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**From:** Justin Cooper [redacted] on behalf of Justin Cooper **B6**  
**Sent:** Monday, June 6, 2011 12:03 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: R.I.P.

Berry service was down earlier so that my have been the issue.  
Can still get you a new berry but probably not before you leave tomorrow.  
Do you want to try the newer kind with the pad (huma has ) instead of the ball ?

On switching the info -- your contacts and settings will all transfer as will a certain number of messages.  
All of your older messages will remain on the server.  
There is a way for me to move everything on to the new device but the security whizzes have convinced me that this is a horrible thing to do because you also transfer any viruses, spyware and junk overseas providers hide on there.  
We also have some new security features and polices that I would like to add to any new berry you have -- the most noticeable difference will require a more complex password.  
It is a constant fight to keep up with the security measures and unfortunately we keep seeing reminders of why we need to.

On Jun 6, 2011, at 11:56 AM, H wrote:

> I think my BB is finally in its last stage of life. I need a new one but don't want to lose any of my info. I leave tomorrow for Africa. Any chance I can get one by then? If not, don't worry.

---

**From:** H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H  
**Sent:** Sunday, July 12, 2009 2:26 PM  
**To:** Justin Cooper  
**Subject:** Re:

**RELEASE IN FULL**

Justin--Thx so much. I will take a look at it.

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

From: Justin Cooper  
To: H  
Sent: Sun Jul 12 13:50:33 2009  
Subject:

Secretary Clinton -

Attached is the latest version of the speech including the edits that Oscar faxed to me. There is one line on the top of page 29 (bottom of 25 in the document attached) that I could not track properly from the edits. In the sentence

"He has also committed to deep and effective reductions in greenhouse gas emissions here at home, with a plan that will dramatically change the way we produce, consume and conserve energy, and in the process spark an explosion of new investment, and millions of jobs. Now we must urge every other nation to meet its obligations and seize its opportunities. "

I added the word urge -- either I misread, there was a word missing or i was supposed to leave in the phrase "the message that the responsibility must be shared by all"

---

**From:** H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 8:09 PM  
**To:** Justin Cooper  
**Subject:** Re: Question

**RELEASE IN FULL**

Berry--I'm not yet using the ipad.

----- Original Message -----  
From: Justin Cooper  
To: H  
Sent: Thu Aug 26 20:08:18 2010  
Subject: Re: Question

Sorry just to clarify is this on your ipad or berry

----- Original Message -----  
From: H  
To: Justin Cooper  
Sent: Thu Aug 26 20:07:29 2010  
Subject: Question

Starting a few hours ago, I've not been able to use the web to pull up sites like NYTimes. The screen says they can't access them and if the problem persists, to contact my administrator. Can you come to the rescue once again? What should I do?

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**From:** Justin Cooper [redacted] on behalf of Justin Cooper **B6**  
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 9:13 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: 10:30am call tomorrow

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

Yep

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Justin Cooper  
**Sent:** Tue Aug 24 09:12:48 2010  
**Subject:** Re: 10:30am call tomorrow

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 11/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 08/22/2025**

Also, could you bring me more staples for stapler?

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

**From:** Justin Cooper  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Tue Aug 24 09:10:34 2010  
**Subject:** Re: 10:30am call tomorrow

Bring this and other docs over shortly.  
Printer still running here.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Justin Cooper  
**Sent:** Tue Aug 24 09:10:04 2010  
**Subject:** Fw: 10:30am call tomorrow

Pls print for me before 10:30. Thx.

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

**From:** Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Mon Aug 23 21:09:37 2010  
**Subject:** 10:30am call tomorrow

The Secretary's Call Sheet for  
Indian Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee

**Purpose of Call:** [redacted]

[redacted]

**B5**

**Points to Raise:**

[redacted]

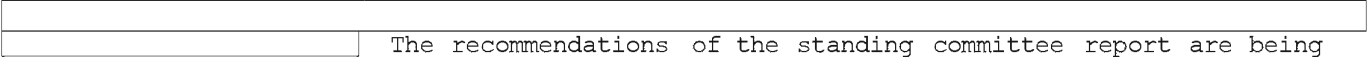
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

B5



Background: It was reported in India Friday that a Parliamentary Standing Committee report sent to the Indian cabinet was amended in a manner that effectively created -- by removing the word "and" between two sensitive clauses (17 (a) and (b)) -- an additional, non-contractual path to liability, rendering the draft bill CSC non-compliant. The importance to industry, both American and international, of this three-letter word cannot be overstated. GE and Westinghouse have told us they will not enter the Indian market if the bill is not CSC-compliant.

1.4(D)



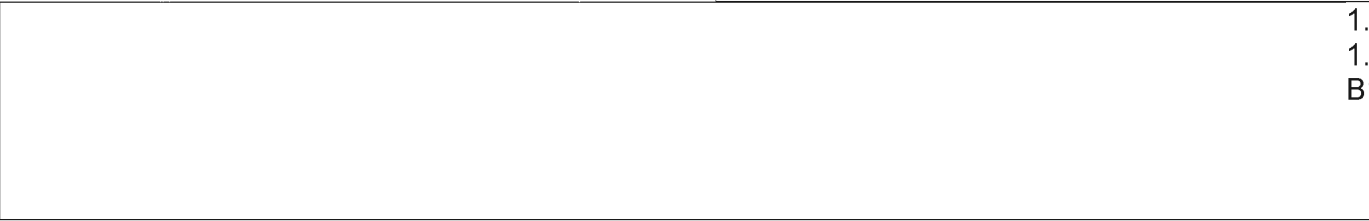
B1

The recommendations of the standing committee report are being drafted into the bill, a copy of which we have not yet received. (The bill should be tabled in parliament on Wednesday, August 25.)

1.4(B)

1.4(D)

B1



Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

**From:** H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H  
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 24, 2010 9:11 AM  
**To:** Justin Cooper  
**Subject:** Re: 10:30am call tomorrow **RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(B),1.4(D), B5**

**Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 11/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
~ Reason: 1.4(B),1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 08/22/2025**

Ok

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

**From:** Justin Cooper  
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**Sent:** Tue Aug 24 09:10:34 2010  
**Subject:** Re: 10:30am call tomorrow

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The Secretary's Call Sheet for  
Indian Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee

Purpose of Call:

B5

Points to Raise:

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

[Redacted]

B5

Background: It was reported in India Friday that a Parliamentary Standing Committee report sent to the Indian cabinet was amended in a manner that effectively created -- by removing the word "and" between two sensitive clauses (17 (a) and (b)) -- an additional, non-contractual path to liability, rendering the draft bill CSC non-compliant. The importance to industry, both American and international, of this three-letter word cannot be overstated. GE and Westinghouse have told us they will not enter the Indian market if the bill is not CSC-compliant.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

1.4(D)

The recommendations of the standing committee report are being drafted into the bill, a copy of which we have not yet received. (The bill should be tabled in parliament on Wednesday, August 25.)

B1

[Redacted]

1.4(B)

1.4(D)

B1

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**From:** H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H  
**Sent:** Friday, February 12, 2010 2:22 PM  
**To:** Justin Cooper  
**Subject:** Fw: H: memo on Saudi/Chas Freeman. Glad Bill is well. Sid  
**Attachments:** hrc memo saudi 021210.docx

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Pls print for me.

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

**From:** sbwhoeop [redacted]  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Fri Feb 12 13:58:15 2010  
**Subject:** H: memo on Saudi/Chas Freeman. Glad Bill is well. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

February 12, 2010

**For:** Hillary  
**From:** Sid  
**Re:** Saudi Arabia

I have been in contact with Chas Freeman, former ambassador to Saudi Arabia, and he has sent me his most recent public speech on the subject. He says the policy part is toward the end, and that King Abdullah's new university (KAUST) is an important initiative. He also relates that the atmosphere is near toxic because of Obama's failure to follow up his Cairo speech and the rebuff from Netanyahu. Cynicism, at best, is pervasive among the Saudi elite.

Saudi Arabia: The End of Progress without Change  
Remarks to the Sarasota Institute for Lifetime Learning

Ambassador Chas W. Freeman, Jr. (USFS, Ret.)  
Sarasota, Florida, February 11, 2010

I have been asked to speak to you about the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This is a topic I have never before addressed to an American audience. Why bother?

We Americans reserve the right to have strong opinions on the basis of little or no knowledge. There are few countries that better exemplify our assertive ignorance of foreign geography, history, and culture than Saudi Arabia. Most of us are convinced that



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Saudis are Muslim zealots, control the world's oil prices, and are absurdly rich, anti-feminist, and undemocratic. They hate our values and want to destroy us. Talk radio confirms this. What more needs to be said?

On reflection, a lot does. Neither caricature nor a priori reasoning is a sound basis for policy. A distorted view of foreign realities precludes success at dealing with them. There is much at stake in our relationship with Saudi Arabia. We can ill afford to get it wrong.

That country is, of course, the heartland of Islam and the custodian of the world's largest oil reserves. It lies athwart transport routes between Asia, Europe, and Africa. It is at the center of a growing concentration of global capital. Under any circumstances, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia would be important. It is all the more so in an era when we Americans are at war with ever more peoples in the Islamic world, depend on ever greater amounts of imported energy, and need ever larger foreign loans to run our government and sustain our life style.

