Instituto Butantan (Sao Paulo State) to develop vaccines for two NTDs – hookworm and schistosomaisis – which are endemic to Brazil and the remainder of Latin America. The hookworm vaccine is in phase 1 clinical trials in Brazil, while the schistosomiasis vaccine is expected to follow soon thereafter. In addition, it might be possible for the State Department to connect these programs with Brazilian President Rousseff's "Science without Borders" initiative at the post-doc/Ph.D. level.

- **Sub-Saharan Africa.** The NTD endemics to Brazil are also endemic to sub-Saharan Africa, so there is an additional vaccine diplomacy opportunity to facilitate product development there, especially in Portuguese-speaking Africa, i.e., Angola, Guinea Bissau, and Mozambique (Hotez 2011). These activities are currently supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

- **Mexico**. Sabin-Baylor is also pursuing NTD vaccines for two important diseases affecting both the U.S. and Mexico in North America -- Chagas disease and leishmaniasis (Hotez et al 2012b). These activities are being done in collaboration with a consortium of Mexican institutions including their institute of advanced studies (CINVESTAV) and their public-sector vaccine manufacturer (Birmex), as well as other Mexican universities including the Autonomous University of Yucatan. The U.S.-Mexican collaboration could be expanded to embrace the entire Latin American region, and possibly portions of the Middle East where leishmaniasis is endemic.

- **Pakistan**. More than 100 million people live in extreme poverty in Pakistan, and there is a significant NTD problem there resulting from hookworm and other intestinal helminth infections, leishmaniasis, and arbovirus infections. Despite its severe poverty, Pakistan has excellent scientific research institutes and universities, including the International Center for Chemical and Biological Sciences at the University of Karachi and the National Institute for Biotechnology & Genetic Engineering in Faisalabadi, both of which could become vaccine research hubs.

- **China**. NTDs are widespread in Southwest China, particularly in Guizhou, Sichuan, and Yunnan Provinces as well as Hainan in the South China Sea (Hotez 2012b). Both the U.S. and China share many historical aspects of their NTD problem, including high prevalence rates in each country for

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much of the 20th century, great strides in control and elimination efforts, but lingering and severe NTD problems in the southern U.S. and Southwest China, respectively (Hotez 2012b). This historical link and expertise affords new opportunities for the U.S. and China to work jointly to collaborate on NTD control projects for sub-Saharan Africa, where USAID is investing approximately $80 million annually for providing this region access to essential medicines for NTDs, and where China is investing billions of dollars (although nothing for NTDs to date). There are also enormous opportunities to collaborate on NTD vaccine development between U.S. and Chinese vaccine development institutions.

- **Central Asia**. New information indicates a substantial although mostly hidden burden of NTDs in Central Asia, especially leishmaniasis, vivax malaria, and selected arbovirus infections, as well as zoonotic helminthiases (Hotez and Alibek, 2011).

These examples illustrate some extraordinary opportunities for vaccine diplomacy, which could be pursued through the U.S. President's Science Envoy Program, although other suitable mechanisms could be developed and implemented. Ultimately these activities could accelerate an elimination strategy for the world's NTDs (Hotez 2011b), and help to achieve the "soft power" goals of the U.S. Department of State (Hotez 2010b; 2010c; Hotez 2011c).

Literature Cited

Hotez PJ. 2009. The neglected tropical diseases and their devastating health and economic impact on the member nations of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. PLoS Negl Trop Dis 3(10):e539.

Hotez PJ. 2010a. Neglected tropical disease control in the "post-American world". PLoS Negl Trop Dis 4(8). pii: e812.

Hotez PJ. 2010b. Peace through vaccine diplomacy. Science 327(5971):1301.

Hotez PJ. 2010c. A plan to defeat neglected tropical diseases. Sci Am 302(1):90-4, 96.

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From:	Dorval, Christopher </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DORVALC>
Sent:	Thursday, January 3, 2013 11:18 AM
To:	'Steve Northrup' <SNorthrup@podesta.com>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Cc:	Hotez, Peter Jay [redacted] 'Butrum, Herbert Lee' [redacted]; Ben Chang <bchang@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

B6

Thanks, Steve. As the Office of Global Health Diplomacy gets on track, we will pick up the conversation again. This is very helpful.

Best,

Chris

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 5:13 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay [redacted]; 'Butrum, Herbert Lee'; Ben Chang
Subject: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

B6

Chris and Jason, thanks for taking the time to meet with us on December 11. We appreciated the opportunity to talk to you about ways that Baylor College of Medicine and Dr. Hotez can participate in and support the State Department's global health diplomacy.

I've attached the paper we promised, outlining opportunities for "vaccine diplomacy" in several countries/regions, including:

- Middle East
- Brazil
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Mexico
- Pakistan
- China
- Central Asia

Dr. Hotez will be back in DC on January 10. If you think we should follow up directly with any country desk officers, or anyone else for that matter, please advise. We'd appreciate any further thoughts on the attached as well.

Best regards,
Steve

Steve Northrup | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5223 (d) [redacted] (c) | SNorthrup@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

B6

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From: Hotez, Peter Jay [redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, January 3, 2013 11:42 AM
To: Dorval, Christopher <DorvalC@state.gov>; Steve Northrup <SNorthrup@podesta.com>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Butrum, Herbert Lee [redacted]; Ben Chang <bchang@podesta.com> B6
Subject: RE: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

---

Thanks so much Chris, all the best for the new year!

Peter Hotez, MD, PhD, FASTMH, FAAP
Dean, National School of Tropical Medicine
Professor, Pediatrics and Molecular Virology & Microbiology
Head, Section of Pediatric Tropical Medicine
Baylor College of Medicine

Texas Children's Hospital Endowed Chair of Tropical Pediatrics
Director, Sabin Vaccine Institute Texas Children's Hospital Center for Vaccine Development

President, Sabin Vaccine Institute

Baker Institute Fellow in Disease and Poverty, Rice University

Co-Editor-in-Chief, PLoS Neglected Tropical Diseases

E-mail: [redacted] B6
Twitter: PeterHotez

Esther Inman | Executive Secretary
713-798-1199 | fax 713-798-2299 [redacted] B6
One Baylor Plaza, BCM113 | Houston, TX 77030

Web: texaschildrens.org | sabin.org | bcm.edu

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2013 10:18 AM
To: Steve Northrup; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay; Butrum, Herbert Lee; Ben Chang
Subject: RE: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

Thanks, Steve. As the Office of Global Health Diplomacy gets on track, we will pick up the conversation again. This is very helpful.

Best,

Chris

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 5:13 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay [redacted]; 'Butrum, Herbert Lee'; Ben Chang B6
Subject: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

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Best regards,
Steve

Steve Northrup | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From:	Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BOWMANJJ>
Sent:	Friday, January 4, 2013 1:50 PM
To:	bowman.john.jason@gmail.com
Subject:	FW: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases
Attach:	13 01 02 Baylor College of Medicine memo re NTD opportunities for State Department OGHD.docx

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 5:13 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay [redacted]; 'Butrum, Herbert Lee'; Ben Chang B6
Subject: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

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Steve

Steve Northrup | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5223 (d) | [redacted] (c) | SNorthrup@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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Memo for State Department

The Opportunity for Medical and Vaccine Diplomacy

RELEASE IN FULL

National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine

Overview

The Sabin Vaccine Institute is a non-profit product development partnership (PDP) of the National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine (Sabin-Baylor), which is developing the next generation of vaccines for neglected tropical diseases (NTDs) in low income countries, including hookworm infection, schistosomiasis, leishmaniasis, and Chagas disease, as well as SARS and selected arbovirus infections (Hotez 2011a). These target diseases are the most common infections in the world's poorest countries. Essentially, all of the "bottom billion" are affected by one or more NTDs, led by the diseases highlighted above.

NTDs have the unique ability to cause poverty and destabilize communities by interfering with child mental and physical development and agricultural worker productivity (Hotez et al, 2009). Indeed there is a unique relationship between endemic NTDs and conflict (Hotez and Thompson, 2009).

These diseases are particular public health problems in areas of strategic foreign policy interest, including the Middle East (Hotez et al 2012), Pakistan (Hotez 2012a), and many if not most of the nations of the Organization of the Islamic Congress (Hotez 2009). They are also highly endemic to the BRICS nations, especially Brazil (Hotez 2008), India (Lobo et al, 2011), China (Hotez, 2012b), and South Africa (Hotez, 2010a). Several of these NTDs are also highly prevalent among the poorest people in the United States (Hotez 2012c).

Sabin-Baylor is pioneering the concept of joint vaccine development with disease-endemic countries, including several nations with emerging market economies that have enormous geopolitical significance for the United States (Hotez, 2010b).

Opportunities for State Department Engagement

Outlined below are several opportunities to engage strategically important regions/nations for joint vaccine development and cooperation for NTD control.

(Currently these vaccine development activities are supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the NIAID, NIH, the Carlos Slim Health Institute and other sources.)

- **Middle East**. An estimated 65 million of the 400 million people of the Middle East live on less than $2 per day. Although NTDs are generally thought of as endemic to sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia, there is a significant but hidden burden of NTDs in the Middle East, especially leishmaniasis, arbovirus infections, brucellosis, toxocariasis, and pockets of schistosomiasis (Hotez et al, 2012a), as well as an emerging SARS threat. As noted above, some of these infections also occur among the poorest people in the southern parts of the U.S. (Hotez 2012c). There is an urgent need

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for vaccine development facilities in the Middle East and to develop and test vaccines that could be used during the Hajj (Hotez 2012a). Sabin-Baylor has explored opportunities to develop vaccines jointly in Saudi Arabia or Qatar and these discussions continue to progress but at a very slow rate. There is an opportunity for the State Department to intervene and accelerate the progress of these discussions, potentially with the Qatar Foundation and their educational city, or in Saudi Arabia with KAUST for King Faisal University, as well as their vaccine vialing facility, Arabio.

- **Brazil.** Almost one-half of the NTD disease burden in the Western Hemisphere occurs in Brazil, which has the largest number of cases of NTDs such as hookworm, schistosomiasis, leprosy, trachoma, and dengue in the Western Hemisphere (Hotez 2008). Sabin-Baylor is working jointly with Brazil's two public-sector vaccine development organizations – FIOCRUZ (federal ministry of health) and Instituto Butantan (Sao Paulo State) to develop vaccines for two NTDs – hookworm and schistosomaisis – which are endemic to Brazil and the remainder of Latin America. The hookworm vaccine is in phase 1 clinical trials in Brazil, while the schistosomiasis vaccine is expected to follow soon thereafter. In addition, it might be possible for the State Department to connect these programs with Brazilian President Rousseff's "Science without Borders" initiative at the post-doc/Ph.D. level.

- **Sub-Saharan Africa.** The NTD endemics to Brazil are also endemic to sub-Saharan Africa, so there is an additional vaccine diplomacy opportunity to facilitate product development there, especially in Portuguese-speaking Africa, i.e., Angola, Guinea Bissau, and Mozambique (Hotez 2011). These activities are currently supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

- **Mexico**. Sabin-Baylor is also pursuing NTD vaccines for two important diseases affecting both the U.S. and Mexico in North America -- Chagas disease and leishmaniasis (Hotez et al 2012b). These activities are being done in collaboration with a consortium of Mexican institutions including their institute of advanced studies (CINVESTAV) and their public-sector vaccine manufacturer (Birmex), as well as other Mexican universities including the Autonomous University of Yucatan. The U.S.-Mexican collaboration could be expanded to embrace the entire Latin American region, and possibly portions of the Middle East where leishmaniasis is endemic.

- **Pakistan**. More than 100 million people live in extreme poverty in Pakistan, and there is a significant NTD problem there resulting from hookworm and other intestinal helminth infections, leishmaniasis, and arbovirus infections. Despite its severe poverty, Pakistan has excellent scientific research institutes and universities, including the International Center for Chemical and Biological Sciences at the University of Karachi and the National Institute for Biotechnology & Genetic Engineering in Faisalabadi, both of which could become vaccine research hubs.

- **China**. NTDs are widespread in Southwest China, particularly in Guizhou, Sichuan, and Yunnan Provinces as well as Hainan in the South China Sea (Hotez 2012b). Both the U.S. and China share many historical aspects of their NTD problem, including high prevalence rates in each country for

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much of the 20th century, great strides in control and elimination efforts, but lingering and severe NTD problems in the southern U.S. and Southwest China, respectively (Hotez 2012b). This historical link and expertise affords new opportunities for the U.S. and China to work jointly to collaborate on NTD control projects for sub-Saharan Africa, where USAID is investing approximately $80 million annually for providing this region access to essential medicines for NTDs, and where China is investing billions of dollars (although nothing for NTDs to date). There are also enormous opportunities to collaborate on NTD vaccine development between U.S. and Chinese vaccine development institutions.

- **Central Asia**. New information indicates a substantial although mostly hidden burden of NTDs in Central Asia, especially leishmaniasis, vivax malaria, and selected arbovirus infections, as well as zoonotic helminthiases (Hotez and Alibek, 2011).

These examples illustrate some extraordinary opportunities for vaccine diplomacy, which could be pursued through the U.S. President's Science Envoy Program, although other suitable mechanisms could be developed and implemented. Ultimately these activities could accelerate an elimination strategy for the world's NTDs (Hotez 2011b), and help to achieve the "soft power" goals of the U.S. Department of State (Hotez 2010b; 2010c; Hotez 2011c).

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Hotez PJ. 2010a. Neglected tropical disease control in the "post-American world". PLoS Negl Trop Dis 4(8). pii: e812.

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Hotez PJ. 2010c. A plan to defeat neglected tropical diseases. Sci Am 302(1):90-4, 96.

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Hotez PJ. 2012b. Engaging a Rising China through Neglected Tropical Diseases. PLoS Negl Trop Dis 6(11):e1599.

Hotez PJ. 2012c. Fighting neglected tropical diseases in the southern United States. BMJ 345: e6112.

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From:	Raddatz, Samantha T </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=RADDATZST>
Sent:	Friday, April 5, 2013 3:17 PM
To:	McCracken, Andrew B <McCrackenAB@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: David McKean's office

fyi

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 2:31 PM
To: Raddatz, Samantha T
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Aranthan Jones
Sent: Thursday, April 04, 2013 2:36 PM
To: 'McCrackenAB@state.gov'
Cc: 'raddatzst@state.gov'
Subject: FW: Checking-in and Livestrong Foundation CEO Meeting Request

Greetings Drew,

I hope all is well and that you are having a productive week. My name is Aranthan "AJ" Jones II and I am a Principal at the Podesta Group. I was referred to you by my firm colleague Ben Chang.

I am reaching out to you in reference to a meeting request I submitted on behalf of my client the Livestrong Foundation. Doug Ulman, CEO of the Livestrong Foundation will be in DC on April 9th and would like to briefly meet with David McKean about the Foundation's global health and development investment/policy agenda in State Department focused countries.

Towards this end, would you know if Mr. McKean would be available to briefly meet (20mins) with us on April 9th anytime between 8am and 1pm? Please let us know and we thank you in advance for your consideration of this request.

I have included the original e-mail below for your background. Many thanks

Sincerely,

Aj

From: Aranthan Jones
Sent: Tuesday, March 26, 2013 10:18 AM
To: 'mckeand@state.gov'
Cc: 'raddatzst@state.gov'
Subject: Checking-in and Livestrong Foundation CEO Meeting Request

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Greetings again David,

We hope all is well and that you are having a very productive week. I know it has been awhile since we last connected when you and I were both on the Hill but I wanted to reach out to you on behalf of the LIVESTRONG Foundation.

As you know, the LIVESTRONG Foundation is a leading nonprofit organization that provides support for people affected by cancer, and was founded in 1997. Doug Ulman, LIVESTRONG's President and Chief Executive Officer and David Lofye, LIVESTRONG's Vice President of Government Affairs will be in Washington, DC on April 9th and would like to update you on the Foundation's status and discuss their global health and development investment/policy agenda for 2013. Please let me know if you would have anytime on Tuesday, April 9th between 8am and 1pm to briefly meet (20mins. max) with them.

I have pasted additional information about Mr. Ulman and Mr. Lofye below. Many thanks in advance for your consideration of this request. If you have any questions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Aj

About LIVESTRONG:
LIVESTRONG Foundation Facts

- Has raised more than $500 million to support cancer survivors and served 2.5 million people affected by cancer
- Has invested 82 percent of each dollar raised directly in programs, initiatives and advocacy efforts that support people affected by cancer. (The industry average is 75 percent.)
- Is recognized as one of the most highly-rated cancer non-profit organizations in the U.S.
  - Better Business Bureau Wise Giving Alliance accredited charity seal holder
  - Completed National Health Council's Standards of Excellence Certification Program
  - Rated four out of four stars by Charity Navigator
  - A- -rated by American Institute of Philanthropy
  - Ranked as one of the top three cancer organizations by Philanthropedia.

About the LIVESTRONG Foundation
The LIVESTRONG Foundation provides free cancer support services to help people cope with the financial, emotional and practical challenges that accompany the disease. Created in 1997 by cancer survivor and philanthropist Lance Armstrong, the Foundation is known for its powerful brand -- LIVESTRONG -- and for its advocacy on behalf of survivors and their families. With its iconic yellow LIVESTRONG wristband, the Foundation has become a symbol of hope and inspiration around the world. Since its inception, the Foundation has served 2.5 million people affected by the disease and raised more than $500 million to support cancer survivors. One of America's top cancer non-profit organizations, the Foundation enjoys a four-star rating from Charity Navigator and has been recognized by the National Health Council and the Better Business Bureau for its excellent governance, high standards and transparency. For more information, visit LIVESTRONG.org.

Bios

Doug Ulman, President and Chief Executive Officer

In his role as President and Chief Executive Officer Doug is ultimately responsible for the strategic vision and direction of LIVESTRONG.

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Doug Ulman is a three-time cancer survivor and nationally recognized cancer advocate. After overcoming chondrosarcoma and malignant melanoma twice during his sophomore year in college, Doug and his family founded the Ulman Cancer Fund for Young Adults, a non-profit organization to provide support, education, and resources to young adults, their families and friends who are affected by cancer. He served as Executive Director of the Ulman Cancer Fund for four years before joining LIVESTRONG as director of survivorship in 2001.

Doug has received numerous awards for his leadership and community service. In 2002, Doug was selected from more than 20,000 individuals to appear on more than 15 million boxes of Wheaties Energy Crunch as an American Everyday Hero. In 2003, Doug was selected as the Austin Under-40 award winner in the healthcare category. In 2005, Doug was honored by both the American Psychosocial Oncology Society and the Association of Oncology Social Workers. Most recently Doug was named to the Non-Profit Times Power and Influence Top 50 for 2009, an honor bestowed to the top 50 Non-profit executives. A frequent guest and contributor on national and local media programs, Doug has been featured on CNN, ABC News, NBC Nightly News, and in The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and The Washington Post among many other outlets. Doug also speaks frequently to corporations, civic organizations, schools and Universities covering topics including cancer, philanthropy, grassroots movements, social change, and social media.

Doug currently holds numerous civic and charitable board positions across the country and he just completed serving a four-year term as the Chairman of the National Cancer Institute Director's Consumer Liaison Group. He also sits on the executive board of the Ulman Cancer Fund for Young Adults, and is a founder of the LIVESTRONG Young Adult Alliance among many other board and advisory roles. Following his three cancer diagnoses, Doug returned to the soccer field and helped Brown University to three Ivy League Championships in four years.

David Lofye, Vice President of Government Relations

In his role as Vice President, his is responsible for LIVESTRONG's federal and state governmental programmatic and policy outreach. Prior to joining LIVESTRONG in 2006 he served as Deputy Chief of Staff in the Office of U.S. Rep. Nick Lampson (D-TX) at U.S. House of Representatives and as a Professional Staff Member on the House Science Committee Subcommittee on Energy since 1998. He received a JD from The University of Texas School of Law and B.A. in Political Science from Indiana University Bloomington.

Aranthan Jones | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9355 (d) | [redacted] (c) | ajones@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Raddatz, Samantha T [mailto:RaddatzST@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 2:29 PM
To: Aranthan Jones
Subject: David McKean's office

Test email

Samantha Raddatz
Special Assistant to the Director
Office of Policy Planning
RaddatzST@state.gov
Office: 202-647-2372
BB: [redacted] B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Raddatz, Samantha T </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=RADDATZST>
Sent:	Friday, April 5, 2013 6:28 PM
To:	'Aranthan Jones' <AJones@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: David McKean's office

Thanks for understanding Aj, just as an FYI, Matt is traveling this weekend. He will be on BB, but may be a bit slower to respond than usual.

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 6:24 PM
To: Raddatz, Samantha T
Cc: Walsh, Matthew P
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

RELEASE IN PART B6

Greetings again Samantha,

Thanks so much for getting back to us and we completely understand.

Yes, we would be happy to meet With Matt.

Greetings Matt,

We trust all is well. Please let us know if you would be available to briefly meet with us between 11am and 1pm on April 9th.

Many thanks to you both.

Sincerely,

Aj

From: Raddatz, Samantha T [mailto:RaddatzST@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 6:13 PM
To: Aranthan Jones
Cc: Walsh, Matthew P
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Hi AJ,

Unfortunately David isn't able to meet next week. I've copied one of our senior policy experts here (Matt Walsh) in case you'd like to schedule a meeting with him.

Thank you,
Samantha

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 4:48 PM

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

To: Raddatz, Samantha T
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Great! We are so glad you received it and hope that you will be able to find time on the April 9th to meet. Many thanks again

Sincerely,

Aj

From: Raddatz, Samantha T [mailto:RaddatzST@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 3:01 PM
To: Aranthan Jones
Subject: RE: David McKean's office

Got it!!

From: Aranthan Jones [mailto:AJones@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 2:31 PM
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Greetings again David,

We hope all is well and that you are having a very productive week. I know it has been awhile since we last connected when you and I were both on the Hill but I wanted to reach out to you on behalf of the LIVESTRONG Foundation.

As you know, the LIVESTRONG Foundation is a leading nonprofit organization that provides support for people affected by cancer, and was founded in 1997. Doug Ulman, LIVESTRONG's President and Chief Executive Officer and David Lofye, LIVESTRONG's Vice President of Government Affairs will be in Washington, DC on April 9th and would like to update you on the Foundation's status and discuss their global health and development investment/policy agenda for 2013. Please let me know if you would have anytime on Tuesday, April 9th between 8am and 1pm to briefly meet (20mins. max) with them.

I have pasted additional information about Mr. Ulman and Mr. Lofye below. Many thanks in advance for your consideration of this request. If you have any questions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Aj

About LIVESTRONG:
LIVESTRONG Foundation Facts

- Has raised more than $500 million to support cancer survivors and served 2.5 million people affected by cancer
- Has invested 82 percent of each dollar raised directly in programs, initiatives and advocacy efforts that support people affected by cancer. (The industry average is 75 percent.)
- Is recognized as one of the most highly-rated cancer non-profit organizations in the U.S.
  - Better Business Bureau Wise Giving Alliance accredited charity seal holder
  - Completed National Health Council's Standards of Excellence Certification Program
  - Rated four out of four stars by Charity Navigator
  - A- -rated by American Institute of Philanthropy
  - Ranked as one of the top three cancer organizations by Philanthropedia.

About the LIVESTRONG Foundation
The LIVESTRONG Foundation provides free cancer support services to help people cope with the financial, emotional and practical challenges that accompany the disease. Created in 1997 by cancer survivor and philanthropist Lance Armstrong, the Foundation is known for its powerful brand -- LIVESTRONG -- and for its advocacy on behalf of survivors and their families. With its iconic yellow LIVESTRONG wristband, the Foundation has become a symbol of hope and inspiration around the world. Since its inception, the Foundation has served 2.5 million people affected by the disease and raised more than $500 million to support cancer survivors. One of America's top cancer non-profit organizations, the Foundation enjoys a four-star rating from Charity Navigator and has been recognized by the National Health Council and the Better Business Bureau for its excellent governance, high standards and transparency. For more information, visit LIVESTRONG.org.

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Bios

Doug Ulman, President and Chief Executive Officer

In his role as President and Chief Executive Officer Doug is ultimately responsible for the strategic vision and direction of LIVESTRONG.

Doug Ulman is a three-time cancer survivor and nationally recognized cancer advocate. After overcoming chondrosarcoma and malignant melanoma twice during his sophomore year in college, Doug and his family founded the Ulman Cancer Fund for Young Adults, a non-profit organization to provide support, education, and resources to young adults, their families and friends who are affected by cancer. He served as Executive Director of the Ulman Cancer Fund for four years before joining LIVESTRONG as director of survivorship in 2001.

Doug has received numerous awards for his leadership and community service. In 2002, Doug was selected from more than 20,000 individuals to appear on more than 15 million boxes of Wheaties Energy Crunch as an American Everyday Hero. In 2003, Doug was selected as the Austin Under-40 award winner in the healthcare category. In 2005, Doug was honored by both the American Psychosocial Oncology Society and the Association of Oncology Social Workers. Most recently Doug was named to the Non-Profit Times Power and Influence Top 50 for 2009, an honor bestowed to the top 50 Non-profit executives. A frequent guest and contributor on national and local media programs, Doug has been featured on CNN, ABC News, NBC Nightly News, and in The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and The Washington Post among many other outlets. Doug also speaks frequently to corporations, civic organizations, schools and Universities covering topics including cancer, philanthropy, grassroots movements, social change, and social media.

Doug currently holds numerous civic and charitable board positions across the country and he just completed serving a four-year term as the Chairman of the National Cancer Institute Director's Consumer Liaison Group. He also sits on the executive board of the Ulman Cancer Fund for Young Adults, and is a founder of the LIVESTRONG Young Adult Alliance among many other board and advisory roles. Following his three cancer diagnoses, Doug returned to the soccer field and helped Brown University to three Ivy League Championships in four years.

David Lofye, Vice President of Government Relations

In his role as Vice President, his is responsible for LIVESTRONG's federal and state governmental programmatic and policy outreach. Prior to joining LIVESTRONG in 2006 he served as Deputy Chief of Staff in the Office of U.S. Rep. Nick Lampson (D-TX) at U.S. House of Representatives and as a Professional Staff Member on the House Science Committee Subcommittee on Energy since 1998. He received a JD from The University of Texas School of Law and B.A. in Political Science from Indiana University Bloomington.

Aranthan Jones | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9355 (d) | [redacted]c) | ajones@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From: Raddatz, Samantha T [mailto:RaddatzST@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2013 2:29 PM
To: Aranthan Jones
Subject: David McKean's office

Test email

Samantha Raddatz
Special Assistant to the Director
Office of Policy Planning
RaddatzST@state.gov
Office: 202-647-2372
BB: [redacted]

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Fried, Daniel </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FRIEDD>
Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2013 5:56 PM
To: 'Stephen Rademaker' <srademaker@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: Milosovic's Legacy

They may have died unbeaten, but died for a bad cause nevertheless.

-----Original Message-----
From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2013 5:51 PM
To: Fried, Daniel
Subject: Fwd: Milosovic's Legacy

RELEASE IN PART B6

Resending.

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Stephen Rademaker" <srademaker@podesta.com<mailto:srademaker@podesta.com>>
To: "'Ian [redacted]'" [redacted]>>, "'dfata [redacted]" [redacted]>, "'kurt.volker [redacted]'" [redacted]>, "'FriedD@state.gov<mailto:FriedD@state.gov>'" <FriedD@state.gov<mailto:FriedD@state.gov>>, "'Mira.R.Ricardel [redacted]'" [redacted]>, "igor Khrestin" <igor_khrestin@kirk.senate.gov<mailto:igor_khrestin@kirk.senate.gov>>

B6

Subject: Milosovic's Legacy

I took this yesterday in Zemun, just outside Belgrade. All these people killed and a smaller country to boot.
[cid:14:1625:0]

Stephen Rademaker | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5238 (d) | [redacted](c) | srademaker@podesta.com<mailto:srademaker@podesta.com> | www.podestagroup.com<http://www.podestagroup.com>

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From:	Ciobanu, Ileana M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=CIOBANUIM>
Sent:	Thursday, June 27, 2013 2:10 PM
To:	E Duty Officer (Grippo, Lawrence) <EDutyOfficer@state.gov>
Cc:	Heidt, William A <HeidtWA@state.gov>
Subject:	Fw: Puerto Rico - Ramey Air Force Base (from Bob Hormats's office)

Larry, FYSA.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Heidt, William A
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2013 01:42 PM Eastern Standard Time
To: 'Rebecca Edgar' <REdgar@podesta.com>
Cc: Ciobanu, Ileana M; Brucker, Katherine A; Kushner, Todd A
Subject: RE: Puerto Rico - Ramey Air Force Base (from Bob Hormats's office)

Thanks, Rebecca. This is very useful. In terms of process, is there any update of where Lufthansa is with respect to their decision? That would be helpful to know as we try to get Mr. Hormats on the phone with the Lufthansa CEO.

Thanks much,

Bill

From: Rebecca Edgar [mailto:REdgar@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2013 1:03 PM
To: Heidt, William A
Cc: Ciobanu, Ileana M
Subject: RE: Puerto Rico - Ramey Air Force Base (from Bob Hormats's office)

Bill –

Please forgive me if this is a duplicate email or if it is fact a long overdue response. I recall having sent you the attached slide deck, but upon searching my outbox, I could find no record of the email. So I wanted to make sure to pass this along. It is a presentation the Puerto Rico Ports Authority made to JetBlue/Lufthansa. It gives a good overview of the Ramey Airport and Puerto Rico's proposal to the airlines.
I hope this is helpful and again my sincere apologies for either the duplication or a much delayed response.
If you need anything further, please don't hesitate to let me know. And of course, on behalf of Tony, want to extend our appreciation for all of your assistance.

Best regards,
Rebecca Edgar

Rebecca Edgar | Chief of Staff

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9313 (d) | [redacted] (c) | REdgar@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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communication is strictly prohibited.

From: Heidt, William A [mailto:HeidtWA@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2013 1:59 PM
To: Tony Podesta
Cc: Ciobanu, Ileana M
Subject: Puerto Rico - Ramey Air Force Base (from Bob Hormats's office)

Dear Mr. Podesta,

I'm Bill Heidt, Under Secretary Bob Hormats's Chief of Staff. Under Secretary Hormats asked me to get back to you on the subject of Lufthansa's possible investment in a maintenance facility in Puerto Rico.

I apologize for my delayed response, but it took us some time to work out an advocacy strategy with the Department of Commerce. After some discussions, we agreed that we would ask Under Secretary Hormats to phone the Lufthansa CEO, while getting Commerce Under Secretary Sanchez to call Soren Stark, the Executive VP at Lufthansa most closely involved with the decision.

You mentioned in your initial e-mail to Mr. Hormats that you had additional information on the possible investment. It would help if you could send it to me, and I'll make sure our team working on this case gets it. We'll try to set up the call with the Lufthansa CEO as soon as possible.

Best regards,

Bill Heidt

William Heidt
Executive Assistant
Office of the Under Secretary for Economic Growth,
Energy, and the Environment
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W., Room 7256
Washington, DC 20520
Tel: 202-647-7674

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Ketchem, Fredrick J <KetchemFJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, August 19, 2013 10:21 AM
To: O'Connor, Eileen <O'ConnorE@state.gov>
Subject: RE: meeting request -- Global Integrated Security

I will ask IP if they can meet (they handle the overseas portion). RELEASE IN PART B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: O'Connor, Eileen
Sent: Monday, August 19, 2013 10:04 AM
To: Ketchem, Fredrick J
Subject: RE: meeting request -- Global Integrated Security

That's right. I think they want courtesy call with folks dealing with overseas security. Let me know who they can meet with.

Best
Eileen

From: Ketchem, Fredrick J
Sent: Monday, August 19, 2013 10:03 AM
To: O'Connor, Eileen
Subject: RE: meeting request -- Global Integrated Security

Eileen –

This seems that they are interested in meeting with a POC for their work overseas. In my current position – I would not be the POC. If so, I will reach across the river. Thanks. Fred

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: O'Connor, Eileen
Sent: Monday, August 19, 2013 9:55 AM
To: Ketchem, Fredrick J
Subject: FW: meeting request -- Global Integrated Security

Fred:

Here is the request for the meeting with the new CEO of Global Integrated Security. Can you let me know who

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they should contact and who can meet with them please? It's strictly a courtesy call by the sounds of it.

Best regards
Eileen

From: David Marin [mailto:DMarin@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, August 19, 2013 9:53 AM
To: O'Connor, Eileen
Subject: meeting request -- Global Integrated Security

Eileen,

I'm hoping you can help facilitate a meeting between our client, **Global Integrated Security (GIS),** and Fred Ketchem (or his designee), at your/their earliest convenience.

As you may know, GIS currently provides the security operations for the US consulate in Basrah, as well as the security services for the Army Corps of Engineers in Afghanistan.

GIS is strongly committed to the State Department's goal of protecting American diplomats and facilities. For 15 years the company has carried out hundreds of contracts and thousands of missions in support of USG diplomacy and national security, without any USG loss of life.

The company's new CEO, Mike Roberts, is eager to meet with Mr. Ketchem, to introduce himself and the company, discuss the company's relationship with the Department – and how the Department might best collaborate and work with its private sector partners to ensure operational success and the protection of lives in an ever-evolving security landscape.

My thanks in advance for any help you can offer.

Best,
Dave

David Marin | Principal
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9368 (d) | [redacted] (c) | dmarin@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Subject: Mike Roberts, Global Strategies Group Meeting, et al.

Start: 10/1/2013 11:30 AM

End: 10/1/2013 12:00 PM

RELEASE IN FULL

Show Time As: Busy

Recurrence: (none)

Organizer: Kennedy, Patrick F

Categories: Blue Category

Rebecca Edgar | 202-879 | REdgar@podesta.com

Attendees:

U/S Kennedy, M
Tony Podesta, Global Strategies Group
Mike Roberts, Global Strategies Group
David Marin, Global Strategies Group
Dale Davis, Global Strategies Group

9/30 – Reconfirmation

9/27 – Additional Attendee

9/18 – Reconfirmation

Anthony T. Podesta, Podesta Group
David Libardo Marin, Podesta Group
Robert Michael Roberts, GLOBAL Integrated Security

9/12 – CONFIRMED

9/12 – Request

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From: Rebecca Edgar <REdgar@podesta.com>
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2013 11:09 AM
To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L <Helton-FloydKL@state.gov>
Subject: Tony Podesta/Mike Roberts, Global Strategies Group Meeting Request
Attach: Mike RobertsCV.docx

Kathleen –

Nice to talk with you.
Attached please find Mr. Roberts bio.
In terms of dates, the following work for both Tony and Mr. Roberts. Hopefully one will mesh with the UnderSecretary's schedule as well, but if not, I will look into October for more dates.
Also, David Marin from the Podesta Group would join the meeting as well.

