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From: POLITICO Live <comingtogether@eventmail.eventfarm.com>
Sent: Friday, January 20, 2017 2:02 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Watch LIVE | POLITICO's Coming Together: The Environment and the Next Four Years at the Inauguration Hub

Coming Together

As part of the Inauguration Hub programming, join POLITICO and The Wrap as they convene a conversation that will explore how Americans can find common ground on clean energy, protecting clean air, water and natural resources over the next four years.

Featured Speakers:

Michael McKenna, Former Energy Transition Head to President-Elect Trump
Collin O'Mara, President and CEO, National Wildlife Federation
Fisher Stevens, Academy Award Winner and Director of *Before the Flood*

Join the conversation using #ComingTogether.

Watch the conversation live here.

The *Coming Together: The Environment and the Next Four Years* event is presented by Bank of America.

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From: OCIO <whitehouse-noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov>
Sent: Friday, January 20, 2017 1:14 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: FW: POTUS print pool 9

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Diaz, Kevin B" [redacted] B6
Date: January 20, 2017 at 1:03:06 PM EST
To: Stephanie Grisham [redacted]
Subject: POTUS print pool 9

Moments after Bush 43 exited a side entrance with former First Lady Laura Bush, President Trump and former president Obama appeared at the top of the East Capitol steps at 12:35

Steps were lined with military guards in appropriate rain gear (unlike your poolster). Accompanying the 44th and 45th presidents were VP Pence and former VP Biden, along with wives. All four walked down halfway to the first landing, from where the Pences accompanied the Bidens to their limo.

Trump and the new First Lady walked the Obamas to the helicopter formerly known as Marine One for takeoff.
Revving engines precluded any sound, words, from 44 and 45.
Trump and Obama shook hands. Trump also kissed Michelle on both cheeks. The women also exchanged hugs.
Michelle got on the chopper first, followed by Obama, who waved from the door, and then also through a window from inside the aircraft.
The Trumps then turned back to the Capitol steps and rejoined the Pences in facing the chopper and waving to the Obamas.
Wheels left the ground at 11:45 for Andrews.
Trump and Melania then made their way back up the steps and inside the Capitol for lunch.
Also on the steps for Obama departure was House Speaker Paul Ryan and Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi.

Sent from my iPhone
Kevin Diaz
Houston Chronicle/HEARST
[redacted] B6

Sent from my iPhone

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C06497269 IED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-14553 Doc No. C06497269 Date: 02/01/2018
RELEASE IN FULL

From: OCIO <whitehouse-noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov>
Sent: Friday, January 20, 2017 12:26 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: President Donald J. Trump's Inaugural Address

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
January 20, 2017

Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – As Prepared for Delivery
Inaugural Address
Friday, January 20, 2017
Washington, D.C.

As Prepared for Delivery –

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: thank you.

We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and to restore its promise for all of our people.

Together, we will determine the course of America and the world for years to come.

We will face challenges. We will confront hardships. But we will get the job done.

Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent.

Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning. Because today we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another – but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the American People.

For too long, a small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost.

Washington flourished – but the people did not share in its wealth.

Politicians prospered – but the jobs left, and the factories closed.

The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.

Their victories have not been your victories; their triumphs have not been your triumphs; and while they celebrated in our nation's Capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.

That all changes – starting right here, and right now, because this moment is your moment: it belongs to you.

It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America.

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-14553 Doc No. C06497269 Date: 02/01/2018

This is your day. This is your celebration.

And this, the United States of America, is your country.

What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people.

January 20th 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again.

The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.

Everyone is listening to you now.

You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement the likes of which the world has never seen before.

At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction: that a nation exists to serve its citizens.

Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves.

These are the just and reasonable demands of a righteous public.

But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of knowledge; and the crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential.

This American carnage stops right here and stops right now.

We are one nation - and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams; and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.

The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry;

Subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military;

We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own;

And spent trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.

We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has disappeared over the horizon.

One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions upon millions of American workers left behind.

The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed across the entire world.

But that is the past. And now we are looking only to the future.

We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power.

From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land.

From this moment on, it's going to be America First.

Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families.

We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.

I will fight for you with every breath in my body – and I will never, ever let you down.

America will start winning again, winning like never before.

We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams.

We will build new roads, and highways, and bridges, and airports, and tunnels, and railways all across our wonderful nation.

We will get our people off of welfare and back to work – rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.

We will follow two simple rules: Buy American and Hire American.

We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world – but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.

We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to follow.

We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones – and unite the civilized world against Radical Islamic Terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other.

When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.

The Bible tells us, "how good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity."

We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity.

When America is united, America is totally unstoppable.

There should be no fear – we are protected, and we will always be protected.

We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement and, most importantly, we are protected by God.

Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger.

In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving.

We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action – constantly complaining but never doing anything about it.

The time for empty talk is over.

Now arrives the hour of action.

Do not let anyone tell you it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America.

We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease, and to harness the energies, industries and technologies of tomorrow.

A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions.

It is time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget: that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American Flag.

And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams, and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty Creator.

So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, and from ocean to ocean, hear these words:

You will never be ignored again.

Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams, will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

Together, We Will Make America Strong Again.

We Will Make America Wealthy Again.

We Will Make America Proud Again.

We Will Make America Safe Again.

And, Yes, Together, We Will Make America Great Again. Thank you, God Bless You, And God Bless America.

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From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 6:47 PM
To: Ordeman, Leslie T <OrdemanLT@state.gov>; Degory, John A <DegoryJA@state.gov>; Bitar, Maher B <bitarmb@state.gov>; Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>; Maltz, Gideon <MaltzG@state.gov>; Tachco, Amy N <TachcoAN@state.gov>; DiCarlo, Diana <DiCarloD@state.gov>; Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-COMMS-DL <USUN-COMMS-DL@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Reuters: Trump discussed Mideast peace in call with Egypt's Sisi

+SP. So much for one President at a time.

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From: Ordeman, Leslie T
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 5:53 PM
To: Degory, John A; Bitar, Maher B; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon; Tachco, Amy N; DiCarlo, Diana
Cc: USUN-COMMS-DL
Subject: Reuters: Trump discussed Mideast peace in call with Egypt's Sisi

From Reuters:

WORLD NEWS | Thu Dec 22, 2016 | 10:15pm GMT

Trump discussed Mideast peace in call with Egypt's Sisi

U.S. President-elect Donald Trump discussed laying the groundwork for peace in the Middle East in a phone call on Thursday with Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, a Trump transition official said.

The official did not know whether Trump and Sisi talked specifically about Egypt's decision to postpone a vote set for Thursday in the U.N. Security Council on a resolution demanding that Israel end settlement building.

(Reporting by Emily Stephenson in Hawaii; Writing by Eric Beech; Editing by Chris Reese)

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From: Degory, John A
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 5:41 PM
To: Bitar, Maher B; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon; Ordeman, Leslie T; Tachco, Amy N; DiCarlo, Diana
Cc: USUN-COMMS-DL

Subject: FW: Obama administration intended to abstain from UN vote on settlements -Western officials - RTRS | News Wires

FYI – written by Reuters' State Department correspondents.

John Degory | Deputy Spokesperson | U.S. Mission to the United Nations
799 United Nations Plaza | New York, NY 10017
T. (212) 415-4153 | M. [redacted]

B6

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Alerts History

- 22-Dec-2016 05:27:22 PM - OBAMA ADMINISTRATION INTENDED TO ABSTAIN FROM U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE ON RESOLUTION CRITICAL OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENT BUILDING, WESTERN OFFICIALS SAY

Obama administration intended to abstain from UN vote on settlements -Western officials - Reuters News

22-Dec-2016 05:35:17 PM

WASHINGTON, Dec 22 (Reuters) - The Obama administration intended to abstain from a U.N. Security Council vote on a draft resolution critical of Israel settlement-building, Western officials told Reuters on Thursday.

Egypt earlier postponed the vote and diplomats said Cairo had acted under pressure from Israel and to avoid alienating U.S. President-elect Donald Trump. (Full Story)

(Reporting by Lesley Wroughton and Arshad Mohammed; Writing by Yara Bayoumy; Editing by James Dalgleish)

((arshad.mohammed@thomsonreuters.com ; +1 202 898 8300; Reuters Messaging: arshad.mohammed.thomsonreuters.com@reuters.net))

Keywords: ISRAEL-PALESTINIANS/UN-ABSTAIN (URGENT)

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Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 9:13 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; Ordeman, Leslie T <OrdemanLT@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Reuters / Trump calls for veto of U.N. resolution on halting Israeli settlements

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In case folks didn't see this.

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From: Kim, Ji Yun
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 9:04 AM
To: USUN-MiddleEastNews-DL
Subject: Reuters / Trump calls for veto of U.N. resolution on halting Israeli settlements

Trump calls for veto of U.N. resolution on halting Israeli settlements
December 22, 2016
Reuters

U.S. President-elect Donald Trump on Thursday echoed Israel's call for a veto on a U.N. Security Council draft resolution to halt settlements, saying it "puts Israel in a very poor negotiating position and is extremely unfair to all Israelis."

"Peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians will only come through direct negotiations between the parties, and not through the imposition of terms by the United Nations," Trump said in a statement released by his transition team.

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From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 6:27 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>; USUN-COMMS-DL <USUN-COMMS-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Kissinger on Tillerson / China

Ambassador:
Kissinger spoke last night to the Committee of 100, a non-profit that works on U.S.-China relations; based on the articles, it seems to have been a conversation. Have pasted two articles below on his comments, which were pretty widely covered. Thought it'd be useful for background as you head into tonight's dinner – not to mention a show of his enduring ability to garner coverage when he weighs in (including the "One-China" policy, which many of the pieces have pointed out was negotiated by Kissinger).
The pieces below are from Politico and Bloomberg, respectively. Highlights in yellow.

Kissinger dismisses concerns about Tillerson, One China policy

By ADDY BAIRD

12/14/16 02:38 PM EST

Former secretary of state Henry Kissinger dismissed concerns Wednesday about President-elect Donald Trump's nominee for secretary of state, ExxonMobil CEO Rex Tillerson, who has been criticized for his close ties with Russian President Vladimir Putin.

"I pay no attention to this argument that he is too friendly with Russia," Kissinger said at an event in Manhattan. "He would be useless at the head of Exxon if he was not friendly with Russia... I don't hear those concerns at all."

Kissinger was asked about Tillerson at an event put on by the Committee of

100, an organization that works to advance Chinese-American relations, where the former secretary talked about the future of U.S.-Chinese relations under Trump.

But Kissinger walked a fine line in talking about Tillerson, joking when he was asked about the appointment that he didn't "come to commit suicide," but that he "sympathized" with Trump's decision.

"Nobody can meet every single qualification for secretary of state," Kissinger said. "I think it's a good appointment."

Reflecting on Trump's developing relationship with China, Kissinger said he is optimistic about the coming administration.

"[We have to decide] whether to attempt to deal cooperatively or confrontationally" with China, Kissinger said. "I hope and I am optimistic that the cooperative way will prevail... Keep in mind that if China and America are in conflict, then the whole world will be divided."

Earlier this month, Trump became the first U.S. president or president-elect to speak with the leader of Taiwan since 1979. And he suggested this past weekend that the U.S. shouldn't have to be "bound" by the "One China" policy that American leaders have stood by for decades. Those comments "seriously

concerned" China's Foreign Ministry, its spokesperson said Monday.

Kissinger himself negotiated the One China policy, which recognizes the Chinese government in Beijing, as opposed to Taiwan.

Kissinger, who met with Trump after his election, has also more recently traveled to China to meet with Chinese President Xi Jinping.

"I have supported [the One China policy] in eight administrations," Kissinger said Wednesday. "It was not a disputed policy."

Despite the call with Taiwan's leader, Kissinger disputed that the policy is in question now.

"What I have understood is not that he doesn't have to be bound by it, but that he doesn't have to be bound by every obligation of it," he said.

The former secretary of state also cautioned against making out the phone call to be more than it was. "One should give these things some time," he said. "I don't think this is a good time to turn it into a big political issue... I don't think [the policy] will be overturned."

This isn't the first time Kissinger has warned against expecting too much from Trump's words. Kissinger has previously said that he believes people shouldn't

expect Trump to stand by all of his campaign positions. During a Nobel Peace Prize forum this month, Kissinger said Trump is "a personality for whom there is no precedent in modern American history."

He added then, "Before postulating an inevitable crisis, an opportunity should be given to the new administration to put forward its vision of international order."

Kissinger at 93 Expounds on Rex Tillerson, 'One-China' and Trump

by
Sangwon Yoon
December 14, 2016, 2:19 PM EST
Tillerson's job was to work with Russia, Kissinger says

Henry Kissinger, the 93-year-old foreign policy guru to world leaders, isn't slowing down. On Wednesday he weighed in on Donald Trump's pick of Exxon Mobil Corp. chief Rex Tillerson as the top U.S. diplomat, the importance of the 'One-China' policy and the president-elect's decision to take a phone call from Taiwan's leader.

Speaking to the Committee of 100, a non-profit that works on improving U.S.-China relations, Kissinger dismissed criticism that Tillerson's work winning contracts with Russia for Exxon disqualifies him for the State Department job.

"I pay no attention to the argument that he is too friendly to Russia," Kissinger said. "As

head of Exxon it's his job to get along with Russia. He would be useless as the head of Exxon if he did not have a working relationship with Russia."

Citing his acquaintance with Tillerson from serving together on the board of a Washington-based think tank, Kissinger praised Trump's selection and added that "we should not think about these relationships as the personal relationship of individuals."

A message left with Kissinger's consulting company, Kissinger Associates, asking whether the firm has a financial relationship with Exxon, wasn't immediately answered.

Weeks before he takes office on Jan. 20, Trump has injected an air of unpredictability into U.S. relations with both allies and adversaries. In addition to saying he wants friendlier ties with Russia, Trump has slammed China over currency and trade, had an unprecedented call with Taiwan's leader, praised the Philippine president's violent war on drugs and promised to visit Pakistan, a sign of validation President Barack Obama never bestowed on Islamabad.

That's a lot of material for Kissinger, who brokered the U.S. rapprochement with China as Richard Nixon's secretary of state more than four decades ago and has advised U.S. presidents ever since, to work with. With Trump heading to the White House next month, Kissinger continues to fulfill a role as unofficial adviser to the world's most powerful leaders, visiting both Trump in his New York offices and Chinese President Xi Jinping in Beijing since the Nov. 8 election.

Kissinger chided Trump for making Taiwan a key issue at the beginning of his dialogue with China, by taking a protocol-breaking phone call with the island's president, Tsai Ing-wen, this month. He called the move "unwise" and "not the most efficient." However, he said he is "hopeful, optimistic, and confident" that Trump will uphold the decades-old "One-China" policy and avoid diplomatic or formal relations with an island that China considers part of its territory.

Chinese Protest

"One should give these things a little time, the new administration isn't in office yet," he said. "Every president of the U.S. since 1971 and both parties have accepted this framework and once that framework is studied, I do not expect it to be overturned."

Kissinger didn't say what advice he gave the Chinese during his most recent visit, but the government's official response to Trump's Taiwan call was measured. While Beijing lodged a "solemn representation" -- a mild form of diplomatic protest -- and urged U.S. authorities to adhere to the so-called One-China principle, it stopped short of criticizing Trump.

"Some would argue that Trump's out-of-the-line talk and behavior was meant to poke at China, and that the Chinese should retaliate," the People's Daily, the Communist Party's flagship newspaper, said in a front-page story this month. "Otherwise he might think China is a soft persimmon, easy to pinch." But the country "doesn't throw a tantrum to strive for only temporary superiority, or to gain immediate gratification."

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RELEASE IN FULL

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 12:25 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: RE: tom friedman today -- see last para quote by larry diamond

Indeed. Saw it and read Diamond's piece Monday when doing some research. It's a solid piece. Pasted it below and will have it added to your book.

Russia and the Threat to Liberal Democracy

By **Larry Diamond**, www.theatlantic.com
View Original
December 9th, 2016

Since the end of World War II, the most crucial underpinning of freedom in the world has been the vigor of the advanced liberal democracies and the alliances that bound them together. Through the Cold War, the key multilateral anchors were NATO, the expanding European Union, and the U.S.-Japan security alliance. With the end of the Cold War and the expansion of NATO and the EU to virtually all of Central and Eastern Europe, liberal democracy seemed ascendant and *secure* as never before in history.

Under the shrewd and relentless assault of a resurgent Russian authoritarian state, all of this has come under strain with a speed and scope that few in the West have fully comprehended, and that puts the future of liberal democracy in the world squarely where Vladimir Putin wants it: in doubt and on the defensive.

On the global chessboard, there has been no more deft and brilliant (and of late, lucky) player than Putin. From the early days of his presidency a decade and a half ago, he began to signal that he intended to make Russia great again, and that he saw this imperative as a zero-sum game: As the West gained friendships among post-communist states, Russia lost, and so everything possible had to be done to force Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, and the Balkan states out of a Western liberal orientation and back into the greater Russian orbit.

The first dramatic salvo came in the summer of 2008, when Russia intervened militarily to back separatist forces in the enclaves of Abkhazia and South Ossetia seeking to break away from Georgia. Russia's military assault was brief but brutal, and involved bombing civilian populations both in the disputed areas and in the rest of Georgia, as well as attacking fleeing civilians. The overconfident pro-Western president of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili, was dealt a painful lesson courtesy of Putin, and the two breakaway "republics" remain under Russian occupation to this day. It was the first time since the end of the Soviet Union that Russia's military violated the sovereignty of an independent state, but it would not be the last.

Since huge swaths of society rose up in color revolutions in the former Yugoslavia in 2000, in Georgia in 2003, and in Ukraine in 2004-2005—all to protest electoral fraud and bring about a transition from authoritarianism to democracy—Putin has behaved as if obsessed with fear that the virus of mass democratic mobilization might spread to Russia itself. Neither was he prepared to condone the "loss" of key parts of the former Soviet Union, such as Georgia and Ukraine, to any potential alliance structure with the West. As the forces of Ukraine's Orange Revolution squandered their miraculous victory in corruption and political squabbling, Putin won another victory in 2010, when the pro-Russian villain of the rigged election that prompted the 2004 uprising, Viktor Yanukovych, finally won the presidency.

But Yanukovych's authoritarianism and pro-Russia orientation—which led him to scuttle a much hoped-for association agreement between Ukraine and the EU—increasingly outraged the Ukrainian people, who ousted him in a second people-power revolution (the Euromaidan) in February 2014. Soon thereafter, Russian troops without insignias infiltrated Crimea and, with sympathetic local actors, seized control of its infrastructure. Militarily weak and bereft of Western military support—which in any case was difficult to deliver quickly and effectively due to the distance relative to Russia's proximity—Ukraine watched helplessly as Putin consolidated his conquest with a pseudo-referendum that endorsed Crimea's re-absorption into Russia.

It was the first time since the Nazis marauded across Europe in World War II that the boundaries of a European country had been altered by military aggression. But Putin did not stop there. In a replay of its shadowy campaign of aggression against Georgia,

Russia infiltratedits troops and equipment into the Donbas region of far eastern Ukraine, in support (and probably orchestration) of separatist forces there. It was one of those eastern Ukrainian armed groups that used a Soviet-era missile system to shoot down Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 on July 17, 2014. More blatant Russian military intervention followed, with Russia denying any involvement of its own soldiers, despite abundant evidence to the contrary. Today, Russia still occupies a portion of the Donbas region. A major swing state between West and East has been militarily violated and partially dismantled, and the story isn't over yet.

Like President Bush with respect to the Georgia crisis in 2008, President Obama did not respond militarily to this aggression. But he was not passive. Together with the European Union, the U.S. imposed several rounds of painful economic and financial sanctions on key Russian officials, banks, and businesses. As the sanctions have broadened, they have hurt important Russian elites and seriously impaired the functioning of the Russian financial, energy, and defense sectors—not exactly a great formula for making Russia great again.

Putin has been desperate to get out from under these sanctions so that his regime can thrive domestically and internationally. His goals appear to be twofold. First, he seeks to restore some form of Russian empire—with at least informal dominion over all the territories of the former Soviet Union—while forcing the West to accept this new balance of power and treat Russia as a superpower once again. Second, he seeks to invert Woodrow Wilson's famous call to arms and instead "make the world safe for autocracy." Democracy is his enemy. He is smart enough to know that he cannot undermine it everywhere, but he will subvert, corrupt, and confuse it wherever he can.

And so Putin's regime has been embarked for some years now on an opportunistic but sophisticated campaign to sabotage democracy and bend it toward his interests, not just in some marginal, fragile places but at the very core of the liberal democratic order, Europe and the United States. As *The Telegraph* reported in January, Western intelligence agencies have been monitoring a Russian campaign on a Cold War scale to support a wide range of European parties and actors—illiberal parties and politicians of both the far left and far right—that are sympathetic to Russia and Putin. This includes not just newer neo-fascist parties, but anti-immigrant far-right parties like the National Front of France—which obtained a 9 million euro loan from a Russian bank in 2014—and the Freedom Party of Austria, both of which have been gaining popularity for some time. While the Freedom Party lost the election for Austria's ceremonial presidency last Sunday, its candidate, Norbert Hofer, won over 46 percent of the vote, and it remains the third-largest party in the parliament, poised to do better in the next elections.

Hofer's defeat may temporarily slow the right-wing populist momentum across

Europe, but National Front leader Marine Le Pen, who endorsed Putin's annexation of Crimea and has called for an end to Western sanctions on Russia, could well be elected the next President of France next spring. And even if she loses, Putin is likely to be sitting pretty with the next French president. Le Pen's principal rival, former French Prime Minister Francois Fillon, who recently won the conservative presidential primaries in France, has for years been calling for an end to sanctions on Putin and a closer relationship between France and Russia.

The romance between far-right, anti-immigrant European parties and Vladimir Putin's Russia springs not just from practical ties of support but a shared conservative reaction against liberalism, globalization, and multiculturalism, and a celebration of Putin, in the words of the scholar Alina Polyakova, as "as a staunch defender of national sovereignty and conservative values who has challenged US influence and the idea of 'Europe' in a way that mirrors their own convictions." This same spirit suffused the Brexit campaign in the U.K., whose longtime populist champion, Nigel Farage, has combined fierce demands for British independence from Europe with fawning admiration for Putin. Yet the Russian boost to Brexit did not come only from the right. Russian media lavishly praised the successful campaign for Labour Party leadership of the far-left candidate Jeremy Corbyn, a NATO and EU skeptic whose extremely tepid support for the Remain campaign contributed to the narrow victory of Brexit.

Meanwhile, the damage to liberalism in Europe was also being driven by a more brutal form of Russian intervention—in Syria. Russia's bombing campaign there has not only tilted the war in favor of the dictator, Bashar al-Assad, who along with his allies has killed more civilians than either ISIS fighters or rebels, but it also dramatically accelerated the flow of Syrian refugees (now nearing 5 million) into other countries, including European ones. While Europe's refugee crisis has many sources and causes, roughly 30 percent of European asylum-seekers last year were Syrian refugees, and the human exodus from that civil war has incidentally further helped to feed right-wing (pro-Putin) populist parties and movements across Europe, while undermining liberal leaders like Angela Merkel of Germany.

The destabilizing effects of the refugee crisis in Europe have been a kind of dividend of Putin's campaign to defend his Middle East ally. But Putin has also attempted to destabilize democracies directly through methods more reminiscent of the Cold War. After Montenegro's parliamentary elections on October 16 (which saw Putin pouring money into the pro-Russian opposition party and sympathetic media and NGOs, in an unsuccessful attempt to defeat the pro-NATO prime minister), evidence emerged of a plot involving three Russian citizens (alleged in the Montenegrin news media to be agents of the GRU, Russian military intelligence) and some 20 right-wing Serbian nationalists. Montenegrin authorities now allege they planned to stage a terrorist attack that would discredit the election outcome, assassinate the pro-Western prime

minister, and topple his government.

As these political dramas and tensions have unfolded in democratic Europe, Putin's Russia has made brilliant use of old and new forms of propaganda to exploit political divisions. The leading element of this has been RT (Russia Today) which is not only one of the most widely watched (and heavily subsidized) global sources of state television propaganda—and which claims 70 million weekly viewers and 35 million daily— but a vast social-media machinery as well. Added to this is the hidden influence of a vast network of Russian trolls—agents paid to spread disinformation and Russian propaganda points by posing as authentic and spontaneous commentators.

What began as a somewhat preposterous effusion of fake news reports spreading panic, for example, about an Ebola outbreak in the U.S., morphed into something more sinister, sophisticated, and profoundly consequential: a dedicated campaign to discredit Hillary Clinton and tilt the U.S. presidential election to Donald Trump. The army of Russian trolls started infiltrating U.S. media with conservative commentaries, playing up Clinton's scandals and weaknesses, and widely diffusing other right-wing narratives against Clinton. The Russian government (America's own intelligence agencies believe) hacked into the emails of the Democratic Party and of Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta and passed them on to Wikileaks to dispense in a devastating drip-drip-drip of divisive and unflattering revelations. In *The Washington Post*'s words, the campaign portrayed "Clinton as a criminal hiding potentially fatal health problems and preparing to hand control of the nation to a shadowy cabal of global financiers." All of this gave Trump significantly more political traction while dispiriting and discouraging possible Clinton voters (many of whom simply stayed home in disgust). Given how close the U.S. election outcome was, it is easy to imagine that this intervention might have provided Trump with his margin of victory in the Electoral College.

We stand now at the most dangerous moment for liberal democracy since the end of World War II. There are still many more democracies worldwide today than when the Cold War ended. But outside the West, many of them are fragile or rapidly declining. Turkey is in the grip of full authoritarianism, the Philippines is sliding in that direction, and Korea and Brazil have both seen their first women presidents disgraced in eruptions of public anger over corruption and misuse of power. Some 200,000 Muslim Indonesians have flooded the streets of Jakarta demanding that the Christian governor be arrested for insulting Islam. In much of Africa, the people still overwhelmingly want democracy, but leaders in numerous countries are dragging their systems in the opposite direction.

The greatest danger, however, is not what is happening in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. It is the alarming decay of liberal democracy in Europe and the United

States, accelerated by escalating Russian efforts at subversion. Putin's forces are on such a roll that they can no longer contain their glee. One pro-Putin Russian governor recently declared in a radio interview, "It turns out that United Russia [Putin's political party] won the elections in America."

Donald Trump's election victory was an extraordinary political achievement for someone who has never held or sought political office. It drew the support of many tens of millions of voters who rallied to his themes of controlling immigration, changing the way things are done in Washington, generating economic opportunity for those left behind by globalization, or somehow just "making American great again." But it probably would not have happened without Russia's hacking of America's political process—and on behalf of a candidate who had said he wanted good relations with Vladimir Putin.

Geopolitics does not have to be a zero-sum game. But great powers must recognize and defend vital interests. Having a Europe that is whole and free is a vital American interest. Enforcing the principle that established borders cannot be eviscerated by military aggression is a vital American interest—and nowhere more so than in Europe. Ensuring that an authoritarian Russian regime does not replicate its values and expand its power by subverting democracy in the heart of Europe is also a vital American interest.

The most urgent foreign-policy question now is how America will respond to the mounting threat that Putin's Russia poses to freedom and its most important anchor, the Western alliance. Nothing will more profoundly shape the kind of world we live in than how the Trump administration responds to that challenge.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 12:18 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: tom friedman today -- see last para quote by larry diamond

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, December 7, 2016 7:37 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: FW: AP / SP / US envoy to UN sees security risk if refugees not rescued

Making sure you see.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Green, Mackenzie L
Sent: Thursday, December 08, 2016 1:09 AM
To: USUN-Breakingnews
Subject: AP / SP / US envoy to UN sees security risk if refugees not rescued

US envoy to UN sees security risk if refugees not rescued
December 7, 2016
Associated Press
By Elaine Ganley

As Western nations dig in to protect their own citizens, their territory and their way of life, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations warned on Wednesday that a security challenge may await them down the road if they fail to do their share in sheltering refugees today.

Samantha Power said that from the United States to Europe to the Middle East "no one was ready" for the crisis.

"Because we are dealing with the largest displacement crisis since World War II, it has overwhelmed the global system," Power said.

She spoke after a tour of a way station for migrants in northern Paris, opened a month ago to shelter travelers for up to 10 days while helping them apply for asylum, then placing them in more permanent lodgings.

The center can house 400 single men — a far cry from the nearly 30,000 people taken off Paris streets over the past year. But it is the first official attempt to organize and speed up asylum bids. It opened two weeks after some 7,000 migrants, most trying to sneak into Britain, were evacuated from a camp in the English Channel port city of Calais and given temporary lodgings around France.

Power spent some 45 minutes meeting privately with four migrants, from Somalia, Pakistan and Afghanistan. One, 18-year-old Mohamed Abdi said later he had hoped to go to Britain, but is now applying for asylum in France.

Scores of weary travelers trying to get into the Paris center — which takes in only 50 per day — waited in the cold, many saying they had slept nearby on a sidewalk to ensure a place in line, or in a park. A center for women and children is to open in early 2017 just south of Paris.

Power praised the center, which includes a health clinic, as an example of trying to bring order to chaotic lives. She said she believes the mass surge of the displaced onto an unprepared world stoked people's fear and fed "the sense that the movement was out of control."

Today, nearly two years after people uprooted by war, despots or fear for their lives began pouring into Europe, other forces are at work. Nationalists in Europe and the United States are making their voices heard.

In France, Marine Le Pen, leader of the anti-immigrant National Front party, is a favorite in spring presidential elections, and has said that "perhaps" she could benefit from the victory of U.S. President-elect Donald Trump and tagged Britain's Brexit vote "the most important historic event since the fall of the Berlin Wall."

Power said she cannot predict whether the Trump administration will scale back the Obama administration's target of taking in 110,000 refugees for fiscal year 2017. Congress must approve funding.

"We have put in place the most stringent and rigorous vetting procedures for the refugee population," she said. During the presidential campaign, Trump called for "extreme vetting" of migrants coming to the U.S.

Power said nations neighboring Syria, with fragile infrastructures, have shown generosity for Syrians fleeing the war ravaging their country, and noted that one in every five Lebanese residents today is a Syrian refugee.

The U.N. ambassador issued a word of caution as some Western nations turn inward, saying that allowing the crisis to fester can be dangerous.

"We should avoid the mistake of latching onto the idea that if these populations are (consigned) to one part of the world that there's no security threat in that and no risk in that.

"If countries do not have the wherewithal to absorb this population ... this is going to be a security challenge that the United States, France and the world will be dealing with for generations to come."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: [redacted]@aol.com B6
Sent: Saturday, November 26, 2016 12:38 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: emergency growing -- Gloria Steinem

Dear Samantha,

The new December 5th deadline for all the water protectors to leave is so dangerous.

Also the fact that Sunoco, the same company that is doing Standing Rock, has a spill of 55,000 gallons of gasoline direct into the drinking water supply in Pennsylvania.

I hear secondhand from Jodi Gillette, President Obama's former Special Assistant for Native American Affairs and who is on the ground at Standing Rock, that calls to Obama from influential, Non-Indians could make a difference. Will try.

Research says that, by law and precedent, the President has the authority, and the Constitutional responsibility, to intervene in disputes between states, private entities, and sovereign Tribes. Obama should use this power to nationalize the North Dakota National Guard to protect protesters from the attack dogs, tear gas, and rubber bullets unleashed by out-of-control state, federal, and private security forces.

Also I think he can deny oil companies permission to build the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) on Army Corps of Engineers land, and to enforce the Sioux interpretation of the 1851 treaty that granted much of the land in dispute to the tribe. In the face of an oil-friendly Trump Administration hostile to both Native American and environmental issues, such a move can set a strong precedent for the Federal protection of Native lands and honoring of U.S. Treaties.

The situation at Standing Rock is the Bull Connor stand-off of our day – with attack dogs and water cannons used against nonviolent people. This is environmental racism at its most obvious, given the pipeline relocation.

I so hope the President can take action to honor his pledge to the people of Standing Rock and not have his legacy perpetuate our shameful treatment of Native people in a commercial deal poised to enrich President-Elect Trump and North Dakota Governor Jack Dalrymple.

with so much gratitude.....
Gloria

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

From: [redacted]@aol.com
Sent: Friday, November 25, 2016 7:05 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: from Gloria Steinem -- an emergency while we're still here

Dear Samantha,

Below is a letter I wrote to the President earlier this week in care of Valerie Jarrett.

Below that is more recent information that tells me there is going to be a request for UN Peacekeeping Forces at Standing Rock.

On both counts -- and at the risk of telling you what you already know -- I wanted you to have all the information that I do.

Standing Rock is truly reaching a crisis -- and all the more so because its such a short time before Trump, a major investor in that pipeline, assumes power.

Please tell me if there is anything at all that I can do.

with hope and friendship,

Gloria

Dear Valerie,
November 24, 2016

It's ironic that I'm writing you this letter just before Thanksgiving -- and tragic that it's just after the election of a President who is himself an investor in the Dakota Access Pipeline.

On both those counts, I ask if you could get this letter in front of President Obama. He may be once again the only hope.

with hope that we will be working together wherever we are.

Gloria

Dear President Obama,

There has been a lot of bad news -- and also some good news in the rebellion and resolution that it is causing -- but right now, I'm writing because of an imminent danger.

Inspire of the month delay in the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline that you so wisely and courageously ordered, there is now a daily escalation of official violence against the many hundreds of peaceful water protectors who oppose that pipeline.

From my research and writing about it, and from friends who are among the protectors, I have come to fear that Standing Rock, the largest demonstration by Indian Country in a century, is about to turn into Wounded Knee.

This is made even more likely by the new confidence of the Pipeline's corporate and state supporters who know that the President Elect is an investor in it.

On Sunday, when protectors tried to remove a blockade that had cut them off from emergency services in nearby Bismarck, the police responded with rubber bullets, mace, hoses, long range acoustic devices, and concussion grenades. Despite freezing temperatures, police also turned water cannon on the protectors. As a result, 200 young people and many Native elders needed medical treatment for hypothermia. One young non-Native woman who was there in support, was hit by a police grenade, and wounded so severely that her arm may have to be amputated.

You are far wiser than I about what actions are possible. If there ever were a case for Federal Marshals to move in as protectors, this seems to be it. Perhaps sheriffs could be asked to stand down. Also the Department of Justice could open an investigation into the Morton County Sheriff's Office on the pattern and practice of using excessive force, as other such offices were asked to do in Chicago, Baltimore and Ferguson. The Army Corps of Engineers could deny the easement permit requited of Energy Transfer Partners, the investors in this pipeline. And there must be other measures.

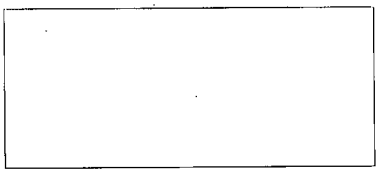
You are already the President who has done the most for the residents of Indian Country. I'm so grateful for that. We will do our best to preserve and continue your legacy.

I'm just asking: Could there be one more action now?

Whatever the answer, I hope, as so many millions do, that we will have your leadership, grace, courage and kindness in a new form and different place.

with love and gratitude,

Gloria Steinem



United Nation Experts Validate

Standing Rock Sioux Opposition To

Dakota Access Pipeline

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4

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
September 23, 2016
Media Contact: Tom Goldtooth [redacted] B6

Cannon Ball, North Dakota (23 Sept. 2016) – United Nations Expert, the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, released a statement yesterday calling upon the United States to immediately halt the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline, in recognition of dire and direct threats to the drinking water, burial grounds and sacred sites of the Standing Rock Sioux people.

The pipeline also directly endangers traditional lifeways and practices, and the health and wellbeing of current and future generations. Members of the Standing Rock Sioux and thousands of allies from across the United States and the world have been taking direct action since April 2016 to call attention to the violation of their Indigenous rights, desecration of their lands and waters and the threats to our global climate engendered by the Dakota Access Pipeline.