Yet Saudi Arabia is little known. It is the only society on the planet not to have been penetrated by Western colonialism. No European armies breached its borders; no missionaries; no merchants. Its capital, Riyadh, was long off limits to infidels; the holy cities of Mecca and Medina remain so today. When Westerners finally came to Saudi Arabia, we came not as the vindicators of our presumed cultural superiority, but as hired help. As a result, some say that Saudis secretly see the world's peoples as divided into two basic categories: (1) fellow Saudis; and (2) potential employees. Be that as it may, foreigners, Western, Asian, or Arab, who have lived in Saudi Arabia all see it as a very strange place - one that is not easy to understand and that remains at odds with many of the values non-Saudis profess.

The Kingdom has long stood apart from global norms. Its system of government draws on tribal and Islamic traditions rather than Western models. Its king presides rather than rules over the royal family and Saudi society. His responsibility is less to make decisions than to shape and proclaim consensus, while assuring a share of the national wealth to all, especially the least privileged. Saudi Arabia levies no taxes on its citizens, other than the religious tithe known as "zakat" - a two-and-a-half percent annual donation of private capital to charity and other public purposes. All Saudis enjoy free education and medical care from birth to death and can pursue these services at home or abroad, as they wish. The Kingdom has no parliament, though it does have elaborate informal mechanisms for consultation with its citizens on policy matters. Saudi Arabia reverses and thereby affirms a basic principle of American political philosophy. "No representation without taxation."

Unlike some other countries in the Arab Gulf, Saudi Arabia has invested its oil wealth at home, not abroad, though it has long been generous with foreign aid. (At one point it was donating six percent of GDP to other, mostly Muslim, nations.) The desperate poverty of the pre-oil period is now, at most, a dim memory. Over the lifetime of elderly Saudis, the Kingdom's per capita income has risen about one hundred fold. Sparsely populated mud-walled villages have grown into huge air-conditioned cities with 21st Century architecture. Today, Saudis are not just literate; many have university degrees. There are more U.S. Ph.D.'s in the Saudi Cabinet than in our Cabinet and Congress put together.

Despite rapid development, the strong family structure that characterized traditional Saudi society has remained largely intact. It is truly moving to see how lovingly children and grandchildren care for their elders in the Kingdom. Saudi Arabia's unique social stability is reflected in the fact that almost none of its citizens emigrate, though many have second homes abroad, and a few, like Osama Binladin, have been exiled for deviant behavior.

For a long time it was easier for journalists and academics to get a visa to Tibet than to Saudi Arabia. Perhaps this accounts for the near total lack of institutions and scholars that study the place. In the United States, 9/11 was followed by an avalanche of polemical tracts, but there are still very few books about the Kingdom that reflect

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its realities rather than the authors' biases or propagandistic agendas. Lack of personal familiarity with the Kingdom helps explain the repeated prediction by pundits that the Saudi monarchy is in jeopardy. Generations of such pundits have passed away. The Kingdom has not. When I was ambassador to Riyadh, I was so struck by the apparent social stasis that I briefly thought the national motto should be "progress without change." But in fact change is a constant in Saudi Arabia. Most of it comes from the top down.

Not all Saudis are happy with the status quo. Some are angry about the extent to which the Kingdom is opening up and reforming. Others are impatient to get on with reform. The ranks of the latter clearly include King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al-Sa'ud, the current ruler. Now in his late eighties and on the throne only since 2005, he has surprised everyone with the vigor of his efforts to modernize Saudi society and to reshape its relationships with the world beyond its borders. Saudi Arabia has plenty of problems to keep the king engaged.

A lot of issues derive from the peculiar religious heritage of the Saudi state. The current Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (now over a century old) is the third political structure to ally the House of Sa'ud with the family of the eighteenth century religious reformer Shaykh al Islam Mohammed ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab Al-Tamimi. Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's writings form the doctrinal basis of so-called Wahhabism, a notoriously intolerant and socially conservative form of Islam that is often confused with other reactionary religious traditions like that of the Taliban. Saudi history has involved a sustained effort by the Kingdom's rulers to persuade its religious scholars and their puritanical followers to embrace change and to open up to the outside world. This struggle has mainly been peaceful and virtually invisible to outsiders. Sometimes, however, it has engendered violence. In 1975, for example, the late King Faisal paid with his life for instituting public education for girls and for introducing television to his nation.

Both as regent (from 1996 to 2005) and more recently as ruler, King Abdullah has been so careful to avoid drama in his promotion of change that it is truly startling to review the cumulative results of his leadership. Take women's issues, for example. In 2002, responsibility for girls' education was transferred from the religious authorities to the ministry of education. Women now make up 58 percent of the enrollment in Saudi universities. The new Princess Noura bint Abdulrahman University for Women, currently under construction in Riyadh, will enroll 40,000 students this fall.

Female participation in the labor force is rising rapidly. Twenty-nine percent of women now work outside the home. (That is a low figure compared to our own but represents a remarkable advance for the Kingdom.) One-third of civil service positions have been reserved for women. The first woman took her seat in the Council of Ministers last year. After a bit of a kerfuffle, the Kingdom's religious scholars finally endorsed coeducation at the new King Abdullah University for Science and Technology. That was big blow to the legitimacy of gender apartheid. A Saudi friend and I are betting that it will not be long before women in the Kingdom can drive. We plan to clean up by building the separate road system this may require. (That's a joke, I hope.)

A word about the vision embodied in the King Abdullah University for Science and Technology. Founded by the king last September with an initial endowment of ten billion dollars, KAUST is an international, graduate-level research university. It sits in a two-billion-dollar campus on the Red Sea about seventy-five miles northwest of Mecca. On one level, it is the leading element in an effort to prepare the Kingdom for a knowledge-based economy that can complement and eventually supercede the current reliance on energy exports. But on another level, it is a powerful answer to the religious zealotry that terrorist movements like al Qa'ida espouse. Let me explain.

There is a broad consensus among the world's 1.6 billion Muslims that the modern age is ethically corrupt and that religious faith needs reinvigoration and renewal. Much like early Christian Protestants, many believe that the way to achieve this is to rediscover and reaffirm the values of their religion's earliest times. When he inaugurated KAUST, King Abdullah explained that he envisaged it as a reborn Bayt al-Hikma or "House of Wisdom." The original "House of Wisdom" was founded in Baghdad around 760 C.E., in the

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second century of the Muslim era. It was where the Arabs incorporated Greek, Indian and other foreign knowledge into Islam and conceived much of modern mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemistry, zoology, and geography. It made Islamic civilization the global leader in science and technology. The "House of Wisdom" prospered in an age of tolerance, when Jews and Christians served alongside Muslims as ministers of government. Though destroyed by the Mongols in 1258, the knowledge it preserved and developed eventually found its way to Europe, where it sparked the Renaissance.

Today, like mainstream Muslims, the extremists of al Qa`ida and related movements argue that Islam must return to its roots. But they portray early Islam as puritanical, xenophobic, intolerant, and oppressive of women. KAUST is a living rebuttal of this historical fallacy and the ideology of hatred derived from it. It was conceived as a new "House of Wisdom." It stands for the principle that Islam was founded as and can only be reborn as the religious guide to a society open to ideas from other traditions. It represents a call for return to an Islam tolerant of foreign ways, respectful of women, dedicated to the scientific study of God's handiwork, and committed to the development of new technologies to better the human condition. KAUST is as much an instrument of religious renaissance and an answer to extremism as it is an academic institution.

This brings me to the issue of religious tolerance. In 2003, King Abdullah inaugurated what he called a "national forum for intellectual dialogue." This ongoing national dialogue is an unprecedented acceptance of religious diversity in the Kingdom. It marks an end to longstanding official discrimination against its Shiite minority. In 2007, King Abdullah made an historic call on the Pope in the Vatican, the first time a Muslim leader of his stature had done so. In 2008 he organized two unprecedented international interfaith conferences between Muslims, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, and others at Madrid and New York. He intends this dialogue, too, to be a continuing process.

There are other major domestic reform initiatives in progress, like a complete revamping of the Saudi educational system and curriculum, experiments with elections at lower levels of government and civil society, efforts to shift the Kingdom toward reliance on alternative sources of energy, the development of a huge new petrochemical industry to complement the production of energy in its primary form. Time will not permit me to describe these developments. My point is simply that there is a great deal more going on in Saudi Arabia than our press and pundits seem to realize.

That said, everything is, of course, relative. Sadly, to many Saudis, the history of their nation suggests that the more religiously uptight they are, the more oil comes out of the ground. The Kingdom continues in many ways to belie God's admonition in the Holy Quran that "there can be no compulsion in religion." The open practice of religions other than Islam remains banned. The status and role of women in Saudi society is controversial and far from settled. Despite efforts at "Saudiization," foreign workers continue to dominate the employment market, while demanding a premium to compensate for the discomfort and stress that Saudi Arabia's religiously sanctioned mores impose on them. Methods of political consultation that worked in a more cohesive and less populous Saudi Arabia can no longer produce consensus. The fiscal basis of the state continues to be oil exports, and oil is a commodity whose price fluctuates unpredictably. There is, in other words, a very long list of problems for Saudis to work out in coming years.

Let me turn briefly to Saudi Arabia's foreign relations before reviewing the state of our country's interaction with it.

In foreign even more than domestic affairs, King Abdullah's impact has been little short of revolutionary. He has overseen the negotiated settlement of the Kingdom's long-disputed borders with all of its neighbors. He brought Saudi Arabia into the World Trade Organization, ensuring that its trade and investment activities for the first time follow internationally agreed rules. In 1982, at Beirut, he led the Arab League in an historic reversal of policy toward the Israel-Palestine issue. Saudi Arabia had long insisted that it would be the last state in the region to recognize and establish relations with Israel. At Beirut, King Abdullah committed to be the first to normalize relations with Israel upon its achievement of a mutually acceptable arrangement for coexistence with the Palestinians. He persuaded all other Arab countries to promise they would do the same.