--September 19 - 430p or later

--October 1 – before 2p

RELEASE IN PART B6

--October 3
--October 4

Thanks much,
Rebecca Edgar

Rebecca Edgar | Chief of Staff

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9313 (d) [redacted] (c) | REdgar@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

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RELEASE IN FULL

Mike Roberts

President, GLOBAL Integrated Security

Mike is President, GLOBAL Integrated Security (GIS). Based in Herndon, VA, he is responsible for ensuring the effective delivery of the company's support to the US national security mission, and all aspects of GIS corporate and business development. Mike is a senior defense industry professional with over 20 years' experience. He joined GIS from USIS Inc., where he was President of its Security and Solutions Division. Here, he was responsible for over 3000 staff providing information and security service support to the US defense and intelligence communities, and led the delivery of significant levels of new organic growth.

Prior to USIS, Mike was the CEO of ESP Inc., a business providing management, engineering and technical services to US Government Agencies and the defense industry. Before that, he was with Northrop Grumman for 13 years, holding senior operational and management roles within its Information Technology and Technical Services sectors. He led client accounts across the US defense and security architecture, including the Departments of Defense, State and Homeland Security, the NSA and NASA.

Mike has a Finance Degree from the University of Maryland, and an MBA from George Washington University.

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Subject: Mike Roberts, Global Strategies Group Meeting, et al.

Start: 10/1/2013 11:30 AM

End: 10/1/2013 12:00 PM

Show Time As: Busy

RELEASE IN FULL

Recurrence: (none)

Organizer: Kennedy, Patrick F

Categories: Blue Category

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Rebecca Edgar <REdgar@podesta.com>
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2013 11:09 AM
To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L <Helton-FloydKL@state.gov>
Subject: Tony Podesta/Mike Roberts, Global Strategies Group Meeting Request

Kathleen –

Nice to talk with you.
Attached please find Mr. Roberts bio.
In terms of dates, the following work for both Tony and Mr. Roberts. Hopefully one will mesh with the UnderSecretary's schedule as well, but if not, I will look into October for more dates.
Also, David Marin from the Podesta Group would join the meeting as well.

--September 19 - 430p or later

--October 1 – before 2p

RELEASE IN PART B6

--October 3
--October 4

Thanks much,
Rebecca Edgar

Rebecca Edgar | Chief of Staff

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9313 (d) | [redacted] (c) | REdgar@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Rebecca Edgar <REdgar@podesta.com>
Sent: Friday, September 27, 2013 9:32 PM
To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L <Helton-FloydKL@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Confirmed: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

Thank you very much.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L [mailto:Helton-FloydKL@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 27, 2013 06:17 PM
To: Rebecca Edgar
Subject: RE: Confirmed: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

Greetings Rebecca,

I will add him to the meeting.

Best regards,

Kathleen Helton-Floyd
202-647-1500

From: Rebecca Edgar [mailto:REdgar@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, September 27, 2013 3:38 PM
To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L
Subject: RE: Confirmed: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

Kathleen –
Might we be able to add another participate for Tuesday's meeting?
It would be Dale Davis, President, Global Strategies Group North America.
Please let me know if this is ok.
Have a great weekend,
Rebecca

From: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L [mailto:Helton-FloydKL@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2013 6:10 PM
To: Rebecca Edgar
Subject: RE: Confirmed: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

So noted.

Have a Good Evening.

Best regards,

Kathleen Helton-Floyd
202-647-1500

From: Rebecca Edgar [mailto:REdgar@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2013 6:02 PM

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L
Cc: Heather Kliegman
Subject: RE: Confirmed: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

Kathleen –

Here are the names of the attendees for the Oct 1 1130a meeting. We will certainly call you when they depart our offices for the meeting so that you can meet them in the lobby. Thanks, Rebecca Edgar

Anthony T. Podesta, Podesta Group
David Libardo Marin, Podesta Group
Robert Michael Roberts, GLOBAL Integrated Security

From: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L [mailto:Helton-FloydKL@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2013 3:49 PM
To: Rebecca Edgar
Subject: Confirmed: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

Greetings Rebecca,

Our security requirements have changed.

I only need their full names and the agency or company name.

They will, however, need to provide a picture ID to get their badge.

I will meet them in the lobby.

If you would be so kind, please call me when they depart for the event.

Best regards,

Kathleen Helton-Floyd
202-647-1500

From: Rebecca Edgar [mailto:REdgar@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2013 3:06 PM
To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L
Subject: RE: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

Kathleen,
Yes, this works. Thank you very much.
Please let me know if there are any special arrival instructions.
Rebecca

From: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L [mailto:Helton-FloydKL@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2013 2:28 PM
To: Rebecca Edgar
Subject: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

Greetings Rebecca,

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

It was good to hear from you today.

I would like to offer Messrs. Podesta, Roberts and Marin: ***Tuesday, October 1st at 11:30 a.m.*** for 30 minutes.

Please, let me know if this works for their schedules.

Best regards,

Kathleen L. Helton-Floyd
Personal Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Management
U.S. Department of State, 2201 C Street, NW, Washington, DC 20520
[202] 647-1500 - work
[202] 647-0168 - fax
helton-floydkl@state.gov - email



"Management is doing things right. Leadership is doing the right things."
-Peter Drucker

This e-mail is unclassified following the provisions found in E.O. 13526.

From: Rebecca Edgar [mailto:REdgar@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2013 11:09 AM
To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L
Subject: Tony Podesta/Mike Roberts, Global Strategies Group Meeting Request

Kathleen –

Nice to talk with you.
Attached please find Mr. Roberts bio.
In terms of dates, the following work for both Tony and Mr. Roberts. Hopefully one will mesh with the UnderSecretary's schedule as well, but if not, I will look into October for more dates.
Also, David Marin from the Podesta Group would join the meeting as well.

--September 19 - 430p or later

--October 1 – before 2p

--October 3

--October 4

Thanks much,
Rebecca Edgar

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Rebecca Edgar | Chief of Staff

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9313 (d) | [redacted] (c) | REdgar@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Rebecca Edgar <REdgar@podesta.com>
Sent: Monday, September 30, 2013 6:22 PM
To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L <Helton-FloydKL@state.gov>
Cc: Heather Kliegman <hkliegman@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: Confirmed: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

Thanks Katherine. As you requested, we will give you a call when they are en-route from our office.

From: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L [mailto:Helton-FloydKL@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, September 30, 2013 6:09 PM
To: Rebecca Edgar
Subject: RE: Confirmed: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

Greetings Rebecca,

RELEASE IN PART B6

Sorry for the delay in responding.

We will be open all week.

Best regards,

Kathleen Helton-Floyd
202-647-1500

From: Rebecca Edgar [mailto:REdgar@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, September 30, 2013 4:54 PM
To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L
Subject: RE: Confirmed: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13
Importance: High

Good afternoon Katherine –

With the possibility of a government shutdown, I wanted to touch base.
In the event of a shutdown will tomorrow's meeting be canceled?
Appreciate any guidance you can provide so that we may plan accordingly.

Thanks much,
Rebecca

From: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L [mailto:Helton-FloydKL@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 27, 2013 6:18 PM
To: Rebecca Edgar
Subject: RE: Confirmed: DOS Meeting w/ Messrs. Podesta, Roberts, and Marin - 10/1/13

Greetings Rebecca,

I will add him to the meeting.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Best regards,

Kathleen Helton-Floyd
202-647-1500

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To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L
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David Libardo Marin, Podesta Group
Robert Michael Roberts, GLOBAL Integrated Security

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Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2013 3:49 PM
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Kathleen L. Helton-Floyd
Personal Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Management
U.S. Department of State, 2201 C Street, NW, Washington, DC 20520
[202] 647-1500 - work
[202] 647-0168 - fax
helton-floydkl@state.gov - email



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"Management is doing things right. Leadership is doing the right things."
-Peter Drucker

This e-mail is unclassified following the provisions found in E.O. 13526.

From: Rebecca Edgar [mailto:REdgar@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2013 11:09 AM
To: Helton-Floyd, Kathleen L
Subject: Tony Podesta/Mike Roberts, Global Strategies Group Meeting Request

Kathleen –

Nice to talk with you.
Attached please find Mr. Roberts bio.
In terms of dates, the following work for both Tony and Mr. Roberts. Hopefully one will mesh with the UnderSecretary's schedule as well, but if not, I will look into October for more dates.
Also, David Marin from the Podesta Group would join the meeting as well.

--September 19 - 430p or later

--October 1 – before 2p

--October 3

--October 4

Thanks much,
Rebecca Edgar

Rebecca Edgar | Chief of Staff

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9313 (d) [redacted] (c) | REdgar@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

B6

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From:	Klajn, Tamara </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KLEIJN, TAMARA03C>
Sent:	Tuesday, December 10, 2013 1:57 AM
To:	Barlerin, Peter H <BarlerinPH@state.gov>
Subject:	Re: meeting on wednesday

It will be interesting to hear how their trip went and if their assessment of the project has changed in any way - hope you have a good meeting!

Best,
Tamara

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Barlerin, Peter H
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2013 05:21 PM
To: Klajn, Tamara
Subject: FW: meeting on wednesday

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Renna, Daniel M
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2013 10:19 AM
To: Javier Sancho
Cc: Frere, Brian M; Barlerin, Peter H
Subject: RE: meeting on wednesday

We'll meet at the C St entrance and go to the cafeteria to talk. I will be joined by my colleague Peter Barlerin, whom you met at the meeting we had as well.

Daniel M. Renna
Senior DRC Desk Officer
AF/C

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Javier Sancho [mailto:jsancho@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, December 06, 2013 4:36 PM
To: Renna, Daniel M

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Subject: meeting on wednesday

Shabath Shalom Daniel,
I would like to confirm that Tony Podesta will join Lior Chorev and myself to meet with you on Wednesday morning.
Can you give us the exact location at State.
All the best
Javier

Javier Sancho | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5201 (d) | [redacted] (c) | jsancho@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From:	deBree, Mary L </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DEBREEML>
Sent:	Thursday, December 19, 2013 4:29 PM
To:	Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>; Ryu, Rexon Y <RyuRY@state.gov>; Weinstein, Jeremy M <WeinsteinJ@state.gov>; Pressman, David <PressmanD@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: FYI - Walmart supports UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities

B5

-m-

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, December 19, 2013 4:05 PM
To: deBree, Mary L; Ryu, Rexon Y; Weinstein, Jeremy M; Pressman, David
Subject: Re: FYI - Walmart supports UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities

B5

From: deBree, Mary L
Sent: Thursday, December 19, 2013 09:26 PM
To: Power, Samantha; Ryu, Rexon Y; Weinstein, Jeremy M; Pressman, David
Subject: FW: FYI - Walmart supports UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities

Fyi on Walmart letter of support attached.

-m-

From: Gutierrez, Rosemary (Harkin)
Sent: Thursday, December 19, 2013 3:25 PM
To: deBree, Mary L
Subject: Fw: FYI - Walmart supports UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities

Here is the letter - thanks for reaching out!

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

From: Gamel_McCormick, Michael (HELP Committee)
Sent: Wednesday, December 18, 2013 12:14 PM
To: Perselay, Lee (HELP Committee); Gutierrez, Rosemary (Harkin)
Subject: FW: FYI - Walmart supports UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities

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In case you haven't gotten this…

From: Nicole Young Collier
Sent: Wednesday, December 18, 2013 12:11 PM
To: Gamel_McCormick, Michael (HELP Committee)
Subject: FYI - Walmart supports UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities

Hi Michael, I hope you're doing well. I'm reaching out to share a letter, dated today, that was sent to Chairman Menendez and Ranking Member Corker outlining Walmart's support for the ratification of the UN Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities. Please let me know if you have any questions and have a wonderful holiday.

Nicole Young Collier

Nicole Young Collier | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9326 (d) [redacted] (c) | ncollier@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Guha, Sumona </O=SBUSTATE/OU=HR AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=GUHAS>
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2014 5:52 PM
To: 'Claudio Lilienfeld' <clilienfeld@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: Connecting

That sounds good. See you then. Regards, Sumona

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2014 5:47 PM
To: Guha, Sumona
Subject: RE: Connecting

RELEASE IN PART B6

Great. I have put it down for 2pm on the 12th. We'll reconfirm that week.

Regards,
Claudio

From: Guha, Sumona [mailto:GuhaS@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2014 5:41 PM
To: Claudio Lilienfeld
Subject: RE: Connecting

That should be fine. Shall we tentatively plan for the afternoon of March 12, and then confirm / decide details closer to the date? Sumona

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2014 5:35 PM
To: Guha, Sumona
Subject: RE: Connecting

Dear Sumona,

I will be traveling for work the week of March 3. Perhaps we could meet the week after that?

Claudio

From: Guha, Sumona [mailto:GuhaS@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2014 5:10 PM
To: Claudio Lilienfeld
Subject: RE: Connecting

Dear Claudio,

Thanks for your note. Sorry for the long delay in replying. Coffee sounds great. How does the afternoon of Tuesday, March 4 or Wednesday, March 5 look for you? There's a coffee shop near State where we could meet if that works for you, or we can meet downtown somewhere.

Regards,
Sumona

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, February 11, 2014 5:51 PM
To: Guha, Sumona
Subject: Connecting

Dear Sumona,

Great meeting you today at CFR.

Please let me know if you would be up for meeting over coffee or lunch sometime to share perspectives on South Asia/India. I should be around over the coming few weeks.

Regards,
Claudio

Claudio Lilienfeld | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9343 (d) | [redacted] (c) | clilienfeld@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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C06592685 IED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592685 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

RELEASE IN FULL

Dear Colleague,

The Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka invites you to a discussion on human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The event will include a conversation on past and current human rights abuses, and the necessary steps for reconciliation, followed by a viewing of "No Fire Zone" – a documentary directed by Callum Macrae focusing on the final months of Sri Lanka's decades-long civil war.

Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka: Past and Present

Thursday, March 13th at 3:30pm

Congressional Visitors Center (CVC) Auditorium

Featuring guest speaker J.S. Tissainayagam

And a viewing of

"No Fire Zone" with recorded remarks by Director Callum Macrae

If you have any questions or would like to RSVP for the event, please contact Laura Wilson with Rep. Bill Johnson (laura.wilson@mail.house.gov).

Sincerely,

Bill Johnson
Member of Congress

Danny K. Davis
Member of Congress

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06592685 Date: 08/21/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From:	Donovan, Victoria A </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DONOVANVA>
Sent:	Wednesday, March 12, 2014 8:05 PM
To:	Vasquez, Robert P <VasquezRP@state.gov>
Subject:	Re: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

Lol--you are special!!

From: Vasquez, Robert P
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2014 05:39 PM Eastern Standard Time
To: Donovan, Victoria A
Subject: RE: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

RELEASE IN PART B6

Thanks; I got it too. And for a brief moment I thought I was special …

From: Donovan, Victoria A
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2014 3:37 PM
To: JGCJ
Subject: FW: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

For those of you interested in attending a discussion on human rights violations in Sri Lanka with the Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom….

From: Tim Kopper [mailto:TKopper@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2014 3:16 PM
To: Donovan, Victoria A
Subject: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

Dear Victoria,

On behalf of my client, the Tamil American Peace Initiative (TAPI), I wanted to pass along to you an invitation (attached and below) from the co-chairs of the Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka, Reps. Bill Johnson and Danny Davis.

As you'll see, this is very timely event since the UN Human Rights Council is meeting this month in Geneva and the US is expected to lead a resolution addressing Sri Lanka.

Event starts at 3:30pm tomorrow in the Capitol Visitor Center's Auditorium and it would be great if you could attend or send a designee!

I would be happy to answer any questions.

Thanks for taking the time,
Tim

Tim Kopper | Director
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9384 (d) | (c) | tkopper@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

B6

Dear Colleague,

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

The Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka invites you to a discussion on human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The event will include a conversation on past and current human rights abuses, and the necessary steps for reconciliation, followed by a viewing of "No Fire Zone"- a documentary directed by Callum Macrae focusing on the final months of Sri Lanka's decades long civil war.

Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka: Past and Present

Thursday, March 13 111 at 3:30pm
Congressional Visitors Center (CVC) Auditorium
Featuring guest speaker J.S. Tissainayagam
Brief remarks from Reps. Johnson and Davis
And a viewing of
"No Fire Zone" with recorded remarks by Director Callum Macrae
If you have any questions or would like to RSVP for the event, please contact Laura Wilson with Rep. Bill Johnson (laura.wilson@mail.house.gov).

Sincerely,

Bill Johnson
Member of Congress

Danny K. Davis
Member of Congress

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Possin, Brandon C <PossinBC@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, March 25, 2014 11:09 AM
To: McNeill, David [redacted]; de Veer, Christopher J <deVeerCJ@state.gov>; Oberlander, Jaime M <OberlanderJM@state.gov> B6
Cc: Beran, Sarah <BeranS@state.gov>; McFee, Susan N <McFeeSN@state.gov>; Dunn, Courtenay <DunnC@state.gov>; Lorman, Amanda L <LormanAL@state.gov>; Schwemlein, James C <SchwemleinJC@state.gov>; Raphel, Robin L <RaphelRL@state.gov>; Ayan Ali Khan [redacted] B6
Subject: RE: U.S. Pharma Exports for Hepatitis?

Thanks for this valuable information, David and Ayan. Will pass it on in a fresh email to the consultant. Welcome any other info from others on this e-mail.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David McNeill [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, March 25, 2014 4:00 AM
To: Possin, Brandon C; de Veer, Christopher J; Oberlander, Jaime M
Cc: Beran, Sarah; McFee, Susan N; Dunn, Courtenay; Lorman, Amanda L; Schwemlein, James C; Raphel, Robin L; Ayan Ali Khan
Subject: RE: U.S. Pharma Exports for Hepatitis?

Brandon, some excellent information below from my colleague Ayan Ali Khan:

Prevention of Hep B program is covered by the National EPI Program that functions under the Ministry of National Health Services and Coordination. GoP receives 97 percent of the Hep B vaccines "Penta" in the shape of donation from GAVI (Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization) whereas 03 percent is procured through co-financing from GoP and GAVI. Other donors that provide assistance to EPI are UNICEF – provides procuring assistance; WHO – provides technical support; USAID – provides technical support. Re: Hep. C, there is no GoP prevention program for it but treatment does exist which is mostly covered by the private hospitals.

Regards,
Ayan Ali Khan

From: Possin, Brandon C [mailto:PossinBC@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, March 25, 2014 12:59 AM
To: de Veer, Christopher J; Oberlander, Jaime M; David McNeill
Cc: Beran, Sarah; McFee, Susan N; Dunn, Courtenay; Lorman, Amanda L; Schwemlein, James C; Raphel, Robin L
Subject: U.S. Pharma Exports for Hepatitis?

Hi Chris/Jaime/David:

Received a question from a consultant to Gilead Sciences, which makes the hepatitis medicine Sovaldi.

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(Consultant used to work for DoD OSD, then USTR, then as Google consultant, and now for Podesta Group). As you know, around 5% of Pakistanis suffer from Hep C. Sovaldi was a medical breakthrough when FDA approved it in Nov. 2013. Previously, hepatitis medicines only treated 40-80% of patients depending on virus genotype, were expensive, took 24-48 weeks to administer in clinics, and side effects were "violent." Sovaldi cures up to 90% of cases, takes 12 weeks of treatment, and mitigates side effects. Sovaldi costs $84,000/patient in the United States but CDC has partnered with Gilead to purchase it for $1,000/patient for a pilot project in Egypt. So the consultant would like know about GoP's public health efforts in the area of Hepatitis – **what if anything the GoP is doing or any funding they have committed to disease detection, awareness, treatment, etc, for Hepatitis B and/or C. Would you know if either the USAID Hepatitis Control/Pakistan project or the USAID Expanded Immunization Program (EPI) would purchase Sovaldi?**

Thanks for any info we could share with the consultant—from either the assistance or commercial viewpoints. The consultant asked me to keep his client's name in confidence so thanks for keeping this inquiry within USG for now. Thanks again, Brandon

---

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, March 21, 2014 1:01 PM
To: Possin, Brandon C
Subject: Connecting

Dear Bandon,

Thanks for coming over to chat at the SCA CoM reception. Turns out that I ended up at the dinner with Ambassador Olson as a last-minute invitee (thankfully, I know the BCIU folks well) so my evening was unusually Pakistan-filled.

In addition to connecting with you via email as a general matter, coincidentally, I also had a query that evolved just this week...

One of the clients I work for is a biotech/biopharma company with, among other things, treatments for viral Hepatitis (mainly B and C). It appears that there is a relatively sizeable prevalence of Hepatitis in Pakistan. We are trying to find out what we can about the Govt of Pakistan's public health efforts in the area of Hepatitis – what if anything they (the GoP) are doing or any funding they have committed to disease detection, awareness, treatment, etc, for Hepatitis B and/or C.

Is there anyway you could check with our embassy in Islamabad (or with whomever else in the USG would make sense) to see if they know or can find out. Need to be relatively discreet for now.

Please let me know if you have any questions. My apologies in advance for the burden that this inquiry might place on you. Do feel free to redirect me to someone else as needed.

And, look forward to crossing paths again soon, regardless.

Many thanks and regards,
Claudio

Claudio Lilienfeld | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9343 (d) | [redacted] (c) | clilienfeld@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Loyet, Cynthia J <LoyetCJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, April 11, 2014 4:56 PM
To: Sewall, Sarah <SewallS@state.gov>; Sarah Sewall [redacted] B6
Cc: Loyet, Cynthia J <LoyetCJ@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Reaching out to Sarah Sewall

[redacted] B5

Thanks,
Cindy

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, April 11, 2014 4:52 PM
To: Loyet, Cynthia J
Subject: FW: Reaching out to Sarah Sewall

RELEASE IN PART B5

Here you go Cindy.
Many thanks and best wishes for a wonderful weekend,
Claudio

From: Claudio Lilienfeld
Sent: Monday, March 31, 2014 1:38 PM
To: 'loyetcj@state.gov'
Subject: Reaching out to Sarah Sewall

Dear Cindy, thank you for forwarding the note below to Sarah.

Regards, Claudio

Dear Sarah,

I know it has been ages, but I haven't forgotten my enjoyable days working with you in the Pentagon. I believe we may have had some contact after that, but the last time was a long time ago.

Congratulations to you for all that you have done in the interim, and particularly for your current position.

I have been holding off for some time to reach out to you, as you have a lot on your plate and likely a lot of people approaching you. But, I at last decided to reach out.

I have bounced around a bit since we last crossed paths. I left the humanitarian affairs office and found myself becoming a South Asia hand handling the new India relationship and the post 9/11 Af/Pak world beginning in 1999 (through 2006 in OSD and then 2006-2010 at USTR – a fascinating and edifying jump from defense to trade policy). I then spent 18 months handling the India/South Asia practice at McLarty Associates, left to go work for a client (Google – covering Asia policy, writ large) and then left Google and joined the Podesta Group last summer (focusing significantly on India, but also on defense and trade issues).

My son is a freshman in college – and I have a feeling your kids are nearing that point, too. Lastly, my tenure

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working with you left one particularly indelible impression and that was when you and Wendy Chamberlin conspired to have me travel to Laos (and the rest of the region). I have had the pleasure of frequently crossing paths with Wendy over the years – including during her stint in Pakistan.

I would love to get together to catch up with you one of these days if your schedule allows.

Warm regards,
Claudio

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From: McGifford, Katherine M <McGiffordKM@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, April 15, 2014 5:13 PM
To: Zhu, Ningchuan <ZhuN@state.gov>; Variava, Heather C <VariavaHC@state.gov>; Kronenfeld, Daniel A <KronenfeldDA@state.gov>; Millar, McKenzie <MillarM@state.gov>; Wyngowski, Seth A <WyngowskiSA@state.gov>
Cc: SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL <SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL@state.gov>; Keshap, Atul <KeshapA@state.gov>; Gressel, Sika D <GresselSD@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Assistant Secretary Desai Biswal w/ Tamil American Peace Initiative and USTPAC- April 28 or 29

April 28 at 3:00 or 4:00 or April 29 at 2:00 or 4:00 works best for Nisha's schedule – and also works for DAS Keshap.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

K

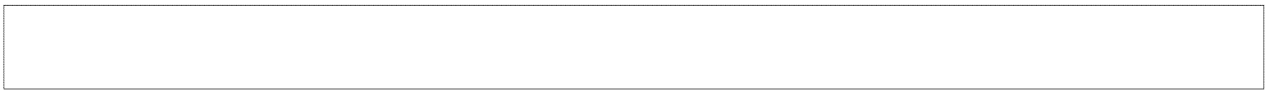
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Zhu, Ningchuan
Sent: Tuesday, April 15, 2014 4:08 PM
To: Variava, Heather C; Kronenfeld, Daniel A; Millar, McKenzie; Wyngowski, Seth A
Cc: McGifford, Katherine M; SCA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Keshap, Atul
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Assistant Secretary Desai Biswal w/ Tamil American Peace Initiative and USTPAC- April 28 or 29

Nisha agrees to do – please work with Katherine on timing. Will need brief background on each of the organizations and talking points (no background needed on the issues in Sri Lanka), due to the FO at noon on April 24.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Keshap, Atul
Sent: Tuesday, April 15, 2014 11:06 AM
To: Variava, Heather C; Zhu, Ningchuan; Kronenfeld, Daniel A; Millar, McKenzie; Wyngowski, Seth A
Cc: McGifford, Katherine M
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Assistant Secretary Desai Biswal w/ Tamil American Peace Initiative and USTPAC- April 28 or 29



B5

SBU
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From: Variava, Heather C
Sent: Tuesday, April 15, 2014 9:46 AM
To: Zhu, Ningchuan; Kronenfeld, Daniel A; Millar, McKenzie; Wyngowski, Seth A
Cc: Keshap, Atul; McGifford, Katherine M
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Assistant Secretary Desai Biswal w/ Tamil American Peace Initiative and USTPAC- April 28 or 29

Dear Atul – B5

Thank you! Heather

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Zhu, Ningchuan
Sent: Monday, April 14, 2014 7:15 PM
To: Variava, Heather C; Kronenfeld, Daniel A; Millar, McKenzie; Wyngowski, Seth A
Cc: Keshap, Atul; McGifford, Katherine M
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Assistant Secretary Desai Biswal w/ Tamil American Peace Initiative and USTPAC- April 28 or 29

NSB colleagues: Thanks! B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, April 14, 2014 2:39 PM
To: Zhu, Ningchuan
Cc: Biswal, Nisha
Subject: Mtg Request for Assistant Secretary Desai Biswal w/ Tamil American Peace Initiative and USTPAC- April 28 or 29

Hi Ningchuan,
I hope you're well and enjoyed your weekend. I wanted to reach out on behalf of my client, the Tamil American Peace Initiative (TAPI) and USTPAC, to request a meeting with Assistant Secretary Desai Biswal for either April 28th or 29th.
The executive committees of TAPI and USTPAC would like introduce themselves and establish a line of communication between the Tamil diaspora organizations here in the US and the new Assistant Secretary, especially given her recent trip to Sri Lanka. They regularly met with Assistant Secretary Blake before his

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departure and would like to start a dialogue. They would also like to thank the Assistant Secretary and the State Department for their work on behalf of the UNHRC resolution and it's successful passage two weeks ago in Geneva, and to discuss how they can help support the implementation of the investigations at the UN.

The organizations have been working very closely with the House and Senate on two resolutions currently before both chambers and they worked to establish the Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedoms in Sri Lanka last year. We would like to know how we can best support any efforts at the State Department going forward and how we can generally work together.

We appreciate your kind attention and consideration of this request. We have several members who will be traveling from out of town, so we'll look forward to meeting with you, hopefully on April 28 or 29. Please let me know, at your earliest convenience, if there is a time that works best with the Assistant Secretary's schedule.

Best regards,

Jessica

Jessica Lawrence-Vaca | Vice President

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5216 (d) [redacted] (c) | jlawrence@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From:	Kausner, Gregory M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KAUSNER, GREGORY M01F>
Sent:	Wednesday, July 16, 2014 3:50 PM
To:	Riley Moore <riley.moore@podestagroup.com>
Subject:	RE: Iraq follow-up

Thanks, Riley. I'll of course be happy to meet with him.

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, July 16, 2014 3:47 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: Iraq follow-up

RELEASE IN PART B6

Greg,

They have been talked off the letter idea, but the Ambassador is going to request a meeting with you. I spoke with him and I think the rub here is that the Prime Minister's office asked if he is engaged on this. I think a meeting would certainly check the box on due diligence on the Ambassador's end.

The meeting request I think went in today.

Best,

Riley Moore | Vice President

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5217 (d) | [redacted] (c) | riley.moore@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Mull, Stephen D </o=SBUState/ou=VCIISNPM AG/cn=Recipients/cn=MullSD>
Sent: Tuesday, October 7, 2014 5:09 AM
To: 'Stephen Rademaker' <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Barlow, Warren P <BarlowWP@state.gov>; Warsaw Front Office <WarsawFrontOffice@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Coming to Warsaw

OK good.

RELEASE IN PART B6

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 07, 2014 10:55
To: Mull, Stephen D
Cc: Barlow, Warren P; Warsaw Front Office
Subject: Re: Coming to Warsaw

You're correct about my request. I haven't yet discussed this with the Textron folks (in fact, I don't even meet up with them here until this afternoon), so I was just asking in case they tell me they would like to see you too. Let's you and I meet tomorrow as planned, and if they tell me they also want to see you, I'll tell them to make a request along the lines you suggest. I look forward to meeting with you tomorrow.

Steve

On Oct 7, 2014, at 10:40 AM, "Mull, Stephen D" <MullSD@state.gov> wrote:

Steve, I'd understood your request was to meet with you. If you're requesting instead that I meet with the Textron group, please have them make a request with names, positions, interests etc. and we'll take a look.

The meeting would be at the Embassy, 29/31 al. Ujazdowskie in Warsaw.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 07, 2014 10:26
To: Mull, Stephen D
Cc: Hart, Patricia A
Subject: Re: Coming to Warsaw

Yes, that time is good for me. Should I plan to meet you at the embassy? Also, I'm sure the folks I'm traveling with from Textron would like to meet you as well. If they join me it will probably be a different meeting than if I come alone (more focused on Textron than broader issues). I'm happy to do it either way. Do you have A preference?

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Steve

On Oct 7, 2014, at 8:39 AM, "Mull, Stephen D" <MullSD@state.gov> wrote:

Hi Steve, would 1630 Wednesday 8 Oct work?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 07, 2014 06:22
To: Mull, Stephen D
Subject: Re: Coming to Warsaw

Steve--

I'm arriving in Warsaw later this morning, and joining later today a meeting Textron has set with your ODC folks. Are you around over the next three days to get together? Besides ODC today and Textron's briefing to the MoD tomorrow, the only other entry on my schedule right now is dinner with Radek tomorrow evening, so I can be pretty flexible with regard to timing. I hope we are able to reconnect while I'm in town.

Steve

From: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Date: Wednesday, October 1, 2014 6:18 PM
To: "mullsd@state.gov" <mullsd@state.gov>
Subject: Coming to Warsaw

Dear Steve,

Please accept my very belated congratulations on your appointment to Warsaw; really a much better place to land than ISN ever would have been.

I used to be a regular visitor to Warsaw back when I was the first (and still only, so far as I know) Washington lobbyist for Poland. But it now turns out that I have two trips there next month.

The first is next week, when I will accompany a team from Textron that is coming to brief MoD experts on Textron's Sensor Fuzed Weapon (SFW), an air-delivered anti-armor area weapon originally designed to help hold the Fulda Gap in the event of World War III. The SFW went out of fashion for a while, but its virtues have recently been rediscovered, both by the US Air Force and by some of our NATO allies. Working with some of my Polish contacts I helped arrange the briefing for Textron, so they asked me to sit in on it. We will be meeting with the ODC next Tuesday afternoon in preparation for the briefing, and will actually present it to the MoD on Wednesday. If you are going to be around next week, I would welcome a chance to drop by to see you. I'll be in Warsaw next Tuesday through Thursday.

My second visit to Warsaw will be Oct. 25-27. I'm coming for the opening of the new Jewish Museum that weekend. This is an important occasion in our family because my mother-in-law is a major benefactor of the museum and she wants her children and grandchildren to be there to see what she helped bring into being. If

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we cannot meet next week it might be possible to meet during my second visit, though I will be more constrained due to family obligations.

In any event, I hope we can get together in the near future.

Best wishes,

Steve

Stephen Rademaker |Principal
Podesta Group| 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.448.5238 (d [redacted] (c)|srademaker@podestagroup.com |www.podestagroup.com B6

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From: Stout, Jennifer P </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=STOUTJP>
Sent: Friday, November 14, 2014 4:21 PM
To: 'Claudio Lilienfeld' <clilienfeld@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: You going to Delhi

Agree, it would be good to catch up. I saw Susan Greenwell a few weeks ago too after a long hiatus. She just moved to DC full time.

Hope all is well and have fun in India!

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, November 14, 2014 4:13 PM
To: Stout, Jennifer P
Subject: RE: You going to Delhi

Thanks for your note, Jennifer!

Perhaps we can get together over coffee sometime. It would be fun to catch up.

If I get a chance, I'll introduce myself to Rick.

Cheers,
Claudio

From: Stout, Jennifer P [mailto:StoutJP@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, November 14, 2014 4:11 PM
To: Claudio Lilienfeld
Subject: RE: You going to Delhi

Hi Claudio,

Great to hear from you! As much as I would like to go to India, I'll be staying behind while Rick goes for a quick trip. He'll be at the Tech Summit, so introduce yourself if you get the chance.

Hope to see you around this town soon!