The 1,172 mile pipeline, being pushed by the US Army Corps of Engineers and the Energy Transfer LLC Corporation, is proposed to pass under the Missouri river and Lake Oahe, a vital source of the tribes drinking water and ceremonial practice.

In her statement, Ms Tauli-Corpuz drew attention to blatant violation of treaty rights, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples and other international legal standards requiring the free, prior and informed consent of Indigenous peoples before the approval of any project affecting their lands.

She called for immediate attention to the ongoing persecution, intimidation and harassment of the many protectors gathered on the ground in Standing Rock to directly oppose the pipeline and present alternative visions for a just and healthy

world.

Ms. Tauli-Corpuz's call for the United States government to take action to halt pipeline was endorsed by other United Nations Experts, including:

- Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders, Mr. Michel Forst
- Special Rapporteur on the human right to safe drinking water and sanitation, Mr. Léo Heller
- Special Rapporteur on human rights and the environment, Mr. John H. Knox
- Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association, Mr. Maina Kiai
- Special Rapporteur on cultural rights, Ms. Karima Bennoune
- UN Special Rapporteur on human rights and hazardous substances and wastes, Mr. Baskut Tuncak
- Current Chairperson of the Working Group on business and human rights, Mr. Pavel Sulyandziga

During his recent appeal to the United Nations, Standing Rock Sioux Chairman David Archambault II invited Ms Tauli-Corpuz to visit Standing Rock and witness for herself the escalating violations against Indigenous peoples and the land and water of the region.

"The UN Expert got it right," said Tom Goldtooth, the Director of the Indigenous Environmental Network. "What the US calls consultation is not consultation but a statement telling people what they're doing after millions of dollars have been invested, painting Indigenous Peoples as spoilers. The right of free, prior and informed consent begins prior to the planning process, not when their

bulldozers are at your doorstep."

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, October 10, 2016 8:03 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: Japan Media Highlights Morning Alert – Tuesday, October 11, 2016

In case you don't receive these.

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Tokyo, PAS/MATT <TokyoMATT@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, October 11, 2016 8:52 AM
To: Tokyo, PAS/MATT
Subject: Japan Media Highlights Morning Alert - Tuesday, October 11, 2016

JAPAN MEDIA HIGHLIGHTS

Morning Alert - Tuesday, October 11, 2016

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HEADLINES

Morning news

NHK and NTV gave top play to reports that the official campaign for Lower House by-elections in Tokyo constituency No. 10 and Fukuoka constituency No. 6 will begin today. Other top news included reports on the second presidential debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in St. Louis on Sunday.

There were no papers published this morning due to a press holiday.

INTERNATIONAL

Ambassador Power stresses need for new UN sanctions resolution on North Korea

Sunday痴 Asahi reported on its one-on-one interview with U.S. Ambassador to the UN Samantha Power in

Tokyo on Saturday. The paper wrote that concerning the discussions at the UN Security Council on a new resolution on tougher sanctions against North Korea, Ambassador Power stated that some nations and organizations are abusing 兎xemptions in the sanctions and that stricter and more comprehensive implementation of the sanctions will deal a stronger blow. The paper wrote that the Ambassador expressed hope to close the loopholes in the sanctions by narrowing the scope of the exemptions. Ambassador Power strongly criticized North Korea for using the profits from its mineral exports for nuclear and missile development and stressed the need to restrict Pyongyang痴 acquisition of foreign currency through North Korean workers in foreign nations. She also stated that the United States is working in concert with Japan and its other allies. Concerning South Sudan, Ambassador Power expressed concern over the security situation there. Asahi also published a profile of the Ambassador, saying she is a busy working mother in a high-profile post with two children. Admitting that juggling work and family is difficult, the Ambassador advocated Japanese women痴 participation in society by saying that pursuing a professional career is worth the challenge.

Ambassador Power stresses need for swift adoption of sanctions resolution on North Korea

NHK aired on early Sunday morning its one-on-one interview with U.S. Ambassador to the UN Samantha Power in Tokyo on Saturday. The Ambassador stressed the need to swiftly adopt a new UN Security Council resolution on additional sanctions on North Korea. The network quoted the Ambassador as saying that it is necessary to act swiftly because a few weeks have already passed since the DPRK conducted a nuclear test last month and Pyongyang may take further actions. The Ambassador also expressed the view that it is necessary to strengthen the existing ban on North Korea痴 coal exports mainly to China because the exports have been a source of funding for its nuclear development.

Ambassador Power, CCS Suga confirm cooperation in adopting UN resolution against DPRK

Saturday morning痴 Nikkei reported on a meeting between U.S. Ambassador to the UN Power and Chief Cabinet Secretary Suga at the Kantei on Friday. The two officials confirmed close coordination between the U.S. and Japan in adopting a new UN Security Council resolution on additional sanctions on North Korea. The paper wrote that Ambassador Power told reporters after the meeting that closing the loopholes will serve the interests of the international community. Saturday痴 Sankei mentioned the meeting between Ambassador Power and CCS Suga in a front-page article on North Korea.

Ambassador Power visits Panmunjom

Monday痴 Nikkei reported on U.S. Ambassador to the UN Samantha Power痴 visit to Panmunjom on Sunday, speculating that the visit was intended to demonstrate the strong alliance between the U.S. and the ROK. Ahead of her trip to the DMZ, the Ambassador visited the Hanawon Center, a resettlement support facility for North Korean defectors, which is located south of Seoul. Ambassador Power stated that the United States and the United Nations will make utmost efforts to bring about change in the North Korean regime and improve the human rights situation in the DPRK. Sankei wrote that the Ambassador told the

press on Sunday that the United States is ready to use every possible means to adopt a strong sanctions resolution at the UN Security Council on North Korea.

Inada observes security situation in South Sudan

All Sunday and Monday papers ran front- or inside-page reports on a visit by Defense Minister Inada on Saturday to South Sudan, where SDF troops are deployed on a UN peacekeeping operation. The visit was intended to observe firsthand the security situation there in preparation for entrusting the SDF with the new duty of rescuing UN staff and other civilians in the event they come under attack. In her remarks to the SDF troops there, Inada said their efforts have contributed to peace and stability in South Sudan. Inada told reporters that she could see for herself that the security situation in the capital city of Juba is becoming more stable and that the GOJ will discuss whether to allow the SDF to carry out the new mission there. Asahi wrote that the GOJ has decided to allow the SDF to engage in the new mission only in areas near Juba. However, most papers wrote that concern remains over the safety of SDF personnel because there continue to be sporadic shootings in the nation.

GOJ to seek agreement with Russia on easing restrictions on travel to Northern Territories

Saturday morning痴 Yomiuri gave top play to a report saying that the GOJ has decided to seek an agreement at the planned meeting between Prime Minister Abe and President Putin in Japan in December to expand the existing framework under which Japanese citizens can visit the Northern Territories without passports or visas. The change would involve expanding entry and exit procedures, which are currently conducted only on Kunashiri Island, to other islands so that former residents of the islands will be able to travel there more freely. The GOJ hopes that the agreement will help facilitate future joint economic activities by Japan and Russia in the Northern Territories. Abe and Putin agreed in May to adopt a 渡ew approach to negotiations on a peace treaty that would not adhere to past ways of thinking. According to a source connected to the Japan-Russia talks, the two nations will set aside legal and historical issues in order to focus on economic cooperation and a peace treaty.

Japan to cooperate with UN Office on Drugs and Crime in combatting terrorism in Asia

Sunday痴 Mainichi gave top play to a report on an agreement reached on Friday between the GOJ and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime on a new joint action plan to support Asian nations efforts to strengthen their antiterrorism measures. Japan concluded the agreement in response to the growing threat of terrorism in Asia posed by Islamic extremists and the terrorist attack in Bangladesh in July in which 20 hostages, including seven Japanese nationals, were killed. Under the action plan, Japan will provide advanced technology for facial recognition and detecting explosives to identify terrorists at airports and other border control points.

SECURITY

Japan to seek return of Northern Training Area by year痴 end

All Sunday papers ran front or inside-page reports on a visit to Okinawa by Chief Cabinet Secretary Suga on Saturday. After viewing the helipad construction site at the Northern Training Area from a helicopter, Suga told the mayors of the villages of Kunigami and Higashi that the GOJ will negotiate with the U.S. to realize the return of the training area by the end of this year. The cabinet spokesman also expressed a positive stance toward a local request for directly providing central government subsidies to the Takae district.

Asahi speculated that Suga痴 expression of the GOJ痴 determination to move forward with the helipad construction was intended to send a message to Governor Onaga, who is strongly opposed to the FRF construction at Henoko. The paper also conjectured that Tokyo plans to expedite the helipad construction in view of the change of government in the U.S. next January. Sankei expressed a similar view by saying that the GOJ will seek the return of the facility by the end of this year with Ambassador Kennedy痴 departure from Japan in mind. Mainichi wrote that the GOJ plan to seek the early return of the facility demonstrates the central government痴 efforts to reduce the base-hosting burden on Okinawa. Yomiuri wrote that the plan is intended to win local understanding for the FRF construction at Henoko by implementing a tangible reduction of the base-hosting burden on Okinawa.

Suga later told Governor Onaga about the GOJ plan to seek the return of Northern Training Area by the end of this year. Onaga told reporters after the meeting that he welcomes the plan despite problems associated with the project.

Harrier flights resume in Okinawa

Most Friday evening papers reported on the U.S. military痴 resumption on Friday of flights by AV-8 Harrier fighter jets in Okinawa. Okinawa Vice Governor Ageda said the resumption is regrettable and demonstrates that the U.S. military goes ahead and does whatever it decides to do regardless of whether it has obtained the consent of the people of Okinawa.

Nuclear fusion research facility in Toyama suffers cyberattack

Monday痴 Yomiuri gave top play to a report saying that a large volume of research and personnel data may have been stolen from the computer of a researcher at the Hydrogen Isotope Research Center of the University of Toyama. The facility is well known for its research on tritium, which can be used for nuclear fusion. The data may have leaked over the six-month period from a cyberattack against the facility in November 2015 through June. According to the results of the investigation, files that were apparently stolen in March included information on the removal of contaminated water at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant.

ECONOMY

U.S., Japanese finance ministers discuss domestic approval of TPP agreement

Sunday痴 Mainichi ran a Kyodo report on a meeting between Treasury Secretary Lew and Finance Minister Aso in Washington on Friday. Aso expressed the GOJ痴 resolve to pass the TPP legislation during the

current Diet session and Lew expressed the Obama administration痴 intention to make efforts to win congressional approval of the TPP agreement.

Abe determined to ratify TPP agreement

Friday evening痴 Nikkei wrote that Prime Minister Abe stated at a meeting of relevant cabinet ministers on Friday that Japan will achieve parliamentary approval for the TPP agreement earlier than any other TPP member to boost momentum for its effectuation. The premier said he believes Japan has a responsibility to make such efforts because it has achieved economic development under the free trade system. In a related development, the paper wrote on Saturday that Abe called for the LDP to make additional efforts to approve the TPP legislation during the current Diet session at a meeting with LDP Secretary General Nikai on Friday.

SCIENCE

GOJ failed to grasp global trend toward Paris Agreement effectuation

Monday痴 Nikkei wrote that it has become difficult for Japan to ratify the Paris Agreement on climate change before it enters into effect on November 4 because the GOJ failed to grasp the growing trend in the U.S., China, and Europe toward ratifying the agreement. The paper wrote that the miscalculation on the part of the GOJ was due to a lack of sufficient interagency coordination between relevant ministries, including MOFA, METI, and the Environmental Ministry, and that MOFA was having difficulty setting priorities on such pressing issues as the Paris Agreement, the TPP, and the U.S.-Japan ACSA for Diet deliberations.

Scientists discuss pros and cons of involvement in military research

Saturday morning痴 Asahi wrote that members of the Science Council of Japan have been engaged in active discussions on whether to alter the organization痴 principle that scientists should not participate in military-related research. The Defense Ministry痴 public invitation last year for universities and other institutions to apply for research funding prompted the recent debate. The ministry offered the funding in response to the Abe administration痴 long-term policy of effective use of cooperation between the public sector and business and academic circles in national security. Scientists are divided in their opinions. The Defense Ministry is concerned that Japan will be left behind if it fails to utilize the wide range of technological development achieved by the private sector. The paper speculated that calls for reviewing the principle have emerged out of concern for dwindling funding for research institutions.

SOCIETY

Federation of Bar Associations vows to work to abolish death penalty

All Saturday morning papers wrote that the Japan Federation of Bar Associations adopted on Friday a proposal stating that it will work to abolish capital punishment by 2020 and introduce life imprisonment without parole instead. This is the first time for the federation to adopt such a statement. The proposal was supported by 546 of the 786 participants in the meeting. However, some members opposed the proposal out of concern for the sentiments of the families of crime victims. The papers wrote that the proposal was made

in response to problems such as false charges and the growing international trend to abolish the death penalty.

JAPAN MEDIA HIGHLIGHTS

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, August 2, 2016 11:57 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: Wexler, Rebecca <WexlerR@state.gov>
Subject: NYT article mentioned re: migrants/refugees

U.N. Deadlocked Over Draft Agreement On Refugees And Migrants (Sengupta, NYT)

Monday, August 1, 2016
New York Times
By Somini Sengupta

UNITED NATIONS — More people are forcibly displaced from their homes today than at any time since the end of the Second World War.

But the plight of these people is so politically contentious that after days of intense negotiations over a draft international agreement, the nations of the world have come up with virtually no concrete commitments to make their journeys any better or safer.

Western European countries, along with Russia, resisted what many had hoped would be a pledge to resettle one-tenth of all the people fleeing war and persecution. **And the United States balked at language that would have committed all countries to not detaining undocumented children who arrive at their borders.**

At issue is a 22-page draft "outcome document" that the 193 countries of the United Nations are trying to agree on before the annual gathering of world leaders at the United Nations General Assembly in September. It is not legally binding. Still, the negotiations are so difficult that a draft text that had been expected to be adopted on Monday, after being postponed at least once before, was postponed again.

"This has been a very difficult topic — very, very difficult and timely," Dina Kawar, Jordan's ambassador to the United Nations and one of two diplomats leading the negotiations, said on Monday.

The draft agreement comes at a time when refugees and migrants have become a divisive element in European and American politics. In the presidential campaign in the United States, Donald J. Trump, the Republican nominee, has proposed barring Muslims from entering the country.

Refugees and migrants will be the biggest issue at the gathering of world leaders at the United Nations next month. President Obama plans to lead a meeting at the General Assembly in an effort to nudge countries to take in more refugees and contribute to countries that have taken them in for years.

The United Nations secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, also plans to hold a meeting on the plight of refugees and migrants. The document under negotiation will be the centerpiece of his meeting.

While the draft text has no force of international law, every sentence has been argued and negotiated. The resulting language is sometimes so vague that it is likely to bring little comfort to the millions of men, women and children who are seeking safety and opportunity abroad.

Eritrea, for instance, recently complained that the many references to human rights in the document were "redundant." (A United Nations committee earlier this year accused Eritrea of atrocities against its own citizens.)

Russia resisted a sentence that called for countries to share in the "burden" of taking in refugees. (Russia takes in very few, except lately, from parts of Ukraine.)

The United States suggested a phrase asserting that detention is "seldom" good for children. Activists for immigrants and refugees found that suggestion so appalling that they fired off a letter on Friday to President Obama. They argued that any international agreement should make clear that detention is "never in the best interests of children" and should commit to ending the practice. (The United States detains children who arrive from Mexico without legal papers.)

Amnesty International said in a statement over the weekend that "with some states trying to dilute the agreement to suit their own political agendas, we may end up with tentative half-measures that merely reinforce the status quo or even weaken existing protection."

According to the United Nations, 24 million people worldwide left their home countries because of war or persecution in 2015. More than ten times that number — 244 million — were considered migrants, living somewhere other than the country of their birth.

This draft agreement sets out a long list of principles, most already enshrined in existing laws. It says refugees deserve protection and should not be sent back to places where they could face war or persecution. It urges countries to allow refugees to work and to let their children attend school, though it stops short of saying refugees have a right to either jobs or schools.

It asserts that migration can be good for the world, which is wording that migrant-sending countries wanted. It also calls for countries to take back their citizens if they travel illegally and fail to get asylum, which is what migrant-receiving countries, especially in Europe, wanted.

An early draft had proposed a global compact to allocate where refugees could be permanently resettled, but that proposal failed. African and Latin American countries wanted to know why the compact was on refugees alone, according to diplomats involved in the negotiations. Why not also have a compact on the rights of migrants, they asked.

The latest draft sets a 2018 deadline for two compacts — one for refugees, a second for migrants.

The draft text also says nothing about the rights of the 40 million people who are displaced in their own countries, or about those who are leaving their homes because of climate change.

"This is a document very much about the present," said T. Alexander Aleinikoff, a former official at the United Nations refugee agency and now a senior fellow at the Washington-based Migration Policy Institute. "This is not a document that prepares us for the future."

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From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Friday, November 11, 2016 7:32 PM
To:	feltman@un.org
Subject:	FW: Readout of the UN Secretary-General's telephone conversation with Mr. Donald Trump, President-elect of the United States of America

Eager to hear how this went

From: UN Spokesperson - Do Not Reply [mailto:unspokesperson-donotreply@un.org]
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 7:26 PM
Subject: Readout of the UN Secretary-General's telephone conversation with Mr. Donald Trump, President-elect of the United States of America

Readout of the Secretary-General's telephone conversation with Mr. Donald Trump, President-elect of the United States of America

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The Secretary-General expressed confidence that the United States and the United Nations would maintain their traditional strong ties of cooperation to advance peace and security, sustainable development and human rights throughout the world.

They agreed to stay in continued contact.

New York, 11 November 2016

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From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, June 3, 2016 11:54 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: NPR / Danny Russel interview

Highlights in yellow. See the part at the bottom, in particular.

Top U.S. Diplomat Outlines Complicated Issues Facing U.S., China

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Heard on All Things Considered

NPR's Ari Shapiro speaks with Daniel R. Russel, assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. He's off to Beijing to prepare for the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue starting on Monday.

ARI SHAPIRO, HOST:

Chinese fighter jets came dangerously close to a U.S. spy plane in the South China Sea last month, the latest sign that China considers much of these international waters its own. Against that backdrop, high-level U.S. and Chinese diplomats meet in Beijing next week for talks on a broad range of issues. Assistant Secretary of State Daniel Russel will be there.

He told me the U.S. will underscore how much China stands to lose by flouting international rules.

DANIEL RUSSEL: What the Chinese have been doing in the South China Sea, they have been doing at a sprint in the last two years. It's very destabilizing. It's alarmed the neighbors. And the net effect has been both to drive Southeast Asian countries into America's arms and to create a demand signal for the kind of strong, robust American engagement and presence both in security terms but **also in economic terms.**

SHAPIRO: Let's look at one of the areas where the U.S. and China really do, more or less, see eye to eye, which is North Korea. With North Koreans staging missile tests, do you see this meeting as a time when the U.S. and China might change direction and try a new strategy with North Korea?

RUSSEL: Well, Ari, we have recently together decided to try a new strategy vis-a-vis North Korea. And that came in the form of a U.N. Security Council resolution that imposed unprecedentedly strong and comprehensive sanctions. So I think in the upcoming meeting, there'll be an opportunity for Secretary Kerry and his counterpart, the Chinese state councilor, to really dig down on how we are implementing the U.N. Security Council resolution and what it is that we can do going forward that will bring North Korea not to its knees, but to its senses. *[NIK COMMENT: INTERESTING TURN OF PHRASE.]*

SHAPIRO: When you're at this set of meetings and you say, on the one hand, China, we need to talk to you about

stopping what you're doing in the South China Sea. And then perhaps after the lunch break, China, let's talk about what we can do together on North Korea. Does the one detract from the other?

Is there any chance that the places where the U.S. and China are not working together will get in the way of the places where the two countries are?

RUSSEL: There's no question that there is a temptation on China's part to try to barter cooperation on global or regional issues of concern to the United States in exchange for our acquiescence or appeasement on things that are particularly important to them but that we may fundamentally disagree on. There are human rights issues that fit into that category, cyber activities, issues relating to Taiwan and to Hong Kong, et cetera.

We've avoided that studiously by concentrating on practical cooperation that brings together common interests between the U.S. and China. And North Korea is a case in point where we have a common interest in a de-nuclearized and peaceful North Korea that's not posing a threat of a destabilizing crisis.

SHAPIRO: When you look at the presidential campaign, there's a big difference between the way the candidates talk about China and the way President Obama and his administration talk about China. You see a lot more attacks on the campaign trail. Do you hear any reaction to that from the people you meet with when you're in Beijing?

RUSSEL: Well, to a degree, I think it is likely that they chalk up a fair amount of what they hear to campaign rhetoric. But I, Ari, make a point of cautioning them that it's really important for China to pay attention to the damage that some of their policies are doing to the strong support for the U.S.-China relationship that's been, frankly, the bipartisan support over decades.

SHAPIRO: So are you saying that, in a way, it's almost useful to have somebody like Donald Trump attacking China because it allows you to go and say, look, China, you're actually doing some real harm to your reputation here in the U.S.?

RUSSEL: Well, I think that beyond what any **candidate might be saying is the concern that I have about the gradual disaffection I see in the U.S. business community. The Chinese legislation and rules that are now limiting the ability of U.S. and foreign organizations - NGOs, companies, academic institutions - from dealing openly and constructively in China is really alienating the strong base that has, for years, supported the relationship.**

SHAPIRO: But I could imagine if China has a choice between protecting access to its own market, perhaps stealing trade secrets from the U.S., or on the other hand, having a good reputation in Silicon Valley, they might choose the former.

RUSSEL: Well, we're not giving China the option. Where there is unacceptable behavior by China, we have called it out, clearly. But we have done so in a way that takes us not in the direction of a cold war, let alone a hot war, but in the direction of compromise and adherence to rules

SHAPIRO: Assistant Secretary of State Daniel Russel, thanks for coming in and talking with us.

RUSSEL: My pleasure. Thank you, Ari.

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Sent:	Friday, November 11, 2016 7:32 PM
To:	Rice, Susan (Susan_E_Rice@ [redacted]
Subject:	FW: Readout of the UN Secretary-General's telephone conversation with Mr. Donald Trump, President-elect of the United States of America

B6

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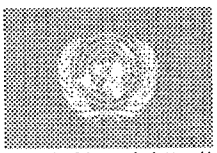
New York, 11 November 2016



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From: White House Press Office <noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, January 11, 2017 12:12 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Remarks by the President in Farewell Address

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
January 10, 2017

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN FAREWELL ADDRESS

McCormick Place
Chicago, Illinois

8:02 P.M. CST

THE PRESIDENT: Hello, Chicago! (Applause.) It's good to be home! (Applause.) Thank you, everybody. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you so much. Thank you. (Applause.) All right, everybody sit down. (Applause.) We're on live TV here. I've got to move. (Applause.) You can tell that I'm a lame duck because nobody is following instructions. (Laughter.) Everybody have a seat. (Applause.)

My fellow Americans -- (applause) -- Michelle and I have been so touched by all the well wishes that we've received over the past few weeks. But tonight, it's my turn to say thanks. (Applause.) Whether we have seen eye-to-eye or rarely agreed at all, my conversations with you, the American people, in living rooms and in schools, at farms, on factory floors, at diners and on distant military outposts -- those conversations are what have kept me honest, and kept me inspired, and kept me going. And every day, I have learned from you. You made me a better President, and you made me a better man. (Applause.)

So I first came to Chicago when I was in my early 20s. And I was still trying to figure out who I was, still searching for a purpose in my life. And it was a neighborhood not far from here where I began working with church groups in the shadows of closed steel mills. It was on these streets where I witnessed the power of faith, and the quiet dignity of working people in the face of struggle and loss.

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: I can't do that.

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: This is where I learned that change only happens when ordinary people get involved and they get engaged, and they come together to demand it.

After eight years as your President, I still believe that. And it's not just my belief. It's the beating heart of our American idea -- our bold experiment in self-government. It's the conviction that we are all created equal, endowed by our Creator with certain unalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It's the insistence that these rights, while self-evident, have never been self-executing; that We, the People, through the instrument of our democracy, can form a more perfect union.

What a radical idea. A great gift that our Founders gave to us: The freedom to chase our individual dreams through our sweat and toil and imagination, and the imperative to strive together, as well, to achieve a common good, a greater good.

For 240 years, our nation's call to citizenship has given work and purpose to each new generation. It's what led patriots to choose republic over tyranny, pioneers to trek west, slaves to brave that makeshift railroad to freedom. It's what pulled immigrants and refugees across oceans and the Rio Grande. (Applause.) It's what pushed women to reach for the ballot. It's what powered workers to organize. It's why GIs gave their lives at Omaha Beach and Iwo Jima, Iraq and Afghanistan. And why men and women from Selma to Stonewall were prepared to give theirs, as well. (Applause.)

So that's what we mean when we say America is exceptional -- not that our nation has been flawless from the start, but that we have shown the capacity to change and make life better for those who follow. Yes, our progress has been uneven. The work of democracy has always been hard. It's always been contentious. Sometimes it's been bloody. For every two steps forward, it often feels we take one step back. But the long sweep of America has been defined by forward motion, a constant widening of our founding creed to embrace all and not just some. (Applause.)

If I had told you eight years ago that America would reverse a great recession, reboot our auto industry, and unleash the longest stretch of job creation in our history -- (applause) -- if I had told you that we would open up a new chapter with the Cuban people, shut down Iran's nuclear weapons program without firing a shot, take out the mastermind of 9/11 -- (applause) -- if I had told you that we would win marriage equality, and secure the right to health insurance for another 20 million of our fellow citizens -- (applause) -- if I

had told you all that, you might have said our sights were set a little too high. But that's what we did. (Applause.) That's what you did.

You were the change. You answered people's hopes, and because of you, by almost every measure, America is a better, stronger place than it was when we started. (Applause.)

In 10 days, the world will witness a hallmark of our democracy.

AUDIENCE: Nooo --

THE PRESIDENT: No, no, no, no, no -- the peaceful transfer of power from one freely elected President to the next. (Applause.) I committed to President-elect Trump that my administration would ensure the smoothest possible transition, just as President Bush did for me. (Applause.) Because it's up to all of us to make sure our government can help us meet the many challenges we still face.

We have what we need to do so. We have everything we need to meet those challenges. After all, we remain the wealthiest, most powerful, and most respected nation on Earth. Our youth, our drive, our diversity and openness, our boundless capacity for risk and reinvention means that the future should be ours. But that potential will only be realized if our democracy works. Only if our politics better reflects the decency of our people. (Applause.) Only if all of us, regardless of party affiliation or particular interests, help restore the sense of common purpose that we so badly need right now.

That's what I want to focus on tonight: The state of our democracy. Understand, democracy does not require uniformity. Our founders argued. They quarreled. Eventually they compromised. They expected us to do the same. But they knew that democracy does require a basic sense of solidarity -- the idea that for all our outward differences, we're all in this together; that we rise or fall as one. (Applause.)

There have been moments throughout our history that threatens that solidarity. And the beginning of this century has been one of those times. A shrinking world, growing inequality; demographic change and the specter of terrorism -- these forces haven't just tested our security and our prosperity, but are testing our democracy, as well. And how we meet these challenges to our democracy will determine our ability to educate our kids, and create good jobs, and protect our homeland. In other words, it will determine our future.

To begin with, our democracy won't work without a sense that everyone has economic opportunity. And the good news is that today the economy is growing again. Wages, incomes, home values, and retirement accounts are all rising again. Poverty is falling again.

(Applause.) The wealthy are paying a fairer share of taxes even as the stock market shatters records. The unemployment rate is near a 10-year low. The uninsured rate has never, ever been lower. (Applause.) Health care costs are rising at the slowest rate in 50 years. And I've said and I mean it -- if anyone can put together a plan that is demonstrably better than the improvements we've made to our health care system and that covers as many people at less cost, I will publicly support it. (Applause.)

Because that, after all, is why we serve. Not to score points or take credit, but to make people's lives better. (Applause.)

But for all the real progress that we've made, we know it's not enough. Our economy doesn't work as well or grow as fast when a few prosper at the expense of a growing middle class and ladders for folks who want to get into the middle class. (Applause.) That's the economic argument. But stark inequality is also corrosive to our democratic ideal. While the top one percent has amassed a bigger share of wealth and income, too many families, in inner cities and in rural counties, have been left behind -- the laid-off factory worker; the waitress or health care worker who's just barely getting by and struggling to pay the bills -- convinced that the game is fixed against them, that their government only serves the interests of the powerful -- that's a recipe for more cynicism and polarization in our politics.

But there are no quick fixes to this long-term trend. I agree, our trade should be fair and not just free. But the next wave of economic dislocations won't come from overseas. It will come from the relentless pace of automation that makes a lot of good, middle-class jobs obsolete.

And so we're going to have to forge a new social compact to guarantee all our kids the education they need -- (applause) -- to give workers the power to unionize for better wages; to update the social safety net to reflect the way we live now, and make more reforms to the tax code so corporations and individuals who reap the most from this new economy don't avoid their obligations to the country that's made their very success possible. (Applause.)

We can argue about how to best achieve these goals. But we can't be complacent about the goals themselves. For if we don't create opportunity for <u>all</u> people, the disaffection and division that has stalled our progress will only sharpen in years to come.

There's a second threat to our democracy -- and this one is as old as our nation itself. After my election, there was talk of a post-racial America. And such a vision, however well-intended, was never realistic. Race remains a potent and often divisive force in our society. Now, I've lived long enough to know that race relations

are better than they were 10, or 20, or 30 years ago, no matter what some folks say. (Applause.) You can see it not just in statistics, you see it in the attitudes of young Americans across the political spectrum.

But we're not where we need to be. And all of us have more work to do. (Applause.) If every economic issue is framed as a struggle between a hardworking white middle class and an undeserving minority, then workers of all shades are going to be left fighting for scraps while the wealthy withdraw further into their private enclaves. (Applause.) If we're unwilling to invest in the children of immigrants, just because they don't look like us, we will diminish the prospects of our own children -- because those brown kids will represent a larger and larger share of America's workforce. (Applause.) And we have shown that our economy doesn't have to be a zero-sum game. Last year, incomes rose for all races, all age groups, for men and for women.

So if we're going to be serious about race going forward, we need to uphold laws against discrimination -- in hiring, and in housing, and in education, and in the criminal justice system. (Applause.) That is what our Constitution and our highest ideals require. (Applause.)

But laws alone won't be enough. Hearts must change. It won't change overnight. Social attitudes oftentimes take generations to change. But if our democracy is to work in this increasingly diverse nation, then each one of us need to try to heed the advice of a great character in American fiction -- Atticus Finch -- (applause) -- who said "You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view...until you climb into his skin and walk around in it."

For blacks and other minority groups, it means tying our own very real struggles for justice to the challenges that a lot of people in this country face -- not only the refugee, or the immigrant, or the rural poor, or the transgender American, but also the middle-aged white guy who, from the outside, may seem like he's got advantages, but has seen his world upended by economic and cultural and technological change. We have to pay attention, and listen. (Applause.)

For white Americans, it means acknowledging that the effects of slavery and Jim Crow didn't suddenly vanish in the '60s -- (applause) -- that when minority groups voice discontent, they're not just engaging in reverse racism or practicing political correctness. When they wage peaceful protest, they're not demanding special treatment but the equal treatment that our Founders promised. (Applause.)

For native-born Americans, it means reminding ourselves that the

stereotypes about immigrants today were said, almost word for word, about the Irish, and Italians, and Poles -- who it was said we're going to destroy the fundamental character of America. And as it turned out, America wasn't weakened by the presence of these newcomers; these newcomers embraced this nation's creed, and this nation was strengthened. (Applause.)

So regardless of the station that we occupy, we all have to try harder. We all have to start with the premise that each of our fellow citizens loves this country just as much as we do; that they value hard work and family just like we do; that their children are just as curious and hopeful and worthy of love as our own. (Applause.)

And that's not easy to do. For too many of us, it's become safer to retreat into our own bubbles, whether in our neighborhoods or on college campuses, or places of worship, or especially our social media feeds, surrounded by people who look like us and share the same political outlook and never challenge our assumptions. The rise of naked partisanship, and increasing economic and regional stratification, the splintering of our media into a channel for every taste -- all this makes this great sorting seem natural, even inevitable. And increasingly, we become so secure in our bubbles that we start accepting only information, whether it's true or not, that fits our opinions, instead of basing our opinions on the evidence that is out there. (Applause.)

And this trend represents a third threat to our democracy. But politics is a battle of ideas. That's how our democracy was designed. In the course of a healthy debate, we prioritize different goals, and the different means of reaching them. But without some common baseline of facts, without a willingness to admit new information, and concede that your opponent might be making a fair point, and that science and reason matter -- (applause) -- then we're going to keep talking past each other, and we'll make common ground and compromise impossible. (Applause.)

And isn't that part of what so often makes politics dispiriting? How can elected officials rage about deficits when we propose to spend money on preschool for kids, but not when we're cutting taxes for corporations? (Applause.) How do we excuse ethical lapses in our own party, but pounce when the other party does the same thing? It's not just dishonest, this selective sorting of the facts; it's self-defeating. Because, as my mother used to tell me, reality has a way of catching up with you. (Applause.)

Take the challenge of climate change. In just eight years, we've halved our dependence on foreign oil; we've doubled our renewable energy; we've led the world to an agreement that has the promise to save this planet. (Applause.) But without bolder action, our children won't have time to debate the existence of climate change.

They'll be busy dealing with its effects: more environmental disasters, more economic disruptions, waves of climate refugees seeking sanctuary.

Now, we can and should argue about the best approach to solve the problem. But to simply deny the problem not only betrays future generations, it betrays the essential spirit of this country -- the essential spirit of innovation and practical problem-solving that guided our Founders. (Applause.)

It is that spirit, born of the Enlightenment, that made us an economic powerhouse -- the spirit that took flight at Kitty Hawk and Cape Canaveral; the spirit that cures disease and put a computer in every pocket.

It's that spirit -- a faith in reason, and enterprise, and the primacy of right over might -- that allowed us to resist the lure of fascism and tyranny during the Great Depression; that allowed us to build a post-World War II order with other democracies, an order based not just on military power or national affiliations but built on principles -- the rule of law, human rights, freedom of religion, and speech, and assembly, and an independent press. (Applause.)

That order is now being challenged -- first by violent fanatics who claim to speak for Islam; more recently by autocrats in foreign capitals who see free markets and open democracies and and civil society itself as a threat to their power. The peril each poses to our democracy is more far-reaching than a car bomb or a missile. It represents the fear of change; the fear of people who look or speak or pray differently; a contempt for the rule of law that holds leaders accountable; an intolerance of dissent and free thought; a belief that the sword or the gun or the bomb or the propaganda machine is the ultimate arbiter of what's true and what's right.

Because of the extraordinary courage of our men and women in uniform, because of our intelligence officers, and law enforcement, and diplomats who support our troops -- (applause) -- no foreign terrorist organization has successfully planned and executed an attack on our homeland these past eight years. (Applause.) And although Boston and Orlando and San Bernardino and Fort Hood remind us of how dangerous radicalization can be, our law enforcement agencies are more effective and vigilant than ever. We have taken out tens of thousands of terrorists -- including bin Laden. (Applause.) The global coalition we're leading against ISIL has taken out their leaders, and taken away about half their territory. ISIL will be destroyed, and no one who threatens America will ever be safe. (Applause.)

And to all who serve or have served, it has been the honor of my lifetime to be your Commander-in-Chief. And we all owe you a deep

debt of gratitude. (Applause.)

But protecting our way of life, that's not just the job of our military. Democracy can buckle when we give in to fear. So, just as we, as citizens, must remain vigilant against external aggression, we must guard against a weakening of the values that make us who we are. (Applause.)