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To his great frustration, Israel did not respond. Since then, hope for a two-state solution that could gain acceptance for Israel in the region has dimmed.

Many of Saudi Arabia's foreign policy challenges stem from recent American policies in the region. These policies have had the effect of liberating Israel from all constraints on its settlement activities and belligerent intervention in its Arab neighbors, installing Iran as the dominant political influence in both Iraq and Lebanon, consolidating rather than eroding the Syrian-Iranian alliance, pushing Hamas into the arms of the Iranians, and raising regional tensions over Tehran's nuclear program while doing nothing effective about it. Then there is Afghanistan, where the United States now seems to be engaged in a crusade against militant Islam - one that many in the region now fear may soon extend to Yemen. Saudi counter-terrorism specialists, who have a well-deserved international reputation for effectiveness, are convinced that the most efficient way to radicalize Muslim populations and encourage terrorism against the United States and its foreign policy partners is to invade, occupy, and humiliate them. They believe that the panicked militarism of the U.S. response to 9/11 was exactly what groups like al Qa`ida hoped for. They see no sign that the United States is about to abandon actions and policies that metastasize extremism and stimulate terrorist reprisal against Americans and our foreign friends.

No longer willing to be publicly associated with U.S. policies in the Holy Land, Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere that radicalize the region and menace the Kingdom's own security, Saudi Arabia is actively attempting to reduce its historic dependence on America. To this end, it is building new relationships with countries like China, India, and Russia, while strengthening cooperation with longstanding partners in Europe and Asia like Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and south Korea. It is not that the Kingdom has given up on the United States. As the king's scholarship program for Saudi students in this country evidences, Saudi Arabia continues to reach out and seek improved relations with America. But Saudis no longer trust us to take their interests into account or to protect them from their enemies.

In December 2002, as the U.S. prepared to invade Iraq against the forcefully expressed advice of then Crown Prince Abdullah, Saudi Aramco (the world's largest oil company) quietly abandoned a decades-old subsidy for the cost of shipping oil to the North American market. Within months, China replaced the United States as the Kingdom's biggest overseas market for oil. U.S. exports have remained relatively constant as the Saudi Arabian economy has boomed, dramatically reducing our market share in our largest Middle Eastern market. Ironically, the best element of the US-Saudi relationship is now cooperation against terrorists. This is a task in which the Saudis have perforce learned to excel. American policies ensure an endless supply of angry young Muslim men in the region, including in Saudi Arabia.

The United States is now said to have entered a "long war." The last time we did so, in 1947 with Soviet Communism, the enemy was obvious, George Kennan gave us a strategy, and skillful American diplomacy gave us the allies we needed to pursue it. Kennan's "long telegram" from Moscow outlined a comprehensive approach to the political, economic, cultural, and military containment of the threat to our survival and our values posed by the Soviet Union. We followed his outline. Forty years later, as Kennan forecast, without our having to go to war with the USSR, our Soviet enemy collapsed of its own infirmities.

This time, our "long war" is with various Islamic extremists, tribes, sects, and societies. We're not quite sure who our enemy is. No Kennan has emerged to give us a strategy for winning without fighting or, indeed, any "strategy" at all. Instead, we are flailing about with our superbly lethal military in response to events. Lacking a strategy, we have been unable to recruit foreign partners to support one. We are now alone in Iraq. We are isolated internationally on the Israel-Palestine issue. Our NATO allies are with us in Afghanistan out of consideration for NATO, not because they think we know what we are doing. Many of them have already announced their intention to withdraw. Pakistan is with us only because all its alternatives are worse.

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Saudi Arabia and America head al Qa'ida's enemies list. The Kingdom has, however, been successfully vilified in the eyes of the American elite and public. To deal effectively with Islamic extremism, we need Muslim allies. There is none more potent than the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Yet we have made no effort to seek its advice about how to address the challenges of Islamic extremism. We have not sought its help to legitimize an effective political, informational, cultural, and economic strategy for productive engagement with the Islamic world.

Meanwhile, however, many things now happening in the Kingdom - like the implicit message of the king's vision for KAUST - suggest that such a partnership with Saudi Arabia and Arab nations of like mind is possible. Such a partnership could be the basis for a strategy to bring victory in this latest "long war." The common interests on which to forge an alliance are clearly there. Last June in Cairo, President Obama brilliantly articulated a credible basis for sound relations with the Islamic world. His vision was persuasive, but it remains a mirage, not a reality. It is past time to implement it. An intensive effort to reset the relationship with Saudi Arabia and to craft a common antiterrorist strategy with its king would be a good place to start.



**From:** Bryan M. Pagliano [redacted] on behalf of Bryan M. Pagliano B6  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 18, 2012 10:46 AM  
**To:** Justin Cooper  
**Subject:** Re: Help!

Could certainly try. I am looking through the log files to see if I can find anything.

Btw, we need to put in policies for iPhone and iPad use, like password expiration and complexity requirements if we are going to be using them. Might be a bit disruptive since you can only do globally...  
After we get her back up on the bb of course.

On Mar 18, 2012, at 10:35 AM, Justin Cooper wrote:

> She registered the host routing table and got a reply message that says its registered.  
> So maybe re-enterprise activate?

>  
>  
> ----- Original Message -----  
> From: Bryan Pagliano [mailto:[redacted]]  
> Sent: Sunday, March 18, 2012 10:12 AM  
> To: H  
> Cc: Justin Cooper; Oscar Flores  
> Subject: Re: Help!

> Let me take a look at the server to see if it offers any insight,  
> iPhone is not much different from the iPad, however in both cases the  
> security landscape is different from the blackberry.

> -Bryan  
>  
>  
>

> On Mar 18, 2012, at 8:57 AM, H <HDR22@clintonemail.com> wrote:

>> I don't think I'm adept enough for the iPhone!  
>>  
>> Sent from my iPad

>> On Mar 18, 2012, at 8:56 AM, "Justin Cooper" [redacted] wrote:

>>> Checking a few things still.  
>>> Not sure that is the problem.  
>>> AT&T sucks. Blackberry is just as bad.  
>>> May be time to go iphone....

>>> ----- Original Message -----  
>>> From: H  
>>> Sent: Sunday, March 18, 2012 08:54 AM  
>>> To: Justin Cooper  
>>> Cc: Bryan M. Pagliano; Oscar Flores  
>>> Subject: Re: Help!

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>>>  
>>> Thanks, Justin. How does that happen.do I need to do anything?  
>>>  
>>> Sent from my iPad  
>>>  
>>> On Mar 18, 2012, at 8:52 AM, "Justin Cooper" [redacted] wrote:  
>>>  
>>>> Looks like your device is not showing up on att's network.  
>>>> The pin went through.  
>>>> Let me know if you get this.  
>>>>  
>>>>  
>>>> ----- Original Message -----  
>>>> From: H  
>>>> Sent: Sunday, March 18, 2012 08:45 AM  
>>>> To: Justin Cooper; Bryan M. Pagliano  
>>>> Cc: Oscar Flores  
>>>> Subject: Help!  
>>>>  
>>>>  
>>>> Once again, I'm having BB trouble. I am not receiving emails although people are  
getting ones I send but I get their replies on my iPad which is why I know the BB is  
down again.  
>>>> I've taken out the battery and done what I know to do but no luck yet any ideas?  
>>>> Sent from my iPad  
>> <winmail.dat>

B6

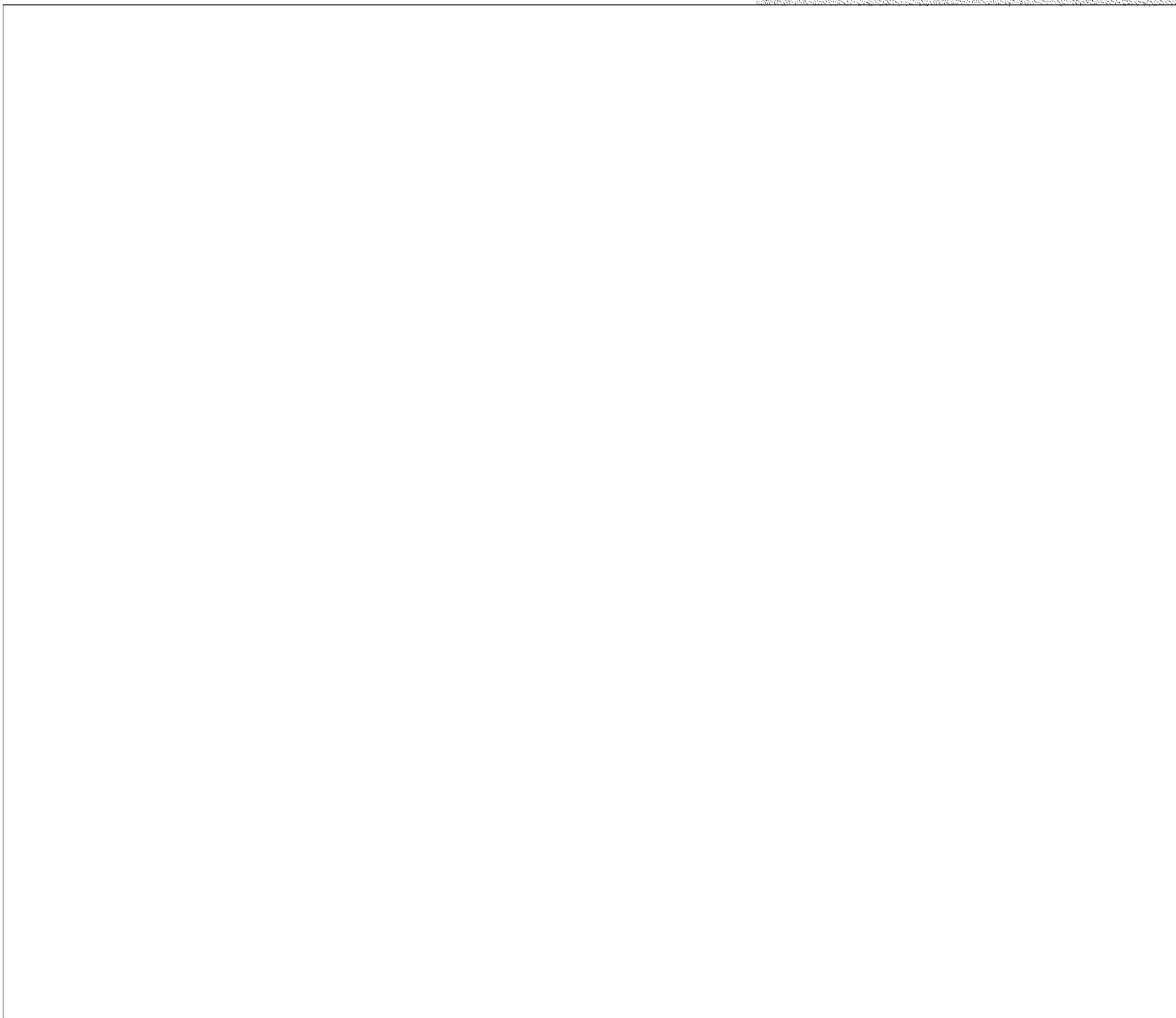
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RELEASE IN PART  
B5