Best,
Jennifer

Jennifer Park Stout
Chief of Staff
Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-9199
stoutjp@state.gov

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, November 14, 2014 3:05 PM

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To: Stout, Jennifer P
Subject: You going to Delhi

Dear Jennifer,

I just saw that your boss Richard Stengel will be in Delhi next week. I'll be there next week - attending the Tech Summit and the HTCG.

Will you be accompanying Stengel?

If so, I hope we have a chance to cross paths! Let me know if I can be a resource for you, too.

I'm staying at the Hyatt Regency in Delhi.

Hope all is well with you!

Cheers,
Claudio

CLAUDIO LILIENFELD PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9343 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Loyet, Cynthia J <LoyetCJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, November 24, 2014 2:27 PM
To: Sewall, Sarah <SewallS@state.gov>
Cc: Lapenn, Jessica <LapennJ@state.gov>; Loyet, Cynthia J <LoyetCJ@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Reaching out to Sarah Sewall

Sarah: FYI! I know you didn't want to meet with him back in March, and suspect it is still the case. He was a bit difficult over the phone so I asked him to send an email. I let him know that you had received this message. Let me know if you want me to schedule anything. C-

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [mailto:clilienfeld@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, November 24, 2014 11:01 AM
To: Loyet, Cynthia J
Subject: RE: Reaching out to Sarah Sewall

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

Hi Cindy,

Per our phone call, below is the original email I sent in March.

I would very much like to catch up with Sarah, whether in her office, over coffee or whatever else might be possible.

Given her recent visit to India, it would give us even more to talk about (I happened to be in India last week, as well).

Regards and many thanks,
Claudio

PG
CLAUDIO LILIENFELD PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9343 / C [redacted] W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

From: Claudio Lilienfeld
Sent: Monday, March 31, 2014 1:38 PM
To: 'loyetcj@state.gov'
Subject: Reaching out to Sarah Sewall

Dear Cindy, thank you for forwarding the note below to Sarah.

Regards, Claudio

Dear Sarah,

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I know it has been ages, but I haven't forgotten my enjoyable days working with you in the Pentagon. I believe we may have had some contact after that, but the last time was a long time ago.

Congratulations to you for all that you have done in the interim, and particularly for your current position.

I have been holding off for some time to reach out to you, as you have a lot on your plate and likely a lot of people approaching you. But, I at last decided to reach out.

I have bounced around a bit since we last crossed paths. I left the humanitarian affairs office and found myself becoming a South Asia hand handling the new India relationship and the post 9/11 Af/Pak world beginning in 1999 (through 2006 in OSD and then 2006-2010 at USTR – a fascinating and edifying jump from defense to trade policy). I then spent 18 months handling the India/South Asia practice at McLarty Associates, left to go work for a client (Google – covering Asia policy, writ large) and then left Google and joined the Podesta Group last summer (focusing significantly on India, but also on defense and trade issues).

My son is a freshman in college – and I have a feeling your kids are nearing that point, too. Lastly, my tenure working with you left one particularly indelible impression and that was when you and Wendy Chamberlin conspired to have me travel to Laos (and the rest of the region). I have had the pleasure of frequently crossing paths with Wendy over the years – including during her stint in Pakistan.

I would love to get together to catch up with you one of these days if your schedule allows.

Warm regards,
Claudio

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From:	Sherman, Wendy R </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SHERMANWR>
Sent:	Friday, February 27, 2015 3:08 PM
To:	'David Adams' <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Subject:	RE: Good speech this morning

Thanks Dave. SO thoughtful of you to write. Hope all is well with you!

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, February 27, 2015 12:10 PM
To: Sherman, Wendy R
Subject: Good speech this morning

RELEASE IN PART B6

Hope you are well. Good luck on Iran. Best, Dave

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Stout, Jennifer P </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=STOUTJP>
Sent: Thursday, March 12, 2015 9:01 PM
To: 'David Adams' <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Congratulations!

Thanks Dave. Gigantic shoes to fill. Hope life is treating you well!

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From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 12, 2015 5:59 PM
To: Stout, Jennifer P
Subject: Congratulations!

I hear you've become deputy chief of staff for S! Congratulations! Hope things are going well for you. Best, Dave

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From: Loosli, Phillip L <LoosliPL@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 4:21 PM
To: Zafar, Shaarik H <ZafarSH@state.gov>; Carouso, James A <CarousoJA@state.gov>
Cc: Sheikh, Albar A <SheikhAA@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Introduction

Andrew is here in Scot's office

Phill Loosli
U.S. Department of State
Brunei and Singapore Desk Officer
LoosliPL@state.gov
202-320-6630

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Zafar, Shaarik H
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 12:28
To: Carouso, James A; Loosli, Phillip L
Cc: Sheikh, Albar A
Subject: RE: Introduction

Take a look at the revised slide for E please

From: Carouso, James A
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 10:59 AM
To: Loosli, Phillip L; Zafar, Shaarik H
Subject: RE: Introduction

My last day in Scot's office. How about we meet there?

From: Loosli, Phillip L
Sent: Friday, April 24, 2015 10:58 AM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H
Subject: RE: Introduction

I can escort Andrew in. Where shall we meet?

Shaarik: are you planning on joining for this? I can't join you for your E briefing, but Jim might.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Carouso, James A
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 2015 3:43 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

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Thanks.

From: Andrew Kauders [mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 2015 3:34 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Sure thing.

From: Carouso, James A [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:CarousoJA@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, April 23, 2015 3:31 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Can you make it 3:15 instead, Andrew? Sorry.
Jim

From: Andrew Kauders [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:22 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Sounds good. Thanks, Jim.

From: Carouso, James A [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:CarousoJA@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:20 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Great, Andrew. We will pick you up at the C Street entrance.

From: Andrew Kauders [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:13 PM
To: Carouso, James A; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Jim:

That should work. A little earlier might be better, but I can make 3:30 p.m. work.

Thanks,

Andrew

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From: Carouso, James A [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:CarousoJA@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 4:03 PM
To: Andrew Kauders; Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L
Subject: RE: Introduction

Andrew;

Any chance Shaarik, Phill and I could meet you here at State 3:30 this Friday?

Best,
Jim

James Carouso
Director
Office of Maritime Southeast Asia Affairs
U.S. Department of State
CarousoJA@state.gov
202-647-2143
Follow us on Twitter @USAsiaPacific:



From: Andrew Kauders [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:AKauders@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 3:39 PM
To: Zafar, Shaarik H; Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Loosli, Phillip L; Carouso, James A
Subject: RE: Introduction

Thanks, Shaarik:

Hope you're doing well.

Would be happy to meet prior to your trip. Just emailed both Phill and Jim as well, following an email intro by Claudio.

Best,

Andrew

From: Zafar, Shaarik H [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?

url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?
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url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?
url=mailto:ZafarSH@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 3:25 PM
To: Claudio Lilienfeld
Cc: Andrew Kauders; Loosli, Phillip L; Carouso, James A
Subject: RE: Introduction

Dear Claudio,

It was great seeing you earlier this week. I actually met Andrew a couple of years ago, when I was leaving the National Security Council. Andrew, it would be great to touch base again and specifically with respect to Brunei. I am including Phil Loosli from our Singapore/Brunei desk and Jim Carouso who is the Office Director for East Asia Maritime States.

I'm headed to Jakarta on Saturday, but can make time to meet before then if that is doable.

Warmly,

Shaarik

Shaarik H. Zafar (Shah-Rik 'Zuh-Fer)
Special Representative to Muslim Communities
U.S. Department of State
HST 7325
ZafarSH@state.gov
(202) 736-7883

Hear my name

From: Claudio Lilienfeld [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?
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url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?
url=mailto:clilienfeld@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 22, 2015 3:02 PM
To: Zafar, Shaarik H
Cc: Andrew Kauders
Subject: Introduction

Dear Shaarik,

Thank you so much for the conversation on Monday afternoon. Great to catch up with you and Phil and to meet

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the others who you gathered.

As we discussed, I will be departing the Podesta Group as of May 1 and I am hereby introducing you to my close colleague Andrew Kauders who is Podesta Group's lead for our Dorchester Collection client – and all that implies in terms of interest in Brunei and US-Brunei relations. Prior to his arrival at the Podesta Group, Andrew spent many years on the Hill, among other things as Senior Advisor to Senator Robert Menendez.

I hope you and Andrew can connect soon.

Warm regards,
Claudio

CLAUDIO LILIENFELD PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9343 / C [redacted] / W http://redirect.state.sbu/?
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From: Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, May 8, 2015 9:10 AM
To: 'Mark Tavlarides' <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Azerbaijan

Ditto

From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 08, 2015 8:14 AM
To: Blinken, Antony J
Subject: Re: Azerbaijan

RELEASE IN FULL

Tony,

Thanks for your reply. We have been persistent in advising Azerbaijan to change course on the issues you raised. We will continue to do so.

On a separate note, my brother Christopher enjoyed seeing you at one of the White House Corespondent Dinner brunch events.

Best,

Mark

Sent from my iPhone

On May 7, 2015, at 7:23 PM, Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov> wrote:

> Mark – thanks for your note. Hope all is well.
>
> Re. Azerbaijan, we've never had preconditions for engagement. The Secretary previously has reached out with a very positive approach and light touch. They have continued to prosecute critics, freeze the funds of or expel organizations linked to the US (not just human rights groups but everything from IREX to the Peace Corps), and, most recently, launch vitriolic public attacks on the US, including the Secretary, with Putin-playbook false accusations of trying to foment a color revolution. In response we have taken no actions -- just occasional statements - while continuing to reach out. Assistant Secretary Nuland called the FM yesterday, and our ambassador went in to see the National Security Advisor today, to say that we don't see doing the Democracy and Civil Society dialogue next week in this environment, as had been discussed. Our tolerance level is pretty high, but they have exceeded it for right now. So I would urge you to tell your clients how badly, and unnecessarily, they are messing this up. tony
>
> **From:** Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
> **Sent:** Thursday, May 07, 2015 8:09 AM
> **To:** Blinken, Antony J
> **Subject:** Azerbaijan

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Dear Tony,

Hope you are well. We represent Azerbaijan.

As you know the country is an important partner of the United States on counterterrorism cooperation. Azerbaijan provides critically important support to our mission in Afghanistan. The government allows U.S. military overflights of its territory to Afghanistan and permits non-lethal supplies to transit through the country to resupply coalition forces in Afghanistan.

As you also know, Azerbaijan has human rights challenges. The State Department has raised human rights issues both privately with Azerbaijan government officials and publicly in Department press briefings. Though well intended, this current approach on human rights isn't producing the results that we all want. The Azerbaijan government's response to such pressure is to hunker down, become even more inflexible, and ascribe sinister political motives to the US actions. As a result, the bilateral relationship is in a downward spiral which could eventually spill over into other areas of cooperation that are vitally important to the US.

Rather than continuing to pursue a policy that the Azeris perceive as fundamentally about pressuring them, I urge you to consider a different approach. Why not try engaging President of Azerbaijan at a very senior level without preconditions? The best person to do this would be the Vice President. You could use the engagement to reassure the government that the US is committed to a partnership with Azerbaijan and values the relationship. Such engagement could also include a discussion of human rights, with the clear implication that high level engagement will continue if their human rights performance improves, and it will end if it doesn't. I believe this strategy could yield a positive outcome.

I very much appreciate you consideration of my views and would like to hear your thoughts.

I would be more than happy to discuss this by phone as well.

Thanks,

Mark

<image001.jpg>
MARK TAVLARIDES PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5239 / C / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

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From: Keitt, Valerie P <KeittVP2@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 12:30 PM
To: Adiga, Mala <AdigaM@state.gov>; Prabhu, Radhika G <PrabhuRG@state.gov>
Cc: Williams, Ashley N <WilliamsAN@state.gov>; Norris, Ann M <NorrisAM@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Yes.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Adiga, Mala
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 11:37 AM
To: Prabhu, Radhika G
Cc: Williams, Ashley N; Norris, Ann M; Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Val – could you reach back out to the Jessica and provide her with a ½ hour window on Wed? Thanks.

From: Prabhu, Radhika G
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 11:32 AM
To: Adiga, Mala
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Mala,

The desk is fine with scheduling the meeting with Dr. Callaway to discuss SGBV in Sri Lanka. B5

We could invite DAS Keshap to join (Ambassador designate to Sri Lanka).

Best,
Radhika

From: Millar, McKenzie
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 11:20 AM
To: Prabhu, Radhika G; Taylor, Leslie B; Bassin, Ari S; Essman, Ryan
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

This is fine by us -

McKenzie

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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From: Prabhu, Radhika G
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 9:49 AM
To: Taylor, Leslie B; Bassin, Ari S; Millar, McKenzie; Essman, Ryan
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

All,

Do you know this group? Any thoughts re: Cathy taking this meeting.

[redacted] B5

[redacted] Thoughts appreciated!

Thanks,
Radhika

From: Adiga, Mala
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 9:21 AM
To: Keitt, Valerie P; Williams, Ashley N; Norris, Ann M
Cc: Prabhu, Radhika G
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Adding Radhika for a recommendation.

From: Keitt, Valerie P
Sent: Friday, May 15, 2015 5:25 PM
To: Adiga, Mala; Williams, Ashley N; Norris, Ann M
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Meeting request for Wednesday, May 20th.

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 15, 2015 5:05 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Valerie,
I hope you're well. I wanted to reach out to Ambassador Russell (and Ann Norris who is a friend and I can't seem to find her contact info) to let them know that Dr. Alison Callaway with Freedom from Torture UK, who has been documenting cases of sexual violence against Tamil women and men, will be here in DC next Wednesday to participate in a congressional caucus panel on the current human rights situation in Sri Lanka, post elections. Evidence Dr. Callaway collected was included in the UN Secretary General's report on conflict-related sexual violence that was delivered to the Security Council in March. I thought considering the Ambassador's work on Global Women's Issues that this would be on interest to her.

Would she (and Ann) have some time to meet with her on Wednesday the 20th while Dr. Callaway is in town? Please let me know if there are some times that work best with your schedule. Thanks, in advance, and look forward to meeting with you.

Best,
Jessica

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JESSICA LAWRENCE-VACA VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5216 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Landers, Linda S <LandersLS2@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 4:30 PM
To: Rosenberger, Laura M <RosenbergerLM@state.gov>; Sheils, Siobhan M <SheilsSM@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Cuba (Mtg w/R. Castro)

Hi, Siobhan, Laura, do I need to do anything on this? It's regarding Ken Miller traveling to Cuba and seeking appt w. Raul Castro.

Thanks,
Linda

Linda S. Landers
Office of the Deputy Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State, Room 7220
Tel: 202-647-8636
E-Mail: LandersLS2@state.gov

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Landers, Linda S
Sent: Wednesday, May 13, 2015 2:47 PM
To: Rosenberger, Laura M; Sheils, Siobhan M
Subject: FW: Cuba (Mtg w/R. Castro)

FYI, this was sent to Tony (the first portion of this chain).

Best,
Linda

Linda S. Landers
Office of the Deputy Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State, Room 7220
Tel: 202-647-8636
E-Mail: LandersLS2@state.gov

From: Shannon Nacey [redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, May 13, 2015 2:32 PM
To: Landers, Linda S
Subject: FW: Cuba

Hello Linda,

Ken Miller sent the below email to the Deputy Secretary's personal email address earlier this week as we don't have his State email on file. I'm hoping that you can forward the below ask to the Deputy Secretary on our behalf. Ken is friendly with the Deputy Secretary as well as his wife, Evan. For your reference, I received your name and email from Kathy in Jim Sternberg's office , with whom Ken also has a longstanding relationship.

Thank you in advance for your help.

Best,

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Shannon



Shannon Nacey
COO Ken Miller Capital
601 Lexington Ave, 45th Floor
New York, NY 10022
O: (212) 886-9396
M [redacted] B6
F: (212) 886-9399
[redacted] B6

From: Ken Miller [redacted] B6
Date: May 11, 2015 at 12:55:21 PM EDT
To: "ABlinken[redacted] B6
Cc: Shannon Nacey [redacted] B6
Subject: Cuba

Tony-

I am going to be in Cuba from May 21-26 with two highly regarded and extremely well-connected individuals, both Washington insiders, one in politics, the other in national security. We are there with a group from the Bronx Museum to meet with figures in the contemporary art world in conjunction with the Biennale, but we would like to meet with Raul Castro, or, if necessary, his designee while we are there, to discuss how we can help the President build on the momentum you have already achieved in fostering better Cuban-U.S. relations.

I thought that you might give us a push in the right direction.

Below I paste a more fulsome description of those who would attend.

Ken Miller, the former Vice Chairman of both Merrill Lynch and Credit Suisse is a successful merchant banker and Senior Advisor at Teneo Holdings http://www.teneoholdings.com/bios/ken-miller/ Ken has been active in the U.S. peace and civil rights movements throughout his life; his father-in-law Paul Sweezy met with President Fidel Castro right after the revolution and his sister-in-law Martha Sweezy was on the island as a participant in the Venceremos Brigade. Ken has led some of the most complex and interesting financings of the past decades.

Tony Podesta's http://www.podesta.com/talent/tony-podesta understanding of the American political system and his Washington D.C. know-how is second to

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

none. His brother John Podesta recently left the White House where he was a senior advisor to President Obama to run Hillary Clinton's campaign for the U.S. presidency.

Brian Dailey is an artist residing in Washington, D.C. In a prior career Brian served as a member of the professional staff on the Senate Armed Services Committee on Capitol Hill, and later in the White House as Executive Secretary of the National Space Council. After leaving the White House he became a senior executive and corporate officer of Lockheed Martin Corporation where, among other things, he was responsible for its Russia business operations. He has traveled more than 50 times to the former Soviet Union and Russia.

I would greatly appreciate any assistance you can provide in facilitating a meeting. Best, k

Ken Miller
Senior Advisor
601 Lexington Ave, 45th Floor
New York, NY 10022
O: (212) 886-9389
M: B6
F: (212) 886-9399
B6

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From: Shannon Nacey [redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, May 22, 2015 7:23 PM
To: Landers, Linda S <LandersLS2@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Cuba

Thank you so much, Linda. Same to you on weekend!

Sent from my iPhone

On May 22, 2015, at 4:19 PM, Landers, Linda S <LandersLS2@state.gov> wrote:

> Thank you, Shannon. I hope you have a wonderful weekend! Please feel free to be in touch in the future if you need anything. I have been away, so someone else was filling in for me, but I should be here otherwise.
>
> All the Best,
> Linda
>
> ***Linda S. Landers*** **RELEASE IN PART B6**
> ***Personal Assistant***
> ***Office of the Deputy Secretary of State***
> ***U.S. Department of State, Room 7220***
> *Tel: 202-647-8636*
> ***E-Mail:*** *LandersLS2@state.gov*
>
> **From:** Shannon Nacey [redacted] B6
> **Sent:** Friday, May 22, 2015 4:16 PM
> **To:** Landers, Linda S
> **Subject:** Re: Cuba
>
> Linda,
> Thank you for getting back. Yes, Tony emailed Ken directly.
> Best,
> Shannon
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> On May 22, 2015, at 12:49 PM, Landers, Linda S <LandersLS2@state.gov> wrote:
>
> > Dear Shannon,
> >
> > I'm sorry to be so late to be in touch, but the Deputy is on travel, so it took me a while.
> >
> > The Deputy needs to decline to engage on this request. I hope Ken understands, but it will not be possible.
> >
> > Thank you for your patience.
> >
> > Take care,

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Linda

Linda S. Landers
Personal Assistant
Office of the Deputy Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State, Room 7220
Tel: 202-647-8636
E-Mail: LandersLS2@state.gov

From: Shannon Nacey [redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, May 13, 2015 2:32 PM
To: Landers, Linda S
Subject: FW: Cuba

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Thank you in advance for your help.

Best,

Shannon

<image001.jpg>
Shannon Nacey
COO Ken Miller Capital
601 Lexington Ave, 45th Floor
New York, NY 10022
O: (212) 886-9396
M: [redacted] B6
F: (212) 886-9399
[redacted] B6

From: Ken Miller [redacted] B6
Date: May 11, 2015 at 12:55:21 PM EDT
To: "ABlinken [redacted] B6
Cc: Shannon Nacey [redacted] B6
Subject: Cuba

Tony-

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regarded and extremely well-connected individuals, both Washington insiders, one in politics, the other in national security. We are there with a group from the Bronx Museum to meet with figures in the contemporary art world in conjunction with the Biennale, but we would like to meet with Raul Castro, or, if necessary, his designee while we are there, to discuss how we can help the President build on the momentum you have already achieved in fostering better Cuban-U.S. relations.

I thought that you might give us a push in the right direction.

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Tony Podesta's http://www.podesta.com/talent/tony-podesta understanding of the American political system and his Washington D.C. know-how is second to none. His brother John Podesta recently left the White House where he was a senior advisor to President Obama to run Hillary Clinton's campaign for the U.S. presidency.

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I would greatly appreciate any assistance you can provide in facilitating a meeting.
Best, k

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Ken Miller
Senior Advisor

601 Lexington Ave, 45th Floor
New York, NY 10022
O: (212) 886-9389
M: B6
F: (212) 886-9399
B6

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Baker, Katherine M <BakerKM@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, June 1, 2015 10:57 AM
To: Jost, Aaron W <JostAW@state.gov>; Hamilton, Catherine E <HamiltonCE@state.gov>; Dearth, Anthony M <DearthAM@state.gov>; Kausner, Gregory M <KausnerGM@state.gov>; Handelman, Kenneth B <HandelmanKB@state.gov>
Cc: Miller, Michael F <Millermf@state.gov>; Marsh, Eric D <MarshED@state.gov>; Hardeman, Kate M <HardemanKM@state.gov>; Morimoto, Sho J <MorimotoSJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Follow-up conversation

Thanks Aaron [redacted] B5

Katherine

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Jost, Aaron W
Sent: Monday, June 01, 2015 10:45 AM
To: Baker, Katherine M; Hamilton, Catherine E; Dearth, Anthony M; Kausner, Gregory M; Handelman, Kenneth B
Cc: Miller, Michael F; Marsh, Eric D; Hardeman, Kate M; Morimoto, Sho J
Subject: RE: Follow-up conversation

I've included Katherine and Catherine in my email to DRL on this; [redacted] B5
[redacted] Will update the group as warranted.

Regards,
Aaron

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Baker, Katherine M
Sent: Monday, June 01, 2015 10:28 AM
To: Hamilton, Catherine E; Dearth, Anthony M; Jost, Aaron W; Kausner, Gregory M; Handelman, Kenneth B
Cc: Miller, Michael F; Marsh, Eric D; Hardeman, Kate M; Morimoto, Sho J
Subject: RE: Follow-up conversation

Aaron,

Any suggestions for a time for this meeting? Steve is out of the office this week, but WRA will be able to cover. I can attend or see if Stan is available if necessary.

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Katherine

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Hamilton, Catherine E
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 8:48 PM
To: Dearth, Anthony M; Jost, Aaron W; Kausner, Gregory M; Handelman, Kenneth B
Cc: Miller, Michael F; Marsh, Eric D; Hardeman, Kate M; Baker, Katherine M; Morimoto, Sho J
Subject: Re: Follow-up conversation

Headed to the Hill on Wednesday for the usual case briefing. Might be beneficial to meet before then.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Dearth, Anthony M
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 4:51 PM
To: Jost, Aaron W; Kausner, Gregory M; Handelman, Kenneth B
Cc: Miller, Michael F; Marsh, Eric D; Hardeman, Kate M; Baker, Katherine M; Morimoto, Sho J; Hamilton, Catherine E
Subject: RE: Follow-up conversation

Aaron,

DDTC can join but not me as I will be in Israel. This is a Division 3 case so recommend involvement of Catherine Hamilton.

V/R, Tony

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Jost, Aaron W
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 4:49 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M; Handelman, Kenneth B
Cc: Miller, Michael F; Dearth, Anthony M; Marsh, Eric D; Hardeman, Kate M; Baker, Katherine M; Morimoto, Sho J
Subject: FW: Follow-up conversation

All- [redacted] B5

[redacted]

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

B5

Regards,
Aaron

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Marsh, Eric D
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 4:15 PM
To: Jost, Aaron W
Subject: RE: Follow-up conversation

B5

Eric

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Jost, Aaron W
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 3:42 PM
To: Marsh, Eric D
Subject: RE: Follow-up conversation

B5

Regards,
Aaron

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Jost, Aaron W
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 3:42 PM
To: Marsh, Eric D
Subject: FW: Follow-up conversation

B5

Regards,
Aaron

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Dearth, Anthony M
Sent: Friday, May 29, 2015 3:20 PM
To: Handelman, Kenneth B; Kausner, Gregory M
Cc: Miller, Michael F; Jost, Aaron W
Subject: FW: Follow-up conversation

B5

V/R, Tony

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 28, 2015 2:13 PM
To: Dearth, Anthony M
Subject: RE: Follow-up conversation

Tony,

Following-up on the below. You may not be in the office this week. Is there any news on the case being noticed to the hill for tiered review?

Thanks,

Riley

From: Riley Moore
Sent: Wednesday, May 27, 2015 2:44 PM
To: 'Dearth, Anthony M'
Subject: Follow-up conversation

Tony,

I wanted to follow-up with you by phone today if possible from last week. If you are booked up do you have any time later in the week?

RILEY MOORE VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5217 / C / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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From: Gilmore, Brennan M <Gilmorebm@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2015 5:32 PM
To: Perriello, Thomas <PerrielloT@state.gov>; Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Yes, I think it's fine.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Perriello, Thomas
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2015 1:40 PM
To: Gilmore, Brennan M; Wadhams, Caroline
Subject: Fw: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

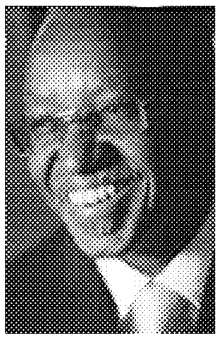
B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2015 11:42 AM
To: Perriello, Thomas
Subject: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Tom – I hope this note finds you well and enjoying your new post. If you'll recall we met when you were heading up the QDDR effort at State and were gracious enough to meet with one of my clients, Global Strategies. I'm writing because we represent Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo, the former central bank governor of the DRC. He will be in Washington from September 17-October 10 and I'm wondering if you'd have time to see him while he's here? He is exploring deepening his business engagement in the US, and encouraging more US-DRC economic ties. He keeps his distance from the government, so you would get an interesting perspective on current and future developments in the country, including the political situation, which I'm sure you are following. Mr. Masangu's bio is pasted below. Let me know what you think. Best, Dave

Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo



An author, economist and consultant, Jean-Claude Masangu Mulango is the former chief of the Banque Centrale du Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo's Central Bank. Mr. Masangu led the bank for 16 years, ending in 2013, serving under former president Laurent Kabila and current president Joseph Kabila. In this role, he helped to end hyperinflation and introduce a new national currency, the Congolese franc, while also focusing on microeconomic principles to better serve and empower the country's rural poor.

Mr. Masangu is a member of the American Chamber of Commerce in the DRC and, in an effort to develop US-Congo trade relations, seeks business opportunities as a consultant

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and a potential partner related to financial inclusion for women, senior citizens and the disabled. He is also active in other development issues and in attracting foreign direct investment to the DRC.

Prior to his time at the Central Bank, Mr. Masangu served as CEO of Citigroup in Kinshasa, the Congolese capital. As chairman of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Group of 24 (G24) between 2007 and 2008, he worked with then-IMF Managing Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn on international financial reform. He has also chaired the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Association of African Central Banks (AACB) and the Economic Community of Central African States' (ECCAS) sub-regional committee on central banks. In addition, Mr. Masangu served as an independent non-executive director of Katanga Mining Ltd. from 2006 to 2008.

The son of Jacques Masangu-a-Mwanza, former Congolese ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. Masangu is the author of several publications, including *A Governor's Word*, an encyclopedia published this year that details his time at the Central Bank; *Why I Believe in Africa's Progress*, a book published in 2009 in France that traces his career and his vision for Africa; and the 2004 book, *A Contribution to the Congolese Financial System Stabilization*. He holds an MBA from Louisiana State University, a BS from Massachusetts's Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and a BA from the International School of Geneva in Switzerland.

PG **DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL**
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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From: Shapiro, Jeremy </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SHAPIROJ>
Sent: Tuesday, January 31, 2012 4:08 PM
To: 'Rebecca Moore' <rmoore@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Dinner Honoring Mayor Basha Hosted by Heather & Tony Podesta - REMINDER

I'm sorry for the last minute, but work duties are keeping me here late night and I will not be able to attend. Please convey my regrets and apologies to Heather and Tony.
Thanks,
Jeremy

From: Rebecca Moore [mailto:rmoore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 31, 2012 10:07 AM
To: Undisclosed recipients
Subject: Dinner Honoring Mayor Basha Hosted by Heather & Tony Podesta - REMINDER

Hello –

Heather & Tony Podesta along with Mayor Basha look forward to seeing you for dinner tonight at 7p at the Podesta residence, [redacted] B6

Please let me know if you have any dietary restrictions.

RELEASE IN PART B6

Best,
Becky

Rebecca Moore | Scheduler to Tony Podesta

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9312 (d) | [redacted] (c) | rmoore@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From: Meehan, Bernadette M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=BAGHDAD AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=MEEHANB>
Sent: Tuesday, April 3, 2012 3:31 PM
To: Brafman, Wendy S <BrafmanWS@state.gov>
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants <S_SpecialAssistants@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Latest schedule -- Prime Minister Thaci

Perfect – thanks! I'll use this for her book.

From: Brafman, Wendy S
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 3:27 PM
To: Meehan, Bernadette M
Subject: FW: Latest schedule -- Prime Minister Thaci

RELEASE IN PART B6

Hi Bernadette - This is what I have so far. A wreath laying ceremony at Arlington National Cemetery has also been requested (this morning).

Wendy

Wendy Brafman
Kosovo Desk Officer
HST Rm 5221
Office: (202) 736-7012
Cell: [redacted] B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Andrew Kauders [mailto:AKauders@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 11:33 AM
To: Jetish Jashari; Heroina Telaku; Edi Sejdiu; [redacted] Iulipllana [redacted] Gjeneza Budima [redacted] B6
Cc: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca; Rebecca Edgar; John Anderson; Cathy Rought; Kevin Griffis; Kenneth Zoeller; Stephen Rademaker; [redacted] Brafman, Wendy S; [redacted] B6
Subject: Latest schedule -- Prime Minister Thaci

Attached and in text format below, please find the latest schedule. Note a few changes in red (including additional interview participants at the Mayflower and change of interview time with Jazeerah and time/location for VOA). Also, we have been asked to request a wreath laying ceremony at Arlington National Ceremony, which we are currently pursuing.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Andrew

TUESDAY, APRIL 3 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

17:45	*Arrival in* Washington, D.C.	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW 20036 POC Keith McClinsey 202-776-9159*

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:30 – 9:30	*Breakfast together with Podesta team Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel*
11:30 – 12:30	*Lunch meeting with Congressman Eliot Engel (D-NY) Kosovo Delegation:*	*TBC*	*Jason Steinbaum* (202) 226-8467	*TBC*
13:00 – 13:30	*Meeting with Congressman James Moran (D-VA) Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Gayle Reuter, Scheduler (202-225-4376)*	*2239 Rayburn House Office Building*
14:00 – 14:30	*Meeting with Secretary Clinton and Daniel Yohannes, CEO of the MCC Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*		*Department of State*
19:00 – 21:00	*Dinner with Secretary Albright Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Abbey Watson,* [redacted] *(202-370-3582)*	Albright Stonebridge – 1101 New York Avenue, Suite 900 – Washington, DC 20005

B6
B6

THURSDAY, APRIL 5 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:30 – 9:30	*Breakfast*	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel*
11:30 – 12:15	*Meeting with Vice President Biden Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Asel K. Roberts Office of the Chief of Protocol Telephone: 202-647-1664 Cell: 202-997-4936*	
13:00 – 13:15	*Interview with Al Jezeerah*	*YES*	*John Anderson – Podesta Group janderson@podesta.com*	*Mayflower Hotel*
14:00 – 15:00	*CSIS table: The Road Ahead for Kosovo: European Integration and Regional Dynamics*	*YES*	*Heather Conley – CSIS USSS contact:* [redacted]	*CSIS* - 1800 K Street NW – Washington, DC 2006
	Group interview/meeting with			

B6
B7(C)

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15:15 – 16:15	*New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal,* Foreign Policy Magazine, Bloomberg and CNN *(no camera)*	*YES*	*Cathy Rought – Podesta Group*	*Mayflower Hotel*
17:00 – 17:30	*Meeting with Elizabeth Littlefield, President and CEO of OPIC Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Rebecca Barnes* [redacted] *202-336-8406*	*1100 New York Avenue, 12th Floor*
20:00 -22:00	*Dinner at The Source Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Wendy Brafman, Kosovo Desk 202-320-4908*	*575 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington DC, District Of Columbia 20001*

B6

FRIDAY, APRIL 6 (WASHINGTON, DC)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:30 – 9:30	*Breakfast*	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel* - 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW – Washington, DC
9:00	*Mtg. w/ Abdullah Celik, Bank ASYA*	*YES*	*Becky Moore –Podesta Group*	*Mayflower Hotel* - 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW – Washington, DC
10:30	*Meeting with Commerce Secretary John Bryson*	*YES*		Commerce Department
12:00 – 12:30	*LIVE interview at VOA*	*YES*	Laura Konda Editor/Anchor VOA/ Albanian Service 202 382 5493 [redacted]	330 Independence Av. SW is the office (3rd floor)
12:45 (TBC)	*Interview with the Associated Press*	*YES*	*Cathy Rought – Podesta Group*	AP Offices - 1100 13th St. NW – Washington, DC
13:30 – 14:15	*Meeting for Minister Vlora Çitaku with Mike Scardaville, Director for European and Multilateral Affairs in DHS Office of International Affairs Kosovo Delegation:*	*YES*	*Wendy Brafman, Kosovo Desk 202-320-4908*	Department of Homeland Security HQ, 3801 Nebraska Avenue NW
3:30 – 4:15	*Meeting with OAS Secretary General Kosovo Delegation:*	*TBC*	*Embassy of Kosovo*	17th Street and Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

B6

SATURDAY, APRIL 7 (WASHINGTON, DC)				

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:30 – 9:30	*Breakfast*	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel*

SUNDAY, APRIL 8 (WASHINGTON, DC TO DENVER)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:30 – 9:30	*Breakfast*	*YES*		*Mayflower Hotel*
TBC	*Departure to Denver (or Saturday departure?)*			

MONDAY, APRIL 9 (DENVER)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
8:00 – 8:30	*Meeting or breakfast with Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper (Democrat)*	*TBC*	*Valerie Nosler, Office of Governor John Hickenlooper 303-866-6230*	*TBC*
9:00 – 11:00	*Breakfast followed by a reception with Denver political and business community*	*YES*		
11:15 – 12:00	*Presentation on major demographic trends in the Balkans*	*YES*		*Pardee Center for International Futures at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies*
12:00 – 13:00	*Guest lecture – University of Denver (PM, FM, Minister for European Integration)*	*YES*		
13:00 – 13:45	*Lunch*			
13:45	*Departure for Boulder, Colorado*			

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15:00 -16:00	*Guest lecture of Mrs. Vlora Çitaku at EU Center of Excellence*	*YES*		
TBC	*Departure to NYC*			

TUESDAY, APRIL 10 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
TBC	*Meeting with Mr. Ban Ki Moon, Secretary General of UN*			
11:30	*Interview with Carol Giacomo at the New York Times*	*YES*	*John Anderson,* janderson@podesta.com	229 W 43rd Street

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*

THURSDAY, APRIL 12 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

FRIDAY, APRIL 13 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*
10:30 (TBC – also offering Thursday at 15:30 in the Bronx)	*Meeting with Congressman Joe Crowley*	*TBC*	*Angela D. DenDekker, Office of Rep. Joe Crowley 718-779-1400*	*PM Hotel*

SATURDAY, APRIL 14 (NEW YORK CITY)				
Time	*Meeting*	*Confirmed*	*Contact Point*	*Location*

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Andrew Kauders | Principal

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From: Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent: Wednesday, May 9, 2012 5:32 PM
To: 'Frank Lowenstein' <flowenstein@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: call me!