And that's why, for the past eight years, I've worked to put the fight against terrorism on a firmer legal footing. That's why we've ended torture, worked to close Gitmo, reformed our laws governing surveillance to protect privacy and civil liberties. (Applause.) That's why I reject discrimination against Muslim Americans, who are just as patriotic as we are. (Applause.)

That's why we cannot withdraw from big global fights -- to expand democracy, and human rights, and women's rights, and LGBT rights. No matter how imperfect our efforts, no matter how expedient ignoring such values may seem, that's part of defending America. For the fight against extremism and intolerance and sectarianism and chauvinism are of a piece with the fight against authoritarianism and nationalist aggression. If the scope of freedom and respect for the rule of law shrinks around the world, the likelihood of war within and between nations increases, and our own freedoms will eventually be threatened.

So let's be vigilant, but not afraid. (Applause.) ISIL will try to kill innocent people. But they cannot defeat America unless we betray our Constitution and our principles in the fight. (Applause.) Rivals like Russia or China cannot match our influence around the world -- unless we give up what we stand for -- (applause) -- and turn ourselves into just another big country that bullies smaller neighbors.

Which brings me to my final point: Our democracy is threatened whenever we take it for granted. (Applause.) All of us, regardless of party, should be throwing ourselves into the task of rebuilding our democratic institutions. (Applause.) When voting rates in America are some of the lowest among advanced democracies, we should be making it easier, not harder, to vote. (Applause.) When trust in our institutions is low, we should reduce the corrosive influence of money in our politics, and insist on the principles of transparency and ethics in public service. (Applause.) When Congress is dysfunctional, we should draw our congressional districts to encourage politicians to cater to common sense and not rigid extremes. (Applause.)

But remember, none of this happens on its own. All of this depends on our participation; on each of us accepting the responsibility of citizenship, regardless of which way the pendulum of power happens to be swinging.

Our Constitution is a remarkable, beautiful gift. But it's really just a piece of parchment. It has no power on its own. We, the people, give it power. (Applause.) We, the people, give it meaning. With our participation, and with the choices that we make, and the alliances that we forge. (Applause.) Whether or not we stand up for our freedoms. Whether or not we respect and enforce the rule of law. That's up to us. America is no fragile thing. But the gains of our long journey to freedom are not assured.

In his own farewell address, George Washington wrote that self-government is the underpinning of our safety, prosperity, and liberty, but "from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken...to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth." And so we have to preserve this truth with "jealous anxiety;" that we should reject "the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties" that make us one. (Applause.)

America, we weaken those ties when we allow our political dialogue to become so corrosive that people of good character aren't even willing to enter into public service; so coarse with rancor that Americans with whom we disagree are seen not just as misguided but as malevolent. We weaken those ties when we define some of us as more American than others; when we write off the whole system as inevitably corrupt, and when we sit back and blame the leaders we elect without examining our own role in electing them. (Applause.)

It falls to each of us to be those those anxious, jealous guardians of our democracy; to embrace the joyous task we've been given to continually try to improve this great nation of ours. Because for all our outward differences, we, in fact, all share the same proud title, the most important office in a democracy: Citizen. (Applause.) Citizen.

So, you see, that's what our democracy demands. It needs you. Not just when there's an election, not just when your own narrow interest is at stake, but over the full span of a lifetime. If you're tired of arguing with strangers on the Internet, try talking with one of them in real life. (Applause.) If something needs fixing, then lace up your shoes and do some organizing. (Applause.) If you're disappointed by your elected officials, grab a clipboard, get some signatures, and run for office yourself. (Applause.) Show up. Dive in. Stay at it.

Sometimes you'll win. Sometimes you'll lose. Presuming a reservoir of goodness in other people, that can be a risk, and there will be times when the process will disappoint you. But for those of us fortunate enough to have been a part of this work, and to see it up close, let me tell you, it can energize and inspire. And more often

than not, your faith in America -- and in Americans -- will be confirmed. (Applause.)

Mine sure has been. Over the course of these eight years, I've seen the hopeful faces of young graduates and our newest military officers. I have mourned with grieving families searching for answers, and found grace in a Charleston church. I've seen our scientists help a paralyzed man regain his sense of touch. I've seen wounded warriors who at points were given up for dead walk again. I've seen our doctors and volunteers rebuild after earthquakes and stop pandemics in their tracks. I've seen the youngest of children remind us through their actions and through their generosity of our obligations to care for refugees, or work for peace, and, above all, to look out for each other. (Applause.)

So that faith that I placed all those years ago, not far from here, in the power of ordinary Americans to bring about change -- that faith has been rewarded in ways I could not have possibly imagined. And I hope your faith has, too. Some of you here tonight or watching at home, you were there with us in 2004, in 2008, 2012 -- (applause) -- maybe you still can't believe we pulled this whole thing off. Let me tell you, you're not the only ones. (Laughter.)

Michelle -- (applause) -- Michelle LaVaughn Robinson, girl of the South Side -- (applause) -- for the past 25 years, you have not only been my wife and mother of my children, you have been my best friend. (Applause.) You took on a role you didn't ask for and you made it your own, with grace and with grit and with style and good humor. (Applause.) You made the White House a place that belongs to everybody. (Applause.) And the new generation sets its sights higher because it has you as a role model. (Applause.) So you have made me proud. And you have made the country proud. (Applause.)

Malia and Sasha, under the strangest of circumstances, you have become two amazing young women. You are smart and you are beautiful, but more importantly, you are kind and you are thoughtful and you are full of passion. (Applause.) You wore the burden of years in the spotlight so easily. Of all that I've done in my life, I am most proud to be your dad. (Applause.)

To Joe Biden -- (applause) -- the scrappy kid from Scranton who became Delaware's favorite son -- you were the first decision I made as a nominee, and it was the best. (Applause.) Not just because you have been a great Vice President, but because in the bargain, I gained a brother. And we love you and Jill like family, and your friendship has been one of the great joys of our lives. (Applause.)

To my remarkable staff: For eight years -- and for some of you, a whole lot more -- I have drawn from your energy, and every day I tried to reflect back what you displayed -- heart, and character, and

idealism. I've watched you grow up, get married, have kids, start incredible new journeys of your own. Even when times got tough and frustrating, you never let Washington get the better of you. You guarded against cynicism. And the only thing that makes me prouder than all the good that we've done is the thought of all the amazing things that you're going to achieve from here. (Applause.)

And to all of you out there -- every organizer who moved to an unfamiliar town, every kind family who welcomed them in, every volunteer who knocked on doors, every young person who cast a ballot for the first time, every American who lived and breathed the hard work of change -- you are the best supporters and organizers anybody could ever hope for, and I will be forever grateful. (Applause.) Because you did change the world. (Applause.) You did.

And that's why I leave this stage tonight even more optimistic about this country than when we started. Because I know our work has not only helped so many Americans, it has inspired so many Americans -- especially so many young people out there -- to believe that you can make a difference -- (applause) -- to hitch your wagon to something bigger than yourselves.

Let me tell you, this generation coming up -- unselfish, altruistic, creative, patriotic -- I've seen you in every corner of the country. You believe in a fair, and just, and inclusive America. (Applause.) You know that constant change has been America's hallmark; that it's not something to fear but something to embrace. You are willing to carry this hard work of democracy forward. You'll soon outnumber all of us, and I believe as a result the future is in good hands. (Applause.)

My fellow Americans, it has been the honor of my life to serve you. (Applause.) I won't stop. In fact, I will be right there with you, as a citizen, for all my remaining days. But for now, whether you are young or whether you're young at heart, I do have one final ask of you as your President -- the same thing I asked when you took a chance on me eight years ago. I'm asking you to believe. Not in my ability to bring about change -- but in yours.

I am asking you to hold fast to that faith written into our founding documents; that idea whispered by slaves and abolitionists; that spirit sung by immigrants and homesteaders and those who marched for justice; that creed reaffirmed by those who planted flags from foreign battlefields to the surface of the moon; a creed at the core of every American whose story is not yet written: Yes, we can. (Applause.)

Yes, we did. Yes, we can. (Applause.)

Thank you. God bless you. May God continue to bless the United

States of America. (Applause.)

END 8:53 P.M. CST

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From: White House Press Office <noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, January 10, 2017 9:03 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: EMBARGOED: Farewell Address by the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

PREPARED REMARKS/EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY
January 10, 2017

Farewell Address by the President - As Prepared for Delivery
McCormick Place, Chicago, Illinois

It's good to be home. My fellow Americans, Michelle and I have been so touched by all the well-wishes we've received over the past few weeks. But tonight it's my turn to say thanks. Whether we've seen eye-to-eye or rarely agreed at all, my conversations with you, the American people - in living rooms and schools; at farms and on factory floors; at diners and on distant outposts - are what have kept me honest, kept me inspired, and kept me going. Every day, I learned from you. You made me a better President, and you made me a better man.

I first came to Chicago when I was in my early twenties, still trying to figure out who I was; still searching for a purpose to my life. It was in neighborhoods not far from here where I began working with church groups in the shadows of closed steel mills. It was on these streets where I witnessed the power of faith, and the quiet dignity of working people in the face of struggle and loss. This is where I learned that change only happens when ordinary people get involved, get engaged, and come together to demand it.

After eight years as your President, I still believe that. And it's not just my belief. It's the beating heart of our American idea - our bold experiment in self-government.

It's the conviction that we are all created equal, endowed by our Creator with certain unalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It's the insistence that these rights, while self-evident, have never been self-executing; that We, the People, through the instrument of our democracy, can form a more perfect union.

This is the great gift our Founders gave us. The freedom to chase our individual dreams through our sweat, toil, and imagination - and the imperative to strive together as well, to achieve a greater good.

For 240 years, our nation's call to citizenship has given work and purpose to each new generation. It's what led patriots to choose republic over tyranny, pioneers to trek west, slaves to brave that makeshift railroad to freedom. It's what pulled immigrants and refugees across

oceans and the Rio Grande, pushed women to reach for the ballot, powered workers to organize. It's why GIs gave their lives at Omaha Beach and Iwo Jima; Iraq and Afghanistan - and why men and women from Selma to Stonewall were prepared to give theirs as well.

So that's what we mean when we say America is exceptional. Not that our nation has been flawless from the start, but that we have shown the capacity to change, and make life better for those who follow.

Yes, our progress has been uneven. The work of democracy has always been hard, contentious and sometimes bloody. For every two steps forward, it often feels we take one step back. But the long sweep of America has been defined by forward motion, a constant widening of our founding creed to embrace all, and not just some.

If I had told you eight years ago that America would reverse a great recession, reboot our auto industry, and unleash the longest stretch of job creation in our history...if I had told you that we would open up a new chapter with the Cuban people, shut down Iran's nuclear weapons program without firing a shot, and take out the mastermind of 9/11...if I had told you that we would win marriage equality, and secure the right to health insurance for another 20 million of our fellow citizens - you might have said our sights were set a little too high.

But that's what we did. That's what you did. You were the change. You answered people's hopes, and because of you, by almost every measure, America is a better, stronger place than it was when we started.

In ten days, the world will witness a hallmark of our democracy: the peaceful transfer of power from one freely-elected president to the next. I committed to President-Elect Trump that my administration would ensure the smoothest possible transition, just as President Bush did for me. Because it's up to all of us to make sure our government can help us meet the many challenges we still face.

We have what we need to do so. After all, we remain the wealthiest, most powerful, and most respected nation on Earth. Our youth and drive, our diversity and openness, our boundless capacity for risk and reinvention mean that the future should be ours.

But that potential will be realized only if our democracy works. Only if our politics reflects the decency of the our people. Only if all of us, regardless of our party affiliation or particular interest, help restore the sense of common purpose that we so badly need right now.

That's what I want to focus on tonight - the state of our democracy.

Understand, democracy does not require uniformity. Our founders quarreled and compromised, and expected us to do the same. But they knew that democracy does require a basic sense of solidarity - the idea that for all our outward differences, we are all in this together; that we rise or fall as one.

There have been moments throughout our history that threatened to rupture that solidarity. The beginning of this century has been one of those times. A shrinking world, growing inequality; demographic change and the specter of terrorism – these forces haven't just tested our security and prosperity, but our democracy as well. And how we meet these challenges to our democracy will determine our ability to educate our kids, and create good jobs, and protect our homeland.

In other words, it will determine our future.

Our democracy won't work without a sense that everyone has economic opportunity. Today, the economy is growing again; wages, incomes, home values, and retirement accounts are rising again; poverty is falling again. The wealthy are paying a fairer share of taxes even as the stock market shatters records. The unemployment rate is near a ten-year low. The uninsured rate has never, ever been lower. Health care costs are rising at the slowest rate in fifty years. And if anyone can put together a plan that is demonstrably better than the improvements we've made to our health care system – that covers as many people at less cost – I will publicly support it.

That, after all, is why we serve – to make people's lives better, not worse.

But for all the real progress we've made, we know it's not enough. Our economy doesn't work as well or grow as fast when a few prosper at the expense of a growing middle class. But stark inequality is also corrosive to our democratic principles. While the top one percent has amassed a bigger share of wealth and income, too many families, in inner cities and rural counties, have been left behind – the laid-off factory worker; the waitress and health care worker who struggle to pay the bills – convinced that the game is fixed against them, that their government only serves the interests of the powerful – a recipe for more cynicism and polarization in our politics.

There are no quick fixes to this long-term trend. I agree that our trade should be fair and not just free. But the next wave of economic dislocation won't come from overseas. It will come from the relentless pace of automation that makes many good, middle-class jobs obsolete.

And so we must forge a new social compact – to guarantee all our kids the education they need; to give workers the power to unionize for better wages; to update the social safety net to reflect the way we live now and make more reforms to the tax code so corporations and individuals who reap the most from the new economy don't avoid their obligations to the country that's made their success possible. We can argue about how to best achieve these goals. But we can't be complacent about the goals themselves. For if we don't create opportunity for all people, the disaffection and division that has stalled our progress will only sharpen in years to come.

There's a second threat to our democracy – one as old as our nation itself. After my election, there was talk of a post-racial America. Such a vision, however well-intended, was never realistic. For race remains a potent and often divisive force in our society. I've lived long

enough to know that race relations are better than they were ten, or twenty, or thirty years ago – you can see it not just in statistics, but in the attitudes of young Americans across the political spectrum.

But we're not where we need to be. All of us have more work to do. After all, if every economic issue is framed as a struggle between a hardworking white middle class and undeserving minorities, then workers of all shades will be left fighting for scraps while the wealthy withdraw further into their private enclaves. If we decline to invest in the children of immigrants, just because they don't look like us, we diminish the prospects of our own children – because those brown kids will represent a larger share of America's workforce. And our economy doesn't have to be a zero-sum game. Last year, incomes rose for all races, all age groups, for men and for women.

Going forward, we must uphold laws against discrimination – in hiring, in housing, in education and the criminal justice system. That's what our Constitution and highest ideals require. But laws alone won't be enough. Hearts must change. If our democracy is to work in this increasingly diverse nation, each one of us must try to heed the advice of one of the great characters in American fiction, Atticus Finch, who said "You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view...until you climb into his skin and walk around in it."

For blacks and other minorities, it means tying our own struggles for justice to the challenges that a lot of people in this country face – the refugee, the immigrant, the rural poor, the transgender American, and also the middle-aged white man who from the outside may seem like he's got all the advantages, but who's seen his world upended by economic, cultural, and technological change.

For white Americans, it means acknowledging that the effects of slavery and Jim Crow didn't suddenly vanish in the '60s; that when minority groups voice discontent, they're not just engaging in reverse racism or practicing political correctness; that when they wage peaceful protest, they're not demanding special treatment, but the equal treatment our Founders promised.

For native-born Americans, it means reminding ourselves that the stereotypes about immigrants today were said, almost word for word, about the Irish, Italians, and Poles. America wasn't weakened by the presence of these newcomers; they embraced this nation's creed, and it was strengthened.

So regardless of the station we occupy; we have to try harder; to start with the premise that each of our fellow citizens loves this country just as much as we do; that they value hard work and family like we do; that their children are just as curious and hopeful and worthy of love as our own.

None of this is easy. For too many of us, it's become safer to retreat into our own bubbles, whether in our neighborhoods or college campuses or places of worship or our social media

feeds, surrounded by people who look like us and share the same political outlook and never challenge our assumptions. The rise of naked partisanship, increasing economic and regional stratification, the splintering of our media into a channel for every taste – all this makes this great sorting seem natural, even inevitable. And increasingly, we become so secure in our bubbles that we accept only information, whether true or not, that fits our opinions, instead of basing our opinions on the evidence that's out there.

This trend represents a third threat to our democracy. Politics is a battle of ideas; in the course of a healthy debate, we'll prioritize different goals, and the different means of reaching them. But without some common baseline of facts; without a willingness to admit new information, and concede that your opponent is making a fair point, and that science and reason matter, we'll keep talking past each other, making common ground and compromise impossible.

Isn't that part of what makes politics so dispiriting? How can elected officials rage about deficits when we propose to spend money on preschool for kids, but not when we're cutting taxes for corporations? How do we excuse ethical lapses in our own party, but pounce when the other party does the same thing? It's not just dishonest, this selective sorting of the facts; it's self-defeating. Because as my mother used to tell me, reality has a way of catching up with you.

Take the challenge of climate change. In just eight years, we've halved our dependence on foreign oil, doubled our renewable energy, and led the world to an agreement that has the promise to save this planet. But without bolder action, our children won't have time to debate the existence of climate change; they'll be busy dealing with its effects: environmental disasters, economic disruptions, and waves of climate refugees seeking sanctuary.

Now, we can and should argue about the best approach to the problem. But to simply deny the problem not only betrays future generations; it betrays the essential spirit of innovation and practical problem-solving that guided our Founders.

It's that spirit, born of the Enlightenment, that made us an economic powerhouse – the spirit that took flight at Kitty Hawk and Cape Canaveral; the spirit that that cures disease and put a computer in every pocket.

It's that spirit – a faith in reason, and enterprise, and the primacy of right over might, that allowed us to resist the lure of fascism and tyranny during the Great Depression, and build a post-World War II order with other democracies, an order based not just on military power or national affiliations but on principles – the rule of law, human rights, freedoms of religion, speech, assembly, and an independent press.

That order is now being challenged – first by violent fanatics who claim to speak for Islam; more recently by autocrats in foreign capitals who see free markets, open democracies, and civil society itself as a threat to their power. The peril each poses to our democracy is more far-reaching than a car bomb or a missile. It represents the fear of change; the fear of people who look or speak or pray differently; a contempt for the rule of law that holds leaders accountable;

an intolerance of dissent and free thought; a belief that the sword or the gun or the bomb or propaganda machine is the ultimate arbiter of what's true and what's right.

Because of the extraordinary courage of our men and women in uniform, and the intelligence officers, law enforcement, and diplomats who support them, no foreign terrorist organization has successfully planned and executed an attack on our homeland these past eight years; and although Boston and Orlando remind us of how dangerous radicalization can be, our law enforcement agencies are more effective and vigilant than ever. We've taken out tens of thousands of terrorists – including Osama bin Laden. The global coalition we're leading against ISIL has taken out their leaders, and taken away about half their territory. ISIL will be destroyed, and no one who threatens America will ever be safe. To all who serve, it has been the honor of my lifetime to be your Commander-in-Chief.

But protecting our way of life requires more than our military. Democracy can buckle when we give in to fear. So just as we, as citizens, must remain vigilant against external aggression, we must guard against a weakening of the values that make us who we are. That's why, for the past eight years, I've worked to put the fight against terrorism on a firm legal footing. That's why we've ended torture, worked to close Gitmo, and reform our laws governing surveillance to protect privacy and civil liberties. That's why I reject discrimination against Muslim Americans. That's why we cannot withdraw from global fights – to expand democracy, and human rights, women's rights, and LGBT rights – no matter how imperfect our efforts, no matter how expedient ignoring such values may seem. For the fight against extremism and intolerance and sectarianism are of a piece with the fight against authoritarianism and nationalist aggression. If the scope of freedom and respect for the rule of law shrinks around the world, the likelihood of war within and between nations increases, and our own freedoms will eventually be threatened.

So let's be vigilant, but not afraid. ISIL will try to kill innocent people. But they cannot defeat America unless we betray our Constitution and our principles in the fight. Rivals like Russia or China cannot match our influence around the world – unless we give up what we stand for, and turn ourselves into just another big country that bullies smaller neighbors.

Which brings me to my final point – our democracy is threatened whenever we take it for granted. All of us, regardless of party, should throw ourselves into the task of rebuilding our democratic institutions. When voting rates are some of the lowest among advanced democracies, we should make it easier, not harder, to vote. When trust in our institutions is low, we should reduce the corrosive influence of money in our politics, and insist on the principles of transparency and ethics in public service. When Congress is dysfunctional, we should draw our districts to encourage politicians to cater to common sense and not rigid extremes.

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Mine sure has been. Over the course of these eight years, I've seen the hopeful faces of young graduates and our newest military officers. I've mourned with grieving families searching for answers, and found grace in Charleston church. I've seen our scientists help a paralyzed man regain his sense of touch, and our wounded warriors walk again. I've seen our doctors and volunteers rebuild after earthquakes and stop pandemics in their tracks. I've seen the youngest of children remind us of our obligations to care for refugees, to work in peace, and above all to look out for each other.

That faith I placed all those years ago, not far from here, in the power of ordinary Americans to bring about change - that faith has been rewarded in ways I couldn't possibly have imagined. I hope yours has, too. Some of you here tonight or watching at home were there with us in

2004, in 2008, in 2012 – and maybe you still can't believe we pulled this whole thing off.

You're not the only ones. Michelle – for the past twenty-five years, you've been not only my wife and mother of my children, but my best friend. You took on a role you didn't ask for and made it your own with grace and grit and style and good humor. You made the White House a place that belongs to everybody. And a new generation sets its sights higher because it has you as a role model. You've made me proud. You've made the country proud.

Malia and Sasha, under the strangest of circumstances, you have become two amazing young women, smart and beautiful, but more importantly, kind and thoughtful and full of passion. You wore the burden of years in the spotlight so easily. Of all that I've done in my life, I'm most proud to be your dad.

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And to all of you out there – every organizer who moved to an unfamiliar town and kind family who welcomed them in, every volunteer who knocked on doors, every young person who cast a ballot for the first time, every American who lived and breathed the hard work of change – you are the best supporters and organizers anyone could hope for, and I will forever be grateful. Because yes, you changed the world.

That's why I leave this stage tonight even more optimistic about this country than I was when we started. Because I know our work has not only helped so many Americans; it has inspired so many Americans – especially so many young people out there – to believe you can make a difference; to hitch your wagon to something bigger than yourselves. This generation coming up – unselfish, altruistic, creative, patriotic – I've seen you in every corner of the country. You believe in a fair, just, inclusive America; you know that constant change has been America's hallmark, something not to fear but to embrace, and you are willing to carry this hard work of democracy forward. You'll soon outnumber any of us, and I believe as a result that the future is in good hands.

My fellow Americans, it has been the honor of my life to serve you. I won't stop; in fact, I will be right there with you, as a citizen, for all my days that remain. For now, whether you're young or young at heart, I do have one final ask of you as your President – the same thing I asked when you took a chance on me eight years ago.

I am asking you to believe. Not in my ability to bring about change – but in yours.

I am asking you to hold fast to that faith written into our founding documents; that idea whispered by slaves and abolitionists; that spirit sung by immigrants and homesteaders and those who marched for justice; that creed reaffirmed by those who planted flags from foreign battlefields to the surface of the moon; a creed at the core of every American whose story is not yet written:

Yes We Can.

Yes We Did.

Yes We Can.

Thank you. God bless you. And may God continue to bless the United States of America.

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From: White House Press Office <noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov>
Sent: Friday, December 16, 2016 5:52 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Press Conference by the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 16, 2016

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT

James S. Brady Press Briefing Room

2:40 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good afternoon. This is the most wonderful press conference of the year. I've got a list of who's been naughty and nice to call on. (Laughter.) But let me first make a couple of quick points, and then I'll take your questions.

Typically, I use this yearend press conference to review how far we've come over the course of the year. Today, understandably, I'm going to talk a little bit about how far we've come over the past eight years.

As I was preparing to take office, the unemployment rate was on its way to 10 percent. Today, it's at 4.6 percent -- the lowest in nearly a decade. We've seen the longest streak of job growth on record, and wages have grown faster over the past few years than at any time in the past 40.

When I came into office, 44 million people were uninsured. Today, we've covered more than 20 million of them. For the first time in our history, more than 90 percent of Americans are insured. In fact, yesterday was the biggest day ever for HealthCare.gov. More than 670,000 Americans signed up to get covered, and more are signing up by the day.

We've cut our dependence on foreign oil by more than half, doubled production of renewable energy, enacted the most sweeping reforms since FDR to protect consumers and prevent a crisis on Wall Street from punishing Main Street ever again. None of these actions stifled growth, as critics predicted. Instead, the stock market has nearly tripled. Since I signed Obamacare into law, our businesses have added more than 15 million new jobs. And the economy is

undoubtedly more durable than it was in the days when we relied on oil from unstable nations and banks took risky bets with your money.

Add it all up, and last year, the poverty rate fell at the fastest rate in almost 50 years, while the median household income grew at the fastest rate on record. In fact, income gains were actually larger for households at the bottom and the middle than for those at the top. And we've done all this while cutting our deficits by nearly two-thirds and protecting vital investments that grow the middle class.

In foreign policy, when I came into office, we were in the midst of two wars. Now, nearly 180,000 troops are down to 15,000. Bin Laden, rather than being at large, has been taken off the battlefield, along with thousands of other terrorists. Over the past eight years, no foreign terrorist organization has successfully executed an attack on our homeland that was directed from overseas.

Through diplomacy, we've ensured that Iran cannot obtain a nuclear weapon -- without going to war with Iran. We opened up a new chapter with the people of Cuba. And we brought nearly 200 nations together around a climate agreement that could very well save this planet for our kids. And almost every country on Earth sees America as stronger and more respected today than they did eight years ago.

In other words, by so many measures, our country is stronger and more prosperous than it was when we started. That's a situation that I'm proud to leave for my successor. And it's thanks to the American people -- to the hard work that you've put in, the sacrifices you've made for your families and your communities, the businesses that you started or invested in, the way you looked out for one another. And I could not be prouder to be your President.

Of course, to tout this progress doesn't mean that we're not mindful of how much more there is to do. In this season in particular, we're reminded that there are people who are still hungry, people who are still homeless; people who still have trouble paying the bills or finding work after being laid off. There are communities that are still mourning those who have been stolen from us by senseless gun violence, and parents who still are wondering how to protect their kids. And after I leave office, I intend to continue to work with organizations and citizens doing good across the country on these and other pressing issues to build on the progress that we've made.

Around the world, as well, there are hotspots where disputes have been intractable, conflicts have flared up, and people -- innocent people are suffering as a result. And nowhere is this more terribly true than in the city of Aleppo. For years, we've worked to stop the

civil war in Syria and alleviate human suffering. It has been one of the hardest issues that I've faced as President.

The world, as we speak, is united in horror at the savage assault by the Syrian regime and its Russian and Iranian allies on the city of Aleppo. We have seen a deliberate strategy of surrounding, besieging, and starving innocent civilians. We've seen relentless targeting of humanitarian workers and medical personnel; entire neighborhoods reduced to rubble and dust. There are continuing reports of civilians being executed. These are all horrific violations of international law. Responsibility for this brutality lies in one place alone -- with the Assad regime and its allies Russia and Iran. And this blood and these atrocities are on their hands.

We all know what needs to happen. There needs to be an impartial international observer force in Aleppo that can help coordinate an orderly evacuation through safe corridors. There has to be full access for humanitarian aid, even as the United States continues to be the world's largest donor of humanitarian aid to the Syrian people. And, beyond that, there needs to be a broader ceasefire that can serve as the basis for a political rather than a military solution.

That's what the United States is going to continue to push for, both with our partners and through multilateral institutions like the U.N.

Regretfully, but unsurprisingly, Russia has repeatedly blocked the Security Council from taking action on these issues. So we're going to keep pressing the Security Council to help improve the delivery of humanitarian aid to those who are in such desperate need, and to ensure accountability, including continuing to monitor any potential use of chemical weapons in Syria. And we're going to work in the U.N. General Assembly as well, both on accountability and to advance a political settlement. Because it should be clear that although you may achieve tactical victories, over the long term the Assad regime cannot slaughter its way to legitimacy.

That's why we'll continue to press for a transition to a more representative government. And that's why the world must not avert our eyes to the terrible events that are unfolding. The Syrian regime and its Russian and Iranian allies are trying to obfuscate the truth. The world should not be fooled. And the world will not forget.

So even in a season where the incredible blessings that we know as Americans are all around us, even as we enjoy family and friends and are reminded of how lucky we are, we should also be reminded that to be an American involves bearing burdens and meeting obligations to others. American values and American ideals are what will lead the way to a safer and more prosperous 2017, both here and abroad.

And by the way, few embody those values and ideals like our brave men and women in uniform and their families. So I just want to close by wishing all of them a very Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

With that, I will take some questions. And I'm going to start with Josh Lederman, of AP.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. There's a perception that you're letting President Putin get away with interfering in the U.S. election, and that a response that nobody knows about or a lookback review just won't cut it. Are you prepared to call out President Putin by name for ordering this hacking? And do you agree with what Hillary Clinton now says, that the hacking was actually partly responsible for her loss? And is your administration's open quarreling with Trump and his team on this issue tarnishing the smooth transition of power that you have promised?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, with respect to the transition, I think they would be the first to acknowledge that we have done everything we can to make sure that they are successful as I promised. And that will continue. And it's just been a few days since I last talked to the President-elect about a whole range of transition issues. That cooperation is going to continue.

There hasn't been a lot of squabbling. What we've simply said is the facts, which are that, based on uniform intelligence assessments, the Russians were responsible for hacking the DNC, and that, as a consequence, it is important for us to review all elements of that and make sure that we are preventing that kind of interference through cyberattacks in the future.

That should be a bipartisan issue; that shouldn't be a partisan issue. And my hope is that the President-elect is going to similarly be concerned with making sure that we don't have potential foreign influence in our election process. I don't think any American wants that. And that shouldn't be a source of an argument.

I think that part of the challenge is that it gets caught up in the carryover from election season. And I think it is very important for us to distinguish between the politics of the election and the need for us, as a country, both from a national security perspective but also in terms of the integrity of our election system and our democracy, to make sure that we don't create a political football here.

Now, with respect to how this thing unfolded last year, let's just go through the facts pretty quickly. At the beginning of the summer, we're alerted to the possibility that the DNC has been hacked, and I immediately order law enforcement as well as our intelligence teams to find out everything about it, investigate it thoroughly, to

brief the potential victims of this hacking, to brief on a bipartisan basis the leaders of both the House and the Senate and the relevant intelligence committees. And once we had clarity and certainty around what, in fact, had happened, we publicly announced that, in fact, Russia had hacked into the DNC.

And at that time, we did not attribute motives or any interpretations of why they had done so. We didn't discuss what the effects of it might be. We simply let people know -- the public know, just as we had let members of Congress know -- that this had happened.

And as a consequence, all of you wrote a lot of stories about both what had happened, and then you interpreted why that might have happened and what effect it was going to have on the election outcomes. We did not. And the reason we did not was because in this hyper-partisan atmosphere, at a time when my primary concern was making sure that the integrity of the election process was not in any way damaged, at a time when anything that was said by me or anybody in the White House would immediately be seen through a partisan lens, I wanted to make sure that everybody understood we were playing this thing straight -- that we weren't trying to advantage one side or another, but what we were trying to do was let people know that this had taken place, and so if you started seeing effects on the election, if you were trying to measure why this was happening and how you should consume the information that was being leaked, that you might want to take this into account.

And that's exactly how we should have handled it. Imagine if we had done the opposite. It would have become immediately just one more political scrum. And part of the goal here was to make sure that we did not do the work of the leakers for them by raising more and more questions about the integrity of the election right before the election was taking place -- at a time, by the way, when the President-elect himself was raising questions about the integrity of the election.

And, finally, I think it's worth pointing out that the information was already out. It was in the hands of WikiLeaks, so that was going to come out no matter what. What I was concerned about, in particular, was making sure that that wasn't compounded by potential hacking that could hamper vote counting, affect the actual election process itself.

And so in early September, when I saw President Putin in China, I felt that the most effective way to ensure that that didn't happen was to talk to him directly and tell him to cut it out, and there were going to be some serious consequences if he didn't. And, in fact, we did not see further tampering of the election process. But the leaks through WikiLeaks had already occurred.

So when I look back in terms of how we handled it, I think we handled it the way it should have been handled. We allowed law enforcement and the intelligence community to do its job without political influence. We briefed all relevant parties involved in terms of what was taking place. When we had a consensus around what had happened, we announced it -- not through the White House, not through me, but rather through the intelligence communities that had actually carried out these investigations. And then we allowed you and the American public to make an assessment as to how to weigh that going into the election.

And the truth is, is that there was nobody here who didn't have some sense of what kind of effect it might have. I'm finding it a little curious that everybody is suddenly acting surprised that this looked like it was disadvantaging Hillary Clinton because you guys wrote about it every day. Every single leak. About every little juicy tidbit of political gossip -- including John Podesta's risotto recipe. This was an obsession that dominated the news coverage.

So I do think it's worth us reflecting how it is that a presidential election of such importance, of such moment, with so many big issues at stake and such a contrast between the candidates, came to be dominated by a bunch of these leaks. What is it about our political system that made us vulnerable to these kinds of potential manipulations -- which, as I've said publicly before, were not particularly sophisticated.

This was not some elaborate, complicated espionage scheme. They hacked into some Democratic Party emails that contained pretty routine stuff, some of it embarrassing or uncomfortable, because I suspect that if any of us got our emails hacked into, there might be some things that we wouldn't want suddenly appearing on the front page of a newspaper or a telecast, even if there wasn't anything particularly illegal or controversial about it. And then it just took off.

And that concerns me. And it should concern all of us. But the truth of the matter is, is that everybody had the information. It was out there. And we handled it the way we should have.

Now, moving forward, I think there are a couple of issues that this raises. Number one is just the constant challenge that we are going to have with cybersecurity throughout our economy and throughout our society. We are a digitalized culture, and there is hacking going on every single day. There's not a company, there's not a major organization, there's not a financial institution, there's not a branch of our government where somebody is not going to be phishing for something or trying to penetrate, or put in a virus or malware. And this is why for the last eight years, I've been obsessed with how do we continually upgrade our cybersecurity systems.

And this particular concern around Russian hacking is part of a broader set of concerns about how do we deal with cyber issues being used in ways that can affect our infrastructure, affect the stability of our financial systems, and affect the integrity of our institutions, like our election process.

I just received a couple weeks back -- it wasn't widely reported on -- a report from our cybersecurity commission that outlines a whole range of strategies to do a better job on this. But it's difficult, because it's not all housed -- the target of cyberattacks is not one entity but it's widely dispersed, and a lot of it is private, like the DNC. It's not a branch of government. We can't tell people what to do. What we can do is inform them, get best practices.

What we can also do is to, on a bilateral basis, warn other countries against these kinds of attacks. And we've done that in the past. So just as I told Russia to stop it, and indicated there will be consequences when they do it, the Chinese have, in the past, engaged in cyberattacks directed at our companies to steal trade secrets and proprietary technology. And I had to have the same conversation with Prime Minister -- or with President Xi, and what we've seen is some evidence that they have reduced -- but not completely eliminated -- these activities, partly because they can use cutouts.

One of the problems with the Internet and cyber issues is that there's not always a return address, and by the time you catch up to it, attributing what happened to a particular government can be difficult, not always provable in court even though our intelligence communities can make an assessment.