B5

ST suggestions

I. INTRODUCTION





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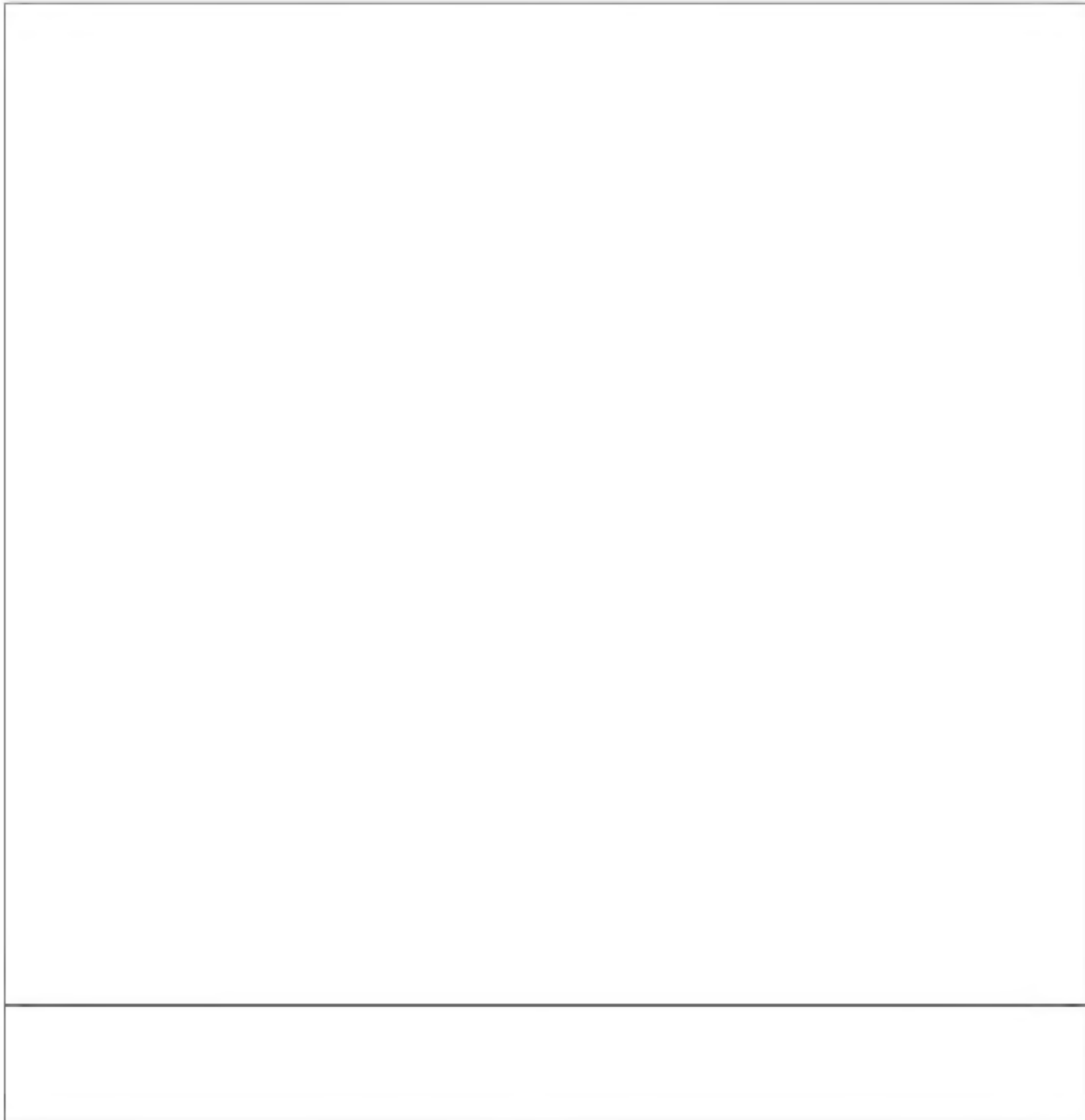
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

February 12, 2010 4pm  
Rooney (x7-7203, )  
Word count: 4,419 (31 minutes)

B6

RELEASE IN PART  
B5,B6

**SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
REMARKS AT THE U.S.-ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM  
DOHA, QATAR  
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2010**



B5

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**From:** Huma Abedin

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

**Sent:** 12/11/2011 5:31:58 PM +00:00

**To:** H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>; 'Valmorolj@state.gov'

**Subject:** RE: Schedule

NEAR  
DUPLICATE

ok

---

From: H  
Sent: Sunday, December 11, 2011 12:30 PM  
To: Huma Abedin; 'Valmorolj@state.gov'  
Subject: Re: Schedule

Let's do that--let me know what they say. Thx.

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

From: Huma Abedin  
Sent: Sunday, December 11, 2011 12:02 PM  
To: H; 'Valmorolj@state.gov' <Valmorolj@state.gov>  
Subject: RE: Schedule

i think its fine if you skip the dinner, they have 150 people coming but would want to tell them today so they can work out seating accordingly.

---

From: H  
Sent: Sunday, December 11, 2011 10:47 AM  
To: 'Valmorolj@state.gov'

B6

Cc: 'abedinh@state.gov'; Huma Abedin  
Subject: Re: Schedule

I have to be late to WH dinner [redacted]. So pls tell WH I will be late  
and will join dinner in progress. [redacted]

B6

Should I just tell WH I can't come? They won't care.

From: Valmoro, Lona J [mailto:ValmoroLJ@state.gov]  
Sent: Sunday, December 11, 2011 10:27 AM  
To: H  
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Huma Abedin  
Subject: Schedule

MS - please find below a final draft of tomorrow. Thank you!

8:55 am DEPART Private Residence  
En route White House  
[drive time: 15 minutes]

9:10 am ARRIVE White House

9:15 am  
9:45 am

[redacted]

B5

B6

9:45 am HOLD  
10:15 am White House West Wing

10:15 am POTUS EXPANDED BILATERAL w/IRAQI PM NOURI al-MALIKI

11:15 am

Oval Office  
Contact: Julia Newton (NSC) Office [redacted]  
Protocol Contact: Asel Roberts Tel. 7-1664, [redacted]  
OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHERS ONLY

B6

Note: Consecutive interpretation.

U.S. Participants: HRC

POTUS  
NSA Tom Donilon  
Others Tbd

Iraqi Participants: Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq Nouri Al-Malaki

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq Hoshiyar Zebari

Ambassador of the Republic of Iraq to the United States Samir Sumaide'ie

Minister of Transportation of the Republic of Iraq Hady Al-Ameree

Minister of Trade of the Republic of Iraq Khairullah Babakr

Acting Minister of Defense/Minister of Culture of the Republic of Iraq Saadon Aldlimi

Member of Parliament Yassin Alnajaf

National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq Dr. Falih Al-Fayyadh

11:15 am

11:30 am



B5

B6

11:35 am

DEPART White House  
En route State Department  
[drive time: 5 minutes]

11:40 am

ARRIVE State Department

11:45 am

OFFICE TIME  
Secretary's Office

12:00 pm

12:00 pm

PHOTOS  
Secretary's Anteroom

12:10 pm

- Cindy, Steel and Marilan Huang

- Sydney, Raymond, and Linda Rose

12:10 pm VIDEOS

12:30 pm George Marshall Room, 7th Floor

Contact/Staff: Case Button (S/P) Tel. 7-9943

- Oceans Treaty Campaign for the Pew Foundation
- Mid West Leadership Academy
- Libya Civil Society Showcase
- Protecting Civil Society
- December 17th 100,000 Strong Initiative Concert in Beijing

12:30 pm HOST WORKING LUNCH FOR BRITISH FS WILLIAM HAGUE

2:00 pm James Monroe Room, 8th Floor

Contact: David Paradise (Desk) Tel. 7-6591

Protocol Contacts: Shilpa Pesaru (Visits) Tel. 7-4169, Cell

Myrna Farmer (Ceremonials) Tel. 7-1402

CLOSED PRESS (official photograph in Madison Room preceding lunch)

B6

Note: No interpretation.