Just tried you, but headed into more mtgs. tonight?

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 09, 2012 1:48 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: RE: call me!

Awesome baby – I'm sitting by the phone!

From: Feldman, Daniel F [mailto:FeldmanDF@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, May 09, 2012 1:42 PM
To: Frank Lowenstein
Subject: Re: call me!

RELEASE IN PART B6

Just out of a mtg. Will call in 5.

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 09, 2012 01:13 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: call me!

448-5212 – thanks!

Frank Lowenstein | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 900 East, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5212 (d) [redacted](c) | flowenstein@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent: Friday, June 8, 2012 12:45 PM
To: 'flowenstein@podesta.com'
Subject: Re: big daddy?!

B6

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2012 12:36 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: Re: big daddy?!

RELEASE IN PART B6

B6

From: Feldman, Daniel F [mailto:FeldmanDF@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2012 12:33 PM
To: Frank Lowenstein
Subject: Re: big daddy?!

Blumenfeld? If so, tell him to get to work ensuring that the crazy Rand Paul amdt doesn't pass! B6

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2012 12:28 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: Re: big daddy?!

And you deserve every penny! Actually heading to lunch w josh b at tonic -- call if u get a second!!

From: Feldman, Daniel F [mailto:FeldmanDF@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2012 12:22 PM
To: Frank Lowenstein
Subject: Re: big daddy?!

Believe me, I won't. B6

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2012 12:17 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: RE: big daddy?!

GOOD LUCK!
Def wanna talk before you do something I'LL regret! B6

From: Feldman, Daniel F [mailto:FeldmanDF@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2012 12:11 PM
To: Frank Lowenstein
Subject: Re: big daddy?!

Thx, man. Will ping you later. . We need to talk. B6

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From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2012 11:25 AM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: RE: big daddy?!

Thinking about you dude!!

From: Feldman, Daniel F [mailto:FeldmanDF@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, June 07, 2012 7:02 PM
To: Frank Lowenstein
Subject: RE: big daddy?!

Tmw!!! 1:30. Will call.

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, June 07, 2012 4:13 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: big daddy?!

When is the big day?? Thinking about you man - [redacted] B6

Frank Lowenstein | Principal

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202.448.5212 (d) | [redacted] (c) | flowenstein@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From: Fried, Daniel </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FRIEDD>
Sent: Friday, June 15, 2012 4:01 PM
To: 'srademaker@podesta.com'
Cc: Johnson, Marquita L <JohnsonML5@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Kosovo Recognition

Yes

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, June 15, 2012 03:59 PM
To: Fried, Daniel
Subject: RE: Kosovo Recognition

Should I make an appointment to come in and see you then? RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Fried, Daniel [mailto:FriedD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, June 15, 2012 2:38 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker
Subject: Re: Kosovo Recognition

Sure, but am traveling. Perhaps next Friday.

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, June 15, 2012 10:34 AM
To: Fried, Daniel
Subject: RE: Kosovo Recognition

Dan—

When can we talk about key people we can contact in governments that haven't yet recognized them?

Steve

From: Fried, Daniel [mailto:FriedD@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, May 16, 2012 7:32 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker
Subject: RE: Kosovo Recognition

Steve –

Happy to help.

Dan

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 15, 2012 11:02 PM
To: Fried, Daniel
Subject: Kosovo Recognition

Dan—

It was a pleasure to see you again yesterday. I hope you enjoyed Nick's presentation on the NATO summit.

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As a follow-up to our discussion about Kosovo recognition, I am sending you two items. The first is a link to a report on FM Hoxhaj's recent visit to Bangkok: http://www.mfa-ks.net/?page=2,4,1229&offset=2. The Kosovars were very upbeat about this visit, which is reflected in the tone of this report.

The second is a link to the Wikipedia page on Kosovo recognition, which is the most up-to-date source of information I know: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_recognition_of_Kosovo. Brunei's recent recognition of Kosovo was reported here within hours after Brunei informed Kosovo of its decision, which suggests to me that the Kosovars do a good job attending to it. The list of countries that have recognized Kosovo (below) is drawn from the Wikipedia page.

As we discussed, the Albanians and I would be most grateful for any suggestions you may have about U.S. or foreign officials who I could contact in an effort to expand this list.

Best wishes,

Steve

	Country[12]	Date of recognition	Relevant international membership
1	Afghanistan[13]	18 February 2008	OIC member
2	Costa Rica[14]	18 February 2008[15]	
3	Albania[16]	18 February 2008, de jure since 21 October 1991[17]	NATO member OIC member
4	France[18]	18 February 2008	UNSC permanent member EU member NATO member
5	Senegal[19][20]	18 February 2008	OIC member
6	Turkey[21]	18 February 2008	NATO member OIC member
7	United Kingdom[22]	18 February 2008	UNSC permanent member EU member NATO member
8	United States[23]	18 February 2008	UNSC permanent member NATO member
9	Australia[24]	19 February 2008	
10	Latvia[25]	20 February 2008	EU member NATO member
11	Germany[26]	20 February 2008	EU member NATO member
12	Estonia[27]	21 February 2008	EU member NATO member
13	Italy[28]	21 February 2008	EU member NATO member
14	Denmark[29]	21 February 2008	EU member NATO member
15	Luxembourg[30]	21 February 2008	EU member NATO member
16	Peru[31]	22 February 2008	

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17	Belgium[32]	24 February 2008	EU member NATO member
18	Poland[33]	26 February 2008	EU member NATO member
19	Switzerland[34]	27 February 2008	
20	Austria[35]	28 February 2008	EU member
21	Ireland[36]	29 February 2008	EU member
22	Sweden[37]	4 March 2008	EU member
23	Netherlands[38]	4 March 2008	EU member NATO member
24	Iceland[39]	5 March 2008	NATO member
25	Slovenia[40]	5 March 2008	EU member President country of Council of the European Union at time of declaration NATO member
26	Finland[41]	7 March 2008	EU member
27	Japan[42]	18 March 2008	
28	Canada[43]	18 March 2008	NATO member
29	Monaco[44]	19 March 2008	
30	Hungary[45]	19 March 2008	EU member NATO member
31	Croatia[46]	19 March 2008	EU acceding state NATO member
32	Bulgaria[47][48]	20 March 2008	EU member NATO member
33	Liechtenstein[49]	25 March 2008	
34	South Korea[50]	28 March 2008	
35	Norway[51]	28 March 2008	NATO member
36	Marshall Islands[52]	17 April 2008	
37	Burkina Faso[53][54]	23 April 2008	OIC member
38	Nauru[55]	23 April 2008	
39	Lithuania[56]	6 May 2008	EU member NATO member
40	San Marino[57][58]	12 May 2008	
41	Czech Republic[59]	21 May 2008	EU member NATO member
42	Liberia[60]	30 May 2008	
43	Sierra Leone[61][62]	11 June 2008	OIC member
44	Colombia[63]	4 August 2008	
45	Belize[64]	7 August 2008	

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46	Malta[65]	22 August 2008	EU member
47	Samoa[66][67]	15 September 2008	
48	Portugal[68]	7 October 2008	EU member NATO member
49	Montenegro[69]	9 October 2008	
50	Macedonia[70]	9 October 2008	
51	United Arab Emirates[71]	14 October 2008	OIC member
52	Malaysia[72][73]	30 October 2008	OIC member
53	Federated States of Micronesia[74][75]	5 December 2008	
54	Panama[76]	16 January 2009	
55	Maldives[77]	19 February 2009	OIC member
56	Palau[78]	6 March 2009	
57	Gambia[79]	7 April 2009	OIC member
58	Saudi Arabia[80]	20 April 2009	OIC member
59	Comoros[81]	14 May 2009	OIC member
60	Bahrain[82]	19 May 2009	OIC member
61	Jordan[83]	7 July 2009	OIC member
62	Dominican Republic[84][85]	10 July 2009	
63	New Zealand[86]	9 November 2009	
64	Malawi[87]	14 December 2009	
65	Mauritania[88]	12 January 2010	OIC member
66	Swaziland[89][90]	12 April 2010	
67	Vanuatu[91]	28 April 2010	
68	Djibouti[92]	8 May 2010	OIC member
69	Somalia[93]	19 May 2010	OIC member
70	Honduras[94]	3 September 2010	
71	Kiribati[95][96]	21 October 2010	
72	Tuvalu[97]	18 November 2010	
73	Qatar[98]	7 January 2011	OIC member
74	Guinea-Bissau[99][100]	10 January 2011	OIC member
75	Oman[101][102]	4 February 2011	OIC member
76	Andorra[103]	8 June 2011	
77	Central African Republic[104][105]	22 July 2011	
78	Guinea[106][107]	12 August 2011	OIC member

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79	Niger[106][108]	15 August 2011	OIC member
80	Benin[109]	18 August 2011	OIC member
81	Saint Lucia[110]	19 August 2011	
82	Nigeria[111]	12 September 2011	OIC member
83	Gabon[112][113]	15 September 2011	OIC member
84	Côte d'Ivoire[114][115]	16 September 2011	OIC member
85	Kuwait[116]	11 October 2011	OIC member
86	Uganda[117][118]	5 December 2011	OIC member
87	Ghana[119][120]	23 January 2012	
88	Haiti[121]	10 February 2012	
89	São Tomé and Príncipe[122]	13 March 2012	
90	Brunei[123]	25 April 2012	OIC member

Stephen Rademaker | Principal

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From: Fried, Daniel </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FRIEDD>
Sent: Monday, July 23, 2012 5:12 PM
To: 'Stephen Rademaker' <srademaker@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: Countries

Two names:

- Sudanese Ambassador in Washington Dr. Emad Altohamy. B6
- Filipino Ambassador Jose Cuisia, Jr. (close to the President

More to follow.

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, July 23, 2012 3:19 PM
To: Fried, Daniel
Subject: RE: Countries

RELEASE IN PART B6

No problem. I'll chalk that up as a very compelling excuse.

From: Fried, Daniel [mailto:FriedD@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, July 23, 2012 3:17 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker
Subject: RE: Countries

That's my list as well. Forgive the delay. I spent a week in Iraq.

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, July 23, 2012 3:12 PM
To: Fried, Daniel
Subject: Countries

Dan—

I came out of our meeting a few weeks ago with the following list of countries:

Sudan
Tunisia
Morocco
Libya
Philippines
El Salvador
Uruguay

If you can share with me phone numbers or e-mail addresses for key contacts in any of these governments (or any others that occur to you), I would be most grateful.

Steve

Stephen Rademaker | Principal

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From: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, September 22, 2015 10:50 AM
To: Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Will do right away.

RELEASE IN PART B6

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Wadhams, Caroline
Sent: Tuesday, September 22, 2015 10:22 AM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Subject: Fwd: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Do you mind reaching out?

Begin forwarded message:

From: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Date: September 22, 2015 at 10:17:27 AM EDT
To: "Wadhams, Caroline" <WadhamsC@state.gov>, "Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E" <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Caroline – Just wanted to check in on this. Thanks again for your help. Best, Dave

From: Wadhams, Caroline [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:WadhamsC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 18, 2015 10:46 AM
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>; Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

David –

Thanks for reaching out. I am cc'ing Chichi to help us set this up. Next week may be best, as Tom is traveling soon to NY for UNGA and then the region.

Best,
Caroline

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 16, 2015 10:00 AM
To: Perriello, Thomas
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Tom – Great. Thanks.

Hi Caroline – look forward to hearing from you. Best, Dave

From: Perriello, Thomas [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?

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url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:PerrielloT@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2015 6:46 PM
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Dave,

Thanks for reaching out. I am asking Caroline (formerly QDDR and headed to this office) to be in tough about this.

Tom

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2015 11:36 AM
To: Perriello, Thomas
Subject: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Tom – I hope this note finds you well and enjoying your new post. If you'll recall we met when you were heading up the QDDR effort at State and were gracious enough to meet with one of my clients, Global Strategies. I'm writing because we represent Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo, the former central bank governor of the DRC. He will be in Washington from September 17-October 10 and I'm wondering if you'd have time to see him while he's here? He is exploring deepening his business engagement in the US, and encouraging more US-DRC economic ties. He keeps his distance from the government, so you would get an interesting perspective on current and future developments in the country, including the political situation, which I'm sure you are following. Mr. Masangu's bio is pasted below. Let me know what you think. Best, Dave

Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

An author, economist and consultant, Jean-Claude Masangu Mulango is the former chief of the Banque Centrale du Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo's Central Bank. Mr. Masangu led the bank for 16 years, ending in 2013, serving under former president Laurent Kabila and current president Joseph Kabila. In this role, he helped to end hyperinflation and introduce a new national currency, the Congolese franc, while also focusing on microeconomic principles to better serve and empower the country's rural poor.

Mr. Masangu is a member of the American Chamber of Commerce in the DRC and, in an effort to develop US-Congo trade relations, seeks business opportunities as a consultant and a potential partner related to financial inclusion for women, senior citizens and the disabled. He is also active in other development issues and in attracting foreign direct investment to the DRC.

Prior to his time at the Central Bank, Mr. Masangu served as CEO of Citigroup in Kinshasa, the Congolese capital. As chairman of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Group of 24 (G24) between 2007 and 2008, he worked with then-IMF Managing Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn on international financial reform. He has also chaired the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Association of African Central

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Banks (AACB) and the Economic Community of Central African States' (ECCAS) sub-regional committee on central banks. In addition, Mr. Masangu served as an independent non-executive director of Katanga Mining Ltd. from 2006 to 2008.

The son of Jacques Masangu-a-Mwanza, former Congolese ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. Masangu is the author of several publications, including *A Governor's Word*, an encyclopedia published this year that details his time at the Central Bank; *Why I Believe in Africa's Progress*, a book published in 2009 in France that traces his career and his vision for Africa; and the 2004 book, *A Contribution to the Congolese Financial System Stabilization*. He holds an MBA from Louisiana State University, a BS from Massachusetts's Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and a BA from the International School of Geneva in Switzerland.

cid:image003.jp

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From: Gottemoeller, Rose E </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=GOTTEMOELLERRE>
Sent: Friday, August 3, 2012 3:23 PM
To: 'Stephen Rademaker' <srademaker@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: HASC Testimony

Thanks Steve. I'll read them over the weekend and see what I think. I would love to get together for lunch, no matter what we discuss. Will be in touch next week to schedule. Thanks much. RG

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, August 03, 2012 3:10 PM
To: Gottemoeller, Rose E
Subject: HASC Testimony

RELEASE IN PART B6

Dear Rose,

Thank you again for your efforts on behalf of Textron. They are deeply appreciated by everyone I've been working with at the company.

As promised, I am forwarding to you the prepared testimony that I delivered on Wednesday before the HASC. Knowing that you are unlikely to agree with all of it, I am also attaching Tom Graham's statement, which I suspect you'll find more to your liking.

If you're interested in discussing these issues further over lunch, I would be happy to do so. But since this is now a hobby for me, while for you it remains a profession, I would certainly understand if you preferred to leave it at the office.

Best wishes,

Steve

Stephen Rademaker | Principal

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From: Erdberg, Leanne E </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=ERDBERG, LEANE E36C>
Sent: Tuesday, September 22, 2015 5:49 PM
To: Rosand, Eric A <RosandEA@state.gov>
Cc: Blake, Richmond P <BlakeRP@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Question regarding President Kenyatta's meeting

B5

Please excuse autocorrect - sent from iPhone

On Sep 22, 2015, at 5:35 PM, Rosand, Eric A <RosandEA@state.gov> wrote:

With Kenyatta? **RELEASE IN PART B5,B6**

From: Erdberg, Leanne E
Sent: Tuesday, September 22, 2015 5:35 PM
To: Blake, Richmond P
Cc: Rosand, Eric A
Subject: Re: Question regarding President Kenyatta's meeting

B5

Please excuse autocorrect - sent from iPhone

On Sep 22, 2015, at 5:06 PM, Blake, Richmond P <BlakeRP@state.gov> wrote:

Podesta Group advising the Kenyan government wants to know what Kenyatta can discuss with J. Do we want to share/flag issues in advance? Thanks.

From: Jordan Valdés [mailto:jvaldes@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 22, 2015 4:28 PM
To: Blake, Richmond P
Subject: Question regarding President Kenyatta's meeting

Hi, Richmond,

Hope you're having a good week and are ready for the next two week's events.

I'm reaching out regarding the U/S's meeting with President Kenyatta. The Kenyans have asked for my help in preparing for this meeting. I thought I'd touch base with you – if you have a moment to chat, please reach out soon, as I believe the meeting is in the next couple of days.

Thanks in advance for your help. If this question is better directed to one of your colleagues, please let me know that, as well.

Best,

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JORDAN VALDÉS VICE PRESIDENT
<image001.jpg> O 202.879.9379 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC
20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

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From: Logsdon, Kent D </O=SBUSTATE/OU=KIEV AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=LOGSDONKD>
Sent: Friday, August 31, 2012 4:41 PM
To: 'Molly McKew' <MMckew@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: NEW CONTACT INFO

I am :)

-----Original Message-----
From: Molly McKew [mailto:MMckew@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, August 31, 2012 4:40 PM
To: Logsdon, Kent D
Subject: Re: NEW CONTACT INFO

you should be SO GLAD you got out when you did

RELEASE IN PART B6

On Aug 31, 2012, at 4:36 PM, Logsdon, Kent D wrote:

Oh - that election thing. Good luck! We'll need lots of tales after it is all over. I can't even imagine... Safe travels. Kent.

-----Original Message-----
From: Molly McKew [mailto:MMckew@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, August 31, 2012 4:35 PM
To: Logsdon, Kent D
Cc:
Subject: Re: NEW CONTACT INFO

someone just told me that -- congrats! from my understanding of how things work over there, that's a huge position in terms of the "what comes after" :) i can say i knew you when!
i'll ping you for lunch when I am back in DC after the election.

On Aug 31, 2012, at 3:41 PM, Logsdon, Kent D wrote:

Hey - huge congrats! We clearly need to catch up over lunch. I changed jobs as well - now running the State Department's crisis management center. Good luck with all of our pals. Best, Kent.

-----Original Message-----
From: Molly McKew [mailto:MMckew@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, August 31, 2012 3:30 PM
To: Molly McKew
Cc: Me McKew;
Subject: NEW CONTACT INFO

B6

Dear State Department colleagues:
I just wanted to let you know that today is my last day with the Podesta Group, though I will continue my work on behalf of the Government of Georgia under my new affiliation (beginning as of September 1). I look

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forward to devoting more time to Georgia in the coming months, and will be spending more time on the ground out there - so hopefully I can help get you quicker and more accurate information on the elections and other issues.
It's been a pleasure working with you all, and I look forward to continuing this collaboration. You can reach me at the following contact info - and, as always, please do not hesitate to let me know if there is anything you need!
All the best,

Molly K McKew
US: +
Georgia:
skype:
(or feel free to contact me on my personal email --
)

B6

Molly McKew | International Specialist

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5228 (d) | 202.560.4824 (c) |
MMckew@podesta.com<mailto:MMckew@podesta.com> |
www.podestagroup.com<http://www.podestagroup.com>

PLEASE NOTE NEW ADDRESS

The information contained in this transmission is attorney privileged and/or confidential information intended for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited.

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From: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, October 1, 2015 11:20 AM
To: 'David Adams' <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Hruska, Jeanne O <HruskaJO@state.gov>; Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>; Gilmore, Brennan M <Gilmorebm@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

David,
Is there any info about you or Mr. Cantatore that S/E Perriello needs to know? If so, plse send it to me so I can attach it to Mr. Mulongo's bio.
Thanks again,

Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted
Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello

RELEASE IN PART B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 01, 2015 11:08 AM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Cc: Hruska, Jeanne O; Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M
Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Maria-Yes I will be with Jean-Claude. His adviser Mr. Corrado Cantatore will also accompany. Thanks. Dave

David S Adams

On Oct 1, 2015, at 11:05 AM, Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov> wrote:

> Hi David,
> Yes, meeting confirmed for Thurs, Oct 8 at 10:00 in the S/E's office in Navy Hill.
> Will you be accompanying Mr. Mulongo?
> Thanks again.
>
> *Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted*
> *Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello*
>
> This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
>
> **From:** David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
> **Sent:** Thursday, October 01, 2015 10:39 AM
> **To:** Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
> **Cc:** Hruska, Jeanne O; Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M
> **Subject:** Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo
>
> Hi Maria-Can we do Thursday October 8 at 10AM? Thanks. Dave
>
> David S Adams

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

On Oct 1, 2015, at 9:52 AM, Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov> wrote:

Good morning Dave,
We're very sorry but we will need to re-schedule this meeting. Special Envoy Perriello is in New York attending UNGA and he won't be back until Saturday afternoon.

We can schedule another meeting on Tuesday, Oct 6 at 10:00 or 15:00, or Thursday, Oct 8 at 09:00 or 10:00.

Please let me know what works best for Mr. Mulongo.
Thank you and we apologize for the inconvenience.

Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted
Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Sent: Wednesday, September 23, 2015 4:53 PM
To: 'David Adams'
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M; Hruska, Jeanne O
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Dave,
Thank you for confirming the meeting. Will you be accompanying Mr. Mulongo to the meeting? If so, please give your names to the guards at the gate on 23 and D Street, then walk straight uphill, and then downhill until you see the south building. I'll meet and greet you there.

You sent already Mr. Mulongo's bio. Please send me as well any other background information you think that S/E Perriello needs to read before the meeting.

Thank you,

Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted
Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello

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From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 23, 2015 4:45 PM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M; Hruska, Jeanne O
Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Maria -- Thank you for your note. Yes, that will be perfect. Do you need additional information from me for building clearance? Thanks. Dave

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 23, 2015 4:23 PM
To: David Adams
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M; Hruska, Jeanne O
Subject: FW: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Good afternoon David,
We can schedule this for Fri, Oct 2, at 10:00 am in S/E Perriello's office at Navy Hill – south building, suite 131.
Please let me know if this works for Mr. Mulongo.
Thanks,

Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted
Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 22, 2015 10:17 AM
To: Wadhams, Caroline; Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Caroline – Just wanted to check in on this. Thanks again for your help. Best, Dave

From: Wadhams, Caroline [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:WadhamsC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 18, 2015 10:46 AM
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>; Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

David –

Thanks for reaching out. I am cc'ing Chichi to help us set this up. Next week may be best, as Tom is traveling soon to NY for UNGA and then the region.

Best,
Caroline

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 16, 2015 10:00 AM

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

To: Perriello, Thomas
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Tom – Great. Thanks.

Hi Caroline – look forward to hearing from you. Best, Dave

From: Perriello, Thomas [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=

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September 17-October 10 and I'm wondering if you'd have time to see him while he's here? He is exploring deepening his business engagement in the US, and encouraging more US-DRC economic ties. He keeps his distance from the government, so you would get an interesting perspective on current and future developments in the country, including the political situation, which I'm sure you are following. Mr. Masangu's bio is pasted below. Let me know what you think. Best, Dave

Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

An author, economist and consultant, Jean-Claude Masangu Mulango is the former chief of the Banque Centrale du Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo's Central Bank. Mr. Masangu led the bank for 16 years, ending in 2013, serving under former president Laurent Kabila and current president Joseph Kabila. In this role, he helped to end hyperinflation and introduce a new national currency, the Congolese franc, while also focusing on microeconomic principles to better serve and empower the country's rural poor.

Mr. Masangu is a member of the American Chamber of Commerce in the DRC and, in an effort to develop US-Congo trade relations, seeks business opportunities as a consultant and a potential partner related to financial inclusion for women, senior citizens and the disabled. He is also active in other development issues and in attracting foreign direct investment to the DRC.

Prior to his time at the Central Bank, Mr. Masangu served as CEO of Citigroup in Kinshasa, the Congolese capital. As chairman of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Group of 24 (G24) between 2007 and 2008, he worked with then-IMF Managing Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn on international financial reform. He has also chaired the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Association of African Central Banks (AACB) and the Economic Community of Central African States' (ECCAS) sub-regional committee on central banks. In addition, Mr. Masangu served as an independent non-executive director of Katanga Mining Ltd. from 2006 to 2008.

The son of Jacques Masangu-a-Mwanza, former Congolese ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. Masangu is the author of several publications, including *A Governor's Word*, an encyclopedia published this year that details his time at the Central Bank; *Why I Believe in Africa's Progress*, a book published in 2009 in France that traces his career and his vision for Africa; and the 2004 book, *A Contribution to the Congolese Financial System Stabilization*. He holds an MBA from Louisiana State University, a BS from Massachusetts's Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and a BA from the International School of Geneva in Switzerland.

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, October 7, 2015 2:50 PM
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Gilmore, Brennan M <Gilmorebm@state.gov>; Hruska, Jeanne O <HruskaJO@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Understood. Let's schedule it for 2:00 pm then. Please be patient in case you need to wait to S/E Perriello for a couple of minutes. See you tomorrow at 2:00.
Thank you!

Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted
Office Manager to the U.S. Special Envoy for the African Great Lakes Region
Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov
(202) 776-8519

RELEASE IN PART B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 07, 2015 2:44 PM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Sorry. I misread that. We have a 3 PM in main State. Just want to ensure there is enough time for the meeting.

David S Adams

On Oct 7, 2015, at 2:29 PM, Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov> wrote:

> Thanks Dave. We don't want you guys waiting for S/E Perriello to come back from another meeting. Can we plse do it at 2:30, as I requested in my previous email?
> Thanks!!
>
> This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
>
> **From:** David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
> **Sent:** Wednesday, October 07, 2015 2:25 PM
> **To:** Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
> **Subject:** RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo
>
> Hi Maria – Yes, 2PM will work. Thanks. Dave
>
> **From:** Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov]
> **Sent:** Wednesday, October 07, 2015 2:20 PM
> **To:** David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
> **Subject:** RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo
>
> Thank you David.
>
> This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 07, 2015 2:18 PM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Cc: Hruska, Jeanne O; Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

HI Maria – Let me check and I'll come back to you. Thanks. Dave

---

From: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, October 07, 2015 2:09 PM
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Hruska, Jeanne O <HruskaJO@state.gov>; Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>; Gilmore, Brennan M <Gilmorebm@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo
Importance: High

Good afternoon David,
We're very sorry but we need to re-schedule this meeting.

Would Mr. Mulongo be available tomorrow at 2:30 to come to Navy Hill?

Our apologies for the inconvenience.

Thank you,

Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted
Office Manager to the U.S. Special Envoy for the African Great Lakes Region
Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov
(202) 776-8519

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From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 01, 2015 11:08 AM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Cc: Hruska, Jeanne O; Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M
Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Maria-Yes I will be with Jean-Claude. His adviser Mr. Corrado Cantatore will also accompany. Thanks. Dave

David S Adams

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> Hi David,
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> Thanks again.
>
> *Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted*
> *Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello*

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Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

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David S Adams

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> We can schedule another meeting on Tuesday, Oct 6 at 10:00 or 15:00, or Thursday, Oct 8 at 09:00 or 10:00.
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> *Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello*
>
> This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
> **Sent:** Wednesday, September 23, 2015 4:53 PM
> **To:** 'David Adams'
> **Cc:** Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M; Hruska, Jeanne O
> **Subject:** RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo
>
> Dave,
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> You sent already Mr. Mulongo's bio. Please send me as well any other background information you think that S/E Perriello needs to read before the meeting.
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>
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> *Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello*
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From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 23, 2015 4:45 PM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M; Hruska, Jeanne O
Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Maria -- Thank you for your note. Yes, that will be perfect. Do you need additional information from me for building clearance? Thanks. Dave

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From: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 23, 2015 4:23 PM
To: David Adams
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M; Hruska, Jeanne O
Subject: FW: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

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Please let me know if this works for Mr. Mulongo.
Thanks,

Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted
Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 22, 2015 10:17 AM
To: Wadhams, Caroline; Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

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From: Wadhams, Caroline [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

as Tom is traveling soon to NY for UNGA and then the region.

Best,
Caroline

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=

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Subject: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Tom – I hope this note finds you well and enjoying your new post. If you'll recall we met when you were heading up the QDDR effort at State and were gracious enough to meet with one of my clients, Global Strategies. I'm writing because we represent Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo, the former central bank governor of the DRC. He will be in Washington from September 17-October 10 and I'm wondering if you'd have time to see him while he's here? He is exploring deepening his business engagement in the US, and encouraging more US-DRC economic ties. He keeps his distance from the government, so you would get an interesting perspective on current and future developments in the country, including the political situation, which I'm sure you are following. Mr. Masangu's bio is pasted below. Let me know what you think. Best, Dave

Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

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Mr. Masangu is a member of the American Chamber of Commerce in the DRC and, in an effort to develop US-Congo trade relations, seeks business opportunities as a consultant and a potential partner related to financial inclusion for women, senior citizens and the disabled. He is also active in other development issues and in attracting foreign direct investment to the DRC.

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The son of Jacques Masangu-a-Mwanza, former Congolese ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. Masangu is the author of several publications, including *A Governor's Word*, an encyclopedia published this year that details his time at the Central Bank; *Why I Believe in Africa's Progress*, a book published in 2009 in France that traces his career and his vision for Africa; and the 2004 book, *A Contribution to the Congolese Financial System Stabilization*. He holds an MBA from Louisiana State University, a BS from Massachusetts's Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and a BA from the International School of Geneva in Switzerland.

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: ambefbagley [redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, November 8, 2012 8:28 AM
To: Tony Podesta <podesta@podesta.com>; Estrada, Stephen H (PACE) <estradash@state.gov>; Burns, Deborah M <burnsdx@state.gov>
Cc: Rebecca Edgar <REdgar@podesta.com>
Subject: Re: USDC Follow-up

Steve and Debbie,
Do you have a record of that? I think it was a former military guy.
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: Tony Podesta <podesta@podesta.com>
Date: Thu, 8 Nov 2012 08:24:30 -0500
To: 'ambefbagley [redacted] B6
Cc: Rebecca Edgar<REdgar@podesta.com>
Subject: Re: USDC Follow-up

Name of who was in mEeting with johnson

RELEASE IN PART B6

Tony Podesta
Office: 202-879-9300
Cell: [redacted]
Podesta@podesta.com
1001 G St. NW, Suite 1000 West
Washington, DC 20001

From: ambefbagley [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 08:07 AM
To: Tony Podesta
Subject: Re: USDC Follow-up

So can you talk to Jay Johnson? He promised Tom Nides that theyd do something but he hasn't returned my calls.

Thanks!
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: Tony Podesta <podesta@podesta.com>
Date: Wed, 7 Nov 2012 19:47:16 -0500
To: 'ambefbagley [redacted]>
Subject: Re: USDC Follow-up

Ceo is a she not a he
Waiting for name

Tony Podesta
Office: 202-879-9300
Cell: [redacted]
Podesta@podesta.com
1001 G St. NW, Suite 1000 West
Washington, DC 20001

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

B6

From: ambefbagley
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2012 07:00 PM
To: Tony Podesta
Subject: Re: USDC Follow-up

Thanks, Tony. We'll be in touch with Geoff and Greg right away.

Re Jay Johnson, I met with him a few months ago, then we sent him the proposal that John just sent you but. no response or call back. Tom Nides called him 2-3 weeks ago and Jay told him that GD would do something but when I called to follow up 7-10 days ago, he never called me back.

So this one's for you! It really can't wait until the new CEO comes, altho we can always go back to him with another ask after Jan 1. We need $9 mil in the bank now in order to have a groundbreaking ceremony in Dec or Jan before Hillary leaves.

Thanks again for your help!

All the best,

Elizabeth

PS What a great election night - even better than I expected!
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: Tony Podesta <podesta@podesta.com>
Date: Wed, 7 Nov 2012 15:57:53 -0500
To: ambefbagley >; johncaliste
Cc: Rebecca Edgar<REdgar@podesta.com>
Subject: USDC Follow-up

Elizabeth, John –

Here are a few updates. Will keep you posted as I know more on others.

BP – I have shared information with both Geoff Morrell and Greg Saunders and there is interest in a meeting. You should reach out to them directly and I would recommend, as a best approach, that you meet with them at the same time. Greg's email is and Geoff's is .

General Dynamics – I understand that your point of contact has been Jay Johnson. What is the level of engagement there? Have you sent him a letter that he hasn't responded to or have you met with him and he is considering? I can put you in touch now with Kendall Pease, Vice President of Government Affairs and Communications, or if it is possible to wait a few months, their incoming CEO who I have a strong relationship with, starts January 1 and may very well have an interest in this project. Please let me know where things stand with Jay Johnson and how you would like to handle GD going forward.