What we've also tried to do is to start creating some international norms about this to prevent some sort of cyber arms race, because we obviously have offensive capabilities as well as defensive capabilities. And my approach is not a situation in which everybody is worse off because folks are constantly attacking each other back and forth, but putting some guardrails around the behavior of nation-states, including our adversaries, just so that they understand that whatever they do to us we can potentially do to them.

We do have some special challenges, because oftentimes our economy is more digitalized, it is more vulnerable, partly because we're a wealthier nation and we're more wired than some of these other countries. And we have a more open society, and engage in less control and censorship over what happens over the Internet, which is also part of what makes us special.

Last point -- and the reason I'm going on here is because I know that you guys have a lot of questions about this, and I haven't

addressed all of you directly about it. With respect to response, my principal goal leading up to the election was making sure that the election itself went off without a hitch, that it was not tarnished, and that it did not feed any sense in the public that somehow tampering had taken place with the actual process of voting. And we accomplished that.

That does not mean that we are not going to respond. It simply meant that we had a set of priorities leading up to the election that were of the utmost importance. Our goal continues to be to send a clear message to Russia or others not to do this to us, because we can do stuff to you.

But it is also important for us to do that in a thoughtful, methodical way. Some of it we do publicly. Some of it we will do in a way that they know, but not everybody will. And I know that there have been folks out there who suggest somehow that if we went out there and made big announcements, and thumped our chests about a bunch of stuff, that somehow that would potentially spook the Russians. But keep in mind that we already have enormous numbers of sanctions against the Russians. The relationship between us and Russia has deteriorated, sadly, significantly over the last several years. And so how we approach an appropriate response that increases costs for them for behavior like this in the future, but does not create problems for us, is something that's worth taking the time to think through and figure out. And that's exactly what we've done.

So at a point in time where we've taken certain actions that we can divulge publically, we will do so. There are times where the message will go -- will be directly received by the Russians and not publicized. And I should point out, by the way, part of why the Russians have been effective on this is because they don't go around announcing what they're doing. It's not like Putin is going around the world publically saying, look what we did, wasn't that clever? He denies it. So the idea that somehow public shaming is going to be effective I think doesn't read the thought process in Russia very well.

Okay?

Q Did Clinton lose because of the hacking?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm going to let all the political pundits in this town have a long discussion about what happened in the election. It was a fascinating election, so I'm sure there are going to be a lot of books written about it.

I've said what I think is important for the Democratic Party going forward rather than try to parse every aspect of the election. And I've said before, I couldn't be prouder of Secretary Clinton, her

outstanding service. I thinks she's worked tirelessly on behalf of the American people, and I don't think she was treated fairly during the election. I think the coverage of her and the issues was troubling.

But having said that, what I've been most focused on -- appropriate for the fact that I'm not going to be a politician in about, what is it, 32 days? 31?

Q Thirty-four.

THE PRESIDENT: Thirty four? (Laughter.) But what I've said is, is that I can maybe give some counsel and advice to the Democratic Party. And I think that that the thing we have to spend the most time on -- because it's the thing we have the most control over -- is how do we make sure that we are showing up in places where I think Democratic policies are needed, where they are helping, where they are making a difference, but where people feel as if they're not being heard and where Democrats are characterized as coastal, liberal, latte-sipping, politically-correct, out-of-touch folks. We have to be in those communities. And I've seen that when we are in those communities, it makes a difference.

That's how I became President. I became a U.S. senator not just because I had a strong base in Chicago, but because I was driving around downstate Illinois and going to fish frys and sitting in VFW halls and talking to farmers. And I didn't win every one of their votes, but they got a sense of what I was talking about, what I cared about, that I was for working people, that I was for the middle class, that the reason I was interested in strengthening unions, and raising the minimum wage, and rebuilding our infrastructure, and making sure that parents had decent childcare and family leave was because my own family's history wasn't that different from theirs, even if I looked a little bit different. Same thing in Iowa.

And so the question is, how do we rebuild that party as a whole so that there's not a county in any state -- I don't care how red -- that we don't have a presence and we're not making the argument. Because I think we have the better argument. But that requires a lot of work. It's been something that I've been able to do successfully in my own campaigns. It is not something I've been able to transfer to candidates in midterms and sort of build a sustaining organization around. That's something that I would have liked to have done more of, but it's kind of hard to do when you're also dealing with a whole bunch of issues here in the White House.

And that doesn't mean, though, that it can't be done. And I think there are going to be a lot of talented folks out there, a lot of progressives who share my values who are going to be leading the charge in the years to come.

Michelle Kosinski of CNN.

Q Thank you. So this week we heard Hillary Clinton talk about how she thinks that the FBI Director's most recent announcement made a difference in the outcome of the election. And we also just heard in an op-ed her campaign chairman talk about something being deeply broken within the FBI. He talked about thinking that the investigation early on was lackadaisical in his words. So what do you think about those comments? Do you think there's any truth to them? Do you think there's a danger there that they're calling into question the integrity of institutions in a similar way that Donald Trump's team has done?

And the second part to that is that Donald Trump's team repeatedly -- I guess, giving the indication that the investigation of the Russian hack, as well as the retaliation, might not be such a priority once he's in office, so what do you think the risk is there? And are you going to talk to him directly about some of those comments he made?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, on the latter point, as I said before, the transition from election season to governance season is not always smooth. It's bumpy. There are still feelings that are raw out there. There are people who are still thinking about how things unfolded. And I get all that. But when Donald Trump takes the Oath of Office and is sworn as the 45th President of the United States, then he's got a different set of responsibilities and considerations.

And I've said this before: I think there is a sobering process when you walk into the Oval Office. And I haven't shared previously private conversations I've had with the President-elect. I will say that they have been cordial and, in some cases, have involved me making some pretty specific suggestions about how to ensure that regardless of our obvious deep disagreements about policy, maybe I can transmit some thoughts about maintaining the effectiveness, integrity, cohesion of the office, of various democratic institutions. And he has listened. I can't say that he will end up implementing, but the conversations themselves have been cordial as opposed to defensive in any way. And I will always make myself available to him, just as previous Presidents have made themselves available to me as issues come up.

With respect to the FBI, I will tell you, I've had a chance to know a lot of FBI agents, I know Director Comey, and they take their job seriously, they work really hard, they help keep us safe and save a lot of lives. And it is always a challenge for law enforcement when there's an intersection between the work that they are doing and the political system. It's one of the difficulties of democracy, generally. We have a system where we want our law enforcement

investigators and our prosecutors to be free from politics, to be independent, to play it straight, but sometimes that involves investigations that touch on politics. And particularly in this hyper-partisan environment that we've been in, everything is suspect, everything you do one way or the other.

One thing that I have done is to be pretty scrupulous about not wading into investigation decisions or prosecution decisions, or decisions not to prosecute. I have tried to be really strict in my own behavior about preserving the independence of law enforcement, free from my own judgments and political assessments, in some cases. And I don't know why it would stop now.

Mike Dorning of Bloomberg.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. On Aleppo, your views that what happens there is the responsibility of the Russian government, the Iranian government, the Assad regime are pretty well aired. But do you, as President of the United States, leader of the free world, feel any personal moral responsibility now at the end of your presidency for the carnage that we're all watching in Aleppo, which I'm sure disturbs you -- which you said disturbs you?

And, secondly, also on Aleppo, you've again made clear your practical disagreements with the idea of safe zones. And President-elect Trump has, throughout his campaign, and he said again last night that he wants to create safe zones in Syria. Do you feel like, in this transition, you need to help him toward implementing that? Or was that not something that you should be doing?

THE PRESIDENT: Mike, I always feel responsible. I felt responsible when kids were being shot by snipers. I felt responsible when millions of people had been displaced. I feel responsible for murder and slaughter that's taken place in South Sudan that's not being reported on partly because there's not as much social media being generated from there.

There are places around the world where horrible things are happening, and because of my office, because I'm President of the United States, I feel responsible. I ask myself every single day, is there something I could do that would save lives and make a difference and spare some child who doesn't deserve to suffer.

So that's a starting point. There's not a moment during the course of this presidency where I haven't felt some responsibility. That's true, by the way, for our own country. When I came into office and people were losing their jobs and losing their homes and losing their pensions, I felt responsible, and I would go home at night and I would ask myself, was there something better that I could do or smarter that I could be that would make a difference in their lives,

that would relieve their suffering and relieve their hardship.

So with respect to Syria, what I have consistently done is taken the best course that I can to try to end the civil war while having also to take into account the long-term national security interests of the United States.

And throughout this process, based on hours of meetings, if you tallied it up, days or weeks of meetings where we went through every option in painful detail, with maps, and we had our military, and we had our aid agencies, and we had our diplomatic teams, and sometimes we'd bring in outsiders who were critics of ours -- whenever we went through it, the challenge was that, short of putting large numbers of U.S. troops on the ground, uninvited, without any international law mandate, without sufficient support from Congress, at a time when we still had troops in Afghanistan and we still had troops in Iraq, and we had just gone through over a decade of war and spent trillions of dollars, and when the opposition on the ground was not cohesive enough to necessarily govern a country, and you had a military superpower in Russia prepared to do whatever it took to keeps its client-state involved, and you had a regional military power in Iran that saw their own vital strategic interests at stake and were willing to send in as many of their people or proxies to support the regime -- that in that circumstance, unless we were all in and willing to take over Syria, we were going to have problems, and that everything else was tempting because we wanted to do something and it sounded like the right thing to do, but it was going to be impossible to do this on the cheap.

And in that circumstance, I have to make a decision as President of the United States as to what is best -- I'm sorry, what's going on? Somebody's not feeling good? All right. Why don't we have -- we've got -- we can get our doctors back there to help out. Does somebody want to go to my doctor's office and just have them -- all right -- where was I?

Q Doing it on the cheap.

THE PRESIDENT: So we couldn't do it on the cheap. Now, it may be --

Can somebody help out please and get Doc Jackson in here? Is somebody grabbing our doctor?

Q Thank you, Mr. President, for stopping.

THE PRESIDENT: Of course. In the meantime, just give her a little room. The doctor will be here in a second. You guys know where the doctor's office is? Just go through the Palm doors. It's right next to the Map Room. There he is. All right, there's Doc Jackson. He's all right. Okay. The doctor is in the house.

Q You were saying you couldn't do it on the cheap.

THE PRESIDENT: And I don't mean that -- I mean that with all sincerity. I understand the impulse to want to do something. But ultimately, what I've had to do is to think about what can we sustain, what is realistic. And my first priority has to be what's the right thing to do for America.

And it has been our view that the best thing to do has been to provide some support to the moderate opposition so that they could sustain themselves, and that we wouldn't see anti-Assad regime sentiments just pouring into al Nusra and al Qaeda or ISIL; that we engaged our international partners in order to put pressure on all the parties involved, and to try to resolve this through diplomatic and political means.

I cannot claim that we've been successful. And so that's something that, as is true with a lot of issues and problems around the world, I have to go to bed with every night. But I continue to believe that it was the right approach, given what realistically we could get done absent a decision, as I said, to go in a much more significant way. And that, I think, would not have been sustainable or good for the American people because we had a whole host of other obligations that we also had to meet, wars we had already started and that were not yet finished.

With respect to the issue of safe zones, it is a continued problem. A continued challenge with safe zones is if you're setting up those zones on Syrian territory, then that requires some force that is willing to maintain that territory in the absence of consent from the Syrian government and, now, the Russians or the Iranians. So it may be that with Aleppo's tragic situation unfolding, that in the short term, if we can get more of the tens of thousands who are still trapped there out, that so long as the world's eyes are on them and they are feeling pressure, the regime and Russia concludes that they are willing to find some arrangement, perhaps in coordination with Turkey, whereby those people can be safe. Even that will probably be temporary, but at least it solves a short-term issue that's going to arise.

Unfortunately, we're not even there yet, because right now we have Russians and Assad claiming that basically all the innocent civilians who were trapped in Aleppo are out when international organizations, humanitarian organizations who know better and who are on the ground have said unequivocally that there are still tens of thousands who are trapped and prepared to leave under pretty much any conditions. And so right now, our biggest priority is to continue to put pressure wherever we can to try to get them out.

Q Notwithstanding --

THE PRESIDENT: I can't have too much --

Q On the second question, your intentions are well aired, but do you feel responsibility notwithstanding a move in that direction or help President-elect Trump move in that direction?

THE PRESIDENT: I will help President Trump -- President-elect Trump with any advice, counsel, information that we can provide so that he, once he's sworn in, can make a decision. Between now and then, these are decisions that I have to make based on the consultations I have with our military and the people who have been working this every single day.

Peter Alexander.

Q Mr. President, thank you very much. Can you, given all the intelligence that we have now heard, assure the public that this was, once and for all, a free and fair election? And specifically on Russia, do you feel any obligation now, as they've been insisting that this isn't the case, to show the proof, as it were -- they say put your money where your mouth is and declassify some of the intelligence, some of the evidence that exists? And more broadly, as it relates to Donald Trump on this very topic, are you concerned about his relationship with Vladimir Putin, especially given some of the recent Cabinet picks, including his selection for Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, who toasted Putin with champagne over oil deals together? Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: I may be getting older, because these multipart questions, I start losing track. (Laughter.)

I can assure the public that there was not the kind of tampering with the voting process that was of concern and will continue to be of concern going forward; that the votes that were cast were counted, they were counted appropriately. We have not seen evidence of machines being tampered with. So that assurance I can provide.

That doesn't mean that we find every single potential probe of every single voting machine all across the country, but we paid a lot of attention to it. We worked with state officials, et cetera, and we feel confident that that didn't occur and that the votes were cast and they were counted.

So that's on that point. What was the second one?

Q The second one was about declassification.

THE PRESIDENT: Declassification. Look, we will provide evidence

that we can safely provide that does not compromise sources and methods. But I'll be honest with you, when you're talking about cybersecurity, a lot of it is classified. And we're not going to provide it because the way we catch folks is by knowing certain things about them that they may not want us to know, and if we're going to monitor this stuff effectively going forward, we don't want them to know that we know.

So this is one of those situations where unless the American people genuinely think that the professionals in the CIA, the FBI, our entire intelligence infrastructure -- many of whom, by the way, served in previous administrations and who are Republicans -- are less trustworthy than the Russians, then people should pay attention to what our intelligence agencies have to say.

This is part of what I meant when I said that we've got to think about what's happening to our political culture here. The Russians can't change us or significantly weaken us. They are a smaller country. They are a weaker country. Their economy doesn't produce anything that anybody wants to buy, except oil and gas and arms. They don't innovate.

But they can impact us if we lose track of who we are. They can impact us if we abandon our values. Mr. Putin can weaken us, just like he's trying to weaken Europe, if we start buying into notions that it's okay to intimidate the press, or lock up dissidents, or discriminate against people because of their faith or what they look like.

And what I worry about more than anything is the degree to which, because of the fierceness of the partisan battle, you start to see certain folks in the Republican Party and Republican voters suddenly finding a government and individuals who stand contrary to everything that we stand for as being okay because that's how much we dislike Democrats.

I mean, think about it. Some of the people who historically have been very critical of me for engaging with the Russians and having conversations with them also endorsed the President-elect, even as he was saying that we should stop sanctioning Russia and being tough on them, and work together with them against our common enemies. He was very complimentary of Mr. Putin personally.

That wasn't news. The President-elect during the campaign said so. And some folks who had made a career out of being anti-Russian didn't say anything about it. And then after the election, suddenly they're asking, well, why didn't you tell us that maybe the Russians were trying to help our candidate? Well, come on. There was a survey, some of you saw, where -- now, this is just one poll, but a pretty credible source -- 37 percent of Republican voters approve of

Putin. Over a third of Republican voters approve of Vladimir Putin, the former head of the KGB. Ronald Reagan would roll over in his grave.

And how did that happen? It happened in part because, for too long, everything that happens in this town, everything that's said is seen through the lens of "does this help or hurt us relative to Democrats, or relative to President Obama?" And unless that changes, we're going to continue to be vulnerable to foreign influence, because we've lost track of what it is that we're about and what we stand for.

With respect to the President-elect's appointments, it is his prerogative, as I've always said, for him to appoint who he thinks can best carry out his foreign policy or his domestic policy. It is up to the Senate to advise and consent. There will be plenty of time for members of the Senate to go through the record of all his appointees and determine whether or not they're appropriate for the job.

Martha Raddatz.

Q Mr. President, I want to talk about Vladimir Putin again. Just to be clear, do you believe Vladimir Putin himself authorized the hack? And do you believe he authorized that to help Donald Trump? And on the intelligence, one of the things Donald Trump cites is Saddam Hussein and the weapons of mass destruction, and that they were never found. Can you say, unequivocally, that this was not China, that this was not a 400-pound guy sitting on his bed, as Donald Trump says? And do these types of tweets and kinds of statements from Donald Trump embolden the Russians?

THE PRESIDENT: When the report comes out, before I leave office, that will have drawn together all the threads. And so I don't want to step on their work ahead of time.

What I can tell you is that the intelligence that I have seen gives me great confidence in their assessment that the Russians carried out this hack.

Q Which hack?

THE PRESIDENT: The hack of the DNC and the hack of John Podesta.

Now, the -- but again, I think this is exactly why I want the report out, so that everybody can review it. And this has been briefed, and the evidence in closed session has been provided on a bipartisan basis -- not just to me, it's been provided to the leaders of the House and the Senate, and the chairman and ranking members of the relevant committees. And I think that what you've already seen is, at least some of the folks who have seen the evidence don't

dispute, I think, the basic assessment that the Russians carried this out.

Q But specifically, can you not say that --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Martha, I think what I want to make sure of is that I give the intelligence community the chance to gather all the information. But I'd make a larger point, which is, not much happens in Russia without Vladimir Putin. This is a pretty hierarchical operation. Last I checked, there's not a lot of debate and democratic deliberation, particularly when it comes to policies directed at the United States.

We have said, and I will confirm, that this happened at the highest levels of the Russian government. And I will let you make that determination as to whether there are high-level Russian officials who go off rogue and decide to tamper with the U.S. election process without Vladimir Putin knowing about it.

Q So I wouldn't be wrong in saying the President thinks Vladimir Putin authorized the hack?

THE PRESIDENT: Martha, I've given you what I'm going to give you.

What was your second question?

Q Do the tweets and do the statements by Donald Trump embolden Russia?

THE PRESIDENT: As I said before, I think that the President-elect is still in transition mode from campaign to governance. I think he hasn't gotten his whole team together yet. He still has campaign spokespersons sort of filling in and appearing on cable shows. And there's just a whole different attitude and vibe when you're not in power as when you're in power.

So rather than me sort of characterize the appropriateness or inappropriateness of what he's doing at the moment, I think what we have to see is how will the President-elect operate, and how will his team operate, when they've been fully briefed on all these issues, they have their hands on all the levers of government, and they've got to start making decisions.

One way I do believe that the President-elect can approach this that would be unifying is to say that we welcome a bipartisan, independent process that gives the American people an assurance not only that votes are counted properly, that the elections are fair and free, but that we have learned lessons about how Internet propaganda from foreign countries can be released into the political bloodstream

and that we've got strategies to deal with it for the future.

The more this can be nonpartisan, the better served the American people are going to be, which is why I made the point earlier -- and I'm going to keep on repeating this point: Our vulnerability to Russia or any other foreign power is directly related to how divided, partisan, dysfunctional our political process is. That's the thing that makes us vulnerable.

If fake news that's being released by some foreign government is almost identical to reports that are being issued through partisan news venues, then it's not surprising that that foreign propaganda will have a greater effect, because it doesn't seem that far-fetched compared to some of the other stuff that folks are hearing from domestic propagandists.

To the extent that our political dialogue is such where everything is under suspicion, everybody is corrupt and everybody is doing things for partisan reasons, and all of our institutions are full of malevolent actors -- if that's the storyline that's being put out there by whatever party is out of power, then when a foreign government introduces that same argument with facts that are made up, voters who have been listening to that stuff for years, who have been getting that stuff every day from talk radio or other venues, they're going to believe it.

So if we want to really reduce foreign influence on our elections, then we better think about how to make sure that our political process, our political dialogue is stronger than it's been.

Mark Landler.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. I wonder whether I can move you from Russia to China for a moment.

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely.

Q Your successor spoke by phone with the President of Taiwan the other day and declared subsequently that he wasn't sure why the United States needed to be bound by the one-China policy. He suggested it could be used as a bargaining chip perhaps to get better terms on a trade deal or more cooperation on North Korea. There's already evidence that tensions between the two sides have increased a bit, and just today, the Chinese have evidently seized an underwater drone in the South China Sea. Do you agree, as some do, that our China policy could use a fresh set of eyes? And what's the big deal about having a short phone call with the President of Taiwan? Or do you worry that these types of unorthodox approaches are setting us on a collision course with perhaps our biggest geopolitical adversary?

THE PRESIDENT: That's a great question. I'm somewhere in between. I think all of our foreign policy should be subject to fresh eyes. I think one of the -- I've said this before -- I am very proud of the work I've done. I think I'm a better President now than when I started. But if you're here for eight years, in the bubble, you start seeing things a certain way and you benefit from -- the democracy benefits, America benefits from some new perspectives.

And I think it should be not just the prerogative but the obligation of a new President to examine everything that's been done and see what makes sense and what doesn't. That's what I did when I came in, and I'm assuming any new President is going to undertake those same exercises.

And given the importance of the relationship between the United States and China, given how much is at stake in terms of the world economy, national security, our presence in the Asia Pacific, China's increasing role in international affairs -- there's probably no bilateral relationship that carries more significance and where there's also the potential if that relationship breaks down or goes into a full-conflict mode, that everybody is worse off. So I think it's fine for him to take a look at it.

What I've advised the President-elect is that across the board on foreign policy, you want to make sure that you're doing it in a systematic, deliberate, intentional way. And since there's only one President at a time, my advice to him has been that before he starts having a lot of interactions with foreign governments other than the usual courtesy calls, that he should want to have his full team in place, that he should want his team to be fully briefed on what's gone on in the past and where the potential pitfalls may be, where the opportunities are, what we've learned from eight years of experience, so that as he's then maybe taking foreign policy in a new direction, he's got all the information to make good decisions and, by the way, that all of government is moving at the same time and singing from the same hymnal.

And with respect to China -- and let's just take the example of Taiwan -- there has been a longstanding agreement, essentially, between China, the United States, and, to some degree, the Taiwanese, which is to not change the status quo. Taiwan operates differently than mainland China does. China views Taiwan as part of China, but recognizes that it has to approach Taiwan as an entity that has its own ways of doing things. The Taiwanese have agreed that as long as they're able to continue to function with some degree of autonomy, that they won't charge forward and declare independence.

And that status quo, although not completely satisfactory to any of the parties involved, has kept the peace and allowed the Taiwanese to be a pretty successful economy and a people who have a high degree

of self-determination. But understand, for China, the issue of Taiwan is as important as anything on their docket. The idea of one China is at the heart of their conception as a nation.

And so if you are going to upend this understanding, you have to have thought through what the consequences are, because the Chinese will not treat that the way they'll treat some other issues. They won't even treat it the way they treat issues around the South China Sea, where we've had a lot of tensions. This goes to the core of how they see themselves. And their reaction on this issue could end up being very significant.

That doesn't mean that you have to adhere to everything that's been done in the past. It does mean that you've got to think it through and have planned for potential reactions that they may engage in.

All right. Isaac Dovere of Politico.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. Two questions on where this all leaves us.

THE PRESIDENT: What leaves us? Where my presidency leaves us?

Q The election --

THE PRESIDENT: It leaves us in a really good spot -- (laughter) -- if we make some good decisions going forward.

Q Well, what do you say to the electors who are going to meet on Monday and are thinking of changing their votes? Do you think that they should be given an intelligence briefing about the Russian activity? Or should they bear in mind everything you've said and is out already? Should they -- should votes be bound by the state votes as they've gone? And long term, do you think that there is a need for Electoral College reform that would tie it to the popular vote?

THE PRESIDENT: It sounded like two, but that was all one. (Laughter.)

Q It was all one. (Laughter.) You know the way this goes around here.

THE PRESIDENT: I love how these -- I got two questions, each one has four parts. (Laughter.)

Q On the Democratic Party, your Labor Secretary is running to be the Chair of the Democratic National Committee. Is the vision that you've seen him putting forward what you think the party needs to be focused on? And what do you say to some of the complaints that say

the future of the Democratic Party shouldn't be a continuation of some of your political approach? Part of that is complaints that decisions that you've made as President, as the leader of the party, have structurally weakened the DNC and the Democratic Party, and they think that that has led to -- or has helped lead to some losses in elections around the country. Do you regret any of those decisions?

THE PRESIDENT: Okay.

Q Those are my two. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Good. I'll take the second one first and say that Tom Perez has been, I believe, one of the best secretaries of labor in our history. He is tireless. He is wicked smart. He has been able to work across the spectrum of labor, business, activists. He's produced. I mean, if you look at his body of work on behalf of working people, what he's pushed for in terms of making sure that workers get a fair deal, decent wages, better benefits, that their safety is protected on the job -- he has been extraordinary.

Now, others who have declared are also my friends and are fine people, as well. And the great thing is, I don't have a vote in this, so we'll let the process unfold. I don't think it's going to happen anytime soon. I described to you earlier what I think needs to happen, which is that the Democratic Party, whether that's entirely through the DNC or through a rebuilding of state parties or some other arrangement, has to work at the grassroots level, has to be present in all 50 states, has to have a presence in counties, has to think about message and how are we speaking directly to voters.

I will say this -- and I'm not going to engage in too much punditry -- but that I could not be prouder of the coalition that I put together in each of my campaigns because it was inclusive, and it drew in people who normally weren't interested in politics and didn't participate. But I'd like to think -- I think I can show that in those elections, I always cast a broad net. I always said, first and foremost we're Americans, that we have a common creed, that there's more that we share than divides us, and I want to talk to everybody and get a chance to get everybody's vote.

I still believe what I said in 2004, which is this red state/blue thing is a construct. Now, it is a construct that has gotten more and more powerful for a whole lot of reasons, from gerrymandering to big money, to the way that media has splintered. And so people are just watching what reinforces their existing biases as opposed to have to listen to different points of view. So there are all kinds of reasons for it.

But outside of the realm of electoral politics, I still see people the way I saw them when I made that speech -- full of

contradictions, and there are some regional differences, but basically folks care about their families, they care about having meaningful work, they care about making sure their kids have more opportunity than they did. They want to be safe, they want to feel like things are fair. And whoever leads the DNC and any candidate with the Democratic brand going forward, I want them to feel as if they can reach out and find that common ground -- speak to all of America. And that requires some organization.

And you're right that -- and I said this in my earlier remarks -- that what I was able to do during my campaigns, I wasn't able to do during midterms. It's not that we didn't put in time and effort into it. I spent time and effort into it, but the coalition I put together didn't always turn out to be transferable. And the challenge is that -- you know, some of that just has to do with the fact that when you're in the party in power and people are going through hard times like they were in 2010, they're going to punish, to some degree, the President's party regardless of what organizational work is done.

Some of it has to do with just some deep-standing traditional challenges for Democrats, like during off-year election, the electorate is older and we do better with a younger electorate. But we know those things are true, and I didn't crack the code on that. And if other people have ideas about how to do that even better, I'm all for it.

So with respect to the electors, I'm not going to wade into that issue because, again, it's the American people's job, and now the electors' job to decide my successor. It is not my job to decide my successor. And I have provided people with a lot of information about what happened during the course of the election. But more importantly, the candidates themselves, I think, talked about their beliefs and their vision for America. The President-elect, I think, has been very explicit about what he cares about and what he believes in. So it's not in my hands now; it's up to them.

Q What about long-term about the Electoral College?

THE PRESIDENT: Long-term with a respect to the Electoral College -- the Electoral College is a vestige, it's a carryover from an earlier vision of how our federal government was going to work that put a lot of premium on states, and it used to be that the Senate was not elected directly, it was through state legislatures. And it's the same type of thinking that gives Wyoming two senators with about half a million people, and California with 33 million get the same two.

So there are some structures in our political system, as envisioned by the Founders, that sometimes are going to disadvantage Democrats. But the truth of the matter is, is that, if we have a strong message, if we're speaking to what the American people care

about, typically the popular vote and the Electoral College vote will align.

And I guess part of my overall message here as I leave for the holidays is that if we look for one explanation or one silver bullet or one easy fix for our politics, then we're probably going to be disappointed. There are just a lot of factors in what's happened not just over the last few months, but over the last decade that has made both politics and governance more challenging. And I think everybody has raised legitimate questions and legitimate concerns.

I do hope that we all just take some time, take a breath -- this is certainly what I'm going to advise Democrats -- to just reflect a little bit more about how can we get to a place where people are focused on working together based on at least some common set of facts. How can we have a conversation about policy that doesn't demonize each other. How can we channel what I think is the basic decency and goodness of the American people so it reflects itself in our politics, as opposed to it being so polarized and so nasty that, in some cases, you have voters and elected officials who have more confidence and faith in a foreign adversary than they have in their neighbors.

And those go to some bigger issues. How is it that we have some voters or some elected officials who think that Michelle Obama's healthy eating initiative and school nutrition program is a great threat to democracy than our government going after the press if they're issuing a story they don't like? I mean, that's an issue that I think we've got to wrestle with -- and we will.

People have asked me how do you feel after the election and so forth, and I say, well, look, this is a clarifying moment. It's a useful reminder that voting counts, politics counts. What the President-elect is going to be doing is going to be very different than what I was doing, and I think people will be able to compare and contrast and make judgments about what worked for the American people.

And I hope that, building off the progress we've made, that what the President-elect is proposing works. What I can say with confidence is that what we've done works. That I can prove. I can show you where we were in 2008 and I can show you where we are now, and you can't argue that we're not better off. We are. And for that, I thank the American people and, more importantly, I thank -- well, not more importantly -- as importantly -- I was going to say Josh Earnest for doing such a great job. (Laughter.) For that, I thank the American people. I thank the men and women in uniform who serve. I haven't gotten to the point yet where I've been overly sentimental.

I will tell you, when I was doing my last Christmas party photoline -- many of you have participated in these; they're pretty

long -- right at the end of the line, the President's Marine Corps Band comes in, those who had been performing, and I take a picture when them, and it was the last time that I was going to take a picture with my Marine Corps Band after an event, and I got a little choked up. Now, I was in front of Marines, so I had to, like, tamp it down.

But it was just one small example of all the people who have contributed to our success. I'm responsible for where we've screwed up. The successes are widely shared with all the amazing people who have been part of this administration.

Thank you, everybody. Mele Kalikimaka.

END 4:06 P.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 13, 2016

PRESS BRIEFING
BY PRESS SECRETARY JOSH EARNEST
AND SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL ENVOY FOR
THE GLOBAL COALITION TO COUNTER ISIL, BRETT MCGURK

James S. Brady Press Briefing Room

1:00 P.M. EDT

MR. EARNEST: Good afternoon, everybody. Happy Tuesday. As advertised, I'm going to be joined today by Brett McGurk. Brett has been here a couple of times before. Brett just left a National Security Council meeting with the President. The President, as you know, convenes his National Security Council every few weeks to review the progress that we're making against ISIL. Brett participated in the meeting and is now here to provide an update to all of you on that progress.

Brett's title -- I was asking him just before we walked in -- is Special Presidential Envoy to the Global Coalition Against ISIL. He's got a presentation that he'll offer up and then he'll take some questions. He'll leave and then I can take your questions on non-ISIL-related topics from there.

So with that, Brett, do you want to take it away?

MR. MCGURK: So thanks for having me. I thought I would give an update on the counter-ISIL campaign. The last time I was here I think was about six months ago, and I have a lot of new information, which I'll convey.

The President just convened, as Josh mentioned, his National Security Council today to discuss the current status of the global campaign against ISIL. The meeting provided an in-depth overview of where we are in this campaign, and I want to provide just an update

overall.

So as you know, we analyze ISIL and focus our policy on destroying it in really three dimensions -- its core in Iraq and Syria and shrinking its physical space; its network, so that's foreign fighters, finance and propaganda media networks; and then the so-called affiliates, made of affinities, affiliates around the world, of which Libya has been of particular concern to us.

The United States, we have an Integrated Campaign Plan that incorporates our entire government -- Defense, State, Treasury, Justice, Homeland Security, and the intelligence community -- around specific lines of effort. It's called the ICP, and it's an effort we review and refresh really each quarter to help identify opportunities, reinforce areas where we're having success and address areas that may have fallen behind. The President received a detailed update on this ICP this morning.

We also, of course, lead a global coalition of 68 members -- this is one of the largest coalitions of its kind in history -- to relentlessly combat ISIL across all lines of effort. So, militarily, on the ground in Iraq and Syria, we're supporting partners with training, equipping, advising and airstrikes. That's 17,455 airstrikes against ISIL terrorists as of this morning.

Through law enforcement cooperation, where we're sharing information to find and disrupt plots around the world. Through intelligence, homeland security and other channels to help combat the flow of foreign fighters across borders. Through treasury and finance to destroy ISIL's economic infrastructure. And through both governments and the private sector to combat ISIL's poisonous ideology and their propaganda online, their ability to recruit.

Our global coalition has also provided billions of dollars to support stabilization in areas cleared of ISIL, enabling citizens to return. And this is not only a U.S. effort; ISIL is an enemy that threatens the entire world, so we have leveraged resources from around the world, including more than $2 billion pledged for humanitarian, stabilization efforts in Iraq during coalition meetings in July.

But U.S. leadership matters on this. And that's why I want to thank the Congress for their close coordination in supporting a counter-ISIL budget amendment in the recently passed continuing resolution. These funds will be essential to help us accelerate the campaign and support efforts such as demining that allows people to return to their homes. And I'll be calling on coalition partners to make similar contributions here over the coming days.

Let me update you briefly on some of the update -- the campaigns we have ongoing now, particularly in Sirte, Libya; and Raqqa and

Mosul.

In Sirte, about a year ago ISIL controlled approximately 150 kilometers of land on the Mediterranean coastline. It was using Libya as a haven from which to plan attacks in neighboring Tunisia, and ISIL leaders were encouraging people to travel to Libya, instead of Syria, to join ISIL. They saw it as their growing safe haven.

Since that time, at the President's direction, we've eliminated the mastermind of the Tunisia attacks, Noureddine Chouchane; the leader of ISIL in Libya, Abu Nabil, who came from Syria to lead ISIL in Libya. And now we've just completed operations to liberate Sirte and its surrounding areas. So in Operation Odyssey Lightning, U.S. military forces conducted almost 500 airstrikes in support of units fighting under the authority of Libya's Government of National Accord. And while we've still got work to be done, this strategic location in the Mediterranean is no longer accessible to ISIL terrorists. We'll, of course, continue to support the Government of National Accord as it pursues ISIL throughout the country.

In Raqqa -- Raqqa remains ISIL administrative capital and it is under more pressure now than ever before. Forces partnered with our coalition have now entirely severed routes between Raqqa and ISIL locations in Iraq. And the Syrian Democratic Forces, a coalition of local Arabs and Kurds, are steadily advancing on Raqqa with the aim to isolate or really strangulate the city. Since this operation began about one month ago, the SDF has cleared 700 square kilometers north of Raqqa, and just on Saturday began a second phase of operations along the new access just to the west, and this is proceeding quite well.

The pressure in Raqqa is bearing fruit as ISIL leaders come out of hiding, which allows us to kill them. Today we confirm the deaths by precision coalition airstrikes of three terrorist leaders in Raqqa -- Salah Gourmat, Sammy Djedou, Walid Hamman.

Gourmat was a French Algerian, Djedou a Belgian. They were responsible for planning and facilitating the November 13th attacks in Paris last year. They were also actively plotting attacks when they were killed on December 4th in the streets of Raqqa. Hamman had been convicted by a Belgian court for a terrorist plot in 2015, and he was working with Gourmat and Djedou to plan new attacks.