Staff: S Staff Alice Wells  
P Under Secretary Wendy Sherman  
EUR Assistant Secretary Phil Gordon  
NEA Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary Liz Dibble  
S/SRAP Special Representative Marc Grossman  
PA Department Spokesperson Toria Nuland  
NSC Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall  
EUR Deputy Assistant Secretary Kathleen Doherty  
EUR Van Reidhead, Notetaker

British Guests: Foreign Secretary William Hague  
Ambassador Nigel Sheinwald

Political Director Geoffrey Adams  
Deputy Chief of Mission Philip Barton  
Americas Director Angus Lapsley  
Special Advisor Arminka Helic  
Press Secretary Carl News

Private Secretary Charles Morgan

Political Counselor Karen Betts  
First Secretary Neil Holland, Notetaker

2:00 pm PRE-BRIEF FOR JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY  
2:10 pm 8th Floor

2:10 pm JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/BRITISH FS WILLIAM HAGUE  
2:30 pm Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor

- HRC makes brief remarks from toast lectern.
- British Foreign Secretary Hague makes brief remarks.
- HRC and Secretary Hague take Q&As as time permits and depart.

2:30 pm OFFICE TIME  
3:15 pm Secretary's Office

3:15 pm BILATERAL w/IRAQI FM HOSHYAR ZEBARI

3:30 pm James Monroe Room, 8th Floor

Contact: Shannon Ross (NEA) Tel. 7-6027

Protocol Contact: Penny Price Tel. 7-1664, Cell 4

OFFICIAL PHOTO (in Madison Room preceding bilateral)

B6

Note: FM does not need interpretation; whisper interpretation provided by Nina Behrens for NSA Al Fayyadh.

Staff:

- Deputy Secretary Tom Nides
- U.S. Ambassador James Jeffrey
- NEA Assistant Secretary Jeff Feltman
- Ambassador Patricia Haslach
- Deputy Assistant Secretary Barbara Leaf
- Iraq Office Director John Desrocher
- Iraq Political Affairs Office Director Jason Davis
- NEA Andrew Kim, Notetaker

Iraqi Participants:

- Foreign Minister Hoshiyar Zebari
- Ambassador Samir Sumaida'ie
- National Security Advisor Faleh Al Fayyadh
- Fadel Kahdhum, Legal Advisor to Prime Minister
- Jabir Habib Jabir, Advisor to Prime Minister
- (Ambassador-designate to U.S.)

3:30 pm LAUNCH OF THE JCC (JOINT COORDINATION COMMITTEE)

3:45 pm w/IRAQI FM HOSHYAR ZEBARI

James Monroe Room, 8th Floor

Contact: Shannon Ross (NEA) Tel. 7-6027 \_\_\_\_\_

Protocol Contact: Penny Price Tel. 7-1664, cell \_\_\_\_\_

OPEN PRESS (for opening remarks only)

Note: FM does not need interpretation; whisper interpretation

provided by Nina Behrens for NSA Al Fayyadh

Participants: Same as for bilateral.

- HRC makes opening remarks from table (3-5 minutes).
  
- Foreign Minister Zebari makes opening remarks from table (3-5 minutes).
  
- Press depart, HRC departs.

B6



- Meeting continues until 4:15pm, chaired by Deputy Secretary Nides.

3:45 pm OFFICE TIME

4:15 pm Secretary's Office

4:20 pm DEPART State Department  
En route White House  
[drive time: 5 minutes]

4:25 pm ARRIVE White House

4:30 pm WEEKLY MEETING w/POTUS

5:00 pm Oval Office

Contact: Jessica Wright Office

CLOSED PRESS

5:05 pm DEPART White House  
En route State Department  
[drive time: 5 minutes]

5:10 pm ARRIVE State Department

5:15 pm OFFICE TIME

6:20 pm Secretary's Office

6:35 pm DEPART State Department  
En route White House  
[drive time: 5 minutes]

6:40 pm ARRIVE White House

6:40 pm HOLIDAY DINNER HOSTED BY THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. OBAMA

8:30 pm (t) East Room, White House

Contact: Claudia McNamara (Social Office) Tel.

B6

B6

CLOSED PRESS

Note: Approximately 150 persons expected to attend; business attire.

Guests arriving starting at 6:00pm, dinner served at 7:00pm, performance at 8:15pm, dinner concludes at 9:00pm.

8:35 pm (t) DEPART White House  
En route Luzzatto/Leiter Home  
[drive time: 15 minutes]

8:50 pm (t) FORMER SENATE STAFF HOLIDAY PARTY  
9:20 pm (t) Home of Tamera Luzzatto and David Leiter

[redacted]

Call Time: 7:30pm  
CLOSED PRESS

B6

Note: Approximately 60-70 people expected to attend.

9:20 pm (t) DEPART Luzzatto/Leiter Home  
En route Private Residence  
[drive time: 5 minutes]

9:25 pm (t) ARRIVE Private Residence

HRC RON Washington, DC

[redacted]

B6

Weather:

Washington, DC: Mostly sunny, 45/33.

FYI:

8:45 am DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING  
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:45 am POTUS RESTRICTED BILATERAL w/IRAQI PM NOURI al-MALIKI  
10:15 am Oval Office

11:30 am POTUS JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE w/IRAQI PM al-MALIKI  
12:15 pm South Court Auditorium

6:30 pm DRINKS IN MEMORY OF RICHARD HOLBROOKE

Location: Bar at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel

M and 22nd St, NW

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**PR\_RIM\_PAGER\_TX\_FLAG:** true

**PR\_RIM\_MSG\_REF\_ID:** -867745007

**PR\_RIM\_MSG\_FOLDER\_ID:** -5

**PR\_RIM\_DELETED\_BY\_DEVICE:** true

**PR\_RIM\_MSG\_ON\_DEVICE\_3\_6:** true

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PR\_RIM\_MSG\_STATUS: 1

PR\_RIM\_INTERNET\_MESSAGE\_ID:

B6

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**From:** "Sullivan, Jacob J" <SullivanJJ@state.gov>

RELEASE IN FULL

**Sent:** 11/14/2010 3:10:37 PM +00:00

**To:** H <FIRST ORGANIZATION/EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/RECIPIENTS/HD R22>

**Subject:** Fw: Gerry Adams to seek Louth nomination for General Election

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

From: Sinn Féin Press Office

Sent: Nov 14, 2010 8:37 AM

To: sinnfeinpress@oireachtas.ie

Subject: Gerry Adams to seek Louth nomination for General Election

Sinn Féin Press Office  
Kevin Barry Memorial Hall  
44 Parnell Square  
Dublin 1

Email: [press.sinnfein@gmail.com](mailto:press.sinnfein@gmail.com)

Contact Shaun Tracey on 0877735218

**For immediate release 14th November 2010:**

## Gerry Adams to seek Louth nomination for General Election

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams has today announced his decision to put his name forward for the Sinn Féin nomination for the Louth constituency at the next General Election. Mr. Adams was speaking today at the Edentubber commemoration in County Louth. He said:

“Ireland is at a crossroads. This state is in the midst of a deep economic and social crisis. This Government is probably the most unpopular in the history of the state. It is now implementing bad, deeply damaging policies. It has no mandate whatsoever for this.

There is a better way. Together we can rebuild Ireland.

People need to make a stand against what is happening. We need a better way forward for our country and its people.

All this imposes a huge responsibility on those of us in positions of political leadership. In the past I have asked people to step forward and to show leadership.

I have asked people to make a stand. I believe that it is my duty at this critical time to step forward and do what I have asked of others.

As Leader of Sinn Féin, I want to be part of the necessary fight-back against bad economic policies in both parts of this island and for a fair, decent and united society for all the people of Ireland.

As a representative of west Belfast I should be able to do this in the Dáil, but the Irish government refuses to allow this, despite a commitment during the Good Friday Agreement negotiations and subsequently, by the then Taoiseach Bertie Ahern that he would introduce measures to allow speaking rights for MPs from the north.

So, as Leader of the only all Ireland party with an all-island mandate I have a choice to make whether to stay in west Belfast, a place that I love, or to seek a mandate in another constituency in the south. West Belfast is my home. It is where Colette and our family are and where I live.

But after thoughtful consideration, and with the support of colleagues, I have decided to put my name forward for Louth. If elected for this constituency I will work and stay here and travel home when possible.

This means that I will be stepping down as an MLA for west Belfast. My replacement will be chosen this week. I am proud and honoured to have represented the people of west Belfast in the Assembly. I will remain as MP until the next Leinster House election.

This is a significant initiative by the Sinn Fein leadership. It is a measure of our determination to provide a real alternative to the consensus for cuts being pushed by the other parties.

Ireland needs political change. We need change in the Dáil. We need more voices that will stand up against the consensus for cuts – more voices that will stand up for ordinary people. We need new politics. We need a political realignment.

A change of government without a change in policies will be worthless.

A Fine Gael led government, propped up by the Labour Party is not a real alternative.

Fine Gael and Labour offer nothing that is substantially different from the current government. They are part of the consensus for cuts.

Sinn Féin is the only effective opposition in the Dáil. We forced this government to hold the Donegal South West by-election. We have shifted the debate on the economy by rejecting the consensus for cuts, and producing a costed, viable economic programme that can protect the vulnerable and low and middle income earners, while stimulating the economy and creating jobs.

This is a small island. The problems faced by citizens throughout the country are the same.

We have a republic only in name.

Sinn Féin is a republican party. We believe that a republic must first and foremost be about the welfare of the community. This includes access to a decent public health service and the protection of vulnerable people such as the old, the sick and those with disabilities.