Best,
Tony

Tony Podesta
Office: 202-879-9300
Cell:
podesta@podesta.com
1001 G St. NW, Suite 1000 West

B6

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Washington, DC 20001

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From:	Kausner, Gregory M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KAUSNER, GREGORY M01F>
Sent:	Friday, October 23, 2015 2:07 PM
To:	Riley Moore <riley.moore@podestagroup.com>
Cc:	Cavey, David S <CaveyDS@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: say it aint so

That's great. Whatever works. If you wanna come to the building that's cool, Dave can make sure you're on the list.

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, October 23, 2015 2:02 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: RE: say it aint so

RELEASE IN PART B6

Perfect. Preference on location? I'll come your way.

From: Kausner, Gregory M [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:KausnerGM@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, October 23, 2015 2:00 PM
To: Riley Moore <riley.moore@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: say it aint so

Coffee at 3:30?

From: Riley Moore [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, October 23, 2015 1:41 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: RE: say it aint so

I'm free all day except 2-3. Does that work for you?

From: Kausner, Gregory M [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:KausnerGM@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, October 23, 2015 12:42 PM
To: Riley Moore <riley.moore@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: say it aint so

Riley,

That's really kind of you to say. I've enjoyed my time at State immensely, but while this came as a bit of a surprise, I'm proud to put the uniform back on. I will indeed come back to State when I return from my mobilization in Sep 2016.

It would be great to grab a coffee with you before I leave in Dec. Any white space next Tue afternoon?

GK

From: Riley Moore [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, October 23, 2015 10:07 AM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: say it aint so

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Greg,

I understand you are leaving State soon to deploy with the Navy (correct me if that's wrong). It's been great to work with you and I hope that we can work together again in the future.

I'll be disappointed if you aren't back here in DC afterward. The country needs more appointees like you. The wide consensus in industry is that we are losing one of the great politicals.

If I can ever be of any help, please let me know. Best of luck in your next endeavor. Please stay in touch.

Best,

RILEY MOORE VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5217 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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From: Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent: Thursday, November 8, 2012 10:58 AM
To: Nides, Thomas R <NidesTR@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Sec State Speculation

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 10:55 AM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: FW: Sec State Speculation

RELEASE IN PART B6

Here's the big let JK down easy leak…

From: Matt Baker
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2012 10:45 AM
To: Mark Tavlarides; Frank Lowenstein
Subject: FW: Sec State Speculation

Susan Rice Emerging as Top Candidate to Succeed Hillary Clinton

By Indira A.R. Lakshmanan and Flavia Krause-Jackson | November 08, 2012 12:01AM ET



Photographer: Spencer Platt/Getty Images
U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice in New York.

(Bloomberg) -- Susan Rice, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, is emerging as the favored candidate to succeed Hillary Clinton as secretary of state, even with the political controversy over her remarks about the fatal Sept. 11 attack on the American diplomatic mission in Benghazi, Libya.

Six current or former White House officials, who all spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss internal deliberations, said Rice remains close to President Barack Obama and shares many of his views on foreign policy. They emphasized that the president hasn't made a final decision, and Clinton may remain in her post for some months into Obama's second term.

Former White House Chief of Staff Bill Daley and other officials said Obama's first move will be choosing a successor to Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner. He also may need to find successors to Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper and U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk, the officials said.

Rice is thought to be the president's preferred choice over two other strong candidates, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Kerry of Massachusetts and National Security Adviser Tom Donilon, according to the current and former administration officials.

Rice, who also worked on the presidential campaigns of Kerry and former Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, is known for her

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strong personality and passionate defense of Obama's foreign policy at Security Council and inter-agency meetings.

Libyan Assistance

She was an advocate of U.S. aid to Libyan rebels who rose up against then-dictator Muammar Qaddafi, and her supporters say she helped win UN Security Council support for a resolution authorizing international intervention in Libya.

Her push for intervention, officials said, might in part have been a product of the failure of former President Bill Clinton's administration to intervene to halt genocide in the central African nation of Rwanda, when Rice was 30 and serving on the National Security Council staff.

Visiting Rwanda last year with her family after a surprise visit to Libya, she said, "Many of us heard strong echoes of 1994 when Muammar Qaddafi promised that he would root out the people of Benghazi."

Still, she also has argued that what worked in Libya couldn't be replicated in Syria, where her anti-interventionist line contrasted with Kerry, who looked more favorably upon the creation of humanitarian corridors.

Pugnacious Style

At the UN, her often pugnacious style has by turns been admired and derided, diplomats there say. Behind closed doors, they say, she pulls no punches and uses colorful language to get her points across.

She has clashed with Vitaly Churkin, her Russia counterpart, most pointedly over Syria. At times their exchanges got personal, such as last year when he publicly chided her for an unusual outburst and said Syria wasn't an issue that could be drowned by expletives.

Friction notwithstanding, she also helped obtain tough 2010 UN resolutions aimed at derailing Iran's suspected nuclear weapons program, which required protracted negotiations with Russian officials, and win UN membership for the new nation of South Sudan.

High Profile

Still, Rice's high profile and relationships with UN ambassadors from Europe, Russia and China are considered an asset, although she lacks Clinton's experience at retail politicking and her celebrity as a presidential candidate, a senator and a two-term first lady.

While several officials said Clinton would be a difficult act to follow, many in the White House regard Rice as the most recognizable successor and a reliable advocate for Obama's positions on Iran, Syria and other difficult issues.

A 47-year-old Stanford University graduate and former Rhodes Scholar, Rice would be the second African-American woman to serve as the top U.S. diplomat if she were nominated and confirmed by the Senate. She isn't related to Condoleezza Rice, who served in George W. Bush's administration.

Susan Rice, who was a National Security Council director and assistant secretary of state for African affairs under President Clinton, joined the Obama campaign in 2007 and helped run the foreign policy team advising the candidate.

Controversial Remarks

Two of the officials said Rice is much closer to Obama than Kerry or Donilon, so putting her at the State Department would ensure that the White House could maintain control over U.S. foreign policy.

Her Sept. 16 remarks on Sunday talk shows that the attack on the U.S. diplomatic mission in Benghazi, Libya, began as a peaceful protest that was "hijacked" by militants were considered a possible obstacle to Senate confirmation and an invitation to continued attacks on the administration's handling of the assault.

This week's elections relieved some -- though not all -- of those anxieties, said two of the officials. These officials observed that Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney dropped the issue during his third and final debate with Obama, and two prominent Republicans, former Secretary of State Rice and former Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, criticized some of the attacks on the administration over the issue.

In addition, said a third administration official, the investigations that are under way into the attacks may reveal that Rice's remarks were based on preliminary intelligence reports that were revised, and that the anti-Muslim video did play a role in inspiring the attacks.

To contact the reporters on this story: Indira A.R. Lakshmanan in Washington at ilakshmanan@bloomberg.net; Flavia Krause-Jackson

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in United Nations at fjackson@bloomberg.net

To contact the editor responsible for this story: John Walcott at jwalcott9@bloomberg.net

Kenneth Zoeller | Associate

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5237 (d) | [redacted] (c) | kzoeller@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From: Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 10:27 AM
To: 'Frank Lowenstein' <flowenstein@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: The Cable: Top Biden staffer leaving to work for Pepsi

Yes – [redacted] B6

[redacted]

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 10:16 AM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: Fw: The Cable: Top Biden staffer leaving to work for Pepsi

RELEASE IN PART B6

[redacted] My oldest friend is going to be posted to OECD next year, you gotta be there too baby! B6

From: Kenneth Zoeller
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 10:10 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker; Frank Lowenstein; Andrew Kauders; Javier Sancho; Mark Tavlarides; Josh Holly; Tim Glassco; Cristina Antelo; John Anderson; Kevin Griffis; Ben Chang; Jessica Lawrence-Vaca
Cc: Matt Baker; Robert Childers
Subject: The Cable: Top Biden staffer leaving to work for Pepsi

Top Biden staffer leaving to work for Pepsi

Posted By Josh Rogin ※ Wednesday, November 14, 2012 - 1:33 PM ※ Share



The office of Vice President **Joe Biden** announced today that his Deputy Chief of Staff **Alan Hoffman** will step down at the end of the month and take a top executive post at PepsiCo.

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"For more than a decade, Alan has been my trusted advisor," Biden said in a statement. "As chief of staff in my Senate office and deputy chief of staff in the White House, Alan has managed a diverse staff with tremendous leadership, keen intellect, and unwavering loyalty. From his commitment to strengthening our nation's law enforcement, to his tireless advocacy on behalf of the labor community and building a strong middle class, he has always set the highest standard for public service. Alan has my complete respect and admiration, and I'm deeply in his debt for his contributions. I wish Alan all the best. His wisdom, experience, and passion will be greatly missed."

Hoffman has been Biden's number two staffer since the beginning of the Obama administration, first under Chief of Staff **Ron Klein** and then under current Chief of Staff **Bruce Reed**, the former executive director of President **Barack Obama**'s commission on fiscal responsibility.

PepsiCo said in a press release that Hoffman will be their new vice president for global public policy and government affairs, effective Nov. 26.

"Alan is a proven leader who brings tremendous experience and expertise to PepsiCo," said **Larry Thompson**, executive vice president, government affairs, general counsel and corporate secretary of PepsiCo, in a release. "Alan is well-versed in a wide range of public policy issues and widely respected across all levels of government, and we look forward to benefiting from his leadership."

Hoffman served as chief of staff to Senator Biden from 1998 to 2003 and again from 2006 to 2008. He was also senior presidential campaign advisor and chief operating officer to Vice President Biden during the transition following the 2008 presidential election. Hoffman previously served as senior vice president for external relations for the University of California, as a partner at Timmons & Company, a Washington, D.C. government relations and consulting firm, and as vice president for external relations at the RAND Corporation. Earlier in his career, Hoffman served in the Clinton White House working on health policy issues and as an assistant U.S. Attorney in Philadelphia.

Biden's office said no replacement for Hoffman has yet been chosen.

Kenneth Zoeller | Associate

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From: Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 10:28 AM
To: 'Gayle Weiswasser' [redacted] B6
Subject: FW: The Cable: Top Biden staffer leaving to work for Pepsi

This guy.

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com] RELEASE IN PART B6
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 10:16 AM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: Fw: The Cable: Top Biden staffer leaving to work for Pepsi

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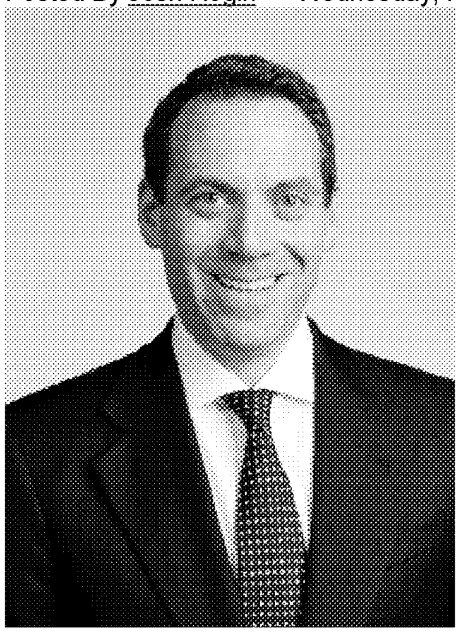
Top Biden staffer leaving to work for Pepsi

Posted By Josh Rogin ▪ Wednesday, November 14, 2012 - 1:33 PM ▪ Share



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enforcement, to his tireless advocacy on behalf of the labor community and building a strong middle class, he has always set the highest standard for public service. Alan has my complete respect and admiration, and I'm deeply in his debt for his contributions. I wish Alan all the best. His wisdom, experience, and passion will be greatly missed."

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Kenneth Zoeller | Associate

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From:	Mills, Cheryl D </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=MILLSCD>
Sent:	Tuesday, November 27, 2012 6:12 PM
To:	Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Daniel, Joshua J <DanielJJ@state.gov>
Cc:	Ballou-Aares, Daniella <Ballou-AaresD@state.gov>; Smith, Jeannemarie E <SmithJE3@state.gov>
Subject:	Fw: Bringing American Ingenuity to Int'l Development -- paper from lobby group for US development contractors
Attach:	CIDC Vision Paper.pdf

+ josh and jake

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Ballou-Aares, Daniella
Sent: Tuesday, November 27, 2012 06:05 PM
To: Smith, Jeannemarie E; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Bringing American Ingenuity to Int'l Development -- paper from lobby group for US development contractors

Cheryl and Jeanne,

Find attached the position paper from the lobby group formed by the US development contractors (e.g Chemonics, DAI, etc). B5

Let me know any questions/reactions. Best, Daniella

Daniella Ballou-Aares

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Senior Advisor for Development
U.S. Department of State
Ballou-AaresD@state.gov
202-647-2553 (office)
[redacted] (cell)

B6

From: Tim Kopper [mailto:TKopper@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 27, 2012 12:56 PM
To: Ballou-Aares, Daniella
Subject: ICYMI - CIDC Vision Paper: Bringing American Ingenuity to Int'l Development

Dear Friend:

We recently learned that a number of you did not receive CIDC's new Vision Paper sent on November 13, as it seems to have gotten stuck in your spam filters. I've attached it here in case you missed it, and apologize for the delay.

The vision paper is meant to serve as an 'open letter' to newly elected members of Congress, the Obama Administration, thought leaders, and other interested stakeholders in the foreign assistance arena.

It represents the collective thinking and experience of CIDC's 55 member companies – small, medium and large firms that work every day to support and promote U.S. interests abroad.

The paper poses and answers three fundamental questions: How do international development companies conceive development? What is the ideal role of the US government in promoting development? And what is our value as private development companies in helping the US government achieve its objectives?

Just as importantly, the paper reaffirms CIDC's strong support for the principles of *USAID Forward* and for any and all efforts to make US-led development assistance more effective and efficient – while simultaneously proposing some do's and don't's related to those objectives.

The goal of sustainable development is one we share with the entire development ecosystem, and one we help achieve. We look forward to contributing to the ongoing dialogue on how to get it right moving forward.

If you have any questions or comments, please contact Dave Marin at DMarin@PodestaGroup.com.

Thank you,
Tim

Tim Kopper | Legislative Assistant
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9384 (d) | [redacted] (c) | tkopper@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06593156 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

I. Overview

RELEASE IN FULL



International development companies support and advance America's efforts and goals abroad by bringing highly skilled, entrepreneurial assistance to developing countries, so they in turn can overcome complex challenges. We stand for maximizing competition in the execution of work performed using U.S. tax dollars. Building competitive free markets and robust, multi-stakeholder civil societies. Representing and sharing American values. Bringing small and medium enterprises into the marketplace. Improving people's lives.

International development companies also fully support the fundamental principles of *USAID Forward* and its focus on sustainable development, as embodied in the Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda.

This paper seeks to shift the focus of the "development discussion" from a preoccupation with who provides overseas technical assistance to a more constructive look at the expectations and aspirations of the developing countries that use these services. We need to start with what people want and need, and work back from there to decide what we are best positioned to provide and who should provide it.

At the same time, we seek to highlight the fundamental purpose of American foreign assistance—a miniscule piece of the total U.S. government budget, but a critical leverage point nonetheless. We believe U.S. bilateral assistance puts our country's best foot forward to advance democratic values and promote national influence and interests abroad. Our companies are proud to stand with our country as steadfast and proven partners in peace and in war.

The seemingly simple term "development" in truth lumps together programs with myriad, complex goals and processes affecting billions of people around the world. Smart development policy should leverage the best that America has to offer, regardless

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of whether it comes from nonprofits, large companies, small companies, universities, think tanks, or the public sector. *It's not about who, it's about how well.* The best resides in all of these places, often times working in tandem.

It is time to dispense with the false "binaries"—non-profit vs. for-profit, government vs. non-government—so that we can focus on our common purpose: effective development, which developing countries and their people have consistently defined as:

1. Self-sustaining, inclusive economic growth that creates opportunity and spreads prosperity;
2. A dynamic, transparent civil society; and,
3. A reasonably stable, benign, and predictable public sector.

Those are the goals. **But we need to be careful about confusing *goals* with *means*.** The implications are huge for programming and policy. Take the example of *sustainable development*. Sustainable development is a goal, not a means. In achieving that goal, there is no "one size fits all" approach.

In some cases, it will mean "country ownership"—that a country "owns" the money that is given for development assistance. Often, however, giving dollars to governments is not the same as providing assistance to the people the governments claim to represent. Where countries and national public and private institutions are proving themselves, and have the right capacity and systems in place, it may make sense for them to be primary implementers. They know their own countries best, and can be cost-effective agents of U.S. assistance.

But not all countries—and not all sectors within a country—are there yet. Lack of transparency, different standards of how "business is done," and varying practices of public financial accountability continue to hold back many of the countries that would benefit most from American assistance. **Often, cash isn't the key problem; capacity is.** Ultimately, we must transition to empowering those organizations and governments in their efforts to own their own destinies; this is what engenders sustainability.

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We believe development is what people, societies, and governments do for themselves, and America's ever-more-scarce foreign aid dollars must be targeted to help them get there. We believe weak, non-inclusive and corrupt social, economic, and political institutions are the major obstacles to development—and therefore we question the premise that *more* localization will necessarily result in *better* localization. We question policies that presuppose that local capacity is not built through the projects we help implement. And we are concerned about any fundamental shifts in U.S. development policy that threaten the advancement of U.S. national security and economic interests at home and abroad, and fear that any decrease in competition and accountability will further erode congressional and taxpayer support for foreign assistance in general.

II. Fundamental Questions

Defining CIDC's vision for effective, innovative international development requires addressing three fundamental questions:

1. How do we as international development companies conceive development?
2. What is the ideal role of the U.S. government in promoting development?
3. And what is our "value" as private development companies in helping the U.S. government achieve its objectives?



Defining Development

We believe development is the extension of greater prosperity, better health, education and well-being, access to justice, and more personal and political autonomy to more and more of the world's people.

Our companies bring to the table decades of experience on the front lines of development. We have painstakingly established local partnerships that

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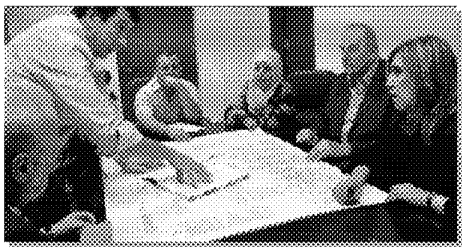
promote healthy institutions, identify and support host-country expertise, and help host-country governments develop effective, transparent, and inclusive systems to serve their citizens. We offer USAID an expandable, accountable, and profoundly committed surge capacity that knows how to develop genuine local institutions and talent. We are disciplined professionals working under rigorously accountable systems to deliver the dividends of stability, equity, and prosperity that materially advance U.S. interests abroad.

Developing countries and their people need results, not just advice. Most importantly, lasting, sustainable development occurs when countries, institutions, businesses and NGOs are able to address, manage and resolve their own problems—with their own resources. In this context, development is not about what we, the implementers, do. It is about how the U.S. government allocates foreign assistance funding to change the scale and trajectory of global poverty and inequality. **We exist to help the government do these things in the best way possible.**



Knowledge is Power: The U.S. Government's Role

We share with USAID and others in the development community a conviction that the U.S. has a strong interest in facilitating development, both as an end in itself—wholly in line with American values—and as a means to advance American interests. We believe that a properly conceived and executed foreign assistance program can catalyze and channel the forces of development in ways that help achieve U.S. objectives.

In this world of enormous capital movements, a world where the vast majority of U.S. resources flowing to the developing world are private, how is U.S.-funded international development and its relatively small budget best leveraged?

First and foremost, we believe the U.S. Government should capitalize on its greatest strength—*knowledge transfer*—rather than its greatest liability and least proven approach—*cash transfer*. Given that official development assistance is a mere fraction of the funds flowing to developing economies, cash disbursements amount to a metaphorical drop in the bucket. On the other hand, knowledge really is power.

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Knowledge transfer is the essence of local capacity building and a prerequisite to effective local ownership—in addition to being more accountable than cash disbursements, especially in countries with uneven histories of accountable governance.

So we believe that effective USAID-funded development programs should not necessarily be focused on building local capacity to in turn spend and manage U.S. foreign assistance dollars. **Rather, truly effective programs to build local capacity should help businesses and governments generate local funds, be they private investments or government revenues, to address local development needs**. This is the crux of true sustainability—having one's own resources to address problems and opportunities.

A strong example is the *U.S.-Philippines Partnership for Growth*. In that effort, both countries "have affirmed a five-year Joint Country Action Plan that prioritizes creating a more transparent, predictable and consistent legal and regulatory regime; fostering a more open and competitive business environment; strengthening the rule of law and increasing efficiency in the court system; and supporting fiscal stability through better revenue and expenditure management."

Further, we believe a carefully orchestrated program of world-class technical assistance and knowledge transfer will meet locally determined needs, priorities, and aspirations in developing countries, **but it will only meet the highest standards of quality, value for money, and accountability that U.S. taxpayers rightly demand if complemented by *full and open competition***. Again, we believe smart development policy should leverage the best that America and the world have to offer. And the proven mechanism for finding the "best" is open competition—a truly "open source" approach, on a level playing field, in which all competitors are judged by the same standards of quality, value, and accountability.

Our vision of the U.S. government development landscape, then, is one in which the State Department, USAID, and other state actors sit at the hub of a truly global "ecosystem" of development service providers, be they in-house government personnel, universities, philanthropies, local or international NGOs, private companies, or local governments and civic groups. As an equal partner with these local governments and civil society institutions, the U.S. government will craft a locally informed and responsive development program, **and select those service providers best qualified to deliver the desired development outcome—*a selection based on quality and best value***.

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In the new world of overseas assistance, where the expectations of developing countries are justifiably elevated, aid will be less about top-down giving and more about peer-to-peer matching, pairing a specific development need with a best-in-class solution, and catalyzed by U.S. funding to make that reaction happen quicker and more favorably than it otherwise might.

Any and all such development programs, of course, whether executed by local organizations or international consultants, must feature local capacity building as an integral part of the process and a mandated part of the outcome, with an eye to full local country ownership (*sustainability*) in the shortest time possible. Just as autonomy is one of the defining attributes of development, it is the ultimate goal of development programming.



Our Place in the Development Ecosystem

Given this vision of development, ***what can we say about the role of international development companies—small, medium and large—in the ecosystem, and our specific value to the government and the development community?***

We commit to applying and adhering to the laws, regulations, and rules that ensure responsible stewardship of taxpayer dollars, and to develop the systems, policies, and procedures required to properly account for every dollar entrusted to us. We have mastered fiduciary accountability. When USAID engages us, it does so with the assurance that we know and will follow the rules; and when we make mistakes, we pay them back, or are otherwise held accountable.

Our capacity to do this was not mastered overnight—not by any of our firms. With USAID's support in many cases, we have invested heavily over long periods of time to develop this capability. We are now in the position to transfer this ***knowledge of compliance***.

One reason that international development companies are indispensable partners in delivering accountable and transparent development projects is that we work through ***competitively-awarded, results-oriented contracts***. In awarding contracts,

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competition lowers costs, assures greater responsiveness, and offers better value to the U.S. government, American taxpayers, and ultimately the countries and communities in the developing world. The "scope of work" provisions of these contracts make international development companies accountable because we are, by law, subject to rigorous scrutiny and audits.

We by no means have a monopoly on good ideas or great capabilities. What we do insist on is the value of *competition* to elicit the best idea or best fit for a given development need. From the government's perspective, it makes sense to nurture the highest possible level of competition in its ecosystem of providers, and we believe it is harmful to distort the natural equilibrium of the marketplace by picking winners and losers outside the competitive process—by elevating nonprofits over for-profit concerns, for example, or by erecting quotas for local over U.S. organizations. **It is patronizing to suggest that developing countries want anything less than the best technical assistance available, whether that's local or international; nonprofit or for-profit; small, medium or large.**

We believe international development companies, and the results-oriented contracts they are competitively awarded, offer these advantages:

- ***Maximizing creativity and national ownership.*** Through the USAID Request for Proposals process, bidders are asked to present innovative approaches that achieve lasting results. USAID demands creativity in developing a technical approach that accounts for local perspectives and realities. We view local conversations as essential to making a new technical approach work in a specific country. Through that interactive process, the *new* vision becomes a *shared* vision in the community we serve, yielding mutual benefits in terms of knowledge and capacity transfer as the concept comes to life in the field.

- ***Building national capacity.*** As businesses, it is in our interest to identify, nurture, and expand our local partner base. Significant slices of our project funding go to local organizations, and nearly 90 percent of our project employees are local, many of whom go onto positions of leadership in government, the media, civil society, and business. We work mostly with local staff and through local entities, whether government, private sector, or NGOs. In

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this way, we allow donors to achieve goals they could not otherwise meet and develop new cadres of professionals.

We implement and enable programs for food security, clean water, health care, environmental protection, education, and improved governance. Our programs build capacity in developing countries, training local talent and putting it in the driver's seat as soon as possible. This helps citizens and communities of developing countries solve their own problems, and frees up scarce U.S. development dollars for the next challenge.

Leading a decline in maternal mortality rates from Jordan to the Dominican Republic. Creating legal and workable ways for rural people in Colombia to earn their livings without producing coca. Using social franchising to create quality, affordable, and accessible health care for the poor in a sustainable way. Our companies help USAID catalyze institutional and human capacity building, which in turn engenders sustainability.

For examples of how our work spawns sustainable development, and how we recruit, deploy, and empower battalions of local staff and institutional partners—thereby working ourselves out of a job—please visit www.AmericanIngenuityAbroad.org, and click on the "Our Work" and "Case Study" tabs.

- ***Serving our clients.*** Our mission is simple: to serve our clients through contracts that have clearly defined outputs and measurable results. We seek to provide innovative solutions that build national capacity and ownership. We pride ourselves on ensuring that our work becomes part of the national fabric by the end of the contract. We believe that we best serve our clients when we successfully work ourselves out of a job—and apply the knowledge gained on that job to new challenges elsewhere.

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III. Conclusion



This paper is meant to shed light not only on how we see development, and how we play our role as facilitators and implementers of development, but also to underscore that we fully embrace the fundamental principles of *USAID Forward* and of strong country ownership, as embodied in the Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda.

But without robust capacity—strong institutions, systems, and local expertise—developing countries cannot fully own, manage, and fund their development processes. This is the great challenge for the development community, and as the private sector component of that community, we stand ready to lend our 50 years of experience to taking it on. **In particular, we hope to have the opportunity to further demonstrate how our systems of accountability and flexibility, our scalability and efficiencies, and our technical know-how can be harnessed to help accelerate the localization and sustainable development process.**

Working together, building our knowledge together, and yes, competing together—as NGOs and consultants, donors and implementers, local and international experts—we believe we can move the development ball in the one direction we all want: forward.

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From: Feldman, Daniel F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FELDMANDF>
Sent: Thursday, November 29, 2012 5:37 PM
To: 'Frank Lowenstein' <flowenstein@podesta.com>
Subject: RE: Susan Rice's Enrichment Program

I like it.

From: Frank Lowenstein [mailto:flowenstein@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 29, 2012 5:34 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F
Subject: Fw: Susan Rice's Enrichment Program

Now this could get interesting... **RELEASE IN PART B6**

From: Matt Baker
Sent: Thursday, November 29, 2012 05:32 PM
To: Frank Lowenstein
Subject: Susan Rice's Enrichment Program

U.N. ambassador has investments in companies doing business with Iran, disclosure forms show

BY: Adam Kredo
November 29, 2012 4:32 pm

The portfolio of embattled United Nations Ambassador Susan Rice includes investments of hundreds of thousands of dollars in several energy companies known for doing business with Iran, according to financial disclosure forms.

Rice, a possible nominee to replace Secretary of State Hillary Clinton when she steps down, has come under criticism for promulgating erroneous information about the September 11, 2012, attacks in Benghazi, Libya, that killed four Americans.

Rice has the highest net worth of executive branch members, with a fortune estimated between $24 to $44 million, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. A Free Beacon analysis of Rice's portfolio shows thousands of dollars invested in at least three separate companies cited by lawmakers on Capitol Hill for doing business in Iran's oil and gas sector.

The revelation of these investments could pose a problem for Rice if she is tapped by President Barack Obama to replace Clinton. Among the responsibilities of the next secretary of state will be a showdown with Iran over its nuclear enrichment program.

"That Susan Rice invested in companies doing business in Iran shows either the Obama administration's lack of seriousness regarding Iran or Rice's own immorality," said Michael Rubin, a former Pentagon adviser on Iran and Iraq. "Either way, her actions undercut her ability to demand our allies unity on Iran."

The companies in question appear to have conducted business with Tehran well after Western governments began to urge divestment from the rogue nation, which has continued to enrich uranium near levels needed to build a nuclear bomb.

Financial disclosures reveal that Rice has had $50,001-$100,000 in Royal Dutch Shell, a longtime purchaser of Iranian crude oil.

Royal Dutch Shell currently owes Iran nearly $1 billion in back payments for crude oil that it purchased before Western

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economic sanctions crippled Tehran's ability to process oil payments, Reuters reported.

"A debt of that size would equate to roughly four large tanker loads of Iranian crude or about 8 million barrels," according to the report.

Rice has additional investments in Norsk Hydro ASA, a Norwegian aluminum firm, and BHP Billiton PLC, an Australian-based natural resources company, financial disclosure show.

Norway's Norsk Hydro was awarded in 2006 a $107 million exploration and development contract for Iran's Khorramabad oil block, according to the Wall Street Journal. Rice's portfolio includes an investment of up to $15,000 in the company.

Norsk acknowledged at the time that it was working in Iran against the wishes of the U.S. government.

America is "not happy that we're there," Norsk Hydro spokeswoman Kama Holte Strand told the Journal at the time. Holte admitted that the company was working with Tehran because it is "profitable."

Rice has up to $50,000 invested with another Iranian partner, BHP Billiton, which was probed by the Securities and Exchange Commission in 2010 for its dealings with Cuba and Iran, according to reports.

The company, which had leased office space in Tehran, admitted to making more than $360 million from the Iranians, according to The Australian.

BHP Billiton sought to build a natural gas pipeline between 2002 and 2005 in conjunction with the National Iranian Oil Company, according the report. The company's subsidiaries additionally "sold alumina, coking coal, manganese, and copper to state-owned Iranian companies."

The House of Representatives passed a bill in 2007 that took aim at these companies and other that had done business with Iran. The bill enabled state and local governments to divest from these companies due to their dealings with Iran.

Then-senator Obama proposed and supported a similar bill at the time.

It is unclear how White House press secretary Jay Carney will respond to the latest revelations about Rice. Previous questions from the media about Rice's investment in the company building the controversial Keystone XL pipeline were dismissed by Carney as information from "Republican opposition researchers."

Matt Baker | Staff Assistant

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From: Dorval, Christopher </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DORVALC>
Sent: Friday, December 7, 2012 8:11 AM
To: Quam, Lois E <QuamLE@state.gov>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: meeting next Tuesday
Attach: BCM NSTM concept paper.pdf; 2012_NY Times_Hotez.pdf; 2012_BMJ_Hotez.pdf

Ben used to be in PA and now w tony podesta. Would like us to have courtesy mtg with this person next tuesday.

That work? I told him we were in transition. He said Hotez still expressed interest.

Jason. Other ghi folks you think he should meet?

CD

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 06, 2012 05:11 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: meeting next Tuesday

RELEASE IN PART B6

Chris – thanks for the chat just now.

Here's the skinny: I was hoping that you and Lois might be willing to spend a few minutes on **Tuesday** with Dr. Peter Hotez, who will be in town from Houston where he is dean of the brand-new National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine. (Dr. Hotez is an expert on global health and neglected tropical diseases, and, in addition to his duties at Baylor College of Medicine, he is also president of the Sabin Vaccine Institute.)

We just hope to connect your shop with Dr. Hotez and make sure that you and Lois know him as a potential resource. 20-25 minutes max – anytime.

And thank you for the other reference points you suggested. A couple docs are attached for some additional background.

And let's find time after that for a real catch-up over coffee –

Thanks again,
Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

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B6

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Texas Children's Hospital

BCM
Baylor College of Medicine

SABIN VACCINE INSTITUTE

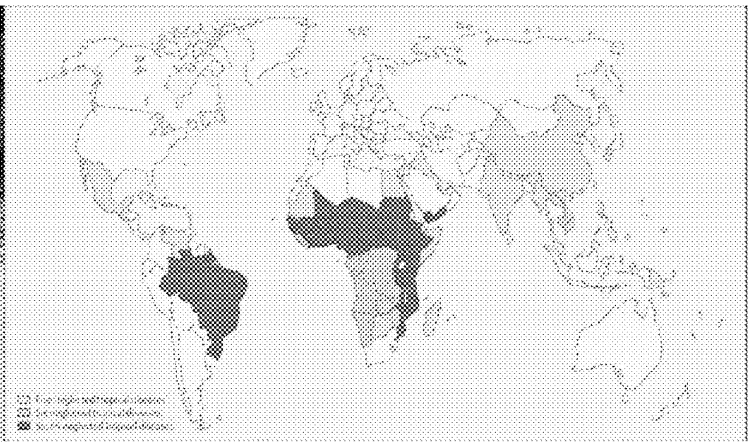
RELEASE IN FULL

School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine

Section of Pediatric Tropical Medicine
Sabin Vaccine Institute & Texas Children's Center for Vaccine Development

Concept Paper for
Advancing Global Health Technologies for Neglected Tropical Diseases





Overview: The neglected tropical diseases (NTDs) are a group of 17 chronic parasitic and related infections that, together with malaria, represent the most common infections of the world's poorest people. Tropical diseases directly impact global health and highlight poverty because of their adverse effects on pregnancy outcomes, child development and intellect, and worker productivity in the world's low- and middle-income countries. New evidence also indicates a hidden burden of tropical diseases in the poorest parts of the United States, including South Texas.

Currently, there is no educational entity devoted to the tropical diseases in the United States or North America. However, in the United Kingdom the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine have conducted related research and educational programs for more than a century. Our aim is to complement these international efforts with the unique partnership of three premier organizations located in the United States: Baylor College of Medicine, Texas Children's Hospital, and Sabin Vaccine Institute.