So these three dead terrorists in Raqqa join a growing list from ISIL's what we call their external operations network that we have targeted and eliminated. Last month, coalition forces eliminated Abd al-Basit al-Iraqi. He was the ISIL emir for attacks throughout the Middle East region and a key facilitator for terrorist travel through Turkey. Coalition strikes also killed Boubaker al-Hakim, an ISIL leader planning attacks in France and throughout Europe. And a leader

of all ISIL external operations, of course, Muhammad Adnani, was killed on August 30th as he traveled from Raqqa to Bab.

So the point is, even as operations continue to move towards Raqqa, our coalition is relentlessly reaching into Raqqa to eliminate ISIL leaders with a particular focus on those planning and plotting against our homeland and our partners.

For the operation to seize and hold Raqqa, which will be coming, we're in close consultation with our partners including Turkey. I was in Ankara last week for talks on this and other topics and these talks were quite fruitful. And the President's authorization over the weekend for an additional 200 Special Operations Forces in Syria will help further accelerate our campaign to eject ISIL from Raqqa. I visited these Special Operators several times and they are doing truly heroic work to protect our homeland and to eliminate this haven of ISIL in Syria.

And I'll briefly discussed the Mosul campaign. We're now in month two of what is really the most complex operation to date -- the liberation of Mosul -- and thus far we've seen a very steady and deliberate advance along all axes against ISIL terrorists, which are using the civilian population in Mosul as human shields.

I just visited the eastern axis, just in the outskirts of Mosul, last week. Secretary Carter was in Iraq, and he visited the Qayara airbase, south of Mosul, over the weekend. And General Votel, our CENTCOM commander, was in the same area just yesterday and gave a very detailed to the President this morning. And all of us witnessed this unprecedented cooperation between the Iraqi security forces and Kurdish Peshmerga, which has really been essential to this campaign.

Our coalition since the beginning of this campaign, about two years ago, we've trained over 65,000 Iraqi personnel who are now fighting professionally and performing heroically. So ISIL terrorists are now trapped in Mosul. They're unable to resupply or replenish their dwindling ranks. Throughout this campaign, which began just a couple months ago now, we've already conducted over 500 airstrikes, destroyed about 100 car bombs, 100 tunnels, 300 bunkers -- this is ongoing every single day.

We're often asked how long this is going to take, and the answer is, in Mosul, it will take as long as it takes. I think it's useful to remember other campaigns against ISIL. Kobani, Raqqa, Baiji oil refinery are very significant campaigns; each of them took about six months. Some have gone faster -- Fallujah went a little faster than anticipated. And the key thing is that, what ISIL does in these cities is they set up concentric rings of defenses, and once you break through the crust of that defense, you don't know what's going to come next. Eventually they reach a culmination point; they simply cannot

resupply, they run out of suicide bombers, and they culminate. And in Mosul, we don't when that will come. It could come very soon; it could come a couple months from now. But our momentum will be sustained and we'll provide relentless pressure on the enemy throughout Mosul.

Every single operation in Iraq that we have supported has succeeded, and all the ground that has been retaken from ISIL in Iraq has been held, and Mosul will be no different.

Let me very briefly, in about five minutes, just go through some of the indicators that I discussed last time when I was here in June -- there's about eight of them, but I'll go them fairly quickly -- of how we track this overall campaign and how we measure how we're doing.

The first is territory. And we actually have a new map here which just came out this morning from our intelligence community, and the map demonstrates that ISIL continues to lose significant ground. And why is this important? Because what has made ISIL this global phenomenon, with all of these recruits from all around the world -- although that's rapidly diminishing -- is this notion of this homeland and caliphate. And all of their propaganda used to talk about this expanding homeland, this expanding movement, and they can no longer say that because their territory is now rapidly shrinking.

So in Iraq now, about 61 percent of territory that had been controlled by ISIL has now been reclaimed, and in Syria, about 28 percent. But what is most significant -- I think the last time I was here there was still a 98-kilometer strip of border with Turkey in which ISIL terrorists were still able to come in and out, and that is where the Paris attackers, the Brussels attackers transited through this route. So since then, over the last six months, we've worked very closely with the Syrian Democratic Forces, and also with Turkey and the moderate opposition to close off that route. It's at the number one in the map.

So ISIL now has no access to an international border, and this is significantly impacted the overall campaign because they are now a very isolated entity within Syria and Iraq, and, most importantly, it is much harder for them to come in and out, which is critical for them to project their terrorist acts outside of Iraq and Syria. So territory we're continuing to shrink as we speak, and that will continue.

Leadership. ISIL's leadership ranks are dwindling. I already mentioned some of the recent strikes against their leaders in Raqqa. But since the start of the campaign we've eliminated nearly all of Abu Bakr Baghdadi deputies and his trusted advisors. That includes his likely successor, Haji Imam; his ministers for war, finance, oil and gas, security, and external operations. And as these leaders are

replaced, we target and kill their replacements. And we've seen a significant degradation in their overall capabilities and ranks.

Baghdadi himself -- he claims to be the caliph -- we have not seen his face in well over a year. He issued an audiotape about a month ago, but issuing audiotapes deep in hiding is not really a sign of a confident leader, particularly in today's media age. So eventually, we will find and eliminate him as well, but the leadership ranks continue to diminish.

Third indicator, their overall fighting capacity, their overall strength, overall fighters. The number of battle-ready fighters inside Iraq and Syria is now at its lowest point that it's ever been. We estimate about 12,000 to 15,000. And ISIL is unable to replenish its ranks.

Whereas we used to see about a thousand foreign fighters in the 2014 time frame flowing into Syria, coming from all around the world -- I've mentioned this before -- an unprecedented number of these foreign fighters, these jihadi fighters coming from all around the world, almost 40,000 -- it's now down to really what is quite a negligible amount, in our estimation.

And that's really thanks, again, to our efforts on the ground and our Special Operators that have done an incredible job to clear out that area of the border just south of Turkey, and now the intervention from Turkey to protect its border, make sure that these terrorists cannot get in and out.

We are also making sure that foreign fighters cannot transit across borders. So about 60 countries within the coalition have really strengthened their laws against the transit of foreign fighters. Plots have been disrupted in about 15 countries, and this continues. One of the unsung efforts of our coalition which has really strengthened is the information-sharing among different capitals. This is something that has now really accelerated, and it's increased our ability to stay well ahead of this enemy.

Fourth indicator, briefly, is revenue. We're destroying ISIL's economic base. Just last week -- it's only one example, but last week, our air coalition destroyed about 168 ISIL oil tankers, the largest strike of its kind. And we've continued to target their oil and gas infrastructure, their bulk cash storage sites and their financial facilitators. They cannot pay their fighters. The fighters come thinking they're going to have this lavish lifestyle -- that is not happening. Their fighters are not getting paid, and we have multiple indications of that. And we will continue to maintain this relentless pressure.

The fifth indicator is one I mentioned -- this was really

critical when we started this -- was their access to borders. Again, they were flowing in and out by almost over 1,000 a month. That is no longer happening. So quite significant development to close off their entire access to international borders.

Sixth indicator, media propaganda. ISIL used to have this very slick, sophisticated media information apparatus, and it was led by two people. One was Muhammad Adnani, their chief spokesman and also their head of external operations; and, two, a very sophisticated media expert named Dr. Waeli. He was kind of the head of all those slick videos they used to produce. Both of them are no longer around.

We also have been working very closely with the private sector and within the coalition to get their content off the Internet, to make it far harder to access. Their overall output is down by about 75 percent. If you just measure -- we measure these things in 12-month increments -- from August of 2015 to August this year, decrease of 75 percent. Twitter -- just one example -- have taken down 400,000 pro-ISIL Twitter handles. And the ratio of anti-ISIL information to pro-ISIL information has totally flipped from where it was two years ago. And we'll keep this going.

This is also a global effort. So ISIL tries to recruit with different messages around the world. So in the UK, we have the UK leading an effort to really target those who might be recruited in Europe. In the Gulf region, we're working very closely with the UAE. I met them -- really incredible young people who are working 24/7 to counter the toxic ideology and poisonous messages of ISIL. Saudi Arabia is helping quite a bit with that. And even in Southeast Asia, Malaysians and other critical partners within our coalition are helping to counter the message in that part of the world. Very different messages in different parts of the world, and we work to adapt to that.

Seventh indicator, briefly, is what we call global cohesion. ISIL had sought to be a global organization with direct links, financial fighters, leaders, between its core in Iraq and Syria to these so-called affiliates. So in response, we've strengthened a global coalition to find and sever all of those links. The result has been a weakening of their so-called affiliates across the board. I mentioned Libya, but also Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin, and Afghanistan -- all of these entities are being significantly degraded.

Importantly, our coalition also includes multinational organizations, such as INTERPOL and Europol, to help develop a global database of ISIL-affiliated fighters to stop, again, their transit across borders. My deputy, Lieutenant General Wolfe, was at the INTERPOL annual meeting last month to try to strengthen these relationships and make sure that we are sharing the information we

need to stay ahead of this threat.

So as ISIL's global cohesion weakens, ours is strengthening with cooperation across the globe.

I would just say in conclusion -- and I mentioned this last time -- we are having tremendous success against this enemy. It is accelerating. We are now putting pressure on its two so-called capitals of Mosul and Raqqa -- simultaneous, relentless pressure. That will continue. We are killing their leaders. We're taking off their ability to finance and resource themselves. But this remains an unprecedented threat. The fight is not over. This will remain a multiyear effort. But we have developed a campaign that is global, and I hope I've demonstrated the overall breadth of the campaign.

I also just want to say, since we've been doing this for a couple of years, and I visit our guys in the field all the time, we've lost five Americans in this campaign. Five of our military personnel have been killed in this campaign. And it's important to keep in mind, because I saw with my own eyes the casualty collection points just outside Mosul of the Iraqis who are fighting. We are advising them to fight and retake their territory, similar to our Syrian partners. And their casualties are very high. An operation in Manbij, Syria, for example, which was really important to protect us -- Manbij is where the foreign fighters were flowing through. It's where they were planning external operations. And the Syrian Democratic Forces in that operation had over a thousand casualties.

Similar in Mosul, the Iraqi security forces that we are training, advising and enabling are fighting heroically. They are taking casualties and continuing to advance. And I think we're all very proud to work with them and grateful. And it's also just a reminder of the different mode of operation we have here -- enabling, advising local partners to take back the ground that they have lost. And I think it is significant that all the ground we have taken as a coalition, working with locals, everything we've taken back from ISIL -- that's over 60 percent in Iraq, 28 percent in Syria -- none of it ISIL has been able to retake. And that is because before we do any of this we have a tremendous effort -- sometimes months long, sometimes shorter -- to prepare the ground politically, economically, to get the stabilization resources in place to help make sure people can return to their homes, and make sure that the defeat of ISIL is a lasting one.

So it is significant that to date ISIL has not retaken any of the ground it has lost in operations we have enabled. And we're going to make sure it continues that way.

That's quite a different approach, I will just say in closing, than the Russians. The Russians have really had one counter-ISIL

mission -- they claim to be fighting ISIL -- they've had one counter-ISIL mission and that was Palmyra. And they made a big deal about that. They had a big concert and they invited members of the media to come see it. And ISIL has now retaken Palmyra. In our operations, ISIL has not retaken a speck of ground that we have taken from them. And I think it is fairly significant that the one operation the Russians touted as a counter-ISIL operation ISIL has now retaken.

We're not pleased about that. We want to wipe ISIL entirely off this map. The point of the map -- as I have explained before, everything that's in color on this map used to be controlled by ISIL. So the summer of 2014, everything there was part of the caliphate. Everything in green has been retaken, and everything in dark green is just what has been retaken in the last month. The dark red splotches in the southwest are areas that actually ISIL has gained over the last two years -- very small areas and areas that we primarily do not operate.

And I'll just say finally on the situation, of course, in Aleppo -- this was discussed briefly in the meeting this morning, and there is a very active effort going on to try to resolve this. The Security Council, of course, will be convening later today. But of course, we've said a lot what we think about the tactics the Russians, the regime are using -- tactics that are totally different than anything we do against ISIL in Mosul. We are cognizant of every single innocent life in Mosul. We're fighting an enemy that is using human shields, and we're acting with tremendous precision. And if you see what the Russians are doing with the regime in Aleppo, it could not be any different.
So the contrasts I think are quite stark.

With that, I will leave it there. And I think overall, the campaign here against ISIL has momentum. We're always looking for ways to accelerate it and we're always talking about that, and we will not stop until we destroy this enemy.

MR. EARNEST: Thanks, Brett.

Mark, do you want to start?

Q Sure. Can you say how you hand over an operation as complex as this to a new administration? And have you yet briefed any Trump transition personnel?

MR. MCGURK: It's a great question. We were just talking about this. So just in my own experience, I was here in -- I was senior director for Iraq and Afghanistan in the Bush administration. It was the first transition in wartime in 40 years. And we worked very hard with President Bush and the incoming President-elect, President Obama,

to have a very seamless transition, given the importance of a transition in wartime.

So this is similar -- a transition in wartime. It's complex. And the direction very clearly from President Obama is to make sure were doing all we can to ensure it can be a seamless transition. There, of course, will be a lot of continuity on the military side, and so we're doing all we possibly can to support that effort. I'll leave it there.

Q Have you conferred with Trump officials?

MR. MCGURK: I think there's constant transition meetings going on, particularly in the State Department. I think those meetings are ongoing now.

Q Have you yet?

MR. MCGURK: I won't talk about the individual meetings were having. Those meetings are ongoing constantly.

MR. EARNEST: Justin.

Q On a few things. First was Libya, and I know you outlined a lot of progress. The estimates have been that there were between 5,000 and 8,000 ISIL fighters there. Obviously they weren't all killed, and so there's I think a kind of outstanding question about if those estimates were high, or if not, if they've escaped in a way that they could regroup and pose a problem later. And the other question was about oil revenues. You talked about that a lot the last time we saw you. And I'm wondering if the rise in oil prices globally could help ISIL in a way that sort of counteract some of the gains that you outlined here, or if you feel like they're cut off at this point from the global oil.

MR. MCGURK: Thanks. Two very good questions. So in Libya, it's hard to get a precise estimate of how many. We think most of them were probably killed in Libya -- or in Sirte in that campaign. But they really holed up -- I mentioned this is what they do -- this is their defense strategy. They have these kind of rings of defense and then they have a little citadel in the middle where they try to hole up. And in Sirte, they did that for some months in a little final area of the city.

Our Ambassador, Peter Bodde, our Ambassador to Libya, is in discussions with Prime Minister Sarraj about the next steps in this campaign and what support the Libyans might want. And of course, we'll be discussing that with him. We want to make sure, in our view, that ISIL and extremist groups cannot have safe haven and sanctuary anywhere in Libya.

On the oil trade, we have significantly reduced their ability to generate any serious revenue from oil. Of course, though, it does continue, but it's all self-generated. I mean, they cannot get any oil out of their little self-contained entity. There is definitely trade going on between different groups -- this is a very chaotic situation, particularly in Syria -- but their ability to replenish their resources is just significantly degraded. And whenever we find where they are extracting oil we make sure that we eliminate that.

Q The concern seems to be, though, that fighters were able to escape. And you're discounting that? You think sort of the -- our allies were able to sort of fully encapsulate the city?

MR. MCGURK: We don't get into numbers. We think we eliminated quite -- the vast majority there in Sirte. But if they try to regroup, I'm certain we'll find a way to deal with that.

MR. EARNEST: Mark.

Q The information-sharing with the Turks, it's been really strained on the diplomatic level -- obviously the whole question of cooperation with the coup and the allegations and the request for the return of the fellow that they think was involved in the coup. Has that been reflected at all in the cooperation you've seen in the counter-ISIL campaign?

MR. MCGURK: Obviously it's a complex relationship. I was in Ankara about four or five days ago, had very good, very detailed meetings in Ankara about the overall situation. And the Turks have done an awful lot here over the last year, very close cooperation with us in the counter-ISIL fight, and I felt very good coming out of those meetings about the way forward.

General Dunford is in regular contact. The day before I was in Ankara he was in Incirlik meeting his counterpart, General Akar. So our communications with Turkey is extremely close. They are doing an operation now -- just south of that green splotch here, near Al-Bab -- and obviously we're looking for ways to try to help them defeat ISIL in that particularly sensitive area.

It's also a sensitive area of the country because you have a number of different forces converging. So a lot of what we do every single day is try to make sure that we deescalate any tension between non-ISIL affiliated forces that we have relationships with so everybody is focused on the same enemy. This is extremely hard.

And that's why I mentioned there's another model for doing this -- we can send in the 82nd Airborne to go in and do all this kind of stuff. We do not think that that would be a lasting, sustainable way

to do it. We think what is sustainable, particularly in something as complex as Syria, is advising, assisting, enabling. And I think the record of what we've been able to clear out proves that. But it makes it complex, because we're trying to encourage our partners that were working with on the ground, you guys need to go that way, when sometimes they want to go a different way. So this is what the daily communication and constant discussions are with the Turks and different actors on the ground.

But I was very encouraged by my meetings in Ankara last week that we have a shared way forward, and it's going to continue.

Q They're fighting the ISIL forces as much as they want to fight the Kurds?

MR. MCGURK: Well, right now they are engaged in a hostile fight against ISIL, and Turkey soldiers have taken casualties. And I think we have to extend our condolences to them. I did that when I was there. They are engaged in a fight against ISIL on the ground, definitely.

MR. EARNEST: Michelle.

Q About a week ago, there were reports in Syria the ISIS leadership or what's left of it was meeting to try to pick a al-Baghdadi successor. What do you know about that? Do you think al-Baghdadi is wounded or incapacitated in some way? And even if he were taken out of the picture, how much of an effect would that have on their strength?

MR. MCGURK: So it's a great question. I saw those reports, which we can't confirm. I would say any ISIL leaders have a pretty good succession plan because we're removing them at a pretty fast clip. Baghdadi is unique because he's the guy that rose in the Grand Mosque in Mosul and declared a caliphate, which I think I mentioned this the last time I was here -- but I travel now all around the world to countries in which their young men, and in many cases, young women, have been attracted to this movement. And when you say what is it that has attracted your young people to this movement, there's a number of different answers, but there's a common denominator -- this notion of a homeland and a caliphate.

And Baghdadi claims to have a unique -- this phony unique claim to being a caliph. This is all a total fraud, but he claims to have this unique lineage that makes him a caliph. So I definitely think that when we do eliminate Baghdadi it will make a significant difference.

I also think it is significant that he tried to be a kind of new type of terrorist leader -- giving public speeches, going to the Grand

Mosque and giving this sermon in the summer of 2014 -- and he is now in deep, deep hiding. And we have not heard from him until he issued this audiotape a couple months ago, and it was a very defensive message. It basically said, for all of the fighters in Mosul, stay and fight to the death. But all the indications we're getting is that many did not take that message well because where is Baghdadi? He is somewhere in hiding. And we also know he hides with slaves and all sorts of terrible things. This guy is one of the most despicable we've ever seen.

So we're doing all we can to find and eliminate him. As I mentioned, all of his deputies -- nearly all of his deputies have been eliminated. And it's a matter of time before we find him. I do think it will make a significant difference on ISIL as an organization, as a movement, once he's eliminated, but it will not eliminate this kind of global jihadi terrorist threat, obviously.

MR. EARNEST: Ron.

Q Given all the progress, does ISIS still have the ability to plot and orchestrate attacks against the United States and our allies from the territory that they have remaining? And will President Obama leave office with that ability apparently still intact?

And on Aleppo, you said it was discussed briefly. There are reports that there are scores of civilians being massacred by the advancing Syrian army. There are also reports of a ceasefire. Did those issues come up, and was there any response to that from the President?

MR. MCGURK: So in terms of plotting, this is what they want to do. ISIL wants to attack us, and they want to attack our partners. And they're very sophisticated -- the Paris attacks, the Brussels attacks, those were planned in Raqqa. They ran through some of these other towns I mentioned and they would deploy their operatives to carry out attacks. We think we significantly degraded their ability to do that. But they do have operatives in a number of places in which they are planning external attacks. This is something that is the primary focus of ours, to eliminate what I call that external operations network.

So the head of it was Mohammad Adnani. That's why targeting him was so significant. Most of this is also being done in Raqqa, but I think we have demonstrated these three I mentioned today that were eliminated just a few days ago were part of this very sophisticated terrorist plotting network.

So every single opportunity we get we are degrading this network, but it still exists. This is still a threat. They are trying to recruit -- not planned, sophisticated attacks -- they're trying to do

that, but they're also trying to recruit deranged individuals from all over the world to act in their name. And that is something that is very hard to stop, which is why the information-sharing and everything we're doing kind of behind the scenes as a coalition is so critical.

I can't speak to what's happening in Aleppo right now. I will just say, as I think I mentioned at the outset, this is a horrific situation. I think it demonstrates once again the tactics that the Russians are using in support of the regime are something that is truly beyond the pale, could not be any different than the types of tactics that we utilize. And I've also seen these reports of the ceasefire and a potential agreement, but I can't confirm any of that because this is all fairly late-breaking. But I understand the Security Council will be convening later today to discuss it.

MR. EARNEST: Andrew.

Q I wanted to follow up on your trip to Ankar. What did you hear from the Turks that made you so confidant, vis-à-vis what they planned in Al-Bab and with regards to what you just said?

MR. MCGURK: Well, I'd just say this. Turkey is at war against ISIL. There's no question about that. They are fighting on the ground, they are taking casualties. And ISIL is a significant threat to Turkey, and that is something that they see very clearly, and so we're working through various ways in which we can help them.

We do have disagreements, of course, in terms of some things going on in Syria, which we also have very candid discussions about. When it comes to Raqqa, we want to get ISIL out of Raqqa as soon as possible, but this will be a sequence campaign. That's the only way to do it. So we're in the isolation, kind of the strangulation phase now. And then we have to identify the force to actually move in and seize and hold the city. There are a few options for that. One of the options, of course, is working very closely with Turkey, and we are having a detailed discussion with them about this.

But the most significant thing when I was in Turkey was just their threat perception of ISIL as a significant threat to Turkey, which it is. Turkey has suffered more casualties in ISIL attacks than almost any of our other coalition partners. And so while we've had some disagreements over the years, I thought we had a pretty good shared way forward. Not to say there isn't some tension, obviously.

Q I also wanted to ask, are U.S. forces embedding with the Popular Mobilization Forces?

MR. MCGURK: Embedding with popular -- I think you're talking about a report in which there was a photograph of some training of --

so Popular Mobilization Forces are known as being primarily Shia militia forces, many of which operate outside the command and control of the Iraqi government, which is a significant problem, not only to us but also to the Iraqi government.

But under the umbrella of the Popular Mobilization Forces, there are local forces from these areas to hold the ground after operations conclude. Many of these are locals from Nineveh Province -- so Sunnis, Christians, all sorts of -- it's a very diverse province. I'll give you an example. In Anbar Province, under the umbrella of the Popular Mobilization Forces, about 15,000 local Anbari tribal fighters mobilized to fight Daesh. That is one reason why, from the four to the five, all of that is green. We cannot do that only with the Iraqi security forces. We needed the tribes to be mobilized. So those are all Sunnis from Anbar. They're being paid by the government to fight ISIL, and we're, of course, supporting them.

MR. EARNEST: Richard.

Q Could you tell us a little more about the coalition partners? Are they just as resolute as the U.S. in continuing further? And can you tell us -- the operation themselves, how -- what's the percentage of the operation being done by the U.S., and the coalition -- the percentage by the coalition partners? Besides Turkey?

MR. MCGURK: So a very good question. I've been at this from the beginning, the inception of the coalition, when we had about 15 countries, and there was always a question of what will this grow into.

In the last three weeks, we had all 68 -- ambassadors from all 68 members at the State Department, and we also held what's called kind of the small group of coalition countries, over 20 countries, in Berlin, just a couple weeks ago. And what is fairly extraordinary about this is the sense of international consensus about the need to basically destroy this enemy, and the sense of burden-sharing.

As I mentioned, the United States will not do this -- we cannot succeed in this alone. And the coalition remains extremely strong. So Secretary Carter will be seeing his counterparts in London here in a few days. And the overall cohesion of the coalition across all these multiple lines of effort -- the military gets a lot of the focus, but it is counter-finance, counter-propaganda, counter-foreign fighters, and everything kind of working together -- that we have coordinating mechanisms throughout the coalition. It is working extraordinarily well. And the international consensus behind this effort is something I think we have to continue to build upon, because it is something that's quite extraordinary.

In terms of overall effort, I mentioned there's been about -- over 17,000 airstrikes now. I think if you add them up, about 4,500 or so have been coalition airstrikes. So, definitely U.S. military forces are doing the bulk of the airstrikes. There's a reason for that -- we have the best military in the world. But the number of coalition partners operating to support that effort is quite significant.

And, of course, we couldn't do this without flying out of Incirlik Airbase, flying out of some other areas within the region. And we're obviously very grateful for that. Without the coalition, we would not be able to defeat this enemy.

MR. EARNEST: We probably have time for two more and then we're going to let Brett go.

Kevin.

Q Thanks, Josh. I just want to sort of follow up, especially as it relates to the coalition and strikes. There's been some reporting, Brett, that the U.S. needed to use the Australians to conduct strikes against some of the Paris attackers, and I wonder if you can sort of help me unpack the complications as it relates to the chain of command that the United States might have in conducting airstrikes and having to utilize coalition partners like Australia and others?

And second, I wanted to ask you about Saudi Arabia. That story has come out today and I wondered if you could sort of help unpack this idea that the U.S. is limiting military support for the Saudis because of what's been happening vis-à-vis civilian casualties in Yemen.

MR. EARNEST: I can take the Yemen one, Brett.

MR. MCGURK: So let me -- I'll just say about the -- and I defer to my DOD colleagues who work this every single day -- this has been the most precise air campaign in history. I mean, I think it will be studied in the future and people will -- the most precise air campaign in history. And all of our airstrikes go through a common structure in terms of validating the targets. And it is really moving at an incredible clip.

I can't get into the details of sometimes who does a strike and everything. What I will say is, when I mentioned today -- and this was mentioned also by Secretary Carter earlier today -- eliminating these external plotters in the streets of Raqqa, painstaking, tireless work by coalition actors, our military forces, our folks on the ground, our intelligence apparatus -- all working as one team. And it doesn't always work that well, but it is working quite, quite well.

But I just can't get into in terms of who does what. But it is the most precise air campaign in history. We're very proud of it, and that will continue.

I'll just say about Saudi Arabia -- I was in Saudi Arabia a couple weeks ago to meet with Deputy Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman. I've seen him a number of times, including also with Muhammad bin Nayef. And Saudi Arabia also is in this fight. I mean, ISIL is a fundamental threat to Saudi Arabia. If you read ISIL's propaganda, if you read what Baghdadi writes, he's obsessed with Saudi Arabia and striking in Saudi Arabia. So we are working very closely with the Saudis in a whole range of areas in order to help degrade ISIL, particularly on a lot of the counter-ideological fights. So they're very much in this as well.

And I'll let Josh address the Yemen question.

MR. EARNEST: Gardiner, I'll give you the last one.

Q John Brennan has suggested that the campaign on the ground and the campaign against ISIL globally are going in two opposite directions. He said this summer, we still have a ways to go before we're able to say that we've made some significant progress. And he warned that the trajectories for this ISIS religious state or caliphate and global violence point in opposite directions. "As the pressure mounts on ISIL," he said, "we judge that it will intensify its global terror campaign to maintain its domination of the global terrorism agenda."

You're sort of saying the opposite thing. You're saying that these two campaigns are going in exactly the same directions instead of opposite directions, and you're pointing to the three deaths recently of these external plotters as evidence of that. Tell me why there's such a difference between what you're saying and what some other intelligence people in the administration are saying. Why are you so convinced these two things are going together while other say it's sort of like squeezing a balloon -- if you squeeze it here, they're going to show up someplace else?

MR. MCGURK: I don't think it's so much of a disagreement. In fact, all of our intelligence assessments inform the way we obviously discuss this and prosecute the campaign. I said this will be a multiyear effort. Be very clear about that. The number of foreign fighters, the number of people indoctrinated into this ideology is something that will not be overcome for a number of years. And while the notion of the caliphate is what kind of led to this explosive growth of ISIL -- that is why shrinking the caliphate is so important -- but their desire to inspire attacks around the world as they lose their territory is something that we expect will probably increase.

How do they want to stay relevant? They're trying to spark and inspire attacks around the world. That's why they used to say -- Muhammad Adnani's last statement was very interesting. If you read of Muhammad Adnani, the spokesman, all of his propaganda, again, it used to be about, come to the homeland, or retain and expand the caliphate. Most of their propaganda were these sundrenched scenes of children and families and a very optimistic message, actually.

His last message before his death was very different. It actually said, we might lose all of our territory, but we'll still be around, and, in fact, if you can't come -- because you can't because it's hard to get in here now -- stay home, pick up a knife, and attack someone down the street. It was a very different message. It's a message that does not appeal to a broad segment of the population. It's a message that appeals to really deranged individuals. But they are trying to remain relevant as they lose their homeland -- what they call their homeland -- by trying to inspire these attacks.

And that is something that will continue. And that is why one thing we've done in the coalition, we talk about even as we degrade their ability to have territory in Iraq and Syria, we need to adapt as a coalition to increase our ability to share information, our hubs of sharing information, to be able to stay ahead of the threat. So that's something as a coalition I think will continue for some time.

So the military-focused coalition of taking back these cities, which we will do, will evolve into a coalition focused on the information-sharing, the patterns of interaction among capitals, among intelligence communities, among law enforcement communities. It's something we have to continue to expand upon and grow.

Q But, Brett, that's a much less optimistic, even frightening message for those of us in this part of the world, because it's suggesting that your success there only increases the dangers here, no?

MR. MCGURK: No, because what they can do inside of Iraq and Syria are these big spectacular attacks. Make no mistake, these are terrorists. It's an international terrorist organization that has the same ideology as Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda. The only difference between ISIL and al Qaeda is that ISIL said, let's do a caliphate now, whereas al Qaeda said, well, we'll do a caliphate down the road.

That's the key difference. But they aspire to do massive spectacular attacks around the world, and in order to do that, they need territory to plan and plot and resource. And so we're making sure that they are on their heels every single day, but I would never get up here and say this threat is something that is going to go away or something that we cannot remain absolutely vigilant on.

And which is why, as I mentioned, it's not just DOD and State; it's our entire government working as part of this integrated campaign plan to stay ahead of it because it's different tools. It's military, law enforcement, intel, and counter messaging. So we need to stay at it every single day and remain vigilant for a long time to come.

MR. EARNEST: Thank you, Brett. I appreciate it.

MR. MCGURK: Okay, thank you.

MR. EARNEST: Okay, we can go back to our regularly scheduled programming now. (Laughter.)

Kevin, do you want to start?

Q Sure. Josh, I did want to ask about laying the blame for Palmyra to Russia, but now that it has been retaken, or partially been retaken, what is the strategy going forward? Is the U.S. going to be involved in that operation? It would seem to be a ripe target now that you have these forces there that we know about. Or are we going to leave that to the Russians to deal with?

MR. EARNEST: Well, as Brett mentioned, this obviously is something that we're concerned about. I do think that it exposes the failed strategy, or at least calls into question the integrity of those who are describing their strategy.

Their strategy, as they stated, is to be focused on ISIL and to be focused on extremists and terrorists. But the truth is the real consequence of their strategy, which appears to be an intense focus on bombing innocent civilians into submission so that the Assad regime can enjoy some tactical gains, actually results in fueling the kind of extremism that we know extremists rely on to thrive.

It also is exhibit A when you consider this is an example of Russia taking their eye off the ball when it comes to terrorists. That they did have this one limited successful operation against Palmyra -- one that the United States was not involved in but one that we were obviously pleased, and we said so at the time, that this was territory that had been taken away from ISIL -- but the strategy that Russia has employed has caused them to take their eye off the ball, allow ISIL to make some gains, but it also continues to fuel the kind of extremism that only makes Syria a haven for terrorist organizations that plot violence not just in the region but around the world.

Q You've left that particular battle to Russia, and I guess the question now going forward, is that strategy going to change? Will the U.S. get involved in the fight for this?

MR. EARNEST: Well, I don't have any operational updates at this point, so I can't tell you sort of where this will fall in terms of any planned military operations on the part of our coalition. But it's obviously a situation that we're watching closely.

Ayesha.

Q Iran today ordered its scientists to start developing nuclear-powered marine vessels for what it said as a response to a U.S. violation of the atomic deal. So I was wondering, how much of a concern is this, this kind of maybe tit for tat, the idea that Iran is now saying that it's responding to actions taken by Congress by building these nuclear-powered vessels? Is there a concern that this is going to be an ongoing thing and that there's going to be kind of back and forth now?

MR. EARNEST: Well, I would agree with your assessment that the timing of this announcement to coincide with the President's signing of the Iran Sanctions Act is not likely a coincidence, but we've been clear even through much of the congressional debate in Congress about the Iran Sanctions Act that the President would not sign into law a piece of legislation that undermined the international agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

The extension of the Iran Sanctions Act does not undermine the international agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. And we've -- that's been our position from the beginning. We've explained that quite clearly in public and we've explained that in private to the Iranians.

At the same time, the announcement from the Iranians today does not run counter to the international agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. We continue to be able to watch closely Iran's nuclear program, starting in the uranium mills and throughout the nuclear supply chain. That is an unprecedented insight into any country's nuclear program, and allows us to verify their ongoing compliance with that program. And our expectation is that as they undertake these kinds of research-and-development efforts, that they will do so consistent with their international obligations.

And we have the ability, because of the cooperation with the Iranians under the agreement, to verify their ongoing compliance with the agreement.

Q But does this kind of -- going forward, should this be something of a warning to Congress or to the next administration that there could be repercussions for pursuing more sanctions, or anything like that?

MR. EARNEST: No, I wouldn't be particularly concerned about

that. There are a range of Iranian activities that are a source of concern to the international community and to President Obama outside the scope of the international agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. The reason that we pursued that international agreement is because Iran's ability to get access to and potentially use a nuclear weapon was the number-one concern of the United States and the international community with regard to Iran.

So we've taken that top concern off the table without firing a single shot. And this is something that even the harshest critics of the deal acknowledge has been accomplished. It didn't eliminate all of our concerns with Iran, but it did eliminate our number-one concern about Iran, and that's ultimately the point.

There are other concerns that we have about Iran's behavior that include their support for terrorist organizations and other destabilizing elements in the Middle East, like Hezbollah. We are concerned about the way that Iran continues to menace Israel, and we continue to be concerned about the Iranian regime's lack of respect for basic universal human rights. And we have a variety of ways of countering all of that activity -- some of that involves additional financial sanctions. Some of that involves close cooperation with our partners in the region.

But the number-one objective of the international agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons was to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. And that objective has been achieved. And because of our ability to monitor Iran's nuclear program, we can verify the ongoing success of that effort. And it certainly is something that makes the world a safer place. It enhances the national security of our closest ally in the Middle East, Israel. It enhances the national security of our NATO partners in -- NATO allies in Europe. And it enhances the national security of the American people, and it will be an important part of President Obama's foreign policy legacy.

Justin.

Q The Energy Department said today that it wasn't going to be turning over names of individual employees involved in the President's climate change efforts to the transition team, the Trump transition team, and said that the request left employees unsettled. I'm wondering if you can explain if that was the only reason that that was made, and why this doesn't sort of -- if it was information that the Trump transition team wanted -- violate the President's sort of edict for helping them as much as they can to smooth over the transition.

MR. EARNEST: Well, we do continue to work closely with the transition team to ensure a smooth and effective transition. And that is work that is going on across a variety of federal agencies,

including at the Department of Energy. But there were reports about what certainly could have been an attempt to target civil servants, career, federal government employees.