It also includes at this time of crisis those who are economically vulnerable — including low and middle income earners - a group that is growing in number by the day because of the bad policies pursued by this Government.



As the leader of Sinn Féin, in this time of crisis in our country, I am making a stand with this initiative — a stand for a better, fairer, united Ireland. I believe that things can be turned around. That there is a better way.

Look at the progress that has been made in the north. The peace process has shown what is possible. The North has been transformed for the better. Sinn Féin has led that transformation. We have demonstrated what is possible when people work together in the common good, in the national interest, and for the benefit of all.

Our focus at this time is on tackling the mistakes of this government and providing a real alternative to the Fianna Fáil like policies of Fine Gael and Labour.

Whether it is charting a way out of conflict or striving to rebuild the economy, Sinn Féin is about improving the quality of people's lives.

This must be the guide for the reconstruction of Ireland in the years ahead.

I intend to lead from the front.

The people of Ireland face enormous challenges at this time. But we are no mean people and I am confident that with clear headed leadership and sound economic policies we can rebuild the economy and return prosperity.

I want to pay tribute to Arthur Morgan who, for the past 8 years has been a first class representative for the people of Louth and an outstanding member of Sinn Féin's Dáil team.

I first met Arthur in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh where he was incarcerated for his republican beliefs.

I want to pay tribute to Marian. Without her Arthur could not have played the role that he has done over the years.

He will continue to play an important role in Sinn Féin. His experience and talent will be available to this party in Louth and nationally in the time ahead.

.....

**From:** H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 11:09 AM  
**To:** Justin Cooper  
**Subject:** Fw: worth reading, even if you know the intel

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

NEAR  
DUPLICATE

Pls print for me.

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

From: sbwhoeop [redacted]  
To: H  
Sent: Wed Aug 25 10:52:28 2010  
Subject: worth reading, even if you know the intel

B6

H: I'm sure you know the facts in this well-informed piece, how Mullah Omar was saved by ISI, for example, but the idea of Afghanistan as an aspect of Indo-Pak war is the best and overarching strategic concept. Sid

<http://www.newstatesman.com/asia/2010/08/india-pakistan-afghanistan>

New Statesman <[http://images.newstatesman.com/logos/new\\_statesman\\_head.gif](http://images.newstatesman.com/logos/new_statesman_head.gif)>  
PRINT print <<http://www.newstatesman.com/print/201008230010#>> CLOSE close  
<<http://www.newstatesman.com/print/201008230010#>>

The military and the mullahs

William Dalrymple <<http://www.newstatesman.com/print/201008230010#>>  
Published 23 August 2010

The Pakistani state has a long history of nurturing jihadis as a means of dominating Afghanistan and undermining India. It is proving a fatal alliance.

<[http://images.newstatesman.com/articles/2010/20100818\\_2010+33afghan\\_w.jpg](http://images.newstatesman.com/articles/2010/20100818_2010+33afghan_w.jpg)>

It may have been a nightmarish year for Pakistan but it has been a pretty good one for the country's inscrutable chief of army staff, the most powerful man in the Land of the Pure, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani.

For a start, the army's response to the floods has compared well to the usual corrupt incompetence of Pakistan's civilian politicians, guided by their chateau-hopping president, Asif Ali Zardari (while minister for investment, he was nicknamed "Mr 10 Per Cent"; he has now been upgraded to "Mr 110 Per Cent"). This has led to discussion in army circles about whether it is time to drop the civilian fig leaf and return the country to the loving embrace of its military. So serious is this threat, that one of the country's most senior and well-connected journalists, Najam Sethi, editor-in-chief of the Friday Times, went on the record this month to warn that elements in the army were plotting yet another coup. "I know this is definitely being discussed," he said.

Then there was the news that Kayani was going to be allowed to keep his job for a second term: "an extraordinary situation requires an extraordinary decision to overcome it", explained a brigadier, writing in the Nation newspaper. Kayani, a former head of Pakistan's notorious intelligence agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), can now continue to run the army, and by default Pakistan's foreign policy, until November 2013. But Kayani's biggest triumph this year, arguably the greatest of his career, was his visit to Kabul in July as the honoured guest of the Afghan president, Hamid Karzai. The visit marked an important thawing in Pak-Afghan relations, which have been glacial ever since Karzai came to power in 2001. It also coincided with the sacking of Amrullah Saleh, Karzai's pro-Indian and rabidly anti-ISI former security chief. Saleh is a tough Tajik

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

who rose to prominence as a mujahedin protégé of Ahmed Shah Massoud, the Indian-backed "Lion of Panjshir". The Taliban, and their sponsors in the ISI, had regarded Saleh as their fiercest opponent, something Saleh was enormously proud of. When I had dinner with him in Kabul in May, he spoke at length of his frustration with the ineffectiveness of Karzai's government in taking the fight to the Taliban, and the extent to which the ISI was managing to aid, arm and train its puppet insurgents in North Waziristan and Balochistan. Saleh's sacking gave notice of an important change of direction by Karzai. As Bruce Riedel, Barack Obama's Af-Pak adviser, said when the news broke, "it means that Karzai is already planning for a post-American Afghanistan". It seems that Kayani and Karzai are discussing some sort of accommodation between the Afghan government and ISI-sponsored elements in the Taliban, maybe those of Sirajuddin Haqqani, which could give over much of the Pashtun south to pro-Pakistan Taliban, but preserve Karzai in power in Kabul after the US withdrawal. The expulsion of India, Pakistan's great regional rival, from Afghanistan, or at least the closing of its four regional consulates, would be a top priority for the ISI in return for any deal that kept Karzai in power.

With the US toppling of the Taliban after the 11 September 2001 attacks, Pakistan's influence disappeared abruptly from Afghanistan and India quickly filled the vacuum. To the ISI's horror, in the early years of this decade, India provided reconstruction assistance and training worth roughly £835m in total. It also built roads, sanitation projects, the new Afghan parliament and free medical facilities across the country. It even offered to help train the Afghan army. Nato refused. As General Stanley McChrystal put it in a report last year, "while Indian activities largely benefit the Afghan people, increasing Indian influence in Afghanistan is likely to exacerbate regional tensions and encourage Pakistani countermeasures". McChrystal was right. The Pakistanis have always been paranoid about the small Indian presence in Afghanistan. "We have strong evidence [that India is] using Afghanistan against Pakistan's interests to destabilise Pakistan," a foreign ministry spokesman claimed in March. Pakistan's military establishment, terrified of the economic superpower emerging to the south, believes it would be suicide to accept an Indian presence in what it regards as its Afghan backyard - a potential point of retreat for the army in the event of an Indian invasion, something Pakistani analysts refer to as vital "strategic depth".

According to Indian diplomatic sources, there are still fewer than 3,600 Indians in Afghanistan; there are only ten Indian diplomatic officers, as opposed to nearly 150 in the UK embassy. Yet the horror of being encircled has led the ISI to risk Pakistan's relationship with its main strategic ally, the US, in order to keep the Taliban in play and its leadership under ISI patronage in Quetta - a policy Kayani developed while head of the ISI. Karzai's new deal with the Pakistanis, and his clear intention to try to reach some accommodation with their proxies among the Taliban, therefore represents a major strategic victory for Kayani and Pakistan's military, as well as a grave diplomatic defeat for India.

Pakistan's support for the Taliban today is only the most recent chapter of an old story of complicity between jihadi movements and the Pakistani state. Since the days of the anti-Soviet mujahedin, Pakistan's army saw violent Islamic groups as an ingenious and cost-effective means of both dominating Afghanistan (which they finally achieved with the retreat of the Soviets in 1987) and bogging down the Hindu-dominated Indian army in Kashmir (which they managed with great effect from 1990 onwards).

The former ISI director and Dick Dastardly lookalike Hamid Gul, who was largely responsible for developing the strategy, once said to me: "If the jihadis go out and contain India, tying down one million men of their army on their own soil, for a legitimate cause, why should we not support them?" Next to Gul in his Islamabad living room lay a piece of the Berlin Wall presented to him by the city's people for "delivering the first blow" to the Soviet empire through his use of jihadis in the 1980s. The WikiLeaks documents suggest he is still busy liaising with jihadis in his "retirement". The Pakistani military top brass were long convinced that they could control the militants they have nurtured. In a taped conversation between President Pervez Musharraf and Muhammad Aziz Khan, his chief of general staff, that India released in 1999, Aziz said the army had the jihadis by their "tooti" (balls). Yet the Islamists have increasingly followed their own agendas, sending suicide bombers out against not just Pakistan's religious minorities and political leaders, but even the ISI headquarters. Nonetheless, many in the army still believe the jihadis are a more practical defence

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

against Indian hegemony than nuclear weapons. For them, supporting Islamist groups is not an ideological or religious whim, so much as a practical and patriotic imperative - a vital survival strategy for a Pakistani state.

The army and ISI continued this duplicitous and risky policy after 11 September 2001 despite Musharraf's public promises to the contrary. The speed with which the US lost interest in Afghanistan after its invasion and embarked on plans to invade Iraq convinced the Pakistani army that the Washington had no long-term commitment to Karzai's regime. This led to the generals keeping the Taliban in reserve, to be used to reinstall a pro-Pakistani regime in Kabul once the American gaze had turned elsewhere.

So it was that the ISI gave refuge to the leadership of the Taliban after it fled from Afghanistan in 2001. Mullah Mohammed Omar was kept in an ISI safehouse in Quetta; his militia was lodged in the sprawling suburb of Pashtunabad. There, Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar presided over the Taliban military committee and war chest. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the leader of Hizb-e-Islami, was lured back from exile in Iran and allowed to operate freely outside Peshawar, while Jalaluddin Haqqani, one of the most violent Taliban commanders, was given sanctuary in North Waziristan. Other groups were despatched to safehouses in Balochistan.