In June 2011, Baylor College of Medicine formally announced the appointment of Peter Hotez, M.D., Ph.D., to its faculty. A world renowned expert in pediatric infectious diseases, tropical medicine, and vaccines, Dr. Hotez will lead the new vaccine development program at Texas Children's Hospital and Baylor College of Medicine beginning in August 2011. He also will serve as founding dean of the School

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of Tropical Medicine at BCM, head the new Section of Tropical Diseases in the BCM Department of Pediatrics, and hold the Texas Children's Hospital Endowed Chair in Tropical Pediatrics.

Mission Statement of the School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine
As the first school in the United States dedicated to solving the world's most pressing tropical disease issues, we will:

- discover, develop, and deliver a new generation of appropriate technologies (i.e., vaccines, drugs, and diagnostics) for the world's major tropical diseases, NTDs, malaria, and other neglected infections of poverty.

- shape public policy in support of the delivery of novel and cost-effective technologies for tropical diseases affecting the poorest people in low income countries.

- train the next generation of global health scientists and global healthcare providers in the area of tropical medicine.

Educating Health Care Professionals: The School of Tropical Medicine will create new diploma and degree programs, including a Diploma in Tropical Medicine (DTM) and the program in Tropical Medicine for Nurses and allied health professionals. There also will be new Master of Science programs in translational biotechnology and vaccine development, and Ph.D. programs in global health technologies and tropical medicine. The School also will establish a unique ward for tropical diseases at the affiliated Ben Taub Hospital in the Texas Medical Center; the first of its kind in the United States.

In parallel to these efforts at Baylor College of Medicine in Houston, Texas, an education and training site for tropical diseases will be established in Latin America. Today, in Latin America approximately 120 million people live on less than $2 per day. Almost all of the 100 million lowest income people are infected with one or more tropical diseases, and studies have found that the disease burden from tropical diseases exceeds that of HIV/AIDS infection. With course offerings based at the Baylor College of Medicine, the School of Tropical Medicine will establish a unique regional training site to serve Mesoamerica, Mexico and Central America.

In partnership with the Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children's Hospital, these education programs will compliment an already established relationship that SVI has with The Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán (UADY) for developing Chagas disease and leishmaniasis vaccines. UADY is under consideration as a lead site for educating healthcare professionals in Latin America under the auspices of the School of Tropical Medicine and currently has research supported by the Carlos Slim Institute for Health. The BCM education emphasis will be placed on building capacity for diagnosis, public health control of tropical diseases, and clinical research training.

Leadership: The School of Tropical Medicine will be under the primary leadership of Dr. Hotez who will serve as the founding Dean, as well as Maria Elena Bottazzi, Ph.D., Associate Dean. Dr. Hotez is an elected member of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academies, an external board comprising leading academic and industrial scientists.

At this time, potential board members include Retired Major General Philip K. Russell, M.D., Ph.D., former director, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research; Mirta Rosas Periago, M.D., director, Pan American Health Organization of World Health Organization (WHO); Anthony Fauci, M.D., director of National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) and the National Institutes of Health (NIH); Gary Nabel, M.D., Ph.D., director, NIH Vaccine Research Center; Roger Glass, M.D., Ph.D., director, NIH Fogarty International Center; Roberto Tapia-Conyer, M.D., M.P.H., director, Carlos Slim Institute of

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School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine

Health; Jeffrey Sachs, M.A., Ph.D., director, Earth Institute at Columbia University; Paul Farmer, M.D., Ph.D., chair of Global Health, Harvard University; director, Partners in Health; Jim Kim, M.D., Ph.D., president, Dartmouth College; Alan Fenwick, OBE, director, Schistosomiasis Control Initiative (SCI); professor, Imperial College London; Regina Rabinovitch, M.D., M.P.H., director, Global Health Infectious Diseases, Gates Foundation; Mr. Mort Hyman, chairman of the board, Sabin Vaccine Institute.

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The New York Times
Sunday Review | The Opinion Pages

RELEASE IN FULL

Tropical Diseases: The New Plague of Poverty

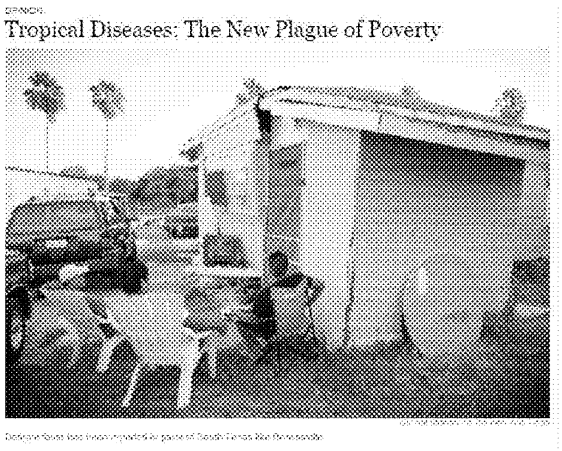
By PETER J. HOTEZ

Saturday, August 18, 2012

In the United States, 2.8 million children are living in households with incomes of less than $2 per person per day, a benchmark more often applied to developing countries. An additional 20 million Americans live in extreme poverty. In the Gulf Coast states of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, poverty rates are near 20 percent.In some of the poorer counties of Texas, where I live, rates often approach 30 percent. In these places, the Gini coefficient, a measure of inequality, ranks as high as in some sub-Saharan African countries.

Poverty takes many tolls, but in the United States, one of the most tragic has been its tight link with a group of infections known as the neglected tropical diseases, which we ordinarily think of as confined to developing countries.

Outbreaks of dengue fever, a mosquito-transmitted viral infection that is endemic to Mexico and Central America, have been reported in South Texas. Then there is cysticercosis, a parasitic infection caused by a larval pork tapeworm that leads to seizures and epilepsy; toxocariasis, another parasitic infection that causes asthma and neurological problems; cutaneous leishmaniasis, a disfiguring skin infection transmitted by sand flies; and murine typhus, a bacterial infection transmitted by fleas and often linked to rodent infestations.



Among the more frightening is Chagas disease. Transmitted by a "kissing bug" that resembles a cockroach but with the ability to feed on human blood, it is a leading cause of heart failure and sudden death throughout Latin America. It is an especially virulent scourge among pregnant women, who can pass the disease on to their babies. Just last month, the first case of congenital Chagas disease in the United States was reported.

These are, most likely, the most important diseases you've never heard of.

They disproportionately affect Americans living in poverty, and especially minorities, including up to 2.8 million African-Americans with toxocariasis and 300,000 or more people, mostly Hispanic Americans, with Chagas disease. The neglected tropical diseases thrive in the poorer South's warm climate, especially in areas where people live in dilapidated housing or can't afford air-conditioning and sleep with the windows open to disease-transmitting insects. They thrive wherever there is poor street drainage, plumbing, sanitation and garbage collection, and in areas with neglected swimming pools.

Most troubling of all, they can even increase the levels of poverty in these areas by slowing the growth and intellectual development of children and impeding productivity in the work force. They are the forgotten diseases of forgotten people, and Texas is emerging as an epicenter.

A key impediment to eliminating neglected tropical diseases in the United States is that they frequently go unrecognized because the disenfranchised people they afflict do not or cannot seek out health care. Even when there is a clinic or community health center in an impoverished area, it often lacks the necessary diagnostic tests, and the staff is rarely trained to recognize and manage neglected tropical diseases.

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We have an opportunity to stop these diseases, but we need to act. First, we need programs of active surveillance and monitoring to obtain more accurate information on the true prevalence of these diseases and how they are transmitted. We also need better diagnostic tests; worm infections like cysticercosis and toxocariasis can often be treated effectively with antiparasitics and anti-inflammatories, but they are frequently misdiagnosed.

Finally, we need safer and more effective drugs and new licensed vaccines. For instance, there are drugs to treat Chagas disease, like benznidazole and nifurtimox, but they are hard to procure, often not effective in adults after the symptoms of heart disease begin and so toxic they cannot be taken by pregnant women. And unfortunately, with a few exceptions — like some promising new dengue vaccines under development — the major pharmaceutical companies see little financial advantage in investing in better treatments or vaccines for these diseases.

With the looming possibility of budget cuts to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and its excellent Parasitic Disease Branch, others will need to step up. Texas and the Gulf Coast are home to some of the country's greatest universities and medical schools, and they can bring considerable brainpower to bear on this problem.

In Houston, the Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children's Hospital Center for Vaccine Development have organized a research unit to develop new vaccines and diagnostics. And Baylor College of Medicine created a new tropical medicine school to teach doctors and other health care providers to recognize, diagnose and treat these infections. A key component is a tropical disease clinic outside Houston where patients show up every Friday. On recent Friday mornings just over the last month, the clinic's director has treated a young woman with cutaneous leishmaniasis, three people with brain lesions from cysticercosis and a middle-aged man with Chagas disease.

While immigration is sometimes blamed for introducing neglected tropical diseases into the United States, the real issue is that they are now, to varying degrees, also being transmitted within our borders. Without new interventions, they are here to stay and destined to trap people in poverty for decades to come. Fifty years ago, Michael Harrington's book "The Other America: Poverty in the United States" became a national best seller. Today more people than ever before live in poverty in this country. We must now turn our attention to the diseases of this Other America.

Peter J. Hotez is the dean of the National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine and the president and director of the Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children's Hospital Center for Vaccine Development.

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BMJ

BMJ 2012;345:e6112 doi: 10.1136/bmj.e6112 (Published 13 September 2012)

RELEASE IN FULL

EDITORIALS

Fighting neglected tropical diseases in the southern United States

Poverty and lack of awareness need to be tackled

Peter J Hotez *professor of pediatrics and molecular virology and microbiology and dean, National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine; Baker Institute fellow in disease and poverty, Rice University; and president and director, Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children's Hospital Center for Vaccine Development*

Texas Children's Hospital and Baylor College of Medicine, Texas Medical Center, Houston Texas 77030, USA

The neglected tropical diseases are a group of chronic parasitic and related infections such as hookworm, schistosomiasis, lymphatic filariasis, Chagas disease, and leishmaniasis that often affect the "bottom billion" in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.[1] Extreme poverty, defined by the World Bank as average daily consumption of $1.25 (£0.8; €1.0) or less, is the main social factor associated with a high prevalence of these diseases.[1] The World Health Organization, the World Bank, and professionals have advocated strongly for global programmes to deliver packages of essential drugs to treat the tropical diseases with the highest prevalence, such as tuberculosis and malaria, while simultaneously developing new or improved drugs and vaccines.[2] Diseases such as Chagas disease, cysticercosis, leishmaniasis, and dengue are listed in the 17 tropical diseases being targeted by WHO for control or elimination in low and middle income countries.[3 4] Others, such as toxocariasis, a chronic parasitic infection that causes asthma and epilepsy,[5 6] and trichomoniasis, a sexually transmitted disease associated with vaginal HIV-1 shedding,[7] are not. That these diseases affect literally millions of Americans living in poverty,[8] with prevalence rates of selected tropical diseases in some areas of the US comparable to rates in low and middle income countries, is less well known.[9]

Roughly 15% of Americans (46 million people) currently live below the US poverty line (as defined by a set of income thresholds that vary by family size and composition).[10] Most are concentrated in the American South, especially the Gulf coast, Mississippi delta, and south Texas.[8] About five years ago we began to estimate the burden of neglected tropical diseases among those classified as poor in the American South and elsewhere in the US (then roughly 12% of Americans—36.5 million people).[8] Most of these diseases are not reportable illnesses in the US and few surveillance data were available. However, an initial analysis suggested a substantial but largely hidden burden of disease in the US.[8]

With the recent economic downturn poor Americans have been getting poorer.[10] A recent study from the National Poverty Center estimated that 1.46 million US families, with 2.8 million children and other members, each live on less than $2 a day.[11] An analysis of US census data from 2010 indicates that the income of 20 million Americans is below one half of the US poverty level.[10]

Texas has the second largest population of all the US states and possibly the largest number of Americans living below the poverty line, with one in five Texans living in poverty.[12] Tropical diseases such as Chagas disease and cysticercosis are widespread in Texas.[12] Poor housing conditions and homelessness promote exposure to selected vector borne tropical diseases, such as dengue and murine typhus.[12] On the basis of previous experience, the current outbreak of West Nile virus infection in Texas will probably affect homeless people and those living in poverty disproportionately.[13]

Exactly how and why poverty is inextricably linked to neglected tropical diseases is still unclear. In low and middle income countries, these diseases cause or perpetuate poverty because of their negative impact on child development, productivity of workers, and maternal health.[1] In Texas and the greater American South, a combination of socioeconomic factors linked to poverty probably play a part.[14] As suggested in a recent *New York Times* opinion piece, these factors include dilapidated housing without adequate insect screens or air conditioning, poor sanitation and plumbing, and absent or inconsistent rubbish collection and street drainage.[14] Such elements, together with a warm and humid climate, create ideal conditions for the spread of these diseases. Although immigration undoubtedly accounts for some imported cases of tropical disease in North America, conditions of poverty and climate also promote their transmission within US borders.[8 12 13] Mother to child transmission of neglected diseases such as congenital cytomegalovirus, syphilis, and toxoplasmosis also occurs disproportionately among the poor and disenfranchised in the

hotez@bcm.edu

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06593177 Date: 08/21/2018

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06593177 Date: 08/21/2018
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US,[8] and recently the first well documented case of congenital Chagas disease was reported.[15]

In 2011, a new National School of Tropical Medicine (NSTM) was established at the Texas Medical Center in Houston, alongside the Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children's Hospital Center for Vaccine Development product development partnership (PDP) laboratories. The NSTM was partly inspired by the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, with their ongoing commitment to studying translational medicine relevant to the world's poor. But Houston has tropical diseases in its backyard. Accordingly, a new tropical medicine clinic has been created at the NSTM to help people living with these diseases.

What needs to be done to deal with the problem of tropical diseases among America's poor? Firstly, a programme of expanded surveillance is urgently needed so that the burden of these diseases in the US can be accurately determined.[8 14] More work is needed to help understand what contributes to disease transmission and how it links with poverty. This will require collaborative working with federal, state, and local public health agencies, as well as regional universities. In addition, many doctors and other healthcare providers cannot recognise and manage these diseases, so training is needed. The NSTM now offers a Diploma in Tropical Medicine. Finally, new drugs, diagnostics, and vaccines must be developed.[8 14] Some headway is being made with vaccines in early stages of development, but more work is urgently needed.

Regional efforts alone will not be enough. National awareness must increase if tropical diseases, which represent one of the most glaring examples of health disparity in the US today, are to be tackled properly. A bill known as the Neglected Infections of Impoverished Americans Act (HR 528) was recently introduced to Congress to raise awareness of this problem in the US.

Competing interests: The author has completed the ICMJE uniform disclosure form at www.icmje.org/coi_disclosure.pdf (available on request from the corresponding author) and declares no support from any organization for the submitted work. PJH is the president and director of a product development partnership (PDP) that develops and tests vaccines for neglected tropical diseases; these vaccines are supported by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Southwest Electric Energy Medical Research Institute, Carlos Slim Institute of Health, Texas Children's Hospital, US National Institutes of Health, Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazilian Ministry of Health, Blavatnik Charitable Foundation, Gary Michelson, Mr and Mrs Mort Hyman, and Howard Harpster; the Sabin Vaccine Institute headquartered in Washington, DC also accepts funds for its vaccine advocacy programs from multinational drug companies, but not for its PDP.

Provenance and peer review: Commissioned; not peer reviewed.

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Cite this as: *BMJ* 2012;345:e6112

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From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BOWMANJJ>
Sent: Friday, December 7, 2012 1:31 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher <DorvalC@state.gov>
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

10 or 2:30 are best for me. My Tuesday is oddly very booked

From: Dorval, Christopher
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 1:30 PM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Subject: FW: meeting next Tuesday

RELEASE IN PART B6

What works for you Tuesday?

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 12:54 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Subject: Re: meeting next Tuesday

Thanks much, Chris.

He has a meeting with Robyn Steffen and tech transfer people at OSTP at 1:30 but is otherwise flexible. Whatever around that that works on your side...

And appreciate the guidance re: Wade!

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 11:59 AM
To: Ben Chang
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Ben,

I am happy to meet you him/you on Tuesday; we will be joined by our chief of staff, Jason Bowman, who is our resident PhD. Lois may or may not be able to attend. I am copying her Exec Assistant Rena Seaholm. Please provide us with a time that works; we will need to clear him in, as you know!!

As for other folks: you might want to reach out to Wade Warren at AID and inquire whether he has someone in NTDs who may wish to meet with Dr. Hotez. See contact info below.

Best,

Chris

Wade Warren
Deputy Assistant Administrator

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Bureau for Global Health
U.S. Agency for International Development
wwarren@usaid.gov

202-712-0970

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 06, 2012 5:11 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: meeting next Tuesday

Chris – thanks for the chat just now.

Here's the skinny: I was hoping that you and Lois might be willing to spend a few minutes on **Tuesday** with Dr. Peter Hotez, who will be in town from Houston where he is dean of the brand-new National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine. (Dr. Hotez is an expert on global health and neglected tropical diseases, and, in addition to his duties at Baylor College of Medicine, he is also president of the Sabin Vaccine Institute.)

We just hope to connect your shop with Dr. Hotez and make sure that you and Lois know him as a potential resource. 20-25 minutes max – anytime.

And thank you for the other reference points you suggested. A couple docs are attached for some additional background.

And let's find time after that for a real catch-up over coffee –

Thanks again,
Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From: Rubin, Joshua A </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=RUBIN, JOSHUA A16B>
Sent: Monday, May 16, 2016 9:08 AM
To: Corine Weiler <cweiler@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Norah Cox-Peled <npeled@podestagroup.com>
Subject: Re: Meeting with Jon Finer
Attach: image001.jpg; image002.jpg; image003.jpg

Hi Corine, this will be in Jon Finer's office at the State Department, room 7234. He should enter at the C Street entrance, and after security he should check in at the desk and I will come meet him there. If anything comes up you have my email and my number is 202-647-8633

On May 16, 2016, at 2:47 PM, Corine Weiler <cweiler@podestagroup.com> wrote:

> Josh –
> What is the location for the meeting on May 25? Is there any other logistical information Tony needs to know (entrance, security, etc.)?
>
> Thank you,
> Corine

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<image001.jpg>
CORINE WEILER EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE CHAIRMAN
O 202.448.5235 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC
20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

B6

> **From:** Tony Podesta
> **Sent:** Friday, May 13, 2016 6:04 PM
> **To:** Vincent Roberti <VRobert[redacted]
> **Cc:** Rubin, Joshua A <RubinJA@state.gov>; Corine Weiler <cweiler@podestagroup.com>
> **Subject:** Re: Meeting with Jon Finer
>
> Yes
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> On May 13, 2016, at 5:28 PM, Vincent Roberti <VRoberti[redacted] wrote:
>
> > Tony does this work for you?
> >
> > Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> >
> > **From:** Rubin, Joshua A
> > **Sent:** Friday, May 13, 2016 11:18 PM
> > **To:** Vincent Roberti
> > **Subject:** RE: Meeting with Jon Finer
> >
> > Hi Mr. Roberti,
> >
> > Great. We can confirm 4:30pm on Wednesday, May 25th if that still works for you?
> >
> > Best,
> > Josh
> >
> > **From:** Vincent Roberti [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:[redacted]
> > **Sent:** Friday, May 13, 2016 4:45 PM
> > **To:** Rubin, Joshua A
> > **Subject:** Re: Meeting with Jon Finer
> >
> > Opps sorry it went out before I finished. Anyway can we meet either anytime between 4:15 pm to 6:30 or Wednesday May 25th or 8:am to noon on Thursday May 26th? Thanks for your efforts Josh. Best wishes Vin
> >
> > Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

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From: vroberti
Sent: Friday, May 13, 2016 10:39 PM
To: Rubin, Joshua A
Subject: Re: Meeting with Jon Finer

Josh Tony is back on the 25th and leaves in the afternoon on Thursday May 26th.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Rubin, Joshua A
Sent: Friday, May 13, 2016 9:05 PM
To: Vincent Roberti
Subject: Meeting with Jon Finer

Mr. Roberti,

I understand you were in touch with Julie Wirkkala yesterday and I wanted to follow up. Jon Finer would be happy to meet with you and Mr. Podesta. Jon is traveling again tonight until Wednesday, but would next Thursday or Friday work for you?

Thanks, and hope all is well.

Josh

Josh Rubin
Office of the Secretary
Special Assistant to the Chief of Staff
RubinJA@state.gov
202-647-8633

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From: Dorval, Christopher </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DORVALC>
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 2:30 PM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday
Attach: Dorval Bio.docx

Here is my bio; want to add yours (couldn't find it on our site) and I can send along?

From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 2:29 PM
To: 'Ben Chang'; Dorval, Christopher
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

RELEASE IN PART B6

Thanks Ben, all three should be registered. Our general office number is 202-647-3996 in case they run into any problems.

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 2:23 PM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHI); Dorval, Christopher
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Jason,

Sorry – sending things too quickly. Adding Chris again.

Steve Northrup is my colleague here at the Podesta Group and is the lead working with Dr. Hotez and Baylor College of Medicine. Alas, I will not be able to join and sorry I will not get a chance to meet you this time. I hope that's not a problem!

Thanks again,
Ben

From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) [mailto:BowmanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 2:20 PM
To: Ben Chang
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Ben,
What organization is Stephen Northrup from?

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 2:09 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

The bio details are below for clearance for the meeting tomorrow afternoon.

Last name	First name	Middle	DOB	SSN	AmCit	Gender	Residence
Hotez	Peter	Jay					
Northrup	Stephen	James					

B6

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Butrum	Herbert	Lee		B6

By the way, Chris and Jason – do y'all have a little bio blurb you could send this way? If not, no worries. Thanks!

From: Ben Chang
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 3:04 PM
To: 'DorvalC@state.gov'
Cc: 'SeaholmRM@state.gov'; 'BowmanJJ@state.gov'
Subject: Re: meeting next Tuesday

2:30 is great - thank you.

Will get you clearance info.

Will follow-up separately re: coffee...

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 01:34 PM
To: Ben Chang
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Ben: 10 or 230 work best for Jason and I next Tuesday. Please advise.

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 12:54 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI)
Subject: Re: meeting next Tuesday

Thanks much, Chris.

He has a meeting with Robyn Steffen and tech transfer people at OSTP at 1:30 but is otherwise flexible. Whatever around that that works on your side...

And appreciate the guidance re: Wade!

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2012 11:59 AM
To: Ben Chang
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>; Bowman, Jason (S/GHI) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: meeting next Tuesday

Ben,

I am happy to meet you him/you on Tuesday; we will be joined by our chief of staff, Jason Bowman, who is our resident PhD. Lois may or may not be able to attend. I am copying her Exec Assistant Rena Seaholm. Please provide us with a time that works; we will need to clear him in, as you know!!

As for other folks: you might want to reach out to Wade Warren at AID and inquire whether he has someone in NTDs

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who may wish to meet with Dr. Hotez. See contact info below.

Best,

Chris

Wade Warren
Deputy Assistant Administrator
Bureau for Global Health
U.S. Agency for International Development
wwarren@usaid.gov

202-712-0970

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 06, 2012 5:11 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: meeting next Tuesday

Chris – thanks for the chat just now.

Here's the skinny: I was hoping that you and Lois might be willing to spend a few minutes on **Tuesday** with Dr. Peter Hotez, who will be in town from Houston where he is dean of the brand-new National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine. (Dr. Hotez is an expert on global health and neglected tropical diseases, and, in addition to his duties at Baylor College of Medicine, he is also president of the Sabin Vaccine Institute.)

We just hope to connect your shop with Dr. Hotez and make sure that you and Lois know him as a potential resource. 20-25 minutes max – anytime.

And thank you for the other reference points you suggested. A couple docs are attached for some additional background.

And let's find time after that for a real catch-up over coffee –

Thanks again,
Ben

Ben Chang | Principal

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Christopher Dorval

Christopher Dorval is currently Senior Advisor, Strategy and External Relations for the Global Health Initiative at the U.S. Department of State.

Dorval previously served as President of Dorval Strategies, a Washington, DC-based business that provided strategic communications, political counsel, media relations and marketing services to commercial, non-government and government entities in the US and the global marketplace. Clients include a mix of Fortune 500, governments and non-profit organizations.

Dorval was appointed by President Clinton to serve at the White House as the Director of Communications at the National Economic Council under Dr. Laura Tyson, responsible for trade, economic communications and day-to-day media relations. He also served as a senior communications advisor under William Daley and Rahm Emanuel in the Nafta war room; as White House spokesman at the Summit of the Americas in 1994 for Mack McLarty, and as senior White House counsel to USTR Ambassador Charlene Barshefsky at the first WTO Ministerial in 1996. He was appointed by President Clinton as the Vice President of Communications at the Export-Import Bank under the leadership of former Goldman-Sachs partner, Kenneth D. Brody.

Previous public and political service includes five years as Chief of Staff to the House Majority Leader in the Oregon Legislature, senior staff positions in four presidential campaigns and dozens of state legislative and issues campaigns. Dorval was a senior press and communication advisor for then Governor Clinton in Little Rock in the primary and general election, and then the transition. Dorval also advised Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT) on his 2008 presidential bid and advised Missouri Secretary of State Robin Carnahan in her bid for the US Senate.

Dorval is a graduate of School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University and the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and has been an adjunct professor at the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University. He serves on the Board of Trustees of the National Building Museum; the National Advisory Board of the McGovern Library and Center for Public Service; and the Junior Tennis Champion Center in College Park.

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From: Dorval, Christopher </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=DORVALC>
Sent: Thursday, January 3, 2013 11:19 AM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

Perfect for you. I think it is the kind of proposal that can be nurtured and also used to build stronger Hill relations.

From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2013 11:18 AM
To: Dorval, Christopher
Subject: RE: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

RELEASE IN PART B6

Yes. Hoping to snag this and other vaccine issues for my portfolio (measles initiative and such).

From: Dorval, Christopher
Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2013 11:17 AM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Subject: FW: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

This will be the type of memo you will want to bring to the attention of Rowe at some point.

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 5:13 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay (hotez@bcm.edu); 'Butrum, Herbert Lee'; Ben Chang
Subject: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

Chris and Jason, thanks for taking the time to meet with us on December 11. We appreciated the opportunity to talk to you about ways that Baylor College of Medicine and Dr. Hotez can participate in and support the State Department's global health diplomacy.

I've attached the paper we promised, outlining opportunities for "vaccine diplomacy" in several countries/regions, including:

- Middle East
- Brazil
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Mexico
- Pakistan
- China
- Central Asia

Dr. Hotez will be back in DC on January 10. If you think we should follow up directly with any country desk officers, or anyone else for that matter, please advise. We'd appreciate any further thoughts on the attached as well.

Best regards,
Steve

Steve Northrup | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5223 (d) | [redacted] (c) | SNorthrup@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Sara Kirby
Sent: Monday, May 23, 2016 5:33 PM
To: Kirby, Michael D <KirbyMD@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Coordinating a Dinner with Tony

B6

RELEASE IN PART B6

I was by myself and got personal attention...

Sent from my iPhone

On May 23, 2016, at 5:32 PM, Kirby, Michael D <KirbyMD@state.gov> wrote:

> Thanks.
>
> How was the training?
>
> I'm leaving soon.
>
> **From:** Sara Kirby [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto
> **Sent:** Monday, May 23, 2016 5:30 PM
> **To:** Kirby, Michael D
> **Subject:** Re: Coordinating a Dinner with Tony
>
> June 12 and 18 are free
> June 19 is Father's Day
> July 17
> August 20-21 ok
> August 27-28
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> On May 23, 2016, at 4:33 PM, Kirby, Michael D <KirbyMD@state.gov> wrote:
>
> > Do you care about any of these? I would prefer sooner than later. I should get back to her soon.
> >
> > **From:** Norah Cox-Peled [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:npeled@podestagroup.com]
> > **Sent:** Friday, May 13, 2016 2:32 PM
> > **To:** Kirby, Michael D
> > **Cc:** Corine Weiler
> > **Subject:** Coordinating a Dinner with Tony
> >
> > Dear Ambassador Kirby—
> >
> > Tony wanted to see when you and Sara might be available for a dinner (maybe on a weekend night) with Ambassador Varricchio and his wife and Ambassador Matkovic and his wife. I know this will be a little tricky given that it's summer but here goes nothing. Please let me know if any of the following dates work for you:
> >
> > Sunday, June 12
> > Saturday, June 18
> > Sunday, June 19
> > Sunday, July 17

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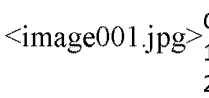
Saturday, August 20
Sunday, August 21
Saturday, August 27
Sunday, August 28

Hope lunch was enjoyable and that you have a great weekend.

Kind regards,
Norah


NORAH COX-PELED SPECIAL ASSISTANT
O 202.879.9381 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC
20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

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From: Seiden, Maya D </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=SEIDENMD>
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:10 AM
To: Whelan, Moira <WhelanM@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Washington Post "In the Loop"

In all seriousness, did we know that was going to be posted? **RELEASE IN PART B6**

From: Ben Chang [mailto:bchang@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2013 10:07 AM
To: Ashley Chandler (AChandler@usglc.org); Whelan, Moira; Seiden, Maya D
Subject: Washington Post "In the Loop"

Kamen has a blurb about State Department & USAID fact sheet and budget numbers…

Ben Chang | Principal

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From: Gilmore, Brennan M <Gilmorebm@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, July 21, 2016 10:51 AM
To: Hruska, Jeanne O <HruskaJO@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Sure, just note that podesta group came in rep'ing the DG family Foundation and we're wondering if they still rep DG.

From: Hruska, Jeanne O
Sent: Thursday, July 21, 2016 3:15 PM
To: Gilmore, Brennan M
Subject: FW: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

RELEASE IN PART B6

Are we comfortable asking David Adams (below) about whether they still represent a certain someone?

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 23, 2015 4:45 PM
To: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M; Hruska, Jeanne O
Subject: Re: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Maria -- Thank you for your note. Yes, that will be perfect. Do you need additional information from me for building clearance? Thanks. Dave

From: Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 23, 2015 4:23 PM
To: David Adams
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline; Gilmore, Brennan M; Hruska, Jeanne O
Subject: FW: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Good afternoon David,
We can schedule this for Fri, Oct 2, at 10:00 am in S/E Perriello's office at Navy Hill – south building, suite 131.
Please let me know if this works for Mr. Mulongo.
Thanks,

Maria Elena "Chichi" Alcazar-Schensted
Office Manager to S/E Thomas Perriello

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 22, 2015 10:17 AM
To: Wadhams, Caroline; Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Hi Caroline – Just wanted to check in on this. Thanks again for your help. Best, Dave

From: Wadhams, Caroline [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:WadhamsC@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 18, 2015 10:46 AM
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>; Alcazar-Schensted, Maria E <Alcazar-SchenstedME@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

David –

Thanks for reaching out. I am cc'ing Chichi to help us set this up. Next week may be best, as Tom is traveling soon to NY for UNGA and then the region.

Best,
Caroline

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 16, 2015 10:00 AM
To: Perriello, Thomas
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Tom – Great. Thanks.

Hi Caroline – look forward to hearing from you. Best, Dave

From: Perriello, Thomas [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:PerrielloT@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2015 6:46 PM
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Wadhams, Caroline <WadhamsC@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Dave,

Thanks for reaching out. I am asking Caroline (formerly QDDR and headed to this office) to be in tough about this.

Tom

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2015 11:36 AM
To: Perriello, Thomas
Subject: Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

Hi Tom – I hope this note finds you well and enjoying your new post. If you'll recall we met when you were heading up the QDDR effort at State and were gracious enough to meet with one of my clients, Global Strategies. I'm writing

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because we represent Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo, the former central bank governor of the DRC. He will be in Washington from September 17-October 10 and I'm wondering if you'd have time to see him while he's here? He is exploring deepening his business engagement in the US, and encouraging more US-DRC economic ties. He keeps his distance from the government, so you would get an interesting perspective on current and future developments in the country, including the political situation, which I'm sure you are following. Mr. Masangu's bio is pasted below. Let me know what you think. Best, Dave

Jean-Claude Masangu Mulongo

An author, economist and consultant, Jean-Claude Masangu Mulango is the former chief of the Banque Centrale du Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo's Central Bank. Mr. Masangu led the bank for 16 years, ending in 2013, serving under former president Laurent Kabila and current president Joseph Kabila. In this role, he helped to end hyperinflation and introduce a new national currency, the Congolese franc, while also focusing on microeconomic principles to better serve and empower the country's rural poor.

Mr. Masangu is a member of the American Chamber of Commerce in the DRC and, in an effort to develop US-Congo trade relations, seeks business opportunities as a consultant and a potential partner related to financial inclusion for women, senior citizens and the disabled. He is also active in other development issues and in attracting foreign direct investment to the DRC.

Prior to his time at the Central Bank, Mr. Masangu served as CEO of Citigroup in Kinshasa, the Congolese capital. As chairman of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Group of 24 (G24) between 2007 and 2008, he worked with then-IMF Managing Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn on international financial reform. He has also chaired the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Association of African Central Banks (AACB) and the Economic Community of Central African States' (ECCAS) sub-regional committee on central banks. In addition, Mr. Masangu served as an independent non-executive director of Katanga Mining Ltd. from 2006 to 2008.

The son of Jacques Masangu-a-Mwanza, former Congolese ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. Masangu is the author of several publications, including *A Governor's Word*, an encyclopedia published this year that details his time at the Central Bank; *Why I Believe in Africa's Progress*, a book published in 2009 in France that traces his career and his vision for Africa; and the 2004 book, *A Contribution to the Congolese Financial System Stabilization*. He holds an MBA from Louisiana State University, a BS from Massachusetts's Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and a BA from the International School of Geneva in Switzerland.

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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From: Fishman, Edward B (S/P) </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FISHMAN, EDWARD BE02>
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 12:20 PM
To: 'Riley Moore' <riley.moore@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Invite

Of course. [redacted]. Hope you're doing well. B6

All best,
Eddie

RELEASE IN PART B6

Edward Fishman
Member, Policy Planning Staff
Office of the Secretary
U.S. Department of State
Email: FishmanEB2@state.gov
Phone: 202-647-2457

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 12:14 PM
To: Fishman, Edward B (S/P)
Subject: Invite

Hey Eddy,

I wanted to invite you to something. Do you have a personal email I can send the invite too?