The kinds of people that we're talking about at the Department of Energy are scientists and lawyers and other experts who are critical to the success of the federal government's ability to make policy. And their work transcends the term of any one President. That's by design. That's to ensure the continuity of the federal government and to ensure that effective decision-making and policy planning is undertaken regardless of which political party is in charge of the Oval Office. If we had to replace the entire Department of Energy every time a new President was elected, that is certainly going to undermine the ability of those at the most senior levels to implement a coherent and effective energy policy.

Our principle -- and this is a principle that Presidents in both parties have long abided by -- is that we should observe the protections that are in place that ensure that career civil servants are evaluated based on merit and not on politics. And I'm sure that the President-elect used the same kind of criteria when choosing his new Department of Energy Secretary as well. Don't you think? (Laughter.)

Q Well, I'll let you interpret that one.

MR. EARNEST: Okay. (Laughter.)

Q But the President mentioned in his "Daily Show" interview last night that he planned to do some speeches after leaving office, and seemed to purposefully delineate those from political speeches that he might give if Donald Trump and his administration did something politically that he disagreed with. So assuming that these are paid speeches -- I mean, this is something that maybe is on your mind, as well -- I'm wondering if the President is going to be putting any sort of self-imposed restrictions on who -- you know, this was a big campaign issue in Wall Street. Education, foreign governments, that sort of thing -- if those sort of things are being set out already.

MR. EARNEST: I would anticipate that there will be significant interest in hearing from former President Obama once he's left office. So he'll have an opportunity to be choosy about which invitations he accepts. And I don't have any criteria to lay out for you at this point about how he will choose which invitations to accept, but I'm confident that there will be a high standard that he'll observe.

Kevin.

Q Thanks. Can I circle back on Yemen?

MR. EARNEST: Yes.

Q The United States' support for the Saudis, at least bringing it back, I'm understanding, because in part of the civilian casualties in Yemen. Can you give me sort of an update on why that decision was made and what that means moving forward?

MR. EARNEST: Kevin, we have long expressed some pretty significant concerns about the high rate of civilian casualties in Yemen. And many of those casualties have been as a result of operations carried out by the Saudi-led coalition in the region. Not all of them -- there have also been civilian casualties as a result of operations carried out by their adversaries, as well.

But of course, the United States is playing a role in supporting the Saudi-led coalition. And in light of the high rate of civilian casualties, there was -- the President ordered a review of the kind of assistance that the United States provides to the Saudis as they undertake this effort. That review is ongoing, but there are a couple of steps that the United States is prepared to take to change some of the assistance that we provide.

That includes refocusing our efforts to support the Saudis when it comes to enhancing their border security and their territorial integrity. The concerns that the Saudis have expressed, which is entirely legitimate, is that you have an organization that has overthrown the government of Yemen and has menaced Saudi Arabia, on a number of occasions even breaching their borders.

So Saudi Arabia's concerns about this I think are entirely legitimate. And so we are going to focus our efforts on helping the Saudis protect their border. We also are going to undertake steps to refocus our information-sharing and the responsibilities of our personnel in Saudi Arabia to be focused on this effort.

In addition, we've also decided to -- well, I think that covers it. And I think this is reflective of the fact that we have these longstanding concerns. This review has been ordered. And these are some changes that we've made, but this review is ongoing. And as this process moves forward, I wouldn't rule out additional steps that we may take to address the concerns that have been raised.

Q Just a couple more, really quickly. A number of electors, you were told yesterday, were requesting an intelligence briefing, and you said you hadn't had a chance to sort of look over that letter. Have you had a chance to look that over? And what's your reaction to that?

MR. EARNEST: I've seen some more of the published reports. Look, when it comes to the Electoral College, we're talking about some of the more esoteric aspects of the functioning of our democracy.

Q Yeah, we are.

MR. EARNEST: But it certainly is important that individuals who are entrusted with that responsibility do so with a seriousness of purpose. So at this point, I don't have a formal response to the letter to put forward.

Q But would you support that idea of having the report sent to electors prior to them casting their votes?

MR. EARNEST: Well, look, I know that some of the request was for classified information, and it's not clear that all of the electors -- and I'm sure most of them don't -- they don't have security clearances.

So this is an unusual request, maybe even unprecedented. I'm not a historian, but it's hard to imagine a scenario where a similar question arose. So we'll let you know if we have more of a response.

Q Last one. Is the White House aware of post-election intelligence that actually shows anything to do with the hackers' intent? We've talked a bit about that, because there have been widely differing assessments. I'm just wondering if the White House remains confident that the intelligence has not in fact been politicized.

MR. EARNEST: The President is certainly confident. And he insists that the intelligence that he is provided as the Commander-in-Chief by our intelligence agencies is not clouded by political politics or partisan politics. He insists that that material, that that intelligence that he is provided is not clouded by the pursuit of an agenda, a political agenda or otherwise.

The President can only make good decisions -- the Commander-in-Chief, any Commander-in-Chief can only make good decisions when they have information that is accurate, that is timely, and that is reliable. And that's what the President insists on. And that also means that the President wants to hear the unvarnished truth. He doesn't want anything shaded. He doesn't want any intelligence professional to fear retribution for presenting bad news to the President of the United States. In some ways, that's actually the basic job description of an intelligence professional who's briefing a principal, and that is to be able to give an unvarnished assessment, even if it's bad news, without fear of any retribution.

And the President has confidence that that's the kind of guidance and information that he's been provided by the intelligence community.

Q Any intelligence as to the intent of the hackers?

MR. EARNEST: I don't have any updated assessment to share at this point, but there certainly seem to be a not insignificant number of intelligence professionals who appear to be sharing their opinion with all of you on an anonymous basis. I obviously don't have the luxury of doing that, but when there is a formal assessment to share from the intelligence community, and if that's something that can be shared publicly, that's something that we'll try to do.

The President does believe that we should -- particularly when it relates to something as central to our democracy as the conduct of a national election, the President does believe that we should share as much information as possible with the public. And that is why the intelligence community, on October 7th -- more than a month before the election -- issued a statement that represented the unanimous assessment and conclusion of all 17 national security agencies that have an intelligence arm. And they concluded that Russia was engaged in malicious activity in cyberspace that was aimed at destabilizing our elections.

And we made -- the President made clear, we made clear that a proportional response to that was appropriate. But the President's first concern and the first steps that were undertaken by the U.S. government were to ensure that the equipment and systems that were used to register voters, allow voters to cast ballots and to ensure that those ballots were counted were protected. And the intelligence community has assessed -- and this is something that they've also said publicly -- that they did not observe an increase in malicious cyber activity from the Russians on Election Day that could have disrupted the casting and accurate counting of ballots.

But for a more detailed assessment about what Russia's motives are, or what else Russia may have been engaged in in the context of the election, are a series of questions that will be considered in this review that President Obama has ordered. Our expectation is that this is a review from the intelligence community that will be completed in advance of January 20th. And we're going to make public as much of that review as possible.

Michelle.

Q Will the President talk a little bit about the hacks, since he announced the review last night? And he said that it was nothing fancy; that we saw -- it's been happening, coming from Russia, seeming to put it into a bigger perspective. And he also talked about how he felt that the emails were the things that became the obsession, not the fact that this was coming from Russia, even though he just said that was really nothing new in the same breath.

But it seems like what we should be identifying there is the poor state of cybersecurity in this country. The fact that we're even sitting here talking about this being a possibility, and the strong possibility that the election could have been influenced by this, doesn't that really point to the fact that our defenses -- whether they're government systems or campaign systems -- the strength of them pales in comparison to the ability of a state actor like Russia to affect things here?

MR. EARNEST: Well, let me start by acknowledging at least one aspect of your premise that I think we can agree on, which is that cybersecurity should be, and is, a critical national security priority of the United States. And President Obama has spent a significant portion of his presidency trying to strengthen the defenses of the United States. And we've made important progress in doing so.

Some of his proposals for doing so -- increasing our investments in cybersecurity -- have unfortunately fallen on deaf ears in Congress. And you'll recall that there was a substantial increase that was included in the President's budget for cybersecurity that Republicans in Congress refused to even consider. They wouldn't even hold a hearing. This was the first time in 40 years that Republicans in the Congress wouldn't even hold a hearing on the President's budget. And there wasn't the kind of robust consideration in Congress, let alone a vote, on the substantial increase in cybersecurity resources that President Obama had identified.

So when it comes to ensuring that the U.S. government is focused on cybersecurity, that is a message that apparently has not been received by Republicans in Congress, and, yes, that makes the United States of America more vulnerable to a wide range of threats. And that is something that the President continues to be deeply concerned about.

The other thing that the President has done is ordered this review by a bipartisan Blue Ribbon Panel to help the incoming administration formulate and take additional steps to implement an enhanced cybersecurity strategy. And that's a report that the President received just last week. And that's one that we'll be passing on to the next administration, and should position them for success.

But it's going to require the Republican White House being more persuasive with Republicans in Congress to actually pay attention to this issue. Because there's been a tendency on the part of Republicans in Congress to ignore or reject every proposal that we've put forward, even when it comes to something as apolitical and central to our national security as cybersecurity.

So that all being said, I don't think anybody envisions a scenario in which the federal government of the United States steps in to assume responsibility for the cybersecurity of a national political party or of an individual political operative. I don't think there's anybody that thinks that that would be appropriate or even effective.

Is this a lesson for all of us to try to be more conscientious about our cyber hygiene? Yes. But state actors have substantial capabilities. Russia has substantial capabilities. They're not as significant as the capabilities that are wielded by the United States, but they are substantial. And establishing rules for the road -- rules of the road for effective and acceptable conduct in cyberspace is an important challenge, and one that we've made some progress on.

For example, the President last fall, a little over a year ago now, worked with the Chinese to reach an agreement about at least one norm that should be observed, which is that state actors should not be engaged in cyber-enabled theft for commercial purposes or for commercial benefit. That had been a previous activity on the part of the Chinese government that had attracted significant concerns, not just by the U.S. government but also by U.S. businesses, I think for obvious reasons. And that is one norm that we have made a lot of progress in establishing in cyberspace.

But we clearly have more work to do. But I don't think there's anybody who thinks that the answer to this situation is for the federal government of the United States to be responsible for the cybersecurity of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Q But by the same token, it seems like we're seeing that the weakness of individuals' email systems collectively, in the sense that a foreign state could come in and try or succeed in affecting an election, is almost a threat to national security, or at least a threat to the functioning of democracy in this country. So has the weakest link kind of become an individual's email account?

MR. EARNEST: No, I don't think so, because I don't think that's what the President has identified.

This is going to be a challenge for our democracy as the American people consume information in the modern age. The fact that this information that was leaked from a variety of places, including John Podesta's Gmail account, that was the source of intense media interest, primarily because of the gossip that may or may not be contained in those emails -- not because of the fact that Russia was releasing that information as a transparent effort to, at a minimum, erode confidence in our democracy.

And I think that there are obvious questions about cybersecurity that I covered in response to your first question. I think what the

President is raising is the need for careful evaluation about our public debate, about the way that these views are communicated -- or the way this news is communicated and the way that it is consumed by people all across the country. And if we lose the ability as a democracy to acknowledge generally accepted facts, basic facts, or if we lose the ability -- or at least norms are eroded, such that you have Republicans cheering for Russians to hack their political opponents.

And what's troubling about this situation is it wasn't just any old Republican who was doing that, it was the Republican nominee for President who was doing that. That's problematic. That doesn't have anything to do with cybersecurity. It has something to do very basically, though, with the kind of political debate and political discourse and democracy that we want to have.

Q And we're hearing some pushback, strong pushback today from some Democrats on the President-elect's picks for Secretary of State and Deputy Secretary of State -- ties to Russia, deals with Russia, views on sanctions, among other things. Do you have anything to add, even in a general sense, on those choices?

MR. EARNEST: I think what I would say generally is that throughout his campaign, the President-elect indicated his intent, if elected President, to pursue warmer relations with Russia. So what better way to do that than to choose somebody who has been awarded the Order of Friendship by Vladimir Putin to be your Secretary of State?

So this is not a particularly surprising or even unexpected development. I suspect that there will be many members of Congress in both parties that have some questions about that. I've previously stated the principle that President Obama believes that any President should have some latitude in assembling his team, but there is a process for members of the Senate to consider the nomination of people who will serve in the Cabinet.

And, look, Mr. Tillerson is a seasoned business executive and he's got some skills in answering tough questions in public, and I suspect he'll have to put them to use in the spring.

Chris, go ahead.

Q Thanks. It was only until President Obama signed an executive order in 2014 barring federal contractors from discriminating against federal workers that ExxonMobil adopted a policy to prohibit discrimination against their employees who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. And the shareholders of that company, prior to that annual meetings had rejected such a policy 17 consecutive times.

Given the practices of that company, does that raise concerns about, first of all, whether the President's adaption of LGBT human rights as part of foreign policy will be in jeopardy in the next administration, as well as the non-discrimination policy that he's put in place for federal contractors?

MR. EARNEST: Well, let me start by making an observation, Chris, which is that we have often talked about how disappointed we've been that at various stages Congress has not made progress on a range of issues that the President has prioritized, including ensuring that we treat LGBT Americans fairly and not discriminate against them. And we haven't seen as much legislation passed by Congress as we would like to see that would ensure that those protections are in place. So the President has turned to using the executive powers at his disposal to try to advance those policies.

And we have acknowledged at every turn that those executive actions are not a substitute for legislative action. And there's been a skepticism expressed by some, most of them Democrats, who say that, well, an executive action isn't as forceful or as broad as legislation. They're right about that of course. But you have highlighted, actually, a good example where the President taking executive action hasn't just had an impact in the government, but it's also had an impact in the private sector as well.

So I think this is just one example of how the President's judicious use of executive authority has been effective in changing minds and practices not just inside the federal government, but in the private sector as well.

More broadly, I think it's hard to tell exactly what this particular personnel announcement says about the kinds of policies that President Trump will pursue once he is in office with regard to ensuring that Americans are not discriminated against because of their sexuality. And I think, to put it generously, we've gotten some mixed signals publicly about what the President-elect's intent is. So as with so many other issues that are important, we'll have to wait and see what policy he intends to pursue.

Ellen.

Q My question is, how is the President planning on integrating the fact that -- into this security report -- the fact that Julian Assange from WikiLeaks and the former British ambassador to Uzbekistan says it wasn't Russia at all, that they met with the person that leaked this, it was an inside job, et cetera?

MR. EARNEST: Well, I have not seen reports citing the British ambassador to Uzbekistan, so I compliment you on the breadth of your reading. What I will just say is the view that Russia was actively

involved in cyber activity that was aimed at eroding public confidence in our political system is the unanimous, high-confidence conclusion of all 17 intelligence agencies in the United States. That is not a recently known fact. That is not a recently disclosed conclusion. That is a conclusion and a finding and an assessment that was released a month before the election.

So I know that the President-elect himself has raised doubts about that assessment. Apparently, the British ambassador to Uzbekistan has made common cause with the President-elect to raise those doubts. But the American people will have to judge for themselves whether they have more confidence in the ability of the United States intelligence community to unanimously reach the same conclusion on this matter, or if they trust the conclusion of the British ambassador to Uzbekistan.

Maggie.

Q Circling back, back to the Department of Energy, is this the first time that the administration has flat-out denied a request made by the Trump transition team?

MR. EARNEST: Look, I think it's an entirely legitimate question. I don't think I can get into all of the conversations that are taking place at federal agencies all across this town and all across the country to ensure a smooth and effective transition.

I can tell you that, in general, the administration has worked hard to diligently provide as much information as possible to the incoming team. And that is not the kind of work that you can do just at a moment's notice. This is a lot of work that requires months and months of planning, and this administration has planning since the beginning of the year to compile and prepare materials for the review of the incoming administration.

And obviously we envisioned a different kind of process and a different kind of transition, but we remain no less committed to ensuring that the incoming administration can hit the ground running. And that means providing extensive information to the incoming administration, and that effort will continue through Inauguration Day.

Q Since you brought it up earlier, care to elaborate on your thoughts on President-elect's pick for Energy Secretary?

MR. EARNEST: I think I've said enough about that. (Laughter.)

Andrew.

Q Thanks, Josh. I wanted to ask what the President's thoughts

are today regarding Aleppo and what the fall of the city means for his legacy?

MR. EARNEST: Listen, Andrew, as Brett alluded to, the situation in Aleppo remains deeply troubling, and the innocent loss of life there that has persisted for years at the hands of the Assad regime, enabled by the Russians and Iranians, is deplorable. And the United States has played a leading role in the international community to try to facilitate a diplomatic resolution to the situation there, at least to just try to reduce the violence and increase the consistent flow of humanitarian relief.

And I understand that at some point later today, and maybe even right now, the United Nations Security Council is meeting to consider such a proposal. Obviously, if this ends up being a proposal that will result in a reduction in the violence and an increase in the provision of humanitarian assistance, then it's something that the United States will not just enthusiastically support but we're going to be actively encouraging all parties to support it, and actively encouraging all sides to implement it effectively so that the people in Aleppo who have been suffering in unthinkable circumstances can finally get some measure of relief.

Q You talk about the Syrians, and the Russians, and the Iranians and what they've done, but a lot of the anger over what's happened in Aleppo is directed at this White House and this presidency. Do you think that's fair? Why do you think that is?

MR. EARNEST: Well, first of all, I think I'm going to refrain from criticizing people who are having an emotional reaction to the terrible violence that they have faced. And their feelings of anger and frustration I think are entirely understandable given what they've been through. And I think it would be inappropriate and maybe even immoral for me to stand here and criticize them.

What I will say is something that you've heard me say before, which is that President Obama has -- and Secretary Kerry -- have been at the leading edge of a tireless effort to try to bring that violence to an end, or at least reduce it enough that humanitarian assistance can get to those people that need it the most. And this administration and this President certainly makes no apologies for that tenacious pursuit of the kind of solution that would bring relief to the suffering people of Aleppo.

And it's not particularly surprising to me, given this long-running, bloody conflict, that the people of Aleppo are angry that this hasn't been solved more quickly.

Q Related to the rest of the world -- I mean, I guess the question is, why do you think that U.S. military action in Iraq can

bring out millions of people onto the streets around the world, but Russian and Iranian actions in Aleppo don't have the same response?

MR. EARNEST: Well, look, I think it's hard to paint with a broad brush about how the international community is responding to this situation. I think that you have seen many moral consciences aroused by the violence in this part of the world, and it shows itself in a variety of ways. Sometimes it is the photograph of a small boy in the back of an ambulance who has barely escaped a Syrian government bomb. There was a pronounced public reaction to that photograph.

These kinds of images do tug at the conscience of people around the world. It certainly tugs at the conscience of everybody in the Obama administration, and that's why the Obama administration has pursued so tirelessly the kind of diplomatic solution that would bring that violence to an end. And that's what we're seeking, and hopefully we'll be able to make some more progress on that at the U.N. Security Council today.

Yes, ma'am, I'll give you the last one.

Q Hi, Rosslyn Jordan with Al Jazeera, following up on his point on Aleppo.

MR. EARNEST: Nice to see you, Rosslyn.

Q Hi, nice to see you. The civil war in Syria has been going on for almost six years.

MR. EARNEST: It has.

Q The estimates between the U.N. and various human rights groups is that at least 400,000 to 470,000 Syrians have been killed. At least 32,000 of those people have been killed in Aleppo. Some of those people have been on social media. They've been able to go on TV today. They fear they are living the last days or hours of their lives. And they are asking: Where is the world? In particular, where is the United States?

And the question is -- and I understand that the President did not want to launch a regional war -- but if ever there were an argument -- say, human rights advocates -- to act on the responsibility to protect, Syria is that situation. Why did not the administration intervene militarily in the Syrian civil war?

MR. EARNEST: Rosslyn, the answer is simple, and it's one that we've said on a number of occasions: There's no military solution to the civil war in Syria.

Q But how can (inaudible) the job?

MR. EARNEST: But, Rosslyn, what is the military proposal that has been tabled that would effectively prevent those deaths? Is the suggestion that somehow the United States should just occupy the nation of Syria? Do we really think that's going to reduce the violence in Syria? I don't think there's any evidence to substantiate that claim, even if that's one that is being made. I haven't heard any other sort of suggestion. The only solution is a diplomatic one, and no country in the world has expended more of an effort to pursue that diplomatic solution than the United States of America.

The United States has a special responsibility because we have the most influential, strongest country in the world. And we readily accept the responsibility, certainly under President Obama's leadership -- we've readily accepted responsibility for working through the international community and using that influence to try to bring that violence to an end.

The United States is the largest bilateral donor of humanitarian assistance. We've provided substantial resources to try to meet the basic humanitarian needs of Syrians who are fleeing violence, and there has been a substantial U.S.-military commitment to organizing the international community to try to address some of the consequences of the chaos in Syria, and that is the extremism that has fueled so much terrorism in that region of the world.

But when it comes to addressing and solving the underlying violence and chaos, that is ultimately a political question and a political that's needed. It's the failed political leadership of Bashar al-Assad that has brought us to this point. And it's resolving that political problem that will be necessary to definitively end the violence and ensure that the people of Aleppo, who have been under siege for years, can get some relief.

Q But the question has to be raised: Given how often Secretary Kerry has personally lobbied the Russian government, has personally lobbied the Foreign Minister, Mr. Lavrov, as recently as this weekend, and yet, oh, this isn't the right time to have a ceasefire, the United States is simply protecting the rebels who are holed up in Aleppo -- at some point, shouldn't this administration be calling Moscow's bluff and actually forcing them to do what they have promised to do, which is to call back the Syrian military and prevent them from committing what some are now alleging are human rights violations?

MR. EARNEST: Well, as we've indicated before, the United States strongly supports and would support an effort to ensure that the Assad regime, and those who are culpable for the Assad regime's actions, accountable for the tactics that have been used inside of Syria. Far

too many innocent lives have been lost, women and children included, and we believe in some accountability. And hopefully that is something that the next administration will continue.

But when it comes to Russia, they've spent significant amounts of credibility in trying to describe to the international community their response to this situation. And as we discussed earlier, as Brett referenced, the Russians regularly like to say that they are focused on taking ISIL fighters off the battlefield in Syria, but the truth is they've taken their eye off that ball, and the one measurable gain that they've previously been able to point to against ISIL has now been rolled back.

So I think it is very difficult not just to justify, but even to explain what sort of strategy Russia is trying to pursue inside of Syria. Well, maybe I should say it this way: It's hard to reconcile their explanations about what they're doing inside of Syria with the truth.

The truth of the matter is, they're focused on propping up the Assad regime, and the Assad regime is trying to bomb civilians into submission so that he can try to get control over his country again. He's lost control over his country, he's lost legitimacy to lead. And the concern from the United States isn't just about the humanitarian situation there, it's about how that chaos has fueled extremism and given life to terrorist organizations that threaten the United States and our interests around the world.

So this is a complicated problem, but we're attacking it from every angle. And you heard from Brett the efforts that we're undertaking and that are making significant progress against ISIL. But the role for diplomacy and the leading role that the United States has played in pursuing that diplomacy to address the political situation in Syria is something that we've been pursuing for years and continues to this day.

Q Is this administration considering in its final weeks any punitive actions against Vladimir Putin's government because of its ongoing support -- militarily, financial, diplomatic -- for Bashar al-Assad's government?

MR. EARNEST: Well, there are a range of steps that we have been considering. And the truth is, because of some of Russia's actions in Ukraine, violating the territorial integrity of that country, they're already facing significant isolation that has eroded their status diplomatically and has hurt their economy.

So Russia is already suffering the consequences of the kind of international behavior that has been repudiated by the international community, but I wouldn't rule out potentially applying additional

steps because of the way that they have behaved in Syria, as well.

Thanks, everybody. We'll see you tomorrow.

END 2:33 P.M. EST

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B6

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From: Swanee Hunt [redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 31, 2016 4:38 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: My Globe op-ed on the choice we all face in final days of race

Hi there,

I'm writing to share my op-ed in the Boston Globe:

https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2016/10/28/politics-woman-world/OTGN5ggrEo2EiSa3mQsfbJ/story.html

My premise: We have a choice. We can choose to be mired in distracting anger over Trump's misogyny or we can focus on the immense opportunities that lie ahead with our first woman president.

Of course, an hour after this was posted, the Comey decision to go public with the FBI's investigation of Huma's emails broke. With impossible foresight, I would have included in my op-ed a word about not getting mired in more political email drama....

Onward to Tuesday!

Swanee

RELEASE IN FULL

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Wednesday, January 18, 2017 10:26 AM
To:	USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: NYT / SP / In South Sudan, Mass Killings, Rapes and the Limits of U.S. Diplomacy

What a person of bad faith

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Kim, Ji Yun
Sent: Wednesday, January 18, 2017 10:15 AM
To: USUN-AfricaNews-DL
Subject: NYT / SP / In South Sudan, Mass Killings, Rapes and the Limits of U.S. Diplomacy

In South Sudan, Mass Killings, Rapes and the Limits of U.S. Diplomacy
January 18, 2017
New York Times
By Somini Sengupta

Samantha Power had just boarded a United States Air Force plane on her way home from a three-country tour in Africa when the calls began to come in from Washington. South Sudan, the world's newest country, had just erupted in civil war along ethnic lines.

That was in December 2013. Ms. Power had taken over as the American ambassador to the United Nations three months earlier, and she wanted to fly immediately to Juba, the capital of South Sudan. What she would do there wasn't clear, though, and after a series of intense exchanges with Washington, it was decided she would come home.

The back-and-forth was a harbinger of the difficulties Ms. Power would face in trying to avert what the United Nations has said could become a genocide.

Today, the Obama administration's South Sudan strategy is in tatters. Tens of thousands of people have been killed, the United Nations says, and rape has been rampant.

The starkest diplomatic defeat for the United States came late last month. Ms. Power was unable to persuade the United Nations Security Council to impose an arms embargo on South Sudan and sanctions on key leaders.

"Council members who didn't support this resolution are taking a big gamble that South Sudan's leaders will not instigate a catastrophe," Ms. Power said, citing the world's failure to respond to genocide in Rwanda in 1994.

But poor timing, bad judgment and a lack of a unified strategy have hampered the administration's own efforts to avert a catastrophe, many advocates, aid workers, and former United States officials say. In turn, it has drawn attention to the limits of American influence — that too in a country whose very creation the United States supported enthusiastically, backing its independence from Sudan.

It is also a reminder of how challenging it has been for Ms. Power in particular to put into effect the idea that she is best known for: using diplomacy to prevent mass atrocities.

During her three-year tenure, Ms. Power has used her pulpit at the United Nations to denounce human rights abusers, particularly the United States' rivals. She has used her last days on the job to promote the Obama administration's diplomatic successes, including dismantling Syria's chemical weapons and imposing new sanctions on North Korea.

And on Tuesday, she used her last speech as ambassador to inveigh against what she called Russia's "aggressive and destabilizing actions," from its annexation of Crimea to its meddling in the American presidential election. It served as a warning to President-elect Donald J. Trump without ever naming him. "Russia's actions are not standing up a new world order," she said at the Atlantic Council in Washington. "They are tearing down the one that exists."

As for South Sudan, she has expressed confidence that its conflict will stay on the Trump administration's radar. That could well be wishful thinking. South Sudan did not come up once during the confirmation hearing of Mr. Trump's nominee for secretary of state, Rex W. Tillerson.

When the South Sudan conflict began, in December 2013, it seemed to catch the Obama administration by surprise. At the time Ms. Power had rushed to the theater of another grisly ethnic conflict in Central African Republic.

Several times on that trip, Ms. Power was asked what lessons she drew from her book "A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide," and what she believed the United States needed to do in the face of mass slaughter.

It seemed to loom over everything she said. At one point, jokingly, she said, "See, I knew I shouldn't have written that book."

The outbreak of fighting in South Sudan quickly cleaved along ethnic lines, between forces loyal to President Salva Kiir versus those supporting his former vice president, Riek Machar. Mr. Kiir is a member of the Dinka community, and Mr. Machar is Nuer.

At the time, many advocates familiar with the region pressed the United States to get tougher with South Sudan's leaders. John Prendergast, a former Africa expert in the Clinton administration who now runs an advocacy group called the Enough Project, said he had recommended targeted sanctions as early as January 2014. By that summer, after United Nations investigators chronicled human rights abuses "on a massive scale," Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International backed an arms embargo.

Several former American officials said the administration had misjudged the rivalry between Mr. Kiir and Mr. Machar. They also said Susan Rice, the national security adviser, had been reluctant to put too much pressure on them — and in particular to impose an arms embargo. "There are some differences in Washington," is how Princeton N. Lyman, a former American envoy to South Sudan, put it in March 2015. Some of it, he said later, stemmed from a "lingering sympathy" for the leaders they had empowered.

Asked recently about the differences within the White House, a senior administration official said only that "the U.S. position on this was based on a consensus decision within the interagency process."

By May 2015, with no peace deal in sight, the African Union asked the Security Council to impose an arms

embargo.

A peace deal was signed, only to be broken, repaired, and broken again.

In November 2015, the African Union issued a harrowing report that documented massacres, rapes and a sharply deteriorating humanitarian situation.

On the ground, things got worse. By the summer of 2016, after full-scale fighting broke out in Juba, United Nations investigators documented a spate of ethnic killings and said that government troops had been responsible for mass rapes, including of children.

Still no arms embargo. No targeted sanctions against the top leadership. Instead, Ms. Power turned her attention to rallying the Security Council to authorize a surge of 4,000 peacekeepers from neighboring countries to secure Juba.

That effort, said Kate Almquist Knopf, the director of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, only underscored a lack of political strategy. By then, she said, it should have been plain to everyone that Mr. Kiir and Mr. Machar were unlikely to honor any peace deal.

In September, on a trip to Juba, Ms. Power won a promise from South Sudan's government to allow additional peacekeepers to enter the country.

Their deployment has been delayed by bureaucratic impediments, a lack of visas and conflicting statements by ministers, according to the United Nations chief.

In November, the United Nations' special adviser for genocide, Adama Dieng, issued the starkest warning: He urged the Council to take action to stop what he regarded as steps to genocide.

By then, Ms. Power had won the rest of the Obama administration's backing to pursue sanctions and an arms embargo. Ms. Rice expressed her support on Twitter, writing, "time is past for an arms embargo & sanctions against those stoking ethnic violence in #SouthSudan."

But by that time, the African members of the Council were not keen to impose sanctions. Russia called the resolution "senseless." Even some United States allies were reluctant to support it.

Ms. Power issued grave warnings about "the human cost of imposing no cost for attacking civilians."

Her remarks echoed the dilemma at the heart of her book.

"We have all been bystanders to genocide," she wrote. "The crucial question is why."

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Thursday, September 1, 2016 9:59 AM
To: Bitar, Maher B <bitarmb@state.gov>; Soifer, Halie S <SoiferHS@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: Reuters / Exclusive: U.S., others agreed to 'secret' exemptions for Iran after nuclear deal - report

Pls be sure m sees

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Kaplan, Bo <KaplanB3@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 1, 2016 9:39 AM
To: USUN-MiddleEastNews-DL
Subject: Reuters / Exclusive: U.S., others agreed to 'secret' exemptions for Iran after nuclear deal - report

Exclusive: U.S., others agreed to 'secret' exemptions for Iran after nuclear deal – report
September 1, 2016
Reuters
Jonathan Landay

The United States and its negotiating partners agreed "in secret" to allow Iran to evade some restrictions in last year's landmark nuclear agreement in order to meet the deadline for it to start getting relief from economic sanctions, according to a report reviewed by Reuters.

The report is to be published on Thursday by the Washington-based Institute for Science and International Security, said the think tank's president David Albright, a former U.N. weapons inspector and co-author of the report. It is based on information provided by several officials of governments involved in the negotiations, who Albright declined to identify.

Reuters could not independently verify the report's assertions.

"The exemptions or loopholes are happening in secret, and it appears that they favor Iran," Albright said.

Among the exemptions were two that allowed Iran to exceed the deal's limits on how much low-enriched uranium (LEU) it can keep in its nuclear facilities, the report said. LEU can be purified into highly enriched, weapons-grade uranium.

The exemptions, the report said, were approved by the joint commission the deal created to oversee implementation of the accord. The commission is comprised of the United States and its negotiating partners -- called the P5+1 -- and Iran.

One senior "knowledgeable" official was cited by the report as saying that if the joint commission had not acted to create these exemptions, some of Iran's nuclear facilities would not have been in compliance with the deal by Jan. 16, the deadline for the beginning of the lifting of sanctions.

The U.S. administration has said that the world powers that negotiated the accord -- the United States, Russia, China, Britain, France and Germany -- made no secret arrangements.

A White House official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the joint commission and its role were "not secret." He did not address the report's assertions of exemptions.

Diplomats at the United Nations for the other P5+1 countries did not respond to Reuters' requests for comment on the report.

The report's assertions are likely to anger critics of the nuclear deal. Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump has vowed to renegotiate the agreement if he's elected, while Democrat Hillary Clinton supports the accord.

Albright said the exceptions risked setting precedents that Iran could use to seek additional waivers.

Albright served as an inspector with the U.N. International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) team that investigated former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's nuclear weapons program.

While Albright has neither endorsed nor denounced the overall agreement, he has expressed concern over what he considers potential flaws in the nuclear deal, including the expiration of key limitations on Iran's nuclear work in 10-15 years.

EXEMPTIONS ON URANIUM, "HOT CELLS"

The administration of President Barack Obama informed Congress of the exemptions on Jan. 16, said the report. Albright said the exemptions, which have not been made public, were detailed in confidential documents sent to Capitol Hill that day -- after the exemptions had already been granted.

Democratic Senator Bob Menendez, a leading critic of the Iran deal and a senior member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told Reuters in an email: "I was not aware nor did I receive any briefing (on the exemptions)."

As part of the concessions that allowed Iran to exceed uranium limits, the joint commission agreed to exempt unknown quantities of 3.5 percent LEU contained in liquid, solid and sludge wastes stored at Iranian nuclear facilities, according to the report. The agreement restricts Iran to stockpiling only 300 kg of 3.5 percent LEU.

The commission approved a second exemption for an unknown quantity of near 20 percent LEU in "lab contaminant" that was determined to be unrecoverable, the report said. The nuclear agreement requires Iran to fabricate all such LEU into research reactor fuel.

If the total amount of excess LEU Iran possesses is unknown, it is impossible to know how much weapons-grade uranium it could yield, experts said.

The draft report said the joint commission also agreed to allow Iran to keep operating 19 radiation containment chambers larger than the accord set. These so-called "hot cells" are used for handling radioactive material but can be "misused for secret, mostly small-scale plutonium separation efforts," said the report. Plutonium is another nuclear weapons fuel.

The deal allowed Iran to meet a 130-tonne limit on heavy water produced at its Arak facility by selling its excess stock on the open market. But with no buyer available, the joint commission helped Tehran meet the sanctions relief deadline by allowing it to send 50 tonnes of the material -- which can be used in nuclear weapons production -- to Oman, where it was stored under Iranian control, the report said.

The shipment to Oman of the heavy water that can be used in nuclear weapons production has already been reported. Albright's report made the new assertion that the joint committee had approved this concession.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:19 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>; Samantha [redacted] B6
Subject: RE: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

I'll sleep on January 20th.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:18 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus; Samantha
Subject: Re: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

Get some sleep!

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:16 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Samantha
Subject: RE: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

Ok. I'm going to pack up and head back to [redacted] Should be there in about 45 minutes. If you change your mind, I'll pick it up on the flipside. B6

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:15 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus; Samantha
Subject: Re: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

No need

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:14 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Samantha
Subject: RE: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

Happy to do it, just may make sense to send the one you have now and send the tracked version later, which I can start on now.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:14 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus; Samantha
Subject: Re: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

Nah ok as is

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:12 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Samantha
Subject: RE: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

I've have tracked multiple different iterations since the draft you sent Susan, so it will be challenging to show all the changes that were made since the one you sent to SER last night. If you want that, I will go in reverse and compare, but I estimate that'll take around 45 minutes at least.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:10 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus; Samantha
Subject: Re: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

Not helpful to us to add tracked?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:09 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Samantha
Subject: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

Ambassador,

Attached is the updated version of the remarks.