By 2004, the US had filmed Pakistani army trucks delivering Taliban fighters at the Afghan border and recovering them a few days later; wireless monitoring at the US base at Bagram picked up Taliban commanders arranging with Pakistani army officers at the border for safe passage as they came in and out of Afghanistan. Western intelligence agencies concluded that the ISI was running a full training programme for the Afghan Taliban, turning a blind eye as they raised funds in the Gulf and allowing them to import materiel, mainly via Dubai. By 2005 the Taliban, with covert Pakistani support, were launching a full-scale assault on Nato troops in Afghanistan and being given covering fire as they returned to their bases in Pakistan.

At the same time, Taliban attacks on Indian interests in Afghanistan intensified, beginning the process of turning the Afghan conflict, like that in Kashmir, into what it is today: an Indo-Pak proxy war. The Indian embassy in Kabul was twice bombed - in July 2008 and October 2009 - as were two city-centre hotels thought to have been used by the Research and Analysis Wing (Raw), the Indian intelligence agency. Seven Indian civilians and two Indian military officers died in the blasts.

The degree to which the ISI has been controlling the Afghan Taliban has only just become clear, and not just in the documents published by WikiLeaks. A report by Matt Waldman of the Carr Centre for Human Rights at Harvard, based on interviews with ten former senior Taliban commanders, closely documents how the ISI "orchestrates, sustains and strongly influences" the Taliban and shows how the ISI is even represented on the Taliban's supreme leadership council, the Quetta Shura.

Meanwhile, in the Punjab, Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, founder of Lashkar-e-Toiba, and the man believed to have been behind the 2008 Bombay attacks, has been allowed to continue operating from Muridke, near Lahore. "The powerful western world is terrorising Muslims," he told a conference in Islamabad this year. "We are being invaded, manipulated and looted. We must fight the evil trio of America, Israel and India. Suicide missions are in accordance with Islam. In fact, a suicide attack is the best form of jihad."

At the same time as pursuing its policy of selectively using jihadis, Pakistan has appeased the US by giving generous assistance to the CIA in arresting foreign Arab al-Qaeda personnel. A major assault was also launched against both the militants who took over the Lal Masjid and the ultra-radical Pakistan Taliban who took over the Swat Valley and announced their intention of turning the country into an Islamic Emirate. In the course of these operations and others in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, more than 1,500 Pakistani soldiers and policemen were killed; another 250,000 people were made homeless in the Pak army assault on Bajaur. The ISI has even been prepared to arrest any members of the Afghan Taliban who didn't follow orders. Hence the seizure in Karachi, in February, of the Taliban second-in-command, Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, along with about a dozen other senior Taliban whom the ISI regarded as infringing on their hospitality by opening talks with the Karzai administration via the Saudis, without ISI clearance. Yet, even though the Pakistani army has conducted major offensives in six of the tribal areas, the seventh, North Waziristan, has been left alone, as it is home to the ISI's favourite proxies: Haqqani and Hekmatyar. Similarly, Pakistan's foot-dragging response to the 2008 attacks on Bombay, and the lack of response to the attacks on minority faith groups in Pakistan over the past few months, show that the Janus-faced policy remains in place. This summer, the chief minister of the Punjab, Shahbaz Sharif, was quoted heatedly

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

denying that there were any militant groups working in the Pakistani Punjab, or that the Punjabi Taliban even existed. There are still, in the eyes of many in the Pakistani establishment, good Taliban and bad Taliban, useful militants and expendable ones. In their eyes, the ongoing defeat of Nato in Afghanistan, with US and British troops suffering record casualties last month, is a vindication of its long-term strategy. Islamabad has succeeded in regaining influence in Afghanistan and Delhi has been checked. But India will not take this lying down. Already the Indian press has reported attempts to resuscitate the Northern Alliance as a contingency against the Taliban's takeover of the south, and here India is working in conjunction with Russia, Iran and the central Asian "stans". The Indian national security adviser, Shivshankar Menon, was despatched to Afghanistan in March, and the foreign minister, S M Krishna, has visited Tehran. Post-American Afghanistan is looking increasingly likely to be divided between the Tajik, Uzbek and Hazara north and the Pashtun south, either formally, with a partition, or more likely, to slip into inter-ethnic civil war, with India supporting and arming the north and Pakistan the south.

As diplomacy gathers pace, the Afghan Taliban, who already control over 70 per cent of the country, continue to increase their power. The most worrying development has been the spread of Taliban units to the previously peaceful north, where they have taken over pockets of Pathan settlement around Kunduz and Badakhshan. The death of the British aid worker Karen Woo on 5 August was a direct result.

In Pakistan, too, jihadi activity is growing. Last year there were 87 suicide attacks across the country, killing roughly 3,000 people and the ISI this week stated that, for the first time in the nation's history, it regarded home-grown Islamic militants to be a bigger threat to the integrity of the nation than India. Yet the army continues to obsess about India. In a recent speech, Kayani emphasised that although the army knows the dangers of militancy, it was against Indian attacks that he was principally focused. At a time when Pakistan's economy is in crisis, electricity supply increasingly erratic and the educational system in complete breakdown, Kayani has secured a huge increase in the country's defence budget.

It is not a pretty picture: growing violence everywhere, increasing Indo-Pak tensions and a defeat for western interests in the region. Worst of all, because the Pakistani army regards this as a major triumph, it is unlikely to change its policy any time soon.

William Dalrymple's "Nine Lives: in Search of the Sacred in Modern India" won the first Asia House Literary Award in May and is newly published in paperback (Bloomsbury, £8.99)



Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

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**From:** Justin Cooper [redacted] on behalf of Justin Cooper **B6**  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 31, 2011 6:18 PM  
**To:** H

Blackberry should be working again now.

Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

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

**From:** Justin Cooper [redacted] on behalf of Justin Cooper **B6**  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 8, 2011 6:43 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Bahrain

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 09/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 03/08/2026

Will do

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

From: H  
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 06:42 PM  
To: Justin Cooper  
Subject: Fw: Bahrain

Pls show to Bill from the bottom up. It responds to a question he just asked me.

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

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D [mailto:FeltmanJD@state.gov]  
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 06:38 PM  
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
Subject: RE: Bahrain

A breakaway part of the opposition did a sit-in outside the embassy and presented a petition. A political officer (not #2) received the petition, as is customary, and urged the opposition to begin the dialogue. The petitioners then gave a false story about what our person said. The Embassy immediately went out on twitter, Facebook, the Embassy website, and via an Embassy press release and corrected the record. The petitioners later apologized on Bahraini TV.

[redacted] Certainly

in Bahrain, the Embassy blanked the media with the correct story.

1.4(B)  
1.4(D)  
B1

Jeffrey Feltman  
Assistant Secretary  
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs  
Department of State  
202-647-7209

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

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com ]  
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 6:36 PM  
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J  
Subject: Bahrain

just told my husband that the oppo in Bahrain posted on their website that they met w the #2 in our embassy who told them that the US supported them and their demands which was very upsetting to everyone. What's the story?



RELEASE IN PART  
B6

---

**From:** Justin Cooper [redacted] on behalf of Justin Cooper **B6**  
**Sent:** Sunday, September 6, 2009 8:52 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Message from last night

There is some problem with blackberry. Not our equipment but messages massively delayed.

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

**From:** H  
**To:** Justin Cooper  
**Sent:** Sun Sep 06 07:47:22 2009  
**Subject:** Message from last night

Did you receive it? I signed as HRC.

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

---

**From:** Justin Cooper [redacted] on behalf of Justin Cooper **B6**  
**Sent:** Tuesday, September 29, 2009 7:28 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Lost messages

Yes. They are all backed up on the server the easaiest and quickest way is to log on to the webmail server and click on the drafts folder or the inbox.

If you have not used the webmail happy to walk you through that or have huma help you.

Your old berry has messages back to august 29 2009 and then only saved messages prior to that. The saved messages should be on your berry as well.

J

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

From: H  
To: Justin Cooper  
Sent: Tue Sep 29 07:16:33 2009  
Subject: Lost messages

I've lost all messages from 11/9 back to 2008. Anyway to recover since I had drafts saved?

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

---

**From:** Justin Cooper [redacted] on behalf of Justin Cooper **B6**  
**Sent:** Friday, September 25, 2009 1:58 PM  
**To:** H

Your new berry is set  
Let me know if you have trouble

Messages from your old berry are there BUT to read the text when you open a message

You need to push menu (left of ball)  
And then hit "more all " and the text will work.

---

**From:** H <hdr22@clintonemail.com> on behalf of H  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 25, 2010 10:38 AM  
**To:** Justin Cooper  
**Subject:** Fw: Two tops of FA piec  
**Attachments:** FA Openings for S.docx; ATT00001.txt

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

Pls print. Thx

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

From: Lissa Muscatine [redacted]  
To: Huma Abedin <abedinh@state.gov>  
Cc: H  
Sent: Wed Aug 25 10:36:26 2010  
Subject: Two tops of FA piec

B6

Huma -- Could you print this document. It has the two different openings for the FA piece. Thx. Lissa

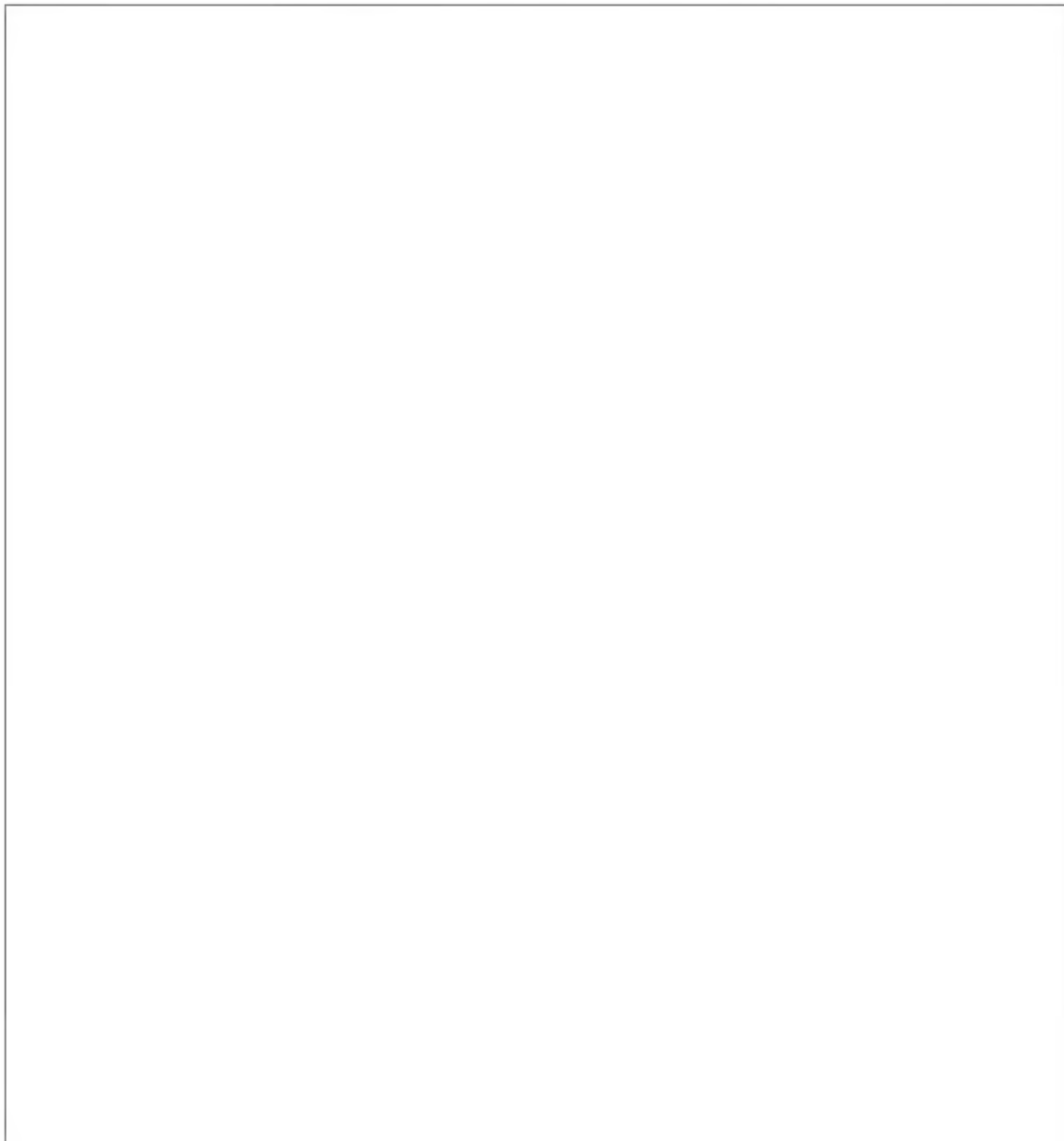
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

**RELEASE IN PART B5**

**Draft 20 (last night)**

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE**

**LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER**



B5

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**Page Denied**

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**Page Denied**

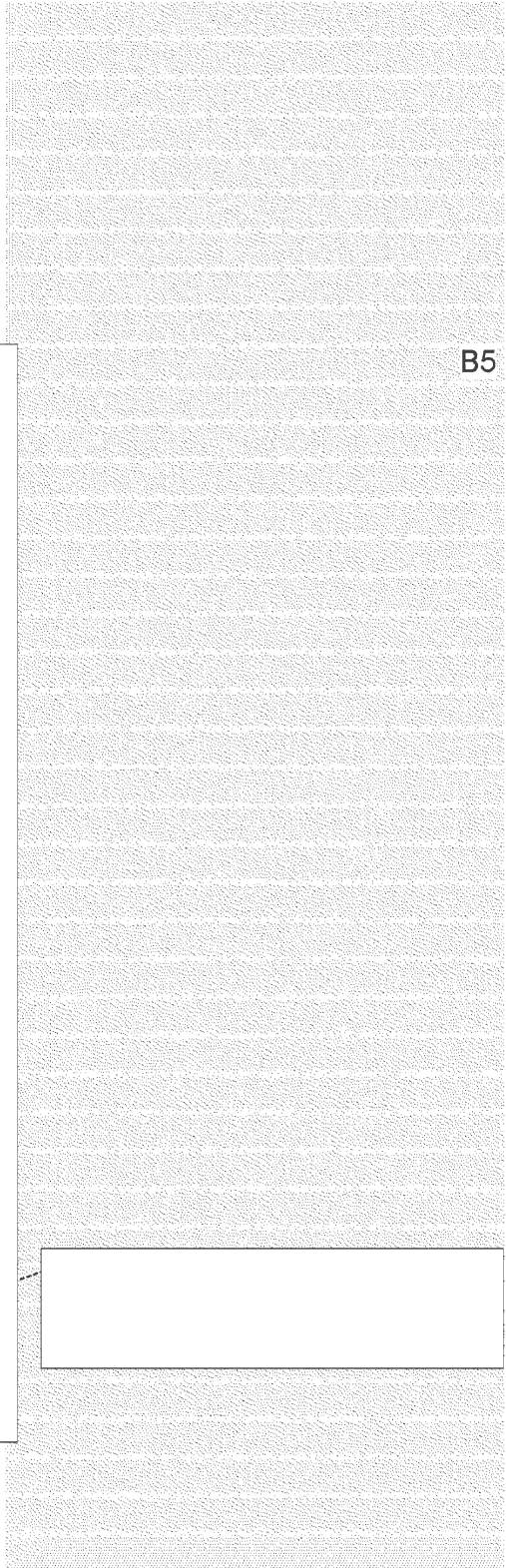
Obtained by Judicial Watch, Inc. Via FOIA

DRAFT 21 (VERSION THIS MORNING)

LEADING THROUGH CIVILIAN POWER



B5





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**Page Denied**

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**Page Denied**

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

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**From:** Jiloty, Lauren C <jilotylc@state.gov> on behalf of Jiloty, Lauren C  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 26, 2010 1:36 PM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Justin Cooper  
**Subject:** RE: Robert Wexler call - 1:30 PM

Ok they are teeing it up now.

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

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com ]  
Sent: Thursday, August 26, 2010 1:35 PM  
To: Jiloty, Lauren C  
Subject: Re: Robert Wexler call - 1:30 PM

Go thru ops.

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

From: Jiloty, Lauren C <JilotyLC@state.gov>  
To: H  
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Justin Cooper  
Sent: Thu Aug 26 13:33:53 2010  
Subject: Robert Wexler call - 1:30 PM

MS,

Wexler is ready for the call, but I am getting voice mail as I try to patch him to your number  I can connect you whenever you are ready.

B6

Lauren

RELEASE IN PART B1,1.4(D), B6

**From:** Justin Cooper [redacted] on behalf of Justin Cooper **B6**  
**Sent:** Saturday, February 13, 2010 9:22 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Message for the Secretary

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 08/27/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/12/2020

Will do

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

From: H  
To: Justin Cooper  
Sent: Sat Feb 13 09:21:44 2010  
Subject: Fw: Message for the Secretary

Pls look for Espinosa's note and respond. Thx.

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

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>  
To: H  
Sent: Fri Feb 12 02:39:19 2010  
Subject: Fw: Message for the Secretary

Fyi

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

From: Pascual, Carlos (Mexico City)  
To: Mills, Cheryl D  
Cc: Jacobson, Roberta S  
Sent: Thu Feb 11 22:01:40 2010  
Subject: Message for the Secretary

Cheryl -

Could I ask you to pass this message to the Secretary?

I was just with Patricia Espinosa. [redacted] She said she had sent a personal note. She asked that I pass on her concerns as well.

She also asked me to remind the Secretary of their conversation in Montreal and that she would love to host the Secretary for a private visit if she could spare any time before their March 23 High Level Group meeting.

Cheryl - The Mexicans have a cabinet meeting on Friday [redacted] We'll let you know.

1.4(D)  
B1

Thank you.

Carlos

-----  
This message has been sent via BlackBerry  
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**From:** Justin Cooper [redacted] on behalf of Justin Cooper **B6**  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 31, 2011 9:01 PM  
**To:** hPad  
**Subject:** Re:

I got your email

the system to the ipad is dad (though i can set up email on there if you like it)  
Your hdr22@clintonemail.com is back up on our own server and should be delivering to your  
blackberry

On Aug 30, 2011, at 12:21 PM, hPad wrote:

>  
>  
> Sent from my iPad

RELEASE IN PART  
B6

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**From:** Justin Cooper [redacted] on behalf of Justin Cooper B6  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 9, 2011 9:48 PM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Re: Another question

On your berry? Its same as the power going out but a lot less noticable.

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

From: H  
To: Justin Cooper  
Sent: Wed Feb 09 21:40:05 2011  
Subject: Another question

Why would my internet connection to access the web not work in my house when it used to as recently as day before yesterday?