Thanks!

RILEY MOORE VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.448.5217 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001 B6

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From: Fischer, Patrick J </O=SBUSTATE/OU=FSI AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FISCHERPJ>
Sent: Friday, October 28, 2016 10:43 AM
To: 'Jordan Valdés' <jvaldes@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

Jordan,

No problem. Our trip was actually cancelled. Let me know when you have dates in December and we'll see what's possible.

Thanks,

Patrick Fischer
202-647-9038

From: Jordan Valdés [mailto:jvaldes@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, October 28, 2016 10:19 AM
To: Fischer, Patrick J
Subject: RE: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

RELEASE IN PART B6

Patrick,

After an embarrassingly long amount of time, I wanted to come back to you and let you know that Rendeavour was unable to be in country during U/S Novelli's trip; however, Preston Mendenhall, Head of Corporate Affairs, will be in Washington in early December and would like the opportunity to meet with you and/or her to brief on the company's developments, including an upcoming opportunity for American businesses.

I hope you'll consider the request. I'll come back to you when we have dates, and I'll remain open to you for any questions on the visit.

Many thanks as always for your support.

Best,
Jordan

From: Fischer, Patrick J [mailto:FischerPJ@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, September 22, 2016 8:13 AM
To: Jordan Valdés <jvaldes@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

Jordan,

Unfortunately, U/S Novelli's time in NY is limited this week, so she won't be available to meet. We are planning for the Africa trip, with a possible stop in Zambia, so please feel free to send additional info about Rendeavor's work there.

Thanks,

Patrick Fischer
202-647-9038

From: Jordan Valdés [mailto:jvaldes@podestagroup.com]

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Sent: Tuesday, September 20, 2016 11:27 AM
To: Fischer, Patrick J
Subject: Re: U/S Novelli's Africa trip
Importance: High

Dear Patrick,

Please forgive the time its taken to respond. As you can imagine, we are at UNGA this week, but wanted to follow up about the Africa trip as well as a potential pull-aside with U/S Novelli while in NY.

As you know, Rendeavour (http://www.rendeavour.com/) is the largest urban land developer in sub-Saharan Africa, which is building satellite cities adjacent to existing urban centers in five countries across Africa. The company has invested $2 billion in a portfolio including seven developments in Kenya, Zambia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria and Ghana, encompassing 30,000 acres of land. Rendeavour's developments will eventually be home to approximately 500,000 low, middle, and upper income Africans.

Rendeavour's satellite cities will include 300,000 square meters of commercial and industrial space, and are attracting corporate partnerships, including with Skidmore Owings & Merrill and Unilever. Rendeavour is currently evaluating its energy efficiency, solar and off-grid options for its developments and has issued one RFP for American company partnerships, with more expected to come out in the next year. The company's American CEO, and one of its principal investors, is Frank Mosier, a 25-year veteran of investing in emerging markets. Mr. Mosier has also been invited by Secretary Pritzker to attend the US-Africa Business Forum. **If possible, Mr. Mosier would like to meet the Undersecretary or an appropriate official from your team while in NY this week to discuss possible areas of collaboration, including a potential site visit for the U/S during her time in Africa next month.**

Please let us know if she would be available today, tomorrow (Wednesday, September 21st) or Thursday September 22nd, and we will work with your team to set a mutually convenient time and place to meet. I'm attaching a brochure for the company as well as biography for Mr. Mosier for your review.

My personal mobile phone is [redacted] I can be put in touch with whomever is on the ground in New York, in the event that you are a HQ, if that is helpful to your team. B6

Thank you, Patrick!

Best,

Jordan Valdés
Vice President
Podesta Group
O: 202-879-9379
C: [redacted] B6

From: "Fischer, Patrick J"
Date: Friday, September 9, 2016 at 12:45 PM
To: Jordan Valdes
Subject: RE: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

Jordan,

I've got a conflict today. Can we touch based Monday? I'm free 1130 – 5.

Thanks,

Patrick Fischer

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

202-647-9038

From: Jordan Valdés [mailto:jvaldes@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, September 09, 2016 11:55 AM
To: Fischer, Patrick J; Parbhoo, Omar E
Subject: RE: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

Omar, thank you for the kind introduction.

Patrick, great to e-meet you. Your name reads familiarly. I would like to give you a call this afternoon, circa 4:15 PM, if that works for you.

Many thanks,
Jordan

From: Fischer, Patrick J [mailto:FischerPJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 09, 2016 11:32 AM
To: Parbhoo, Omar E <ParbhooOE@state.gov>; Jordan Valdés <jvaldes@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

Omar,

Thanks.

Jordan,

Please feel free to give me a call or email and we can discuss the trip.

Patrick Fischer
202-647-9038

From: Parbhoo, Omar E
Sent: Friday, September 09, 2016 11:23 AM
To: Jordan Valdés
Cc: Fischer, Patrick J
Subject: RE: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

Hi Jordan,

Great to hear from you! I'm copying my colleague, Patrick, who is U/S Novelli's special advisor on Africa. He can discuss further her trip and coordinate a site visit if it makes sense.

Best,
Omar

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Jordan Valdés [mailto:jvaldes@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 08, 2016 8:38 AM
To: Parbhoo, Omar E

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Subject: U/S Novelli's Africa trip

Dear Omar,

I hope you're well! Thank you again for meeting Preston Mendenhall and me at GES to discuss Rendeavour.

In follow up to our conversation, Rendeavour's CEO, Frank Mosier, has been invited to attend the US Africa Business Forum (USABF) by Secretary Pritzker, and in those conversations, became aware of U/S Novelli's trip to Africa. With whom can I discuss the details of this trip, and potentially pitch a site visit or similar to one of Rendeavour's properties? I would be grateful for your help here.

Thank you, Omar! Hope to see you soon.

Best,

JORDAN VALDÉS VICE PRESIDENT
O 202.879.9379 / C [redacted] Wwww.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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From: Joe Macmanus [redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 5:38 AM
To: Macmanus, Joseph E <MacmanusJE@state.gov>
Subject: Call Dave Adams
Attach: image001.jpg; image003.jpg; image002.jpg

Ca

RELEASE IN PART B6

Begin forwarded message:

From: Joe Macmanus [redacted] B6
Date: December 12, 2016 at 7:21:44 PM EST
To: David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com>
Subject: Re: Got a few minutes to chat?

Click ran out. Tuesday?

On Dec 12, 2016, at 3:16 PM, David Adams <dadams@podestagroup.com> wrote:

Hope you're otherwise well and enjoying the transition. Best, Dave

<image001.jpg>

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com B6
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC
20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

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From: McKey, David G <McKeyDG@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2013 3:45 PM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) <BowmanJJ@state.gov>
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M <SeaholmRM@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Meeting request

Jason,
Unfortunately, the Ambassador will be out of the office from 3 March – 13 March and will not be available to meet with Dr. Hotez.

As an FYI - next week is a particularly bad week for scheduling meetings with S/GAC senior staff as many will be in Atlanta for the Conference on Retroviruses and Opportunistic Infections (CROI) 3/3-3/6. Many staff return on Thursday, 3/7, but the Ambassador travels on to Seattle for meetings on the West Coast.

Thanks,
David

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2013 3:38 PM
To: McKey, David G
Cc: Seaholm, Rena M
Subject: FW: Meeting request

David,
Wanted to forward this meeting request. Dr. Hotez is one of the senior leaders at the Sabin Institute. Can add to our list to discuss tomorrow.
Jason

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2013 3:14 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Ben Chang
Subject: Meeting request

Hi Jason and Chris, I was wondering if now that Dr. Goosby has been officially installed as head of OGHD, we might be able to continue the conversation we started in December around "vaccine diplomacy."

Dr. Hotez will be in Washington next Tuesday to deliver the 26th Annual Packard Lecture at the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences in Bethesda. If Dr. Goosby has a few moments on Wednesday (3/6) or Thursday (3/7) to meet with Dr. Hotez and myself, we would be grateful.

I plan to attend Dr. Goosby's town hall at the Kaiser Family Foundation on Thursday of this week, and look forward to hearing about his vision for the OGHD. I'm on the waitlist currently but hope to attend in person, or if not via the webcast.

Also, if you think there is merit to us meeting next week with any of the country-desk officers, we would welcome your thoughts and assistance with that.

I'm sure Dr. Goosby is inundated with requests, even more so now than usual, so thank you for your consideration of this one.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Best regards,
Steve

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2013 11:18 AM
To: Steve Northrup; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: hotez@bcm.edu; Butrum, Herbert Lee; Ben Chang
Subject: RE: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

Thanks, Steve. As the Office of Global Health Diplomacy gets on track, we will pick up the conversation again. This is very helpful.

Best,

Chris

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 5:13 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay (hotez@bcm.edu); 'Butrum, Herbert Lee'; Ben Chang
Subject: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

Chris and Jason, thanks for taking the time to meet with us on December 11. We appreciated the opportunity to talk to you about ways that Baylor College of Medicine and Dr. Hotez can participate in and support the State Department's global health diplomacy.

I've attached the paper we promised, outlining opportunities for "vaccine diplomacy" in several countries/regions, including:

- Middle East
- Brazil
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Mexico
- Pakistan
- China
- Central Asia

Dr. Hotez will be back in DC on January 10. If you think we should follow up directly with any country desk officers, or anyone else for that matter, please advise. We'd appreciate any further thoughts on the attached as well.

Best regards,
Steve

Steve Northrup | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5223 (d) | [redacted] (c) | SNorthrup@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

B6

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From:	Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BOWMANJJ>
Sent:	Friday, March 1, 2013 10:20 AM
To:	'Steve Northrup' <SNorthrup@podesta.com>
Cc:	Ben Chang <bchang@podesta.com>
Subject:	RE: Meeting request

Yes, please do

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, March 01, 2013 10:20 AM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Ben Chang
Subject: RE: Meeting request

RELEASE IN PART B6

Jason, I'm sorry to hear that, but I can appreciate how busy Ambassador Rowe's schedule must be. If it's okay with you, I'll follow up when I know when Dr. Hotez will be in town next.

Thanks very much.

Best regards,
Steve

From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) [mailto:BowmanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, March 01, 2013 10:13 AM
To: Steve Northrup
Cc: Ben Chang
Subject: RE: Meeting request

Steve,
Apologies for the delay, has been a very busy few days. Ambassador Rowe unfortunately will not be available next week and will be traveling the week following.
Jason

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2013 4:25 PM
To: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD); Dorval, Christopher
Cc: Ben Chang
Subject: RE: Meeting request

Jason, we'd welcome the opportunity to meet with Ambassador Rowe. Thanks for your quick reply and consideration.

Best regards,
Steve

From: Bowman, Jason (S/GHD) [mailto:BowmanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2013 4:20 PM
To: Steve Northrup; Dorval, Christopher
Cc: Ben Chang
Subject: RE: Meeting request

Steve,

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Ambassador Goosby will be traveling those days and unfortunately unable to meet. It might be possible to meet with Ambassador Rowe who also is serving in the Office of Global Health Diplomacy. I will raise with her and get soon.
Jason

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2013 3:14 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Ben Chang
Subject: Meeting request

Hi Jason and Chris, I was wondering if now that Dr. Goosby has been officially installed as head of OGHD, we might be able to continue the conversation we started in December around "vaccine diplomacy."

Dr. Hotez will be in Washington next Tuesday to deliver the 26th Annual Packard Lecture at the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences in Bethesda. If Dr. Goosby has a few moments on Wednesday (3/6) or Thursday (3/7) to meet with Dr. Hotez and myself, we would be grateful.

I plan to attend Dr. Goosby's town hall at the Kaiser Family Foundation on Thursday of this week, and look forward to hearing about his vision for the OGHD. I'm on the waitlist currently but hope to attend in person, or if not via the webcast.

Also, if you think there is merit to us meeting next week with any of the country-desk officers, we would welcome your thoughts and assistance with that.

I'm sure Dr. Goosby is inundated with requests, even more so now than usual, so thank you for your consideration of this one.

Best regards,
Steve

From: Dorval, Christopher [mailto:DorvalC@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2013 11:18 AM
To: Steve Northrup; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: hotez@bcm.edu; Butrum, Herbert Lee; Ben Chang
Subject: RE: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

Thanks, Steve. As the Office of Global Health Diplomacy gets on track, we will pick up the conversation again. This is very helpful.

Best,

Chris

From: Steve Northrup [mailto:SNorthrup@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2013 5:13 PM
To: Dorval, Christopher; Bowman, Jason (S/GHD)
Cc: Hotez, Peter Jay (hotez@bcm.edu); 'Butrum, Herbert Lee'; Ben Chang
Subject: Dr. Hotez/Baylor College of Medicine follow-up re neglected tropical diseases

Chris and Jason, thanks for taking the time to meet with us on December 11. We appreciated the opportunity to talk to you about ways that Baylor College of Medicine and Dr. Hotez can participate in and support the State Department's global health diplomacy.

I've attached the paper we promised, outlining opportunities for "vaccine diplomacy" in several countries/regions,

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including:

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- Brazil
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Mexico
- Pakistan
- China
- Central Asia

Dr. Hotez will be back in DC on January 10. If you think we should follow up directly with any country desk officers, or anyone else for that matter, please advise. We'd appreciate any further thoughts on the attached as well.

Best regards,
Steve

Steve Northrup | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5223 (d) | [redacted] (c) | SNorthrup@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From: Sonenshine, Tara D <SonenshineTD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, May 15, 2013 2:02 PM
To: R_Special Assistants <R_SpecialAssistants@state.gov>; Logsdon, Michelle R <LogsdonMR@state.gov>; Rosenthal, Aviva S <RosenthalA@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Hi there and question
Attach: May 22 Republic Day Invitation.png

!!!

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Bay Fang [mailto:bfang@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 15, 2013 1:44 PM
To: Sonenshine, Tara D
Subject: Hi there and question

Hi Tara! How is everything? I miss you guys. I just started on Monday at the Podesta Group, and was wondering if I you might have some time next Weds night for a quick stop-by at a reception. The Azeri Ambassador and his wife are hosting their National Day celebration at the Mellon Auditorium (invite attached), and they would really love it if you could come and say a very quick welcome to the guests (literally, 2 minutes – not a speech). There are about 200 confirmed guests, including DASes from EUR and EB, a dozen Ambassadors, and others from the diplomatic, cultural and business scene in town. We are working with the Azeris to do more on the public diplomacy front, especially vis-à-vis Nagorno-Karabakh, which I know is also an EUR priority. This would be a huge help. I will send a separate note to Eric (who will be there), but please let me know what you think.

Invitaton not attached

All best!
Bay

Bay Fang | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5212 (d) | [redacted] (c) | bfang@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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From: Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, January 9, 2017 6:02 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: Re: Request for a favor...
Attach: image001.jpg; image002.jpg; image003.jpg

Steve -- agree. I will give it a shot. Tony **RELEASE IN PART B6**

Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 9, 2017, at 5:33 PM, Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com> wrote:

> Tony—
>
> Congratulations on a successful tenure at the Department. I wish you well in whatever comes next, and if there's anything I can do to be helpful along the way, please let me know.
>
> In the meantime, I wanted to ask you one favor before you leave the Department. As you may know, we represent the Government of Iraq. They have a newly-arrived ambassador, Fareed Yasseen, previously their ambassador in Paris for the past six years, who is going to be an excellent representative for them. He has yet to present his credentials to the President, however, and quite naturally, he's worried that doing this isn't going to be the top priority of the new President. That would be ok, except for the fact that when Trump and PM Abadi talked by phone after the election, Trump invited him to visit him at the White House early this year, and both sides are now looking at a date next month for the visit. That will make Abadi one of the first foreign visitors to the Trump White House, if not the first, which will be great for Iraq. But it will be very, very bad for Amb. Yasseen if he's not able to join the meetings with his PM because he hasn't been able to present his credentials.
>
> I realize that I'm asking you to anticipatorily fix a problem that may arise in the next Administration, but since we all want America's Iraq policy to succeed, I'm hopeful you'll agree it's the right thing to do. We also understand from contacts at the White House that there are ten or so other ambassadors who are in the same situation as Yasseen (including the new ambassador of India), and all of them are worried that they are not going to be able to participate in inaugural-related events if they haven't presented their credentials. So in fact there is an issue here going well beyond Iraq that could affect US relations with a number of countries.
>
> I, and Amb. Yasseen, would be grateful if you could persuade your colleagues at the White House to squeeze a credentials presentation ceremony into the President's schedule before he leaves office.
>
> Thank you for considering this request.
>
> Best,
>
> Steve

<image001.jpg> **STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL**
O 202.448.5238 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC

B6

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20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

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From: Kim, Yuri J <KimYJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, January 9, 2017 6:40 PM
To: Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>; Finer, Jonathan J <FinerJJ@state.gov>; Sullivan, Thomas D <SullivanTD@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Request for a favor...

Yes, after a fashion. Protocol has given me a heads up that they may request your help getting the WH to schedule POTUS to receive credentials from about a dozen and a half ambassadors, including from Iraq and Egypt, who have presented at State but haven't at the WH and therefore won't be able to participate in the inauguration or any other events involving POTUS. Protocol is engaging McDonough's office one more time and come back to me.

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From: Blinken, Antony J
Sent: Monday, January 09, 2017 6:27 PM
To: Finer, Jonathan J; Sullivan, Thomas D; Kim, Yuri J
Subject: Fwd: Request for a favor...

RELEASE IN PART B6

Has this come up?

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

> **From:** Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
> **Date:** January 9, 2017 at 5:32:13 PM EST
> **To:** "BlinkenAJ@state.gov" <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>
> **Subject: Request for a favor...**
>
> Tony—
>
> Congratulations on a successful tenure at the Department. I wish you well in whatever comes next, and if there's anything I can do to be helpful along the way, please let me know.
>
> In the meantime, I wanted to ask you one favor before you leave the Department. As you may know, we represent the Government of Iraq. They have a newly-arrived ambassador, Fareed Yasseen, previously their ambassador in Paris for the past six years, who is going to be an excellent representative for them. He has yet to present his credentials to the President, however, and quite naturally, he's worried that doing this isn't going to be the top priority of the new President. That would be ok, except for the fact that when Trump and PM Abadi talked by phone after the election, Trump invited him to visit him at the White House early this year, and both sides are now looking at a date next month for the visit. That will make Abadi one of the first foreign visitors to the Trump White House, if not the first, which will be great for Iraq. But it will be very, very bad for Amb. Yasseen if he's not able to join the meetings with his PM because he hasn't been able to present his credentials.
>
> I realize that I'm asking you to anticipatorily fix a problem that may arise in the next Administration, but since we all want America's Iraq policy to succeed, I'm hopeful you'll agree it's the right thing to do. We also understand from contacts at the White House that there are ten or so other ambassadors who are in the same situation as Yasseen (including the new ambassador of India), and all of them are worried that they are not going to be able to participate in inaugural-related events if they haven't presented their

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credentials. So in fact there is an issue here going well beyond Iraq that could affect US relations with a number of countries.

I, and Amb. Yasseen, would be grateful if you could persuade your colleagues at the White House to squeeze a credentials presentation ceremony into the President's schedule before he leaves office.

Thank you for considering this request.

Best,

Steve

STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5238 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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Subject: Drinks with Mark Tavlarides

Start: 5/18/2017 6:30 PM

End: 5/18/2017 8:00 PM

Show Time As: Busy

RELEASE IN FULL

Recurrence: (none)

Organizer: Hamilton, Maxwell J

Required Attendees: Hamilton, Maxwell J

From: Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
Sent: Friday, May 5, 2017 2:48 PM
To: Hamilton, Maxwell J
Subject: RE: Drinks

Let's put it on the calendar and keep in touch as the date gets closer.

From: Hamilton, Maxwell J [mailto:HamiltonMJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, May 05, 2017 2:32 PM
To: Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Drinks

I think I could make 6:30 at Centrolina work.

Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State

2201 C St., NW | Rm 7250 | Washington, DC 20520 | ☎ 202.647.5200 | ✉ HamiltonMJ@state.gov

Official

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From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 5, 2017 1:33 PM
To: Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Drinks

How early can you get out of work? As a former USG employee I know the hours are long. Is 6:30 to early? Have you been to Centrolina at City Center?

Sent from my iPad

On May 4, 2017, at 11:21 AM, Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov> wrote:

> Hi Mark, great to hear from you. Drinks on May 18 would be terrific. What would be a good time/location?
>
> Regards,
>
> Max
>
> **Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State**
>
> 2201 C St., NW | Rm 7250 | Washington, DC 20520 | ☎ 202.647.5200 | ✉ HamiltonMJ@state.gov
>
> **Personal**
>
> **UNCLASSIFIED**
>
> **From:** Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
> **Sent:** Thursday, May 4, 2017 10:48 AM
> **To:** Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
> **Subject:** Drinks
>
> Hi Max,

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Hope all is well. Are you free for drinks on May 18?

Best,

Mark

<image001.jpg>

MARK TAVLARIDES PRINCIPAL

O 202.448.5239 / C / W www.podestagroup.com

1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

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From: Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 18, 2017 5:26 PM
To: Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Drinks

Hi Mark,

Thanks for the email. This evening might be difficult. Any chance that May 30 or June 2 could work for you? The boss will be travelling around that time so I should be able to leave earlier.

Warm regards,

RELEASE IN FULL

Max

Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State
2201 C St., NW | Rm 7250 | Washington, DC 20520 | ☎ 202.647.5200 | ✉ HamiltonMJ@state.gov

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 18, 2017 5:00 PM
To: Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Drinks

Hi Max,

How does your schedule look for this evening?

Best,

Mark

From: Hamilton, Maxwell J [mailto:HamiltonMJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, May 05, 2017 6:02 PM
To: Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Drinks

Terrific, Mark. Have a great weekend.

Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State
2201 C St., NW | Rm 7250 | Washington, DC 20520 | ☎ 202.647.5200 | ✉ HamiltonMJ@state.gov

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From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 5, 2017 2:48 PM
To: Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Drinks

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Let's put it on the calendar and keep in touch as the date gets closer.

From: Hamilton, Maxwell J [mailto:HamiltonMJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, May 05, 2017 2:32 PM
To: Mark Tavlarides <mtavlarides@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Drinks

I think I could make 6:30 at Centrolina work.

Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State
2201 C St., NW | Rm 7250 | Washington, DC 20520 | ☎ 202.647.5200 | ✉ HamiltonMJ@state.gov

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From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 5, 2017 1:33 PM
To: Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Drinks

How early can you get out of work? As a former USG employee I know the hours are long. Is 6:30 to early? Have you been to Centrolina at City Center?

Sent from my iPad

On May 4, 2017, at 11:21 AM, Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov> wrote:

> Hi Mark, great to hear from you. Drinks on May 18 would be terrific. What would be a good time/location?
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> Regards,
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> Max
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> **Maxwell J. Hamilton | Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs | U.S. Department of State**
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> **Personal**
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> **From:** Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podestagroup.com]
> **Sent:** Thursday, May 4, 2017 10:48 AM
> **To:** Hamilton, Maxwell J <HamiltonMJ@state.gov>
> **Subject:** Drinks
>
> Hi Max,
>
> Hope all is well. Are you free for drinks on May 18?
>
> Best,

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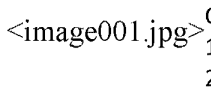
Mark



MARK TAVLARIDES PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5239 / C / W www.podestagroup.com
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From: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2017 8:48 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>; Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Good Morning, Mr. Rademaker.

Yes, we have you down on Todd's schedule for lunch/meeting today. I will greet/assist you in the lobby today at noon.

See you soon - quynh

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 13, 2017 5:11 PM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Todd—

My calendar shows us meeting for lunch tomorrow. But looking more carefully at our exchange of messages below, it may be that you have us on your calendar for Thursday. If so, it remains the case that [redacted] B6 [redacted] and so I'm tied up. If tomorrow is good for you, we need to pick a place to meet. If not, we need to reschedule. In any event, I hope to see you again soon.

Best,

Steve

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:28 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

We can figure it out between now and then but in meantime I've written it onto my calendar (and blocked off the 15th !!)

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:24 PM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

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The 14th works for me. But let's not push it to the 15th, [redacted] B6

Where would you like to meet? I'm surrounded by lots of great restaurants (11th and G), but it's not convenient to you. I don't think you have many restaurants near you. I'd be happy to try to meet somewhere in between, but I'm not sure what that would be. Bombay Club?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:16 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

[redacted] What would you think of June 14 – we could both catch up and celebrate Flag Day at the same time !! B6

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 11:25 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Actually I just gave the 7th away. How about Friday the 9th?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 11:21 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Let's try June 7, but we should re-confirm at the beginning of that week.

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 10:40 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Want to meet for lunch on Tuesday June 6 or Wednesday June 7?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 8:02 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Yes, all well here too. Want to have coffee or lunch sometime. I'm traveling next week, but maybe when I get back ?

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, May 22, 2017 10:51 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Thanks Todd. Yes, all is good with me. I don't think I'll be joining you at State. Among other things, they don't really seem to be hiring….

Are you still handling the War Crimes portfolio? As you may know, I have strong feelings on that issue. Would love to talk to you about it one day.

In any event, I hope you're also doing well.

Steve

From: Todd Buchwald <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Date: Sunday, May 21, 2017 at 9:45 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Thanks for sending Steve. Any chance that you will come into the Administration ? Hope all is well, Todd

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 19, 2017 8:25 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

I thought you might be interested in an op-ed I wrote on North Korea, which was run yesterday by the Washington Post. The text is attached, and can also be found at the following address: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-north-korean-nuclear-threat-is-very-real-time-to-start-treating-it-that-way/2017/05/18/d60cbeec-39a4-11e7-8854-21f359183e8c_story.html?utm_term=.f748cedb8c90

As always, I welcome any feedback you might have.

With best wishes,

Steve

PG **STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL**
O 202.448.5238 / C[redacted] / Wwww.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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From:	Buchwald, Todd F </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BUCHWALDTF>
Sent:	Wednesday, June 14, 2017 11:50 AM
To:	Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject:	RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Got it – see you there.

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2017 11:46 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

I've made a reservation for us at Zaytinya, 701 9th St., NW, at 12:30. It's under my name. See you there!

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2017 11:40 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Thanks Steve - any are good for me – please just let me know where and I can meet you there.

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From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2017 10:08 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

12:30 is good for me. Nearby places that I like include Zaytinya (Jose Andres' Mediterranean place), Oceanaire (seafood), Brasserie Beck (Belgian), Centrolina (Italian) and Casa Luca (one of Fabio Trabocchi's Italian restaurants). Also, there's the Tadich Grill which just opened on Penna. Ave. If one of these appeals to you, let me know and I'll make a reservation.

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2017 9:14 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

It's today, assuming that you are still available. I can come down to your neighborhood – it's probably easier than finding a place in the middle. Around 12:30?.

Official

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UNCLASSIFIED

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 13, 2017 5:11 PM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Todd—

My calendar shows us meeting for lunch tomorrow. But looking more carefully at our exchange of messages below, it may be that you have us on your calendar for Thursday. If so, it remains the case that [redacted] B6 and so I'm tied up. If tomorrow is good for you, we need to pick a place to meet. If not, we need to reschedule. In any event, I hope to see you again soon.

Best,

Steve

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:28 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

We can figure it out between now and then but in meantime I've written it onto my calendar (and blocked off the 15th !!)

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:24 PM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

The 14th works for me. But let's not push it to the 15th, [redacted] B6

Where would you like to meet? I'm surrounded by lots of great restaurants (11th and G), but it's not convenient to you. I don't think you have many restaurants near you. I'd be happy to try to meet somewhere in between, but I'm not sure what that would be. Bombay Club?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 5:16 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

[redacted] B6 What would you think of June 14 – we could both catch up and celebrate Flag Day at the same time !!

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 11:25 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Actually I just gave the 7th away. How about Friday the 9th?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 11:21 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Cc: Janssen, Quynh T <JanssenQT@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Let's try June 7, but we should re-confirm at the beginning of that week.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 10:40 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Want to meet for lunch on Tuesday June 6 or Wednesday June 7?

From: Buchwald, Todd F [mailto:BuchwaldTF@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 23, 2017 8:02 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Yes, all well here too. Want to have coffee or lunch sometime. I'm traveling next week, but maybe when I get back ?

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, May 22, 2017 10:51 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Thanks Todd. Yes, all is good with me. I don't think I'll be joining you at State. Among other things, they don't really seem to be hiring....

Are you still handling the War Crimes portfolio? As you may know, I have strong feelings on that issue. Would love to talk to you about it one day.

In any event, I hope you're also doing well.

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Steve

From: Todd Buchwald <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Date: Sunday, May 21, 2017 at 9:45 AM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: RE: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

Thanks for sending Steve. Any chance that you will come into the Administration ? Hope all is well, Todd

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UNCLASSIFIED

From: Stephen Rademaker [mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 19, 2017 8:25 PM
To: Stephen Rademaker <srademaker@podestagroup.com>
Subject: Washington Post: The North Korean nuclear threat is very real. Time to start treating it that way.

I thought you might be interested in an op-ed I wrote on North Korea, which was run yesterday by the Washington Post. The text is attached, and can also be found at the following address: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-north-korean-nuclear-threat-is-very-real-time-to-start-treating-it-that-way/2017/05/18/d60cbeec-39a4-11e7-8854-21f359183e8c_story.html?utm_term=.f748cedb8c90

As always, I welcome any feedback you might have.

With best wishes,

Steve

PG **STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL**
O 202.448.5238 / C [redacted] / Wwww.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

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From:	Kausner, Gregory M </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KAUSNER, GREGORY M01F>
Sent:	Wednesday, June 5, 2013 8:39 PM
To:	Hardeman, Kate M <HardemanKM@state.gov>; Jost, Aaron W <JostAW@state.gov>
Cc:	Ram, Vangala S <RamVS@state.gov>; Miller, Michael F <Millermf@state.gov>; Comer, Charles K <ComerCK@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: Iraqi MOD visit coming up

See below. B5

From: Riley Moore [mailto:riley.moore@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 04, 2013 6:08 PM
To: Kausner, Gregory M
Subject: Iraqi MOD visit coming up

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

Greg,

The Iraqi MOD, Dr. Saadoun al-Dulaimi, will be here on the 18th and 19th. He has requested meeting with Chair and Ranking at HFAC and SFRC. He wants to talk IADS, among other things. The new Ambassador will be at these meeting as well.

Additionally, Lt. Gen. J. Michael Bednarek, Chief, Office of Security Cooperation-Iraq will be attending all Hill meetings. This is part of the IADS push.

Could we speak briefly to have your perspective and your teams on the dynamics of the situation? I think it could be useful for all parties. We (by we, I mean my colleagues and I) can come to State. We are going to brief MOD and the Embassy before the meetings.

Thank, Greg.

Riley Moore | Senior Associate

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5217 (d) | (c) | riley.moore@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Klajn, Tamara
Sent: Thursday, October 31, 2013 6:05:05 PM
To: Barlerin, Peter H
Subject: RE: Arturo Sarukhan

Many thanks!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED
From: Barlerin, Peter H
Sent: Thursday, October 31, 2013 5:54 PM
To: Klajn, Tamara
Subject: FW: Arturo Sarukhan

RELEASE IN PART B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED
From: Keefe, Elizabeth J
Sent: Thursday, October 31, 2013 3:32 PM
To: Barlerin, Peter H; Brown, Verlene; Zia, Thomas S; Kane, Eileen H; Brown, Edwin P; Renna, Daniel M; Wood, Julie (AFR/EA); Komich, Carla (AFR/EA); Sampson, Aaron B; Angelini, Mary M
Subject: RE: Arturo Sarukhan

We will be meeting in Room 5819.

-----Original Appointment-----
From: Barlerin, Peter H
Sent: Thursday, October 31, 2013 1:16 PM
To: Brown, Verlene; Keefe, Elizabeth J
Subject: FW: Arturo Sarukhan
When: Friday, November 01, 2013 10:30 AM-11:00 AM (UTC-05:00) Eastern Time (US & Canada).
Where:

We need to find a suitable location for this – do we have one?

-----Original Appointment-----
From: Barlerin, Peter H
Sent: Thursday, October 24, 2013 6:17 PM
To: Barlerin, Peter H; Zia, Thomas S; Kane, Eileen H; Keefe, Elizabeth J; Brown, Edwin P; Renna, Daniel M; Wood, Julie (AFR/EA); Komich, Carla (AFR/EA); Sampson, Aaron B; Angelini, Mary M
Subject: Arturo Sarukhan
When: Friday, November 01, 2013 10:30 AM-11:00 AM (UTC-05:00) Eastern Time (US & Canada).
Where:

Inviting USAID DRC colleagues to this as well. Hope you can make it. I will try to reserve the AF/W conference room.

Peter Henry Barlerin
Director
Office of Economic Policy
Bureau of African Affairs
U.S. Department of State

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

+1 202 647-4066

From: Arturo Sarukhan [mailto:asarukhan@podesta.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 24, 2013 6:09 PM
To: Barlerin, Peter H
Cc: Rebecca Edgar; Javier Sancho
Subject:

Dear Mr. Barlerin,
Good evening. My name is Arturo Sarukhan, Chairman of Global Solutions, a strategic consulting firm within the Podesta Group, here in DC, and the former Mexican Ambassador to the US for the past half-dozen years.

Tamara Klajn and Tony Podesta had a discussion a few days ago on issues of mutual interest related to Africa, and she suggested we contact to you to explore the possibility of coming to see you to talk about how we can work together in creating synergies between the Global Partnership Initiative, and in particular the Alliance for Responsible Minerals Trade, and a client of ours operating in Eastern Africa. Tony, another colleague of mine -Ambassador Javier Sancho, former Permanent Representative of Spain to the OAS- and I would truly appreciate the opportunity to meet you and sit down for a discussion of on-going USG and DoS initiatives in Africa. Would it be possible to schedule a meeting sometime next week, at your convenience?