B5

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Soifer, Halie S <SoiferHS@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 12:04 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>; Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>; Sison, Michele J <SisonMJ@state.gov>; Coleman, Isobel <ColemanI@state.gov>; Norman, Cherith <NormanC@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL <USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Re: small group follow-up

Quick thoughts for your Kissinger call:

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 11:54 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Aguirre, Sergio
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL; Sison, Michele J; Coleman, Isobel; Norman, Cherith; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: Re: small group follow-up

I defer to Sergio but heard Tues.

B5

Also - on flight (taking off!) on way to NY. Coming straight to mission so see you soon.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 11:52 AM
To: Soifer, Halie S; Aguirre, Sergio
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL; Sison, Michele J; Coleman, Isobel; Norman, Cherith; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: RE: small group follow-up

I thought guterres was tomorrow. I already wrote to susan

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 11:47 AM
To: Aguirre, Sergio; Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL; Sison, Michele J; Coleman, Isobel; Norman, Cherith; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: Re: small group follow-up

[redacted] B5

. Looks like he postponed the Guterres call to next week.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Aguirre, Sergio
Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 10:48 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Soifer, Halie S
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL; Sison, Michele J; Coleman, Isobel; Norman, Cherith; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: RE: small group follow-up

yep

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 10:45 AM
To: Soifer, Halie S
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL; Sison, Michele J; Coleman, Isobel; Norman, Cherith; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: RE: small group follow-up

Can you set up a call with kissinger? Sergio can you drop by

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 10:43 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL; Sison, Michele J; Coleman, Isobel; Norman, Cherith
Subject: small group follow-up

Ambassador,

To follow-up on our conversation in small group, Senators Graham and Cruz have announced will introduce legislation "soon" that would cut all U.S. funding to the UN until the UNSC repeals UNSCR 2334. There is currently an article in Haaretz that makes it sound very likely.

B5

See you soon in NY.

Halie

We currently withhold for the following three:

- Division for Palestinian Rights
- Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People
- Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories

The amount of funds that the United States withholds annually is about $750,000 (which represents 25 percent of the total budget for these entities).

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Finer, Jonathan J <FinerJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 11:38 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

B5

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 11:26 AM
To: Malley, Robert; Haines, Avril ; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Alzayat, Wa'el N; Finer, Jonathan J
Subject: FW: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

B6

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: OpsSubscriptions
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 11:13 AM
Subject: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

News Tickers

January 05, 2017 1113 EST

Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

ANKARA (Reuters) - Turkish officials are questioning the presence of U.S.-led coalition forces at an air base in southern Turkey over what they see as insufficient support for Turkey's military operations against Islamic State in Syria.

President Tayyip Erdogan's spokesman Ibrahim Kalin said on Thursday there was no need for a "rushed evaluation" on Incirlik, a base used by NATO allies to launch air strikes against Islamic State in neighbouring Syria.

But he questioned why the United States, which backs some Kurdish groups against Islamic State in northern Syria, had not lent support to NATO ally Turkey's latest push to take the Syrian town of al-Bab back from the jihadists.

"In the past month-and-a-half, we have seen and understood that this support was not given at the sufficient level and effectiveness," Kalin told broadcaster Kanal 24, calling for full support and saying "excuses are not acceptable".

Turkey has been angered by U.S. policy in Syria, not least by Washington's support for Kurdish militia fighters it sees as an extension of PKK militants fighting within Turkey, a group the U.S. and Ankara

both classify as a terrorist organisation.

Kalin said he hoped the administration of U.S. President-elect Donald Trump, who will be sworn in on Jan. 20, would be more attuned to Turkey's sensitivities.

Deputy Prime Minister Veysi Kaynak said the U.S.-led coalition had only infrequently used Incirlik to join operations by the Turkish military and the Syrian rebels it backs, raising questions among the Turkish population.

"Their presence (in Incirlik) is being questioned by our people and nation, and this issue is on the agenda of the government," he told broadcaster A Haber.

Turkey launched an incursion into Syria in August to push Islamic State from its borders and prevent Kurdish militia fighters taking ground in their wake.

A U.S. military spokesman said on Wednesday that Washington was in talks with Ankara about future support around al-Bab, the current focus of the Turkish operations.

You have received this email based on your State Department Operations Center subscriptions.
Click here to customize your subscriptions.

From:	Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent:	Friday, November 11, 2016 2:22 PM
To:	Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: naturalization ceremony rmks

RELEASE IN FULL

I'll reach out to Kurtis now and inquire. Will come back to you.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 2:16 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Re: naturalization ceremony rmks

Add kurtis here? Not sure the best way to make the approach but happy to try

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 1:00 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: naturalization ceremony rmks

Great. Want me to knock out a draft note to Charlie or Bill?
As of Sept 25, 2016 – Owens was still the exec. editor of 60 minutes.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 12:53 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Re: naturalization ceremony rmks

I will look when I'm back. Thanks so much. Need to move out on 60 mins idea to seek maximum amplif.
I can write Charlie or bill Owens if he's still there

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 12:46 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: naturalization ceremony rmks

Ambassador:

Have a draft of your remarks for the naturalization ceremony on Tuesday, which has proven a useful (and somewhat cathartic) vessel to channel some post-Trump messages about who we are.
If you have some time before your meeting this afternoon, can bring by a copy for a first look. Otherwise, will have it in your book for the weekend.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUNAG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Monday, November 14, 2016 12:35 PM
To: Finer, Jonathan J <FinerJJ@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Reuters / Trump looking at fast ways to quit global climate deal: source

[redacted] B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Finer, Jonathan J
Sent: Monday, November 14, 2016 12:17 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: Reuters / Trump looking at fast ways to quit global climate deal: source

[redacted] And the below is just one of many grim things we have to look forward to. B6

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Monday, November 14, 2016 12:16 PM
To: Finer, Jonathan J
Subject: FW: Reuters / Trump looking at fast ways to quit global climate deal: source

Lord help us all. How are you holding up?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Green, Mackenzie L
Sent: Monday, November 14, 2016 12:15 PM
To: USUN-Breakingnews
Subject: Reuters / Trump looking at fast ways to quit global climate deal: source

Trump looking at fast ways to quit global climate deal: source
November 14, 2016
Reuters
By Valerie Volcovici and Alister Doyle

President-elect Donald Trump is seeking quick ways to withdraw the United States from a global accord to combat climate change, a source on his transition team said, defying broad global backing for the plan to cut greenhouse gas emissions.

Since Trump's election victory on Tuesday, governments ranging from China to small island states have reaffirmed support for the 2015 Paris agreement during climate talks involving 200 nations set to run until Friday in Marrakesh, Morocco.

Trump has called global warming a hoax and has promised to quit the Paris Agreement, which was strongly supported by outgoing Democratic U.S. President Barack Obama.

Trump's advisers are considering ways to bypass a theoretical four-year procedure for leaving the accord, according to the source, who works on Trump's transition team for international energy and climate policy.

"It was reckless for the Paris agreement to enter into force before the election" on Tuesday, the source told Reuters, speaking on condition of anonymity.

The Paris accord won enough backing for entry into force on Nov. 4, four days before the election.

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry said on Sunday in New Zealand the Obama administration would do everything it could to implement the Paris accord before Trump takes office.

The accord says in its Article 28 that any country wanting to pull out after signing on has to wait four years. In theory, the earliest date for withdrawal would be Nov. 4, 2020, around the time of the next U.S. presidential election.

The source said the future Trump administration is weighing alternatives to accelerate the pull-out: sending a letter withdrawing from the 1992 international framework accord that is the parent treaty of the Paris Agreement; voiding U.S. involvement in both in a year's time; or issuing a presidential order simply deleting the U.S. signature from the Paris accord.

Withdrawing from the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) would be controversial, partly because it was signed by former Republican President George H.W. Bush in 1992 and approved by the U.S. Senate. The action also could antagonize many other countries.

The UNFCCC sets a goal of avoiding "dangerous" man-made damage to the climate to avert more heat waves, downpours, floods, extinctions of animals and plants and rising sea levels.

The 2015 Paris Agreement is much more explicit, seeking to phase out net greenhouse gas emissions by the second half of the century and limit global warming to "well below" 2 degrees Celsius (3.6 Fahrenheit) above pre-industrial times.

Many nations have expressed hope that the United States will stay. But the host of the current round of climate negotiations, Morocco, said the pact that seeks to phase out greenhouse gases in the second half of the century was strong enough to survive a pullout.

One party deciding to withdraw would not call the agreement into question, Foreign Minister Salaheddine Mezouar told a news conference.

In Beijing on Monday, the foreign ministry spokesman, Geng Shuang, told a regular news briefing that China would like to continue working with all countries, including the United States, in the global fight against climate change.

The agreement was reached by almost 200 nations in December and, as of Saturday, has been formally ratified by 109 representing 76 percent of greenhouse gas emissions, including the United States with 18 percent.

The accord seeks to limit rising temperatures that have been linked to increasing economic damage from desertification, extinctions of animals and plants, heat waves, floods and rising sea levels.

U.N. climate chief Patricia Espinosa declined to comment on the Trump source's remarks to Reuters.

"The Paris Agreement carries an enormous amount of weight and credibility," Espinosa told a news conference.

She said the United Nations hoped for a strong and constructive relationship with Trump.

The Trump source said the president-elect's transition team is aware of the likely international backlash but said Republicans in the U.S. Congress have given ample warning that a Republican administration would take action to reverse course.

"The Republican Party on multiple occasions has sent signals to the international community signaling that it doesn't agree with the pact. We've gone out of our way to give notice," the source said.

The source blamed Obama for joining up by an executive order, without getting approval from the U.S. Senate.

"There wouldn't be this diplomatic fallout on the broader international agenda if Obama hadn't rushed the adoption," the source said.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, August 24, 2016 7:52 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>; Green, Mackenzie L <GreenML@state.gov>
Cc: Razzouk, Kelly L <RazzoukKL@state.gov>; Thomas-Jensen, Colin <Thomas-JensenC@state.gov>; USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia <USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia@state.gov>
Subject: RE: For Approval: Tweet on Philippines extrajudicial killings

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, August 24, 2016 7:26 PM
To: Green, Mackenzie L
Cc: Razzouk, Kelly L; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Thomas-Jensen, Colin; USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia
Subject: Re: For Approval: Tweet on Philippines extrajudicial killings

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Green, Mackenzie L
Sent: Wednesday, August 24, 2016 6:28 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Razzouk, Kelly L; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Thomas-Jensen, Colin; USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia
Subject: For Approval: Tweet on Philippines extrajudicial killings

Ambassador,

[redacted] B5

EAP, Nik, and Colin have cleared on the language below. We can post when you are able to review/approve; since it's late in the day, we can post tomorrow as well.

@AmbassadorPower

Alarming reports of extrajudicial killings in #Philippines; law enforcement & government must respect human rights & rule of law [*1 character left*]

Philippines war on drugs: '1,900 killed' amid crackdown
August 23, 2016
BBC News

The head of the Philippines police has said more than 1,900 people have been killed during a crackdown on illegal drugs in the past seven weeks. Ronald dela Rosa was speaking at a senate hearing into the sharp rise in deaths since Rodrigo Duterte became president. He said police operations had killed about 750 people, but the other deaths were still being investigated.

Mr Duterte won the presidency with his hard-line policy to eradicate drugs.

He has previously urged citizens to shoot and kill drug dealers who resisted arrest, and reiterated that the killings of drug suspects were lawful if the police acted in self-defence. He also threatened to "separate" from the UN after it called his war on drugs a crime under international law.

The US has said it is "deeply concerned" by the increase in drug-related killings.

The senate joint inquiry is being conducted by Senator Leila de Lima, who has called on authorities to explain the "unprecedented" rise in deaths. It is also hearing from the relatives of some of those killed.

The family members of some of those killed are getting the chance to tell their stories to the inquiry. Wearing dark glasses and draped in a shawl, Harra Besorio said policemen raided her home in Pasay City without a warrant and stripped her infant daughter to check for drugs. Her partner, who she admitted was a small-time dealer, and his father were beaten up in front of them, she told the inquiry on Monday. They were later taken to a police station and allegedly killed there.

The two police officers accused claimed an attempt had been made to grab one of their guns, but this was refuted by the Philippines Commission on Human Rights. It said they had been badly injured and were shot three times. The two officers have been charged with murder.

Mr dela Rosa told the inquiry on Tuesday that a total of 1,916 deaths had been recorded during the crackdown, 756 of which were during police operations. He said the number had gone up even since he gave evidence on Monday, where he gave a figure of 1,800 deaths. "Not all deaths under investigations are drug-related," he told news agency Reuters, saying about 40 killings were due to robbery or personal disputes.

However, Mr dela Rosa said there was no declared policy to kill drug users and pushers, saying police were "not butchers". The police director-general also added that about 300 police officers were suspected to be involved in the drugs trade, warning that they would be charged and removed from their positions if found guilty.

Nearly 700,000 drug users and peddlers have turned themselves in since the launch of the campaign, Mr dela Rosa said. He also said that there was a decrease in overall crime, though the number of homicides and murders had increased. On Monday, Mr dela Rosa told the inquiry: "I admit many are dying but our campaign, now, we have the momentum."

Senator Frank Drilon told Reuters that the number of deaths was "alarming" and had "a chilling effect".

In his previous role as mayor of Davao, Mr Duterte built a reputation for blunt speaking and supporting the extrajudicial killings of suspected criminals. Crime rates in Davao decreased while he was in office, though human rights groups estimate than more than 1,000 people were killed with no legal process.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B5

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, June 27, 2016 8:46 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: Maltz, Gideon <MaltzG@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject: response to feedback on speech

Ambassador:

Sorry for doing a poor job of noting responses to some of your individual comments and edits on the speech. I haven't lost the thread on them, but should have noted rationale and answers in the text, and informed you of facts we're tracking down.
A few of notes, which I'll also place in comments in the next draft:

B5

I'll note these and other relevant follow-ups in the next draft, and will do a better job of this in the future.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B5

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 10:51 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Time sens eu speech

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Monday, June 06, 2016 10:45 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Sokoler, Jennifer; Klein, Christopher C; Farid, Omar; Myers, Nathaniel; Sokoler, Jennifer; Gee, Stephen J; Pressman, David; Kris, Robert E; Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Time sens eu speech

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 10:42 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Sokoler, Jennifer; Klein, Christopher C; Farid, Omar; Myers, Nathaniel; Sokoler, Jennifer; Gee, Stephen J; Pressman, David; Kris, Robert E; Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: RE: Time sens eu speech

[redacted] B5

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Monday, June 06, 2016 10:23 AM
To: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; Sokoler, Jennifer
Subject: Time sens eu speech

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:33 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Trump line /

RELEASE IN PART B5

B5

Ok.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:33 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Trump line

B5

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:30 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: RE: Trump line

B5

B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:30 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Trump line /

B5

So ridic. Ok

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:20 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio

Subject: RE: Trump line / [redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 5:58 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Trump line / [redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:32 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Trump line / [redacted] B5

RELEASE IN PART B5

I can get you a draft by then. Just taking another pass through now.
Separately, would you like to see the intro from the Yale students who will introduce you?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:31 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Trump line / [redacted] B5

Meaning, fine to cut. How's the rest coming? Was going to head back to printer house which is around 20 mins away.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: PowerS@state.gov
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:29 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Trump line / [redacted] B5

So ridic. Ok

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:20 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: RE: Trump line / [redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 5:58 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Trump line /

B5

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Owens, Bill [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, November 15, 2016 12:16 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: RE: me again!

Ambassador!

Please excuse the late reply. These past few weeks have been pretty swell around here too (First covering Mosul, then the election).

You are right that we did a Syrian refugee piece, and perhaps you have had a moment to see it. We were pleased and tried our best to untangle a lot of the rhetoric from the facts. If you'd like, at least on the Buffalo story, I'd be happy to mention it to Pelley and his team at the Evening News.

I can only imagine the conversations you are having with some of our allies now and I would love a chance to brainstorm. There are a few things happening that include some travel for me over the next week and a half, so maybe after Thanksgiving?

It was nice to see your name pop up in my mailbox Samantha and I really appreciate how hard you, your staff and the administration have been working on so many impossible issues all at once.

All my best,
Bill

Bill Owens
Executive Editor, 60 Minutes
[redacted] B6

From: Power, Samantha [mailto:PowerS@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 5:43 PM
To: Owens, Bill [redacted] B6
Subject: me again!

Dear Bill:

Hope this email out of the blue finds you well. We're still reeling here, as you might imagine. My mission to the UN is a cabinet agency under President Obama, but will be demoted to something very different in January. Notwithstanding this, Tuesday's results have given us an even greater sense of urgency to get our work done in our last few months. 70 good long days left!

I'm writing, unusually, because you came to my mind as I was talking to my team about a trip that I have decided to take to the wild, exotic, remote locale of Buffalo, New York! After all the hot spots we have visited, I am heading to Buffalo because it is one of the leading cities in resettling refugees – taking in more than 10,000 refugees since 2002, nearly half of them from Burma. And as part of the Administration's push to admit more

Syrian refugees, Buffalo has taken 262 Syrians this year alone, and, thought the city fits so many of the rust belt characteristics – a declining population, shrinking industry – I gather refugees have provided a big boost to the city, starting new business, revitalizing depressed commercial and residential areas. In essence, the trip will show why the effort to take in more refugees should persist beyond the Obama Administration, particularly in the midst of the largest refugee crisis since WWII. I'll likely be joined by Senator Gillibrand.

Now I gather you just did a segment, which I will watch this weekend, on the tough transition refugees generally face, but as we were thinking of the trip, I was also being informed that the job of US Ambassador to the UN will be downgraded by the Trump Administration to non-Cabinet level (typical of Republican administrations, but we have never had so many of our core interests embedded here). Indeed it is quite likely that my job – not a priority -- will remain vacant for some time at a time of the world's most pressing crises. I am also being inundated daily by questions from other countries about what the election means for eg the future of NATO, our non pro efforts against Kim Jung Un, the Iran deal, Paris climate agt etc.. I am not sure exactly what I am pitching, but it seems there could be something interesting to show through USUN about this waning multilateral moment for the US, how we use these last two months, what we are trying to defend, how we are consoling other countries, etc.. I wondered if there could be something in this that would hit home for viewers, even or perhaps especially those who support Trump. Let me know if you would like to brainstorm.

Warmly,
Samantha

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 5:36 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Subject: RE: FOR REVIEW: 60 minutes pitch

Press had also suggested CBS Sunday Morning as an alternative option.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 5:34 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Cooper, Kurtis A
Subject: RE: FOR REVIEW: 60 minutes pitch

Yes unfortunately. Will see what else I can put up w

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 5:22 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Cooper, Kurtis A
Subject: RE: FOR REVIEW: 60 minutes pitch

Yes, Oct. 16: http://www.cbsnews.com/news/60-minutes-syrian-refugee-crisis-immigration/

But this focused specifically on the Syrian refugee crisis and the obstacles faced in getting to the US (with special focus on issues like screening). We think they might still be interested because this shows the flipside of the story – how refugees are actually contributing to American communities, with the hook being the foreshadowing that Trump and company may try to undo all of this. Do you think it's redundant?

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 5:17 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus

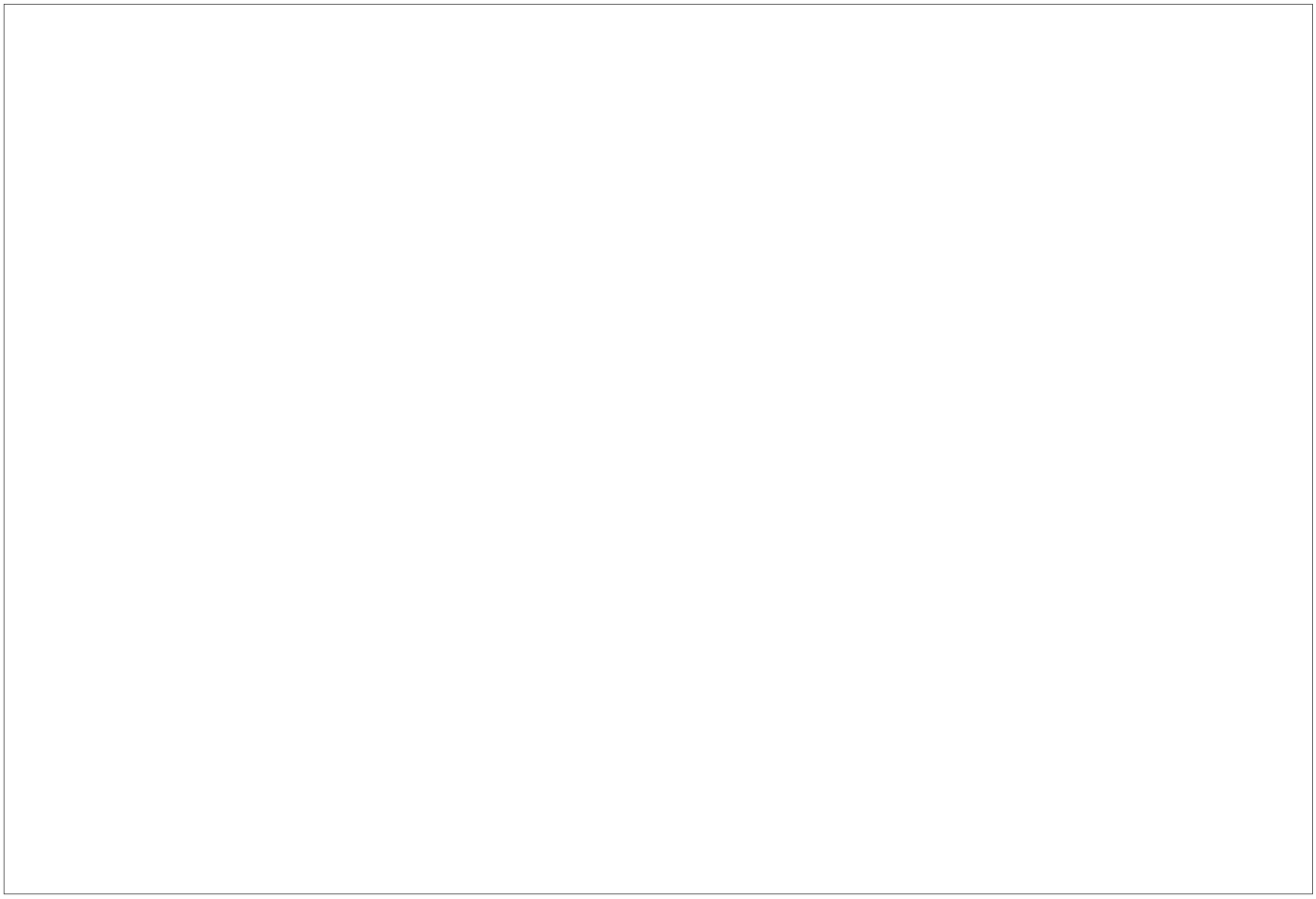
Cc: Cooper, Kurtis A
Subject: RE: FOR REVIEW: 60 minutes pitch

Oops was just editing and see they just did a refugee piece?

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 4:54 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Cooper, Kurtis A
Subject: FOR REVIEW: 60 minutes pitch

Ambassador:
Draft pitch email to Bill Owens below. Spoke to Kurtis, who thought it was best if it came directly from you. Unfortunately, we do not have the email in your contacts. Do you have it in your personal email contacts? If not, we'll seek his email through other ways.



B5

Warmly,
Samantha

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUNAG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Friday, November 11, 2016 5:43 PM
To:	USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL <USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL@state.gov>; Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>; Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: me again!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Pls add to contacts and master list

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 5:43 PM
To:
Subject: me again!

B6

Dear Bill:

Hope this email out of the blue finds you well. We're still reeling here, as you might imagine. My mission to the UN is a cabinet agency under President Obama, but will be demoted to something very different in January. Notwithstanding this, Tuesday's results have given us an even greater sense of urgency to get our work done in our last few months. 70 good long days left!

I'm writing, unusually, because you came to my mind as I was talking to my team about a trip that I have decided to take to the wild, exotic, remote locale of Buffalo, New York! After all the hot spots we have visited, I am heading to Buffalo because it is one of the leading cities in resettling refugees – taking in more than 10,000 refugees since 2002, nearly half of them from Burma. And as part of the Administration's push to admit more Syrian refugees, Buffalo has taken 262 Syrians this year alone, and, thought the city fits so many of the rust belt characteristics – a declining population, shrinking industry – I gather refugees have provided a big boost to the city, starting new business, revitalizing depressed commercial and residential areas. In essence, the trip will show why the effort to take in more refugees should persist beyond the Obama Administration, particularly in the midst of the largest refugee crisis since WWII. I'll likely be joined by Senator Gillibrand.

Now I gather you just did a segment, which I will watch this weekend, on the tough transition refugees generally face, but as we were thinking of the trip, I was also being informed that the job of US Ambassador to the UN will be downgraded by the Trump Administration to non-Cabinet level (typical of Republican administrations, but we have never had so many of our core interests embedded here). Indeed it is quite likely that my job – not a priority -- will remain vacant for some time at a time of the world's most pressing crises. I am also being inundated daily by questions from other countries about what the election means for eg the future of NATO, our non pro efforts against Kim Jung Un, the Iran deal, Paris climate agt etc.. I am not sure exactly what I am pitching, but it seems there could be something interesting to show through USUN about this waning multilateral moment for the US, how we use these last two months, what we are trying to defend, how we are consoling other countries, etc.. I wondered if there could be something in this that would hit home for viewers,

even or perhaps especially those who support Trump. Let me know if you would like to brainstorm.

Warmly,
Samantha

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 8:49 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Nits part 2

Copy. Working on it.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 8:00 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus; Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Re: Nits part 2

Tks. As you see fit. I'd like to get a draft around this morning to trusted friends for comment and then try to lock it by this afternoon

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 12:16 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Re: Nits part 2

Just coming back online. Can run through all of these and enter tomorrow by morning, if that's ok by you. When would you like to see next draft?

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 10:00 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Re: Nits part 2

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 9:37 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Re: Nits part 2

While I've sent to jake and Maggie, I can replace what I've sent w a new clean draft if u have a chance to deal w any of these. If not, just let me know

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 9:34 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Nits part 2

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 9:23 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Nits so far

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 8:41 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: i have to run out

No worries, I'll keep ahold of version control. I won't send another tracked one so as not to mix things up, but I've just sent you a clean version for Jake et. al.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 8:39 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus

Subject: Re: i have to run out

OK. I printed the previous alas

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 8:37 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: i have to run out

Yep. Will send you a completely clean version of the latest.

I will also send you one that has tracked note bubbles in a separate email.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 8:37 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus; Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: i have to run out

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 7:58 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: i have to run out

Yes. Should I print now?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 7:52 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: i have to run out

To Cameroon reception. Do you have another draft I sld take w me?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Wednesday, November 23, 2016 7:01 PM
To:	Lee, David Y <LeeDY@state.gov>
Cc:	Coleman, Isobel <ColemanI@state.gov>; DeBartolo, David M <DeBartoloDM@state.gov>; Elizabeth, Marien <ElizabethM@state.gov>; Fulton, Billie A <FultonB@state.gov>; Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>; Maltz, Gideon <MaltzG@state.gov>; Simonoff, Mark A <SimonoffMA@state.gov>; Townley, Stephen G <TownleySG@state.gov>; Bitar, Maher B <bitarmb@state.gov>; DiCarlo, Diana <DiCarloD@state.gov>; Pearlstein, Michael D <PearlsteinMD@state.gov>; Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>; Degory, John A <DegoryJA@state.gov>; Klein, Christopher C <KleinCC@state.gov>; Wagner, William <WagnerW@state.gov>; Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>; Wexler, Rebecca <WexlerR@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: DPRK: UNSCR stories breaking in Japan and Thailand

Bummer. I spoke w koro and didn't know what he was talking abt so this explains it

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Lee, David Y
Sent: Wednesday, November 23, 2016 6:39 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Coleman, Isobel; DeBartolo, David M; Elizabeth, Marien; Fulton, Billie A; Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon; Simonoff, Mark A; Townley, Stephen G; Bitar, Maher B; DiCarlo, Diana; Pearlstein, Michael D; Cooper, Kurtis A; Degory, John A; Klein, Christopher C; Wagner, William; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Wexler, Rebecca
Subject: DPRK: UNSCR stories breaking in Japan and Thailand

Ambassador Power,

The Japanese and Thai press just broke stories on the current status of the UNSCR reporting that we are in P5 and will most likely go to the full Council next week. The Japanese headline (below is a rough translation the Japanese Mission shared) states that the U.S. and China reached agreement to potentially strengthen the coal export ban and the article cites S and D statements about the need to reduce DPRK coal exports. The Thai article written by AFP exposes the holdup with Russia in P5 and has Rycroft purportedly saying the UNSCR will go to the full Council next week.

B5

Thank you,

David

http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/asia/1142733/us-china-agree-on-tougher-un-sanctions-against-north-korea

US, China agree on tougher UN sanctions against North Korea
23 Nov 2016 at 23:45
WRITER: AFP

UNITED NATIONS (UNITED STATES) - The United States and China have agreed on a new raft of tougher UN sanctions against North Korea in response to Pyongyang's fifth and biggest nuclear test, a Security Council diplomat said Wednesday.

Although Russia has expressed reservations about the draft resolution, they should not stand in the way of a Security Council vote on the new package of punitive measures as early as next week, the diplomat said.

The key provision of the proposed new sanctions would be a cap on North Korea's coal exports to China, Pyongyang's main trading partner and ally, that could deprive the communist hermit state of tens of millions of dollars in revenue.

"The key thing is that China and the US have gotten to a position where they can agree on," the diplomat said on condition of anonymity.

"The Russians are trying to hold it up, the Chinese are comfortable with it in terms of the content," he added.

The diplomat described the proposed resolution as a "very meaty" document that would close loopholes from the measure the council adopted in March, the toughest sanctions yet imposed on North Korea.

They would target coal exports, allowed under the previous measure for "livelihood purposes" if the revenue does not go toward financing Pyongyang's nuclear or ballistic missile programs.
Chinese coal imports from North Korea have surged in recent months amid fears that the funds are helping bankroll Pyongyang's military programs prohibited under UN resolutions.

New names of officials and entities linked to North Korea's ballistic and nuclear programs would be added to the UN sanctions blacklist, which provides for a global travel ban and an assets freeze.

"It is high time for the Security Council to come together to tighten up the sanctions regime against DPRK, to impose additional measures," British Ambassador Matthew Rycroft said.
The new measures would be introduced next week, he added.

- Number one security threat –

China and the United States have spent three months negotiating the latest measures, which would be the sixth set of UN sanctions imposed on North Korea since its first nuclear test in 2006. President Barack Obama reportedly told his successor Donald Trump that confronting the nuclear threat from North Korea represents the top US national security priority. The breakthrough on the new sanctions followed a meeting between Obama and Chinese President Xi Jinping over the weekend during which the US president pressed for tougher measures against Pyongyang. North Korea carried out its fifth and biggest nuclear test on September 9, claiming it had made major strides in its efforts to fit a miniaturized warhead on a rocket that could reach the United States. The reclusive regime has carried out more than 20 missile tests this year, one of which reached Japanese-

controlled waters after a launch in August.

http://mainichi.jp/articles/20161124/k00/00m/030/121000c

Mainichi Shimbun: US-China reach basic agreement on DPRK resolution; Could strengthen coal import restriction

US and China reached general agreement on the new draft resolution of the Security Council in response to the DPRK's 5th nuclear test. The resolution is expected to include strengthening of DPRK coal import restriction. The resolution is currently being discussed among P5 countries, and it is expected that the resolution will be distributed to all the 15 council members within next week, and that the consultation to adopt the sixth sanction resolution will start, according to the SC related source.

The Security Council adopted the most stringent sanction resolution on March 2nd this year, including measures on mandatory inspection of all cargo in and out of DPRK, banning the export of aircraft and rocket fuel to DPRK, and DPRK coal import restriction. However, DPRK continued their launches of ballistic missiles even after the adoption and conducted the fifth nuclear test on September 9th. The US has been consulting with China, who is the biggest trade partner of DPRK, toward the "new sanction."

There is a loophole in the March sanction resolution, where DPRK could export coal and steel so long as the revenue is not utilized for nuclear and missile development. Secretary Kerry provided a general direction of the new resolution where they will address this issue of the humanitarian aspect of not wanting to create negative impact on the DPRK people's livelihood having been taken advantage of. Deputy Secretary Blinken also mentioned on the 29th of last month that the coal export from China to DPRK amounted to 1 billion dollar per year last year, and was asking for cooperation from China.

David Y. Lee
Political Adviser (DPRK & CT) | Sanctions & Counterterrorism Unit | U.S. Mission to the United Nations | U.S. Department of State
o. (212) 415.4065 (*call first before mobile*) [redacted] (*cannot answer while in office*) | e. LeeDY@state.gov

B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Thursday, November 10, 2016 3:52 PM
To:	Dinger, Larry M <DingerLM2@state.gov>; Sison, Michele J <SisonMJ@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: PGA Congrats letter to Pres Elect Trump

Thanks Larry!

RELEASE IN FULL

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Dinger, Larry M
Sent: Thursday, November 10, 2016 12:55 PM
To: Sison, Michele J; Power, Samantha
Subject: PGA Congrats letter to Pres Elect Trump

Peter Thomson was briefly at the reception last evening. He informed me that he has written a congratulatory letter to President-Elect Trump and would like USUN help to forward it ASAP. I told Peter that USUN can certainly facilitate that. He may shoot it to me, or he may aim elsewhere. I have seen the instructions for handling such letters.

Larry

Amb. Larry M. Dinger
EAP Senior Advisor, USUN

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Finer, Jonathan J <FinerJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, May 19, 2016 12:40 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Re: How much grief

RELEASE IN PART B5

Wow. Just woke up (Brussels) and saw that too...

From: FinerJJ@state.gov
Sent: Thursday, May 19, 2016 6:33 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: How much grief

B5

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, May 19, 2016 6:27 AM
To: Finer, Jonathan J
Subject: Re: How much grief

Just heard abt egyptair. Ugh - ignore my previous. So sad

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, May 18, 2016 10:20 PM
To: Finer, Jonathan J
Subject: How much grief

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

B6

From: Pete Kelbrick [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, December 15, 2016 1:23 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Shame?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Dear Ms Power,

I am writing to you regarding your recent use of the word 'shame' which you enunciated with all the sincerity of a professional politician, whose sole duty it is to mime the words of your incredibly hypocritical (and thankfully, soon to be out of office) boss, Mr Obama, a man with much blood on his own hands.

You aimed your apparently impassioned words at the Russian (and, presumably the Iranian) governments, whom you blame for the carnage currently being wrought in the Syrian city of Aleppo.

I find your words rich in irony, especially when one examines the atrocities committed both by and on behalf of your own government, not least in Yemen, where a largely unreported human tragedy is even now taking place.

Do I need to remind you that your own government is currently supporting fanatical Muslim terrorists (including elements of the White Helmets) who shield themselves behind women and children whilst attempting to topple (and doubtless slaughter) a legitimate leader and his entire government? While you are supporting these bloodthirsty criminals, posing as 'rebels', the Russian army and the Syrian army are doing what needs to be done in order to remove or kill the invading hordes of Islamic fanatics who are determined to turn the free world (including your own great country) into a caliphate, where no quarter will be given to any person who fails to bow down to Islam.

I hope, though doubt that you will, at some point in the future, look into a mirror and feel some shame yourself due to your own support for the policy of illegal 'regime change', because while you are doing your best to defeat the efforts of the Russian and Syrian governments' attempt destroy Islamic terrorism, you are enabling these terrorists to plan and perpetrate further horrific attacks on decent, ordinary people all around the world.

I can only hope that President-elect Trump will be true to his word and will indeed seek to form a more peaceful, friendly and mutually beneficial political and trading relationship with Russia whilst refraining from interfering with and destabilizing sovereign governments around the world.

Yours sincerely,

Pete Kelbrick.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Wednesday, November 2, 2016 11:53 PM
To:	USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject:	Fw: Release James Dak
Attach:	Release James Dak.pdf

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Miyong Kuon [redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, November 2, 2016 11:48 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Release James Dak

RELEASE IN FULL

Sudan People's Liberation Movement

SPLM-IO MISSION TO UNITED NATIONS

NEW YORK

November 2, 2016

Mr. Ban Ki-moon
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, NY 10017

Subject: Release SPLM-IO Spokesman, James Gatdet Dak

Your Excellency,

I am writing with an utmost degree of urgency as the SPLM-IO official spokesman, James Gatdet Dak, has been arrested by Kenyan authorities in Nairobi. He is now facing deportation to South Sudan. Dak was arrested at his residence at 4:00pm local time on November 2nd, 2016. I am appealing to your esteem office to urgently abort the deportation case of James Gatdet Dak and accord him with an asylum in a country in which he will be safe to reside.

Furthermore, South Sudanese opposition members are all in danger in Kenya and face similar fate. The case of Spokesman James Gatdet has sparked a wide anger in South Sudan especially in the areas populated by the SPLM-IO supporters. This can inadvertently put in danger Kenyan NGOs workers in SPLM-IO areas in South Sudan.

Regardless of the circumstances that prompted the warrant arrest by Kenyan authority, I condemn the government of Kenya for allowing such an unwelcome move. Under the United Nations Charter, every individual is accorded with freedom of expression and freedom of association in any country.

This move taken by Kenyan authority is unprecedented. Kenya is a member of the United Nations, to take this unpopular move threatening to hand over an opposition's spokesman under the supervision of a government that killed its own people, is unacceptable. It is a position that should be condemned by the world leaders, regional leaders, and the international community at the highest echelon.

In addition, I welcome your calls for an investigation into alleged serious violations of human rights in South Sudan as recent as in July when the Presidential bodyguards raped and killed innocent civilians. The government of the Republic of South Sudan cannot be trusted. The regime is known for violating human rights laws and committing numerous human rights abuses. Finally, if no measures are taken, Kenyan authority is ready to deport James Dak and will put him under the supervision of a government that does not recognize the human rights.

Your Excellency, I call on the you, the international community, and those who stand for the protection of human rights to speak up and demand protection and justice for James Gatdet and for all the South Sudanese who are deprived of their rights.

Sincerely yours,

Miyong G. Kuon
SPLM-IO Representative
United Nations

CC:
Barack Obama, US President
Antonio Gutierrez, In-coming UNSG
Hillary Clinton, US Presidential Candidate
Donald Trump , US Presidential Candidate
President Robert Mugabe
AU Chairman
European Union
Judy Mariga, Confederation Council Foundation For Africa
South Sudanese Diaspora Leaders

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 7:59 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>; Soifer, Halie S <SoiferHS@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Russia

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 7:57 PM
To: Power, Samantha; Soifer, Halie S
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Re: Russia

[redacted] B5

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 7:51 PM
To: Soifer, Halie S
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Re: Russia

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 7:49 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: RE: Russia

[redacted] B5

Official - SBU
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 7:48 PM
To: Soifer, Halie S
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL

Subject: RE: Russia

[redacted] B5

Official - SBU
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 6:35 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Russia

TO: [redacted] B6

Speaker Ryan - [redacted] B5

AS DELIVERED January 17, 2017

Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, on "Russia: The Threat, the International Order, and the Way Forward," January 17, 2017

Thank you so much. Thank you. I have had the privilege of serving in the Obama Administration for eight years: first in the White House and for the last three and a half years as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. I have never had a more meaningful job. And now I have just three days left.

This is my last major speech as a member of this Administration. And much as I would have liked to use it to urge young people to go into public service or to make the pragmatic case for strengthening the United Nations, I feel that the circumstances require me to focus on a much more immediate subject, a major threat facing our great nation: Russia.

Before getting to the core threat posed by Russia, I want to stress from the bottom of my heart that some of the most rewarding and impactful work I have done at the United Nations has come in the times when my Russian counterpart and I have been able to cooperate. Back in 2013, together we negotiated a resolution to get the most dangerous chemical weapons out of Syria. Russia, as you all recall, was a key pillar in imposing sanctions on Iran for its illicit nuclear program – sanctions that were essential in bringing Iran to the table, so that we could forge an agreement that cut off Iran's pathways to a nuclear bomb. And Russia worked really constructively with the rest of the Security Council to select the best candidate for a new UN Secretary-General, a leader with tremendous experience and vision.

While people tend to look to the Cold War as the paradigm for understanding the nature of U.S.-Russia relations, the reality is that for pivotal parts of our shared history, U.S. and Russian interests have frequently aligned. We fought together in both of the 20th century's world wars. Indeed, had it not been for the colossal sacrifices made by the Soviet Union in World War II, in which they lost more than 20 million people – many times more than any other nation, friend or foe – the war would have dragged on for much longer, millions more Americans and people of other allied countries would have lost their lives, and fascism might well have prevailed in large parts of the world, not to mention that the post-World War II order may never have been built. Russia's immense contribution in that war is part of their proud history of standing up to imperialist powers, from the Mongols in the 16th century to Napoleon in

the 19th century. In addition, many of the challenges that Russia faces today, from violent extremism and China's territorial expansionist aims, to national industries and jobs that have been rendered obsolete by globalization, are ones we also face here in the United States. So – let me say from the outset – it is very much in our interest to try to solve problems with Russia. Dialogue between us is absolutely imperative.

Having said that, anyone who has seen my debates in the UN Security Council with Russia knows that I and my government have long had serious concerns about the Russian government's aggressive and destabilizing actions. The argument I want to make today goes beyond any particular action Russia has taken to its broader strategy and what that means for the security of the United States and the American people.

Today, I will set out how the Russian government under President Putin is taking steps that are weakening the rules-based order that we have benefitted from for seven decades. Our values, our security, our prosperity, and our very way of life are tied to this order. And we – and by "we," I mean the United States and our closest partners – must come together to prevent Russia from succeeding in weakening that order. This means better understanding and educating our public about how Russia is challenging this order. This means reaffirming our commitment to the rules and institutions that have long undergirded this order, as well as developing new tools to counter the tactics that Russia is using to undermine it. And this means addressing the vulnerabilities within our democracy that Russia's attacks have exposed and have exacerbated. To do this, we cannot let Russia divide us. If we confront this threat together, we will adapt and strengthen the order on which our interests depend.

Now, terms like "international order" can seem quite abstract. So let me be very concrete about what is threatened by Russia's actions. The order enshrined in the UN Charter and other key international agreements in the aftermath of the Second World War was built on the understanding that all of our nations would be more secure if we bound ourselves to a set of rules. These included the rules that the borders between sovereign states should be respected; that, even in times of war, some weapons and some tactics should never be used; that while forms of government might vary from one nation to another, certain human rights were inalienable and necessary to check state power; and that the nations that break these rules should be held accountable.

Now, as we all know, a lot has changed in the seven decades since that order was created. When the United Nations was founded, there were just 51 Member States, a fraction of today's 193; some great contemporary powers were not yet independent nations; and many countries that did exist did not have a say, much less an equal voice, in developing its rules. In addition, some of the threats that we face today, such as violent terrorist groups and cyber-attacks, would have been unimaginable to the architects of that system. So there are many reasons why the rules-based order conceived in 1945 is not perfectly tailored to the challenges that we as an international community face in 2017. And it is reasonable to think that we need to update those rules with more voices at the table, some of which we will not agree with. Yet, evolve as the system may, the vast majority of countries today recognize that we all benefit from having rules of the road that constrain certain kinds of behavior to enhance our shared security, rules that must not be rewritten by force.

Now, I also acknowledge that there are times when actions the United States takes in the interest of defending our security and that of our allies can be seen by other nations as offensive moves that threaten their security, and we need to be alert to this, which is why dialogue is so very important. And some may argue – not unreasonably – that our government has not always lived up to the rules that we invoke. As President Obama made clear when he entered office, while the United States strives to lead by example, there are still times when we have fallen short. Yet, under President Obama's leadership, we have shown our commitment to investing in and abiding by the rules-based international order. The

same cannot be said for the Russian government today.

For years, we have seen Russia take one aggressive and destabilizing action after another. We saw it in March 2014, not long after mass peaceful protests in Ukraine brought to power a government that favored closer ties with Europe, when Russia dispatched its soldiers to the Ukrainian peninsula of Crimea. The "little green men," as they came to be called, for Russia denied any ties to any of them, rammed through a referendum at the barrel of a gun, which Mr. Putin then used to justify his sham attempted annexation of Crimea.

We saw it months later in eastern Ukraine, where Russia armed, trained, and fought alongside separatists. Again Russia denied any role in the conflict it manufactured, again flouting the international obligation to respect the territorial integrity of its neighbor.

We saw it also in Russia's support for Bashar al-Assad's brutal war in Syria – support it maintained even as the Assad regime blocked food and medicine from reaching civilians in opposition-held areas, civilians who were so desperate that they had resorted to eating leaves, even as photographs emerged of countless prisoners who had been tortured to death in Assad's prisons, their bodies tagged with serial numbers, even as the Assad regime repeatedly used chemical weapons to kill its own people.

We saw it in 2015, when Russia went further by joining the assault on the Syrian people, deploying its own troops and planes in a campaign that hit hospitals, schools, and the brave Syrian first responders who were trying to dig innocent civilians out of the rubble. And with each transgression, not only were more innocent civilians killed, maimed, starved, and uprooted, but the rules that make all of our nations more secure – including Russia – those rules were eroded.

We saw it in Russia's effort to undercut the credibility of international institutions like the United Nations. For example, in an emergency UN Security Council meeting last month, then-Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon told the Member States that the Assad regime forces and Iranian militia were reportedly disappearing men as those forces took parts of eastern Aleppo. In response, the representative of Russia, which was providing air cover for the offensive, not only claimed that Russian investigations had uncovered "not a single report of ill treatment or violation of international humanitarian law against civilians of eastern Aleppo," but also accused the Secretary-General of basing his information on fake news. Minutes later, Syria's representative to the UN echoed Russia's line, holding up as proof what he claimed was a photograph of a Syrian government soldier helping an elderly woman. The only problem was that the photo was taken six months earlier, in June 2016, in Fallujah, Iraq.

In this same period, we also saw Russia's systematic efforts to sow doubt and division in democracies and to drive a wedge between the United States and our closest allies. Russia has done this by supporting illiberal parties, like France's National Front, which has a xenophobic, anti-Muslim platform. When the National Front was having trouble raising funds for its 2014 campaign, a Russian bank with ties to the Kremlin stepped in to loan the party more than $11 million. While that may not seem like a very large amount compared to the budgets of U.S. national campaigns, it was roughly a third of what the party was aiming to raise, and the National Front made significant gains in that election. With national elections coming up in France this year, the National Front has said that it is looking again to Russian financing for help. Little surprise that the party's leader has repeatedly attempted to legitimize Russia's attempted land-grab of Crimea.

Russia has also used hacking to sow distrust in the democratic processes of some of our closest allies and undermine the policies of their governments. Consider the case of Germany. According to German intelligence agencies, groups linked to the Russian government carried out a massive May 2015 attack targeting the German parliament, energy companies, telecoms, and even universities. And just last

month, Germany's domestic intelligence agency reported an alarming spike in what it called "aggressive and increased cyber spying and cyber operations that could potentially endanger German government officials, members of Parliament, and employees of democratic parties." The agency attributed this to Russian hackers. The head of Germany's foreign intelligence service said the perpetrators' aim is "delegitimizing the democratic process."

In other instances, Russia's interference in democratically elected governments has been far more direct. Late last year, officials in Montenegro said that they uncovered a plot to violently disrupt the country's elections, topple the government, install a new administration loyal to Moscow, and perhaps even assassinate the prime minister. Montenegro's prime minister had been pushing for the country to join NATO, a move that Russia openly opposed. The plotters reportedly told investigators that they had been funded and equipped by Russian officials, who had also helped plan the attack.

It is in this context that one must view the Russian government's latest efforts to interfere in America's democracy. As our intelligence community found and as you are now familiar, we know that the Russian government sought to interfere in our presidential election with the goals of undermining public faith in the U.S. democratic process, denigrating one candidate, and helping the other candidate. Our intelligence agencies assess that the campaign was ordered by President Putin and implemented by a combination of Russian government agencies, state-funded media, third-party intermediaries, and government-paid trolls. We know that, in addition to hacking the Democratic National Committee and senior Democratic Party officials, Russia also hacked U.S. think tanks and lobbying groups. And we know that Russia hacked elements of multiple state and local electoral boards, although our intelligence community's assessment is that Russia did not compromise vote tallies. But think for just a moment about what that means: Russia not only tried to influence our election but to access the very systems by which we vote.

At first glance, these interventions by Russia in different parts of the world can appear unrelated. That is because the common thread running through each of them cannot be found in anything that Russia is for. The common thread can be found only in what Russia is against – not in the rules that it follows but in the rules that it breaks. Russia's actions are not standing up a new world order. They are tearing down the one that exists. And this is what we are fighting against. Having defeated the forces of fascism and communism, we now confront the forces of authoritarianism and nihilism.

There are multiple theories as to why the Russian government would undermine a system that it played a crucial role in helping build and that has fostered unparalleled advances in human liberty and development. Perhaps, as some speculate, it is to distract the Russian people from the rampant corruption that has consumed so much of the wealth produced by the nation's oil and gas, preventing it from benefitting average citizens. Perhaps it is because our rules-based order rests on principles, such as accountability and the rule of law, that are at odds with Russia's style of governing. Perhaps it is to regain a sense of its past glory or to get back at the countries that it blames for the breakup of the Soviet Union, which President Putin has called the "greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century."

It is not my aim here to theorize about which, if any, of these motives lie behind the Russian government's actions, which not only threaten our democracy but the entire order upon which our security and our prosperity depends. It is instead to ask: what are we going to do to address this threat?

First, we must continue to work in a bipartisan fashion to determine the full extent of Russia's interference in our recent elections, identify the vulnerabilities of our democratic system, and come up with targeted recommendations for preventing future attacks. The congressional hearings initiated last week, the bipartisan inquiry announced on January 13th by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, the Joint Analysis Report on Russian Malicious Cyber Activity and Harassment, and the Joint

Intelligence Report prepared at the request of President Obama are all important steps toward achieving these crucial objectives.

The purpose of such efforts is not to challenge the outcome of any races in our recent election. The purpose is to identify the gaps in our defenses that Russia exploited, as well as other gaps that may not have been seized upon in this attack but that Russia or others could take advantage of in the future. And the purpose is to determine the steps needed to close such gaps and strengthen the resilience of our system because it would be deeply naïve and deeply negligent to think that those who have discovered vulnerabilities in our system would not try to exploit them again and again – and not just Russia but all of the governments and non-state actors who see undermining our democracy as a way of advancing their interests. Indeed, it already has happened repeatedly. As we know, there were also hacks in our presidential elections in 2008 and in 2012.

That these efforts be bipartisan is absolutely essential. Allowing politics to get in the way of determining the full extent of Russia's meddling and how best to protect our democracy would undermine our core national security interests. It is healthy for our parties in our political system to debate issues such as how to expand our middle class or what role our nation should play in the wider world. What is not healthy is for a party or its leaders to cast doubt on a unanimous, well-documented assessment of our intelligence community that a foreign government is seeking to harm our country.

Second, we have to do a better job of informing our citizens about the seriousness of the threat the Russian government poses. Here too, our unity is crucial. When we send conflicting messages about a threat Russia poses, it sends a mixed message to the American people. A recent poll found that 37 percent of Republicans hold a favorable view of President Putin, up from just 10 percent in July 2014. That is an alarmingly high proportion for a leader that has had journalists, human rights activists, and opposition politicians murdered, for one who has ridiculed our constitutional safeguards, and tried to tip the scales in our elections. I know that some have said that this focus on Russia that we are bringing is simply the party that lost the recent presidential election being "sore losers," but it should worry every American that a foreign government interfered in our democratic process. It's not about the leader we choose – it's about who gets to choose – who gets to choose our leader. That privilege should belong only to Americans.

We must also forcefully reject the false equivalency between the work that the U.S. government and the Russian government are doing in other countries. There is a world of difference between supporting free and fair elections, and investing in independent institutions that advance human rights, accountability, and transparency, as we do; and, on the other hand, trying to sow distrust in democratic processes, misinform citizens, and swing elections toward illiberal parties, as Russia is doing.

Third, we must reassure our allies that we have their backs, and we must ensure that Russia pays a price for breaking the rules.

That means maintaining our robust support for NATO and making clear our nation's steadfast commitment to treat an attack on any NATO member as an attack on us all. We expect all of our NATO allies to do their part in keeping the Alliance strong, which includes meeting the pledge made in 2014 to spend at least two percent of their GDP on defense – a commitment that we in the Obama Administration have pushed relentlessly for them to fulfill. We also need to increase cooperation and intelligence sharing to deter, detect, and defend against the next generation of hacks and cyber threats, particularly as France, Germany, and the Netherlands look forward to national elections this year.

That also means maintaining the sanctions placed on Russia, including those imposed by President Obama in response to Russia's meddling in our election. Now, some have argued that the most effective

way to get Russia to start playing by the rules that undergird the international order is actually by easing sanctions. If only we reduce the pressure, they claim, Russia will stop lashing out against the international order. But they have it backwards: easing punitive measures on the Russian government when they haven't changed their behavior will only embolden Russia, sending the message that the best way to gain international acceptance of its destabilizing actions is simply to wait us out. And that will not only encourage more dangerous actions by Russia, but also by other rule-breakers like Iran and North Korea, which are constantly testing how far they can move the line without triggering a response.

Similarly flawed is the argument that the United States should put recent transgressions aside and announce another reset with Russia. Yes, the Obama Administration tried this approach in our first term. But 2017 is not 2009. In 2009, Dimitri Medvedev was president of Russia, and we were able to find common ground on issues such as counterterrorism, arms control, and the war in Afghanistan. More important, in 2009, Russia was not occupying Crimea, fueling an ongoing conflict in eastern Ukraine, and bombing hospitals and first responders in Syria. Nor, most importantly, had Russia interfered directly in the U.S. election.

Yet it would be a mistake to think that all we need to do to defend ourselves and our allies against the threat Russia poses is to rely on the same tools we have been using; that if we just close the gaps in our defenses, inform our public, maintain or even ratchet up sanctions, shore up NATO, we do all that, it would be a mistake to believe that we will be able to protect the rules-based order. We have to do more, because Russia has an edge in one respect. It turns out is easier to break institutions down than to build them up. It is easier to sow skepticism than to earn people's trust. Making up fake news – ask the reporters here today – is a lot easier than reporting the facts required for real news. Put simply, in international affairs in 2017, it is often easier to be bad than good.

Let me give just one example. On September 16th, 2016, as you might remember, a humanitarian convoy of the Arab Red Crescent was bombed in the Syrian city of Urem al-Kubra, killing at least 10 civilians, and destroying 18 trucks filled with food and medicine intended for desperate Syrian civilians. Because the strikes were carried out in a region where only the Assad regime and its Russian allies were flying, the attack was widely reported as likely being carried out by the regime or Russian forces. Yet rather than accept any responsibility, rather than even try to get to the bottom of what had happened, the Russian government did what it always does in the face of atrocities with which it is associated: deny and lie.

Russia's Ministry of Defense initially said no airstrikes had been carried out in the area by Russian or Syrian planes, and that its expert analysis of video footage of the strike showed that the aid convoy had been destroyed by a fire. Then President Putin's press secretary said that terrorists had been firing rockets nearby, suggesting they were the ones who had struck the convoy. Then Russia claimed that a U.S. drone had been detected above the convoy just minutes before it was struck, contradicting its initial assessment that the convoy had not been hit from the air. Two days. Three stories. All false.

Yet Russia's willingness to lie turned reporting on the attack into an "on the one hand, on the other hand" story, even in respected outlets like the New York Times, the BBC, and CNN. And Russian government-controlled networks like RT played a critical role in this effort, rapidly disseminating those lies while questioning the accounts of witnesses. As RT's own editor once said, "Not having our own foreign broadcasting is the same as not having a Ministry of Defense. When there is no war, it looks like we don't need it. However, when there is a war, it is critical." In other words, lying is a strategic asset. It didn't matter whether Russia's accounts were accurate or even consistent; all that matters was that Russia injected enough counterclaims into the news cycle to call into question who was responsible. By the time the UN issued a report on the incident more than three months later, concluding that the convoy had been struck by an airstrike that could only have been carried out by the Assad regime or Russia, the

finding and Russia's cover-up received almost no attention. Deny and lie.

At times, it can start to feel that the only way to outmaneuver an adversary unbounded by the truth is to beat them at their own game. But that would be deeply misguided. If we try to meet the Russian government in its upside-down land – where right is left and black is white – we will have helped them achieve their goal, which is creating a world where all truth is relative, and where trust in the integrity of our democratic system is lost.

We don't need to gin up our own propaganda networks, bankroll our own army of trolls, and inundate social media platforms with even more fake news targeting our adversaries. We have to fight misinformation with information. Fiction with facts. But documenting and spreading facts, just like manufacturing fake news, takes resources. A report by the UK parliament found that the Russian government spent between $600 million and $1 billion a year on propaganda arms like RT. So we need to be spending at least as much – and arguably much more – on training and equipping independent reporters, protecting journalists who are under attack, and finding ways to get around the censors and firewalls that repressive governments use to block their citizens from getting access to critical voices.

This brings me to the fourth and final way to address the threat Russia poses to the rules-based international order: we must continue to seek ways to engage directly with the Russian people and, coming back to where I started, with the Russian government.

It can be easy to forget that virtually all the tactics the Russian government is using to undermine democracy abroad are ones that they fine-tuned at home, on the Russian people, to devastating effect. After all, when Russian soldiers are killed fighting in a conflict in eastern Ukraine that their government denies it has any role in, it is Russian mothers, widows, and orphans who are denied the benefits and recognition they deserve as the family members of slain soldiers. The mafias that the Russian government uses to sow corruption abroad profit most off the backs of the Russian people. And it is Russian journalists and human rights defenders who have been harassed, beaten, and even killed for uncovering their government's abuses.

So we must be careful to distinguish between the Russian government and the Russian people. We cannot let America's relationship with a nation of more than 140 million people – people who have made remarkable contributions to the world, who have a proud, rich history and culture, and whom we fervently wish to see prosper – be defined solely by the nefarious actions of a tiny subset in their government. And yet we have less contact with ordinary Russians today than at any time in decades. This is no accident; in the past few years, the Russian government has closed 28 U.S. government-funded "American Corners," which offered free libraries, language training, and events about American culture to Russian citizens, and has shuttered the American Center in Moscow, which hosted more than 50,000 Russian visitors per year. It has also expelled U.S. government-supported and independent non-profits, such as the National Endowment for Democracy and the Open Society Foundation, which had spent decades fostering civil society and the rule of law in Russia. As the Kremlin closes off these outlets for reaching the Russian people, we must find others to take their place.

We also cannot give up engaging with the Russian government. We should do this in part because collaborating on issues of shared interest will allow us to show, not just tell, what we know to be true – that our nations have a lot more to gain by working to build up a system of shared rules and principles than tear it down; and, in part, because by working together, we may be able to rebuild the respect and the trust needed to tackle unprecedented global threats that we face today – many of which cannot be solved without one another's help.

Let me conclude. In 1796, our nation's first President, George Washington, used his farewell address to

issue a stark warning to the American people about the danger of foreign governments trying to interfere in our democracy. He told his audience: "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

More than 220 years later, Washington's warning feels strikingly relevant. For if anything, the vulnerabilities that Washington saw, in his words, "to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils" – those are his words – those have only multiplied with modern technology. And unlike in 1796, it is no longer enough for us simply to protect our own democracy against foreign interference; we also have to protect the integrity of the entire rules-based international order, on whose foundations our security and our prosperity rest.

Yet while so much has changed since Washington issued his warning, the essence of the threat has not. It goes to the creation of America itself – a nation born out of a simple, yet revolutionary idea: that it was the American people, ordinary citizens – and not a government, domestic or foreign – who should enjoy the rights to shape our nation's path. That is a right that we have had to fight to defend throughout our history. And while in recent decades we may have felt confident that no power would dare try to take that right away from us, we have again been reminded that they will try.

Just as the threat is fundamentally unchanged since Washington's time, so is our most effective way to confront it. And that is by renewing the faith of the American people in our democracy. Our democracy's vitality has long depended on sustaining the belief among our citizens that a government by and for the people is the best way to keep ourselves and our loved ones safe, to preserve the freedoms we value most, and to expand our opportunities. It is not that we have a perfect system, but a perfectible system – one that the American people always have the power to improve, to renew, to make our own. That faith is the engine that has powered our republic since its creation, and it is the reason other nations still look to America as a model.

And it is precisely that faith that the Russian government's interference is intended to shake. The Kremlin's aim is to convince our people that the system is rigged; that all facts are relative; that ordinary people who try to improve their communities and their country are wasting their time. In the place of faith, they offer cynicism. In the place of engagement, indifference.
But the truth is that the Russian government's efforts to cast doubt on the integrity of our democracy would not have been so effective if some of those doubts had not already been felt by many Americans, by citizens who are asking whether our system still offers a way to fix the everyday problems they face, and whether our society still gives them reason to hope that they can improve their lives for the better. In this way – and we need to reckon with this – the attack has cast a light on a growing sense of divisiveness, distrust, and disillusionment.

But we know here in America not only what we are against, we know what we are for. So just as we are clear-eyed about the threat that Russia poses from the outside, and unified in confronting it, we must also dedicate ourselves to restoring citizens' faith in our democracy on the inside, which always has been the source of America's strength, and always will be our best defense against any foreign power that tries to do us harm.

I thank you.

###

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUNAG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Wednesday, October 12, 2016 10:39 AM
To:	Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

RELEASE IN PART
B6

The line!

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Wednesday, October 12, 2016 10:25 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: FW: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

ROK govt officials quoting you in meetings with Amb. King. See below.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Allen, Booyeon L
Sent: Tuesday, October 11, 2016 7:52 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus; Black, Joshua J. EOP/NSC [redacted] Cooper, Kurtis A; Wexler, Rebecca; Koilparampil, Megan S.
Cc: Sagurton Jr, Edwin C
Subject: FW: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

B6

ROK government officials studied Amb Power's remarks and are now quoting her in meetings. The exchange below from Amb Robert King's meeting with MOFA Director General for International Organizations.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Choi, Sung W
Sent: Wednesday, October 12, 2016 8:50 AM
To: Allen, Booyeon L
Subject: RE: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations,

at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

This is the line that that IO DG Lee Jang-keun quoted and said was brilliant:

"This is a government that would rather grow its weapons programs than grow its own children."

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Allen, Booyeon L
Sent: Wednesday, October 12, 2016 8:46 AM
To: Choi, Sung W
Subject: FW: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Monday, October 10, 2016 9:57 AM
To: Allen, Booyeon L
Subject: Fw: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

From: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, October 10, 2016 7:41 AM
To: Turnbull, Daniel
Subject: FW: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: USUN, PRESS
Sent: Sunday, October 09, 2016 6:21 PM
Subject: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

United States Mission to the United Nations
Office of Press and Public Diplomacy
799 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
(212) 415-4050
http://www.usun.state.gov

AS DELIVERED October 9, 2016

Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

AMBASSADOR POWER: Good afternoon, everybody. Thank you for being here. As you may know, I just came from my meeting with the prime minister of the Republic of Korea. I had the chance to underscore the critical importance of the alliance between the United States and the Republic of Korea for the security of both countries, and as a foundation for peace and security throughout the region. I was also able to share some impressions from my visits today at the DMZ and to the Hanawon resettlement center. This was my first visit to the DMZ. It is one thing to read about or to see pictures of the DMZ, as so many of us have. It is another thing entirely to go right up to the line dividing what was once a single nation, and to see with your own eyes the stark contrast between freedom and repression, openness and isolation. Being there also brings into sharp focus the proximity of the threat that people here feel every time the DPRK carries out another nuclear test or yet another illicit ballistic missile launch.

We saw this dangerous behavior most recently exactly one month ago today, on September 9, when the DPRK conducted its second nuclear weapons test of the year; a year in which it also carried out an unprecedented number of ballistic missile launches. Following this most recent test, as you all know, the United States and our allies renewed our efforts at the UN Security Council to raise the cost on the DPRK for pursuing this dangerous course.

To be clear, this is why I have traveled to the region at this time. To consult directly with our close partners in the Republic of Korea and Japan on how we can effectively change the calculus of the DPRK regime. A major part of that is shaping a new UN Security Council resolution that will seek to impose new sanctions and tighten enforcement of those sanctions already in place.

While I am here meeting with senior officials in the government of the Republic of Korea, U.S. experts in New York – technical experts – are working in lockstep with our counterparts to find new ways to make it harder for the DPRK to obtain the materials and the hard currency that they have used to fuel the illicit nuclear weapons program.

While Security Council resolutions are one tool in our tool box, and a very important instrument of pressure, we are committed to using all the tools in our toolkit to address this serious threat including the diplomatic pressure that we are mobilizing around the world to convince other nations to isolate the regime. You see the impact of this diplomatic pressure in the growing number of governments expelling DPRK officials – officials who have abused their diplomatic privileges to advance the regime's weapons program. Our tools also include the deterrence offered by the U.S. military, which I saw firsthand today at the DMZ in the American soldiers stationed side by side with ROK soldiers.

The message that we bring to the government and to the people of the Republic of Korea is clear: While

the United States may be further away geographically from the Republic of Korea than you are, we take the threat that the DPRK poses just as seriously. We understand that this is not only a threat to the United States and the Republic of Korea, but to the very foundation of our international order, and we are determined to stand with you in addressing this threat. Our resolve is unwavering, our commitment is ironclad, and we are by your side.

Today I also had the opportunity to visit a place that shows a different kind of threat posed by the DPRK. Together with Republic of Korea government officials, I traveled to the Hanawon resettlement center where people who have managed to escape the DPRK learn to prepare for their new lives in the Republic of Korea. During my visit I met with a few of the recently arrived defectors and the experiences they shared were completely heartbreaking.

One young woman described how she had told nobody – not a soul, not even her parents – about her intention to flee North Korea. Yet even though her parents knew absolutely nothing of her plans for defection, local officials blamed them for her leaving and they have harassed her family until they, too, fled their village.

This young woman's case is not an isolated one. Instead it reflects a pattern of widespread and systematic abuses perpetrated by the regime in the DPRK against its own people. Abuses that, as the comprehensive UN Commission of Inquiry report concluded, "does not have any parallel in the contemporary world." These abuses include holding an estimated 80,000 to120,000 people in political prison camps where they are subjected to systematic torture, starvation, slave labor, rape, and forced abortions.

Now it may seem like these two issues – the way the DPRK threatens people beyond its borders with weapons of mass destruction and the way the regime terrorizes and abuses its own people – it may seem that these are unrelated. But they are rooted in a similar contempt for international standards and they are linked in a practical sense. Consider this: According to the World Health Organization, 25 percent of children in the DPRK suffer from stunted growth, owing to chronic malnutrition. One in four kids. And yet, the DPRK continues to pour all of its resources into its illicit weapons programs. This is a government that would rather grow its weapons programs than grow its own children.

When the UN Security Council held its first ever session on the issue of human rights in the DPRK in December 2014, the Republic of Korea's UN representative, Ambassador Oh Joon, a dear friend of mine, said the following: "For South Koreans, the people of North Korea are not just anyone. Millions of South Koreans still have family members living in the north, even though we never hear from them. Even though by now, the pain of separation has become a cold fact of life, we know that they are there, just a few hundred kilometers away from where we live. We cannot listen to the stories of defectors without sharing their tears, without feeling we are there with them experiencing their tragedies." That is what Ambassador Joon told the Council.

We Americans may not have millions of family members living in the DPRK as you do, but like you, we cannot hear their testimonies without feeling their suffering and believing that the abuses against them must stop. We believe that regardless of which side of the DMZ they live on, Koreans are entitled to live with dignity, with the same human rights, the same freedoms, and the same opportunities.

That is why we stand side by side with our South Korean allies. We stand side by side here in Seoul, we stand side by side at the DMZ, we stand side by side at the United Nations in New York, and we stand side by side wherever our shared security is on the line. And that is why we will continue to work with you toward the day when all Koreans will be able to live united in peace and prosperity. I thank you.

QUESTION: Two questions. First, Minister Yun mentioned the possibility of expelling North Korea from the United Nations but they say that realistically this is an impossible option and I was curious to know what your opinion is on this issue. Second question, as Ambassador Oh Joon mentioned, North Korean human rights issue is indeed an important one, but as you know, North Korea is currently suffering from a severe flood in the northern part of the country and yet the South Korean government is not considering the provision of any type of aid at all. What do you think?

AMBASSADOR POWER: Thank you for both questions. On your first, I think it is very understandable what is motivating the kind of proposal that you described. The UN Charter enshrines the principle of fundamental freedoms and the principle and the commitment of UN Member States to uphold and preserve international peace and security. This is why, as one form of the pressure that we apply against the regime in the DPRK, we consistently invoke their obligations as Member States of the United Nations. We believe, as the United States, that being a Member State of the United Nations is a tremendous privilege for us. But we also believe that every Member State of the United Nations has a set of responsibilities and the DPRK regime is not living up to those responsibilities.

On the specific proposal, I would refer you to the government of the Republic of Korea. With regard to the flooding that has befallen some in North Korea, first of all, our hearts go out to those families that have been affected, those that have been displaced. I think, as you well know, the challenge of providing assistance to the DPRK is well known. International donors – whether Member States or organizations – have no confidence that money and assistance that is meant to help ordinary people who are suffering terribly – whether now of flooding or of grave malnutrition – that the assistance that is provided actually reaches those people. As you know, the United Nations has a number of programs within North Korea and I know they are doing what they can to be responsive to the needs of the people while also doing what they can to ensure the money that is given to actually reach the people is not simply used like most resources in the country to fuel the government's nefarious weapons programs.

QUESTION: I'm wondering if you could you speak to why or what parts of 2270 specifically aren't working to achieve the desired result that you all sought in this resolution.

AMBASSADOR POWER: First, let me say that, as you know, Resolution 2270 is the toughest and most robust sanctions resolution that the UN Security Council has passed in more than a generation. The resolution includes a requirement for the first time to inspect cargo going into North Korea. It shuts down banking channels. It bans all conventional weapons sales to the DPRK. And it bans outright or severely limits the export of minerals that we know – and the whole world knows – have been used to generate hard currency and resources that are then pumped into the illicit ballistic and nuclear weapons programs.

We always knew that a resolution this robust was going to take some time to be properly enforced across the board, and that, even once fully implemented, was going to take time to have its desired effects. I actually think the picture on implementation is mixed. We have seen some countries create new mechanisms to inspect cargo going into or coming from the DPRK. We have seen countries completely ending, terminating, engagement with the DPRK related to the export of coal. And we have seen countries in a wholly new way expelling DPRK diplomats that are using their diplomatic privileges basically to cover up for the work they are doing illicitly to advance the nuclear weapons program.

But the resolution contains some exemptions that were put in place because of our deep concern about the welfare of the citizens of the DPRK. And some of those exemptions, it appears, have been exploited to not bring about the kind of enforcement and implementation that is going to be necessary going forward. In the negotiation that we are currently in the midst on in the new resolution, we are hoping to address some of the shortcomings that we have seen. But fundamentally, no matter any resolution says,

it is going to be up to the Member States of the United Nations, and particularly those Member States that have dealings with the DPRK, to fully enforce the resolution in letter and spirit. And one of the things we have deep cooperation with the Republic of Korea on is exerting