Many thanks for your consideration of this email, and we look forward to hopefully meeting you soon.
Best wishes
Arturo Sarukhan

Arturo Sarukhan | Chairman, Global Solutions

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.879.9385 (d) | [redacted] (c) | asarukhan@podesta.com | www.podestagroup.com

B6

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From: Neuling, Bruce </O=SBUSTATE/OU=PRETORIA/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=NEULINGBX>
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2014 3:59 PM
To: Amirthanayagam, Indran J <Indran@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC
Attach: No Fire Zone Discussion and Screening Dear Colleague Final.pdf

---

fyi

From: Tim Kopper [mailto:TKopper@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2014 3:16 PM
To: Neuling, Bruce
Subject: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

RELEASE IN PART B6

Dear Bruce,

On behalf of my client, the Tamil American Peace Initiative (TAPI), I wanted to pass along to you an invitation (attached and below) from the co-chairs of the Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka, Reps. Bill Johnson and Danny Davis.

As you'll see, this is very timely event since the UN Human Rights Council is meeting this month in Geneva and the US is expected to lead a resolution addressing Sri Lanka.

Event starts at 3:30pm tomorrow in the Capitol Visitor Center's Auditorium and it would be great if you could attend or send a designee!

I would be happy to answer any questions.

Thanks for taking the time,
Tim

Tim Kopper | Director
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9384 (d) | [redacted] (c) | tkopper@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

B6

Dear Colleague,

The Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka invites you to a discussion on human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The event will include a conversation on past and current human rights abuses, and the necessary steps for reconciliation, followed by a viewing of "No Fire Zone"- a documentary directed by Callum Macrae focusing on the final months of Sri Lanka's decades long civil war.

Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka: Past and Present

Thursday, March 13 111 at 3:30pm
Congressional Visitors Center (CVC) Auditorium
Featuring guest speaker J.S. Tissainayagam
Brief remarks from Reps. Johnson and Davis
And a viewing of
"No Fire Zone" with recorded remarks by Director Callum Macrae
If you have any questions or would like to RSVP for the event, please contact

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Laura Wilson with Rep. Bill Johnson (laura.wilson@mail.house.gov).

Sincerely,

Bill Johnson
Member of Congress

Danny K. Davis
Member of Congress

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06593325 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

RELEASE IN FULL

Dear Colleague,

The Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka invites you to a discussion on human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The event will include a conversation on past and current human rights abuses, and the necessary steps for reconciliation, followed by a viewing of "No Fire Zone" – a documentary directed by Callum Macrae focusing on the final months of Sri Lanka's decades-long civil war.

Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka: Past and Present

Thursday, March 13th at 3:30pm

Congressional Visitors Center (CVC) Auditorium

Featuring guest speaker J.S. Tissainayagam

And a viewing of

"No Fire Zone" with recorded remarks by Director Callum Macrae

If you have any questions or would like to RSVP for the event, please contact Laura Wilson with Rep. Bill Johnson (laura.wilson@mail.house.gov).

Sincerely,

Bill Johnson
Member of Congress

Danny K. Davis
Member of Congress

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06593325 Date: 08/21/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Amirthanayagam, Indran J <Indran@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, March 13, 2014 11:21 AM
To: Neuling, Bruce <NeulingBX@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

Thanks Bruce for this. I have written a poem or two about Tissanayagam who will give some remarks. Will do my best to attend. Best Indran

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Neuling, Bruce
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2014 3:59 PM
To: Amirthanayagam, Indran J
Subject: FW: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

fyi

From: Tim Kopper [mailto:TKopper@podesta.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2014 3:16 PM
To: Neuling, Bruce
Subject: Sri Lanka/Human Rights Event Tomorrow in CVC

Dear Bruce,

On behalf of my client, the Tamil American Peace Initiative (TAPI), I wanted to pass along to you an invitation (attached and below) from the co-chairs of the Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka, Reps. Bill Johnson and Danny Davis.

As you'll see, this is very timely event since the UN Human Rights Council is meeting this month in Geneva and the US is expected to lead a resolution addressing Sri Lanka.

Event starts at 3:30pm tomorrow in the Capitol Visitor Center's Auditorium and it would be great if you could attend or send a designee!

I would be happy to answer any questions.

Thanks for taking the time,
Tim

Tim Kopper | Director
Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
202.879.9384 (d) | [redacted] c) | tkopper@podesta.com | www.podesta.com

B6

Dear Colleague,

The Congressional Caucus on Ethnic and Religious Freedom in Sri Lanka invites you to a discussion on human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The event will include a conversation on past

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and current human rights abuses, and the necessary steps for reconciliation, followed by a viewing of "No Fire Zone"- a documentary directed by Callum Macrae focusing on the final months of Sri Lanka's decades long civil war.

Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka: Past and Present

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Featuring guest speaker J.S. Tissainayagam
Brief remarks from Reps. Johnson and Davis
And a viewing of
"No Fire Zone" with recorded remarks by Director Callum Macrae
If you have any questions or would like to RSVP for the event, please contact
Laura Wilson with Rep. Bill Johnson (laura.wilson@mail.house.gov).

Sincerely,

Bill Johnson
Member of Congress

Danny K. Davis
Member of Congress

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From: Klajn, Tamara </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KLEIJN, TAMARA03C>
Sent: Tuesday, March 18, 2014 8:39 PM
To: Nelson, Lynn A <NelsonL@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Tony Podesta Lunch

Lynn,

Thanks so much for your help with this! If they are amenable to it, perhaps we could have lunch at the Metropolitan Club (17th and H). I can make a reservation whenever there's a time. The only catch that's worth noting is that the Club is jacket and tie for men.

Thanks again,
Tamara

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Klajn, Tamara
Sent: Tuesday, March 18, 2014 8:36 PM
To: 'Heather Kliegman'
Cc: Nelson, Lynn A
Subject: RE: Tony Podesta Lunch

Dear Heather,

Many thanks for your note. It would be great to have lunch with Tony and I've cc-ed Lynn Nelson who may be able to help from this end. I think that the 26th should work well.

All the best,
Tamara

Tamara Klajn
Senior Advisor
Bureau of African Affairs
U.S. Department of State, Suite 6234A
(202) 647-3356 (direct)

From: Heather Kliegman [mailto:hkliegman@podesta.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 18, 2014 3:26 PM
To: Klajn, Tamara
Subject: Tony Podesta Lunch

Dear Tamara,

Tony asked me to reach out to set up a lunch for you both. Would you be available March 26? Please let me know. Also please let me know if there is someone in your office you'd like me to work with to get this scheduled.

Thanks,
Heather

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Heather Kliegman | Scheduler to the Chairman

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5235 (d) [redacted] (c) | hkliegman@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com B6

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From: Klajn, Tamara </O=SBUSTATE/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=KLEIJN, TAMARA03C>
Sent: Friday, March 28, 2014 4:24 PM
To: Fooks, Michael D <FooksMD@state.gov>
Subject: RE: U.S.-Africa Leaders' Summit in Washington, DC on August 5 and 6

Mike,

Yes, I met with him on Wednesday and briefly discussed the current outlines of the Summit. We can tell him that President Hassan Sheikh is invited and that our Summit Office recently met with the mission in New York to get their perspective on themes/deliverables. The White House is focused on ensuring that this is a collaborative process and that the Summit itself is dynamic and action-oriented. It's also worth noting that we very much hope that the President will attend.

Best,
Tamara

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Fooks, Michael D
Sent: Friday, March 28, 2014 2:45 PM
To: Klajn, Tamara
Subject: FW: U.S.-Africa Leaders' Summit in Washington, DC on August 5 and 6

Hi Tamara,

Not sure whether you've had your lunch w/Tony P yet, but just got this message from his team asking about Hassan Sheikh's participation at the August summit. I will tell Mark we have no details to share as yet, but when we do we will look to inform HSM thru official channels. Sound ok?

Thanks, Mike

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Mark Tavlarides [mailto:mtavlarides@podesta.com]
Sent: Friday, March 28, 2014 1:29 PM
To: Fooks, Michael D
Cc: Cohen, Nancy A; Mohamoud, Safia
Subject: U.S.-Africa Leaders' Summit in Washington, DC on August 5 and 6

Hi Mike,

Hope you are well.

Are there any details you can provide me about the US-Africa Leaders' Summit as it relates to the President of Somalia's participation?

Thanks,

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Mark

Mark Tavlarides | Principal

Podesta Group | 1001 G Street, NW Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

202.448.5239 (d) | (c) | mtavlarides@podestagroup.com | www.podestagroup.com

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UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06593335 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

RELEASE IN FULL

Republic of South Sudan (RSS)

Office of the President

Ref: ..... Date: .....

President Salva Kiir Praises US and African Support to Bring Peace to South Sudan

6 August 2014 **FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

WASHINGTON – President Salva Kiir of the Republic of South Sudan today thanked US Secretary of State John Kerry and leaders of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) for their tireless efforts to bring peace and stability to South Sudan.

"I am very gratified for the leadership and support of Secretary Kerry and our good neighbors in the IGAD, who all made it very clear that signed agreements must be respected. Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn of Ethiopia stated that "the region has come a long way in sorting out the problem, and to solve this problem will stand together. And in this regard, we have come to the end now. The violation of ceasefire has taken place by Riek Machar."

President Salva Kiir prior to his meeting with Secretary Kerry stated "If peace was to be brought to South Sudan today or tomorrow, I will be happy because the people who are dying on both sides are my people. I am an elected president, and the people who elected me were not from my tribe alone. I was elected by 93% of the registered voters in 2010.

Secretary Kerry at the same meeting said: "I just want the record to be clear that it is our judgment – and the former Vice President Mr. Machar needs to understand this – that he has broken – it was his initiative that broke the agreement and took his troops back into a violent status. And he needs to understand the importance of living by the agreements."

"We have said before and I reiterate now that the president is the duly elected, constitutional president of South Sudan, and this is a rebel group," Secretary Kerry said.

President Kiir said that he is looking forward to a scheduled visit of the UN Security Council to South Sudan next week, saying the group could play an invaluable role in restoring peace and helping to solve the country's on-going humanitarian crisis.

In recognition of continued US support, President Kiir stated "the US has helped us to address the challenges that are the legacy of a century of colonial rule, decades of domination by the North, and 22 years of ruinous civil war. Having done so much over the years, the US is understandably concerned that one of its greatest achievements in Africa may be coming apart. Many Americans are asking how to help South Sudan not only to make peace but also to make progress. My answer: work with us to overcome these challenges."

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06593335 Date: 08/21/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Orona, Michael A </O=SBUSTATE/OU=NCC AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=ORONAMA51591823>
Sent: Thursday, December 4, 2014 7:47 PM
To: Phee, Molly C <PheeMC@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Statement by South Sudanese Foreign Minister Benjamin

Thanks for highlighting the statement.

Best,
Michael

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Phee, Molly C
Sent: Thursday, December 04, 2014 3:24 PM
To: Orona, Michael A
Subject: FW: Statement by South Sudanese Foreign Minister Benjamin

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Tamlyn, Lucy
Sent: Thursday, December 04, 2014 12:41 PM
To: S-USSESSS-Neg
Cc: Smith, Shannon L
Subject: FW: Statement by South Sudanese Foreign Minister Benjamin

Looks like NPT got into this anyway ☺

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: David Adams [mailto:dadams@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 04, 2014 11:56 AM
To: David Adams
Subject: Statement by South Sudanese Foreign Minister Benjamin

Greetings, and forgive the group email. Attached and below is a statement from Foreign Minister Benjamin about his visit to Washington and New York this week. Please contact me if you have any questions. Thanks. Dave

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06593367 Date: 08/21/2018
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN
OFFICE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER

Foreign Minister Benjamin Calls for Redoubled International Commitment

RELEASE IN FULL

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
December 4, 2014

WASHINGTON – South Sudan Foreign Minister Barnaba Marial Benjamin called on the United States and international actors to redouble their commitment to helping bring about a peaceful resolution to the conflict and humanitarian crisis in South Sudan.

"The only way forward for South Sudan is through dialogue and a lasting peace," Minister Benjamin said. "We need the proactive, unwavering support of the international community to help ensure a safe and secure future for our country and our people."

The government of the Republic of South Sudan is ready and committed to end the current conflict and establish a strong foundation for a united, democratic, and prosperous country, Minister Benjamin said. He said the government has made significant concessions in an effort to end the crisis and is committed to establishing an all-inclusive, transitional government. The minister said there has been a delay in the resumption of the talks because the opposition has yet to finish consultations with its supporters; the government finished its consultation two weeks back.

Minister Benjamin was in the United States to meet US Government, United Nations, and other officials on visits to Washington and New York, during which he reaffirmed his government's firm commitment to ending violence in South Sudan and bringing reconciliation to all its people. He also reiterated his government's commitment to adhere to global non-proliferation norms, including by acceding to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) at an early date.

Minister Benjamin expresses his appreciation to the Secretary General of the United Nations for his clarification that "The Republic of South Sudan is an independent, sovereign State recognized by the United Nations, and is a member of the organization." The Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of UNMISS, Ellen Margrethe Loj, further stated that "the United Nations has no tradition of making independent, sovereign countries protectorates."

While the United Nations Security Council is expected to consider a resolution on sanctions for some state and non-state actors in South Sudan, Minister Benjamin said that such actions would be unhelpful to the peace process. Instead, the United Nations and United States should work to end the violence and expand humanitarian efforts to help the people of South Sudan, he said.

"The government of South Sudan welcomes much-needed humanitarian assistance from abroad," Minister Benjamin said. "Our people are suffering, and this is the most urgent priority for our nation. President Salva Kiir is committed to ending the violence and focusing on the economic and social development of our people." The government will continue to help facilitate the work of the United Nations and other humanitarian groups, Minister Benjamin said, adding that anyone found obstructing humanitarian work will be held accountable.

---30---

Contact:

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-15330 Doc No. C06593367 Date: 08/21/2018

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Angong Acuil
Second Secretary
Embassy of the Republic of South Sudan to the United States
+1 (202) 293-7940

The Podesta Group provides representation to the government of the Republic of South Sudan. Additional information is on file at the US Department of Justice.

DAVID ADAMS PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9325 / C 202.594.0078 / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Lowenstein, Frank G <LowensteinFG@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, January 7, 2015 10:12 AM
To: Finer, Jonathan J <FinerJJ@state.gov>
Subject: FW: American Servicemembers Protection Act
Attach: image001.jpg; image002.jpg; image003.jpg

Fyi

RELEASE IN PART B6

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Stephen Rademaker [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2014 11:05 PM
To: Lowenstein, Frank G
Cc: David Adams
Subject: American Servicemembers Protection Act

Frank--

It was good talking to you today. As promised, I'm sending you some information about ASPA. Here's a link to all of the law, and excerpted (and highlighted) below are the provisions that make the "Hague Invasion" provision of the law applicable to Israelis as well as Americans. I hope you find this helpful. I'm happy to answer any questions you might have.

Best,

Steve

http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://legcounsel.house.gov/Comps/aspa02.pdf

Sec 2008. AUTHORITY TO FREE MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES AND CERTAIN OTHER PERSON DETAINED OR IMPRISONED BY OR ON BEHALF OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT.

(a) Authority
The President is authorized to use all means necessary and appropriate to bring about the release of any person described in subsection (b) of this section who is being detained or imprisoned by, on behalf of, or at the request of the International Criminal Court.
(b) Persons authorized to be freed
The authority of subsection (a) of this section shall extend to the following persons:
(1) Covered United States persons.
(2) Covered allied persons.
(3) Individuals detained or imprisoned for official actions taken while the individual was a covered United States person or a covered allied person, and in the case of a covered allied person, upon the request of such government.
(c) Authorization of legal assistance

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

When any person described in subsection (b) of this section is arrested, detained, investigated, prosecuted, or imprisoned by, on behalf of, or at the request of the International Criminal Court, the President is authorized to direct any agency of the United States Government to provide—
(1) legal representation and other legal assistance to that person (including, in the case of a person entitled to assistance under section 1037 of title 10, representation and other assistance in the manner provided in that section);
(2) exculpatory evidence on behalf of that person; and
(3) defense of the interests of the United States through appearance before the International Criminal Court pursuant to Article 18 or 19 of the Rome Statute, or before the courts or tribunals of any country.

(d) Bribes and other inducements not authorized

This section does not authorize the payment of bribes or the provision of other such incentives to induce the release of a person described in subsection (b) of this section.

Sec. 2013. DEFINITIONS

As used in this subchapter and in section 7402 of this title:

...

(3) Covered allied persons

The term "covered allied persons" means military personnel, elected or appointed officials, and other persons employed by or working on behalf of the government of a NATO member country, a major non-NATO ally (including Australia, Egypt, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Argentina, the Republic of Korea, and New Zealand), or Taiwan, for so long as that government is not a party to the International Criminal Court and wishes its officials and other persons working on its behalf to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court.

STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5238 / C [redacted] / Whttp://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>
<image001.jpg>

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Jacobson, Linda <JacobsonL@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, January 7, 2015 10:25 AM
To: Lowenstein, Frank G <LowensteinFG@state.gov>; Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Cc: Finer, Jonathan J <FinerJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: American Servicemembers Protection Act
Attach: 2014-04-10 - ICC legal protections.docx

B5

From: Lowenstein, Frank G
Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2015 10:23 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F; Jacobson, Linda
Cc: Finer, Jonathan J
Subject: FW: American Servicemembers Protection Act

B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Stephen Rademaker [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2014 11:05 PM
To: Lowenstein, Frank G
Cc: David Adams
Subject: American Servicemembers Protection Act

Frank--

It was good talking to you today. As promised, I'm sending you some information about ASPA. Here's a link to all of the law, and excerpted (and highlighted) below are the provisions that make the "Hague Invasion" provision of the law applicable to Israelis as well as Americans. I hope you find this helpful. I'm happy to answer any questions you might have.

Best,

Steve

http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://legcounsel.house.gov/Comps/aspa02.pdf

Sec 2008. AUTHORITY TO FREE MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES AND CERTAIN OTHER PERSON DETAINED OR IMPRISONED BY OR ON BEHALF OF THE

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT.

(a) Authority

The President is authorized to use all means necessary and appropriate to bring about the release of any person described in subsection (b) of this section who is being detained or imprisoned by, on behalf of, or at the request of the International Criminal Court.

(b) Persons authorized to be freed

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(2) Covered allied persons.

(3) Individuals detained or imprisoned for official actions taken while the individual was a covered United States person or a covered allied person, and in the case of a covered allied person, upon the request of such government.

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(3) defense of the interests of the United States through appearance before the International Criminal Court pursuant to Article 18 or 19 of the Rome Statute, or before the courts or tribunals of any country.

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STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5238 / C [redacted] / Whttp://redirect.state.sbu/?

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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url=www.podestagroup.com
<image001.jpg> 1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC
20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Buchwald, Todd F <BuchwaldTF@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, January 7, 2015 10:46 AM
To: Lowenstein, Frank G <LowensteinFG@state.gov>; Jacobson, Linda <JacobsonL@state.gov>
Cc: Finer, Jonathan J <FinerJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: American Servicemembers Protection Act

B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Lowenstein, Frank G
Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2015 10:23 AM
To: Buchwald, Todd F; Jacobson, Linda
Cc: Finer, Jonathan J
Subject: FW: American Servicemembers Protection Act

B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Stephen Rademaker [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:srademaker@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2014 11:05 PM
To: Lowenstein, Frank G
Cc: David Adams
Subject: American Servicemembers Protection Act

Frank--

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

It was good talking to you today. As promised, I'm sending you some information about ASPA. Here's a link to all of the law, and excerpted (and highlighted) below are the provisions that make the "Hague Invasion" provision of the law applicable to Israelis as well as Americans. I hope you find this helpful. I'm happy to answer any questions you might have.

Best,

Steve

http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://legcounsel.house.gov/Comps/aspa02.pdf

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(2) exculpatory evidence on behalf of that person; and
(3) defense of the interests of the United States through appearance before the International Criminal Court pursuant to Article 18 or 19 of the Rome Statute, or before the courts or tribunals of any country.
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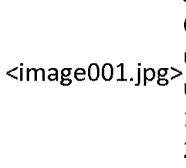
As used in this subchapter and in section 7402 of this title:

...

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

(3) Covered allied persons

The term "covered allied persons" means military personnel, elected or appointed officials, and other persons employed by or working on behalf of the government of a NATO member country, a major non-NATO ally (including Australia, Egypt, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Argentina, the Republic of Korea, and New Zealand), or Taiwan, for so long as that government is not a party to the International Criminal Court and wishes its officials and other persons working on its behalf to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court.



STEPHEN RADEMAKER PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5238 / C [redacted] / Whttp://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001 <image002.jpg> <image003.jpg>

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Sinclair, Joan R <SinclairJR@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, March 21, 2015 8:41 PM
To: Thornburg, Mark H <ThornburgMH@state.gov>
Cc: O'Connor, Eileen <O'ConnorE@state.gov>
Subject: Re: NBC tomorrow at Blair House

Let's just hope the camera crew can get in.

RELEASE IN PART B6

Joan Sinclair, Press Officer, Afghanistan/ Pakistan

From: Thornburg, Mark H
Sent: Saturday, March 21, 2015 6:19 PM
To: O'Connor, Eileen
Cc: Sinclair, Joan R
Subject: Re: NBC tomorrow at Blair House

I checked with protocol just in case and they confirmed that I am not/not allowed at Blair house -- I am not considered "essential." Which is weird because match.com does NOT agree with that assessment.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: O'Connor, Eileen
Sent: Saturday, March 21, 2015 5:22 PM
To: Thornburg, Mark H
Cc: Sinclair, Joan R
Subject: Re: NBC tomorrow at Blair House

Yeah. Guess so.

Sent from my iPhone

On Mar 21, 2015, at 1:15 PM, Thornburg, Mark H <ThornburgMH@state.gov> wrote:

> We aren't WAVES'd in to Blair house and don't have access to the facility. I also think it would be weird to show up to record someone who isn't our principal, no?
>
> **From:** O'Connor, Eileen
> **Sent:** Saturday, March 21, 2015 1:07 PM
> **To:** Sinclair, Joan R; Thornburg, Mark H
> **Subject:** Fwd: NBC tomorrow at Blair House
>
> Are any one of you going to be at Blair house for these? You
> Might want to be and record for transcript purposes
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> Begin forwarded message:
>
> > **From:** John Anderson <JAnderson@podestagroup.com>
> > **Date:** March 21, 2015 at 11:34:40 AM EDT
> > **To:** Bilal Askaryar <bilal@embassyofafghanistan.org>, "Hamdullah Mohib (hamd@mohib.co.uk)" <hamd@mohib.co.uk>, "ajmal.abidy@gmail.com" <ajmal.abidy@gmail.com>, "Thornburg, Mark H" <ThornburgMH@state.gov>, "Sinclair, Joan R" <SinclairJR@state.gov>, "O'Connor, Eileen" <O'ConnorE@state.gov>, "McGarry, Caitlin G" <McGarryCG@state.gov>
> > **Subject: NBC tomorrow at Blair House**

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Greetings. Looping the people I have been in touch with. If others need this info, please share. Below are the people who will be at Blair House tomorrow for NBC. My understanding is that they will be ready to begin shooting at 10:30 am, or as soon after that as the president is ready. It will be about a 15 minute, one-camera interview. Mitchell has a hard stop at 11:45. Part of this crew will need 2-1/2 hours to set up. They will arrive at 8. am. I will be there at 8 am too. Bilal will send me the forms I need to fill out and return. All good? Thanks and bests, John

Andrea Mitchell
Abigail Williams (key point of contact: cell is [redacted]
Vaughn Hillyard
Rodney Batten
Al Harvey
Brian Iacone
John Blackman

JOHN ANDERSON PRINCIPAL
O 202.448.5224 / C [redacted] / W http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Prabhu, Radhika G <PrabhuRG@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, May 19, 2015 3:02 PM
To: Norris, Ann M <NorrisAM@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Ann,

So sorry to bother you as I know you just got back and must be exhausted. Cathy wanted me to ask you to weigh in on this email because Jessica referenced you. Can you speak for a few minutes? I can call you or can be reached at 202-647-9298.

Thanks,
Radhika

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, May 19, 2015 10:55 AM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Cc: Prabhu, Radhika G
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Valerie,
Thanks so much for organizing. Quick question for you. Would it be appropriate to see if Ari Bassin from the Office of Global Criminal Justice, and McKenzie Millar from AS Biswal's office could attend as well? We have longstanding relationships with both on the Sri Lanka issue. Thank, in advance. Clearance info is below.
Best,
Jessica

Dr. Alison Clare Callaway

B6

Elias Joseph Jeyarajah (US Tamil Political Action Council, Vice President)

Avis Sri-Jayantha (US Tamil Political Action Council, Advocacy Director)

Jessica Lawrence-Vaca

From: Keitt, Valerie P [mailto:KeittVP2@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 5:39 PM
To: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca
Cc: Prabhu, Radhika G

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Great! Confirmed for Wednesday, May 20th at 12:30 p.m.

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 5:38 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Okay, let's stick with that. I'll get back to you with names and DL info. Thanks!

From: Keitt, Valerie P [mailto:KeittVP2@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 5:37 PM
To: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Jessica,

Disregard my last request! 12:30 still works!!

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 4:39 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Valerie,
We can make 12:30 work. Would you like a list of meeting participants? Please let me know what else you might need.
Best,
Jessica

From: Keitt, Valerie P [mailto:KeittVP2@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 3:55 PM
To: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Jessica,

Again, 11 a.m. does not work. We could do 12:30 if that works. Please let me know. Thanks.

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 3:34 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Valerie,
I can move some things around and we could potentially do a meeting at 11:00AM. Would that work?
Best,
Jessia

From: Keitt, Valerie P [mailto:KeittVP2@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 2:06 PM
To: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Jessica,

Unfortunately, 5 p.m. does not work. Is there a time earlier that might work? If I can move something, I will try.

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 1:14 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: RE: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

HI Valerie,
Dr. Callaway is actually going to be speaking on a panel on the Hill from 3-4:30. Is there any chance we could do just a little later? Maybe 5pm?
Best,
Jessica

From: Keitt, Valerie P [mailto:KeittVP2@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, May 18, 2015 12:29 PM
To: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca
Subject: FW: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

HI Jessica,

Is Dr. Callaway available at 4:30 p.m. on Wednesday, May 20th. If not, what time is she available to meet?

From: Jessica Lawrence-Vaca [mailto:JLawrence@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Friday, May 15, 2015 5:05 PM
To: Keitt, Valerie P
Subject: Mtg Request for Dr. Alison Callaway RE Sri Lanka - May 20

Hi Valerie,
I hope you're well. I wanted to reach out to Ambassador Russell (and Ann Norris who is a friend and I can't seem to find her contact info) to let them know that Dr. Alison Callaway with Freedom from Torture UK, who has been documenting cases of sexual violence against Tamil women and men, will be here in DC next Wednesday to participate in a congressional caucus panel on the current human rights situation in Sri Lanka, post elections. Evidence Dr. Callaway collected was included in the UN Secretary General's report on conflict-related sexual violence that was delivered to the Security Council in March. I thought considering the Ambassador's work on Global Women's Issues that this would be on interest to her.

Would she (and Ann) have some time to meet with her on Wednesday the 20th while Dr. Callaway is in town? Please let me know if there are some times that work best with your schedule. Thanks, in advance, and look forward to meeting with you.

Best,
Jessica

JESSICA LAWRENCE-VACA VICE PRESIDENT

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

O 202.448.5216 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

B6

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Bacon, Kelsey C </O=SBUSTATE/OU=SES/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BACONKC>
Sent: Tuesday, June 16, 2015 3:42 PM
To: Julie Wadler [redacted] B6
Subject: Nestle CEO FLOTUS visit

Nestle is trying yet another route (attempt 3 at least). Did you talk to them about this??

From: Thorne, David H
Sent: Tuesday, June 16, 2015 3:36 PM
To: Frifield, Julia E; Bacon, Kelsey C
Subject: RE: hoping I can bother you yet again...

RELEASE IN PART B6

Hi Julia:
I am forwarding this on to Kelsey Bacon who will help coordinate this request. I assume she can be directly in touch with Dana. This is a little strange since Tony Podesta has been part of the fund raising group for the Milan EXPO for a year now.
David

From: Frifield, Julia E
Sent: Tuesday, June 16, 2015 2:25 PM
To: Thorne, David H
Subject: FW: hoping I can bother you yet again...

Hi David – is there someone in your office I should connect him to? (An old O'Malley staffer who now works for Podesta. Am sure you hit up Nestle already…..)

Thanks!

Julia

From: Dana Thompson [mailto:dthompson@podestagroup.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 16, 2015 1:45 PM
To: Frifield, Julia E
Subject: RE: hoping I can bother you yet again...

Hi Julia,

Is there someone you can connect me with to talk about the below mission?

Since we're getting close to travel time, I thought I'd check back in with you.

The request is for the CEO of Nestle to be able to attend one of the social events on the ground since they will coincide in Milan.

I really appreciate any help you can give!

Dana

From: Dana Thompson

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Sent: Monday, June 15, 2015 12:11 PM
To: 'frifieldj@state.gov'
Subject: hoping I can bother you yet again...

Hello Julia!

I hope that you're doing great and enjoying your job.

I sure miss working with you every day --- I miss the good ole days.

Do you have 5 minutes to chat about the below mission? I have a very quick question and a favor if at all possible.

Dana

B6

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 11, 2015

President Obama Announces Presidential Delegation to the Italian Republic to Attend the Milan Expo 2015

President Barack Obama today announced the designation of a Presidential Delegation to the Italian Republic to attend the Milan Expo 2015 on June 17-18, 2015.

As part of her *Let's Move!* initiative to end the epidemic of childhood obesity in America within a generation, Mrs. Michelle Obama, First Lady of the United States, will lead the delegation. The Presidential Delegation will tour the USA Pavilion, which showcases American leadership on global food security and development issues, innovation, climate change and sustainability, and nutrition and health.

"No matter where in the world we live, we all want healthy, nutritious food for our families," said First Lady Michelle Obama. "I'm thrilled for our Delegation to have this opportunity to represent the United States at this important global event; to discuss shared values and best practices with other participating countries as we continue to strive to support a healthy America."

Members of the Presidential Delegation:

The Honorable John R. Phillips, United States Ambassador to the Italian Republic and the Republic of San Marino, Department of State

The Honorable Douglas T. Hickey, Commissioner General of the USA Pavilion at Milan Expo 2015,

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Department of State

Dr. Risa J. Lavizzo-Mourey, President and CEO, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Member of the President's Council on Fitness, Sports, and Nutrition

Mr. Alonzo H. Mourning, Seven-time NBA All-Star, Member of the President's Council on Fitness, Sports, and Nutrition, and Founder of Mourning Family Foundation

Mr. Will Allen, Urban Farmer, Founder and CEO of Growing Power

Mr. Mario Batali, Chef, Author and Co-Host of "The Chew"

Ms. Carla Hall, Chef, Author and Co-Host of "The Chew"

Mr. Nicolas Jammet, Co-CEO, sweetgreen

###

DANA THOMPSON PRINCIPAL
O 202.879.9378 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001

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Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Fisher, Julie D </O=SBUSTATE/OU=HR AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=FISHERJD>
Sent: Saturday, July 25, 2015 10:30 AM
To: Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Hi Heather.

I've seen many notes from S to family members of deceased long term employees. We'll need people to work fast to have something by Tuesday (or even Monday for the program) but strikes me as doable. They usually have a personal touch so we need the bureau to help us. It would really help to know where she worked.

Will you reach back to Paul or would you like me to jump in?

RELEASE IN PART B6

On Jul 25, 2015, at 9:11 AM, Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov> wrote:

> See below. Are you familiar w this type of request? Seems we should be able to do something!
>
> Begin forwarded message:
>
> **From:** Paul Brathwaite <PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com>
> **Date:** July 24, 2015 at 8:13:16 PM EDT
> **To:** "higginbottomha@state.gov" <higginbottomha@state.gov>
> **Subject: Hi Heather.**
>
> Hope you're well. Need a favor and am hoping you can assist.
>
> [redacted] B6
>
> [redacted]
>
> Paul
>
> **PAUL BRATHWAITE PRINCIPAL**
> O 202.879.9306 / C [redacted] / W www.podestagroup.com
> 1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
>
> <image001.jpg>
>
> <image002.jpg>
>
> <image003.jpg>

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, July 25, 2015 1:43 PM
To: Fisher, Julie D <FisherJD@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Hi Heather.

Perfect thank you

RELEASE IN PART B6

On Jul 25, 2015, at 1:29 PM, Fisher, Julie D <FisherJD@state.gov> wrote:

> On it. Will give carol Perez a heads up that we need this by noon Monday.
>
> On Jul 25, 2015, at 1:12 PM, Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov> wrote:
>
> Begin forwarded message:
>
> **From:** Paul Brathwaite <PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com>
> **Date:** July 25, 2015 at 11:33:24 AM EDT
> **To:** "Higginbottom, Heather A" <HigginbottomHA@state.gov>
> **Subject: Re: Hi Heather.**
>
> [redacted] B6
> [redacted]Thanks for the effort.
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> On Jul 25, 2015, at 10:56 AM, Higginbottom, Heather A <HigginbottomHA@state.gov> wrote:
>
> Paul - let me see what we can do by COB Mon. Where did [redacted] work? B6
>
> On Jul 24, 2015, at 8:13 PM, Paul Brathwaite <PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:PBrathwaite@podestagroup.com>> wrote:
>
> Hope you're well. Need a favor and am hoping you can assist.

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B6

Paul

<image001.jpg>

PAUL BRATHWAITE PRINCIPAL

O 202.879.9306 / C / W B6
http://redirect.state.sbu/?
url=www.podestagroup.com<http://redirect.state.sbu/?
url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?
url=http://www.podestagroup.com>

1001 G Street NW, Suite 1000 West, Washington, DC 20001
[cid:image002.jpg@01D0C64D.2BBD1DA0]
<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?
url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?
url=https://www.facebook.com/thepodestagroup>
[cid:image003.jpg@01D0C64D.2BBD1DA0]
<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?
url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?
url=https://www.twitter.com/PodestaGroup>

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc.

From: Frank Lowenstein <flowenstein@podesta.com>
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2013 5:48 PM
To: Feldman, Daniel F <FeldmanDF@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Dan Feldman
Attach: Feldman Resume 2012.docx.docx.docx

Dude!

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Frank Lowenstein
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2013 1:09 PM
To: Danvers, William (Foreign Relations) (William_Danvers@foreign.senate.gov); Wade, David (Kerry) (David_Wade@kerry.senate.gov)
Subject: FW: Dan Feldman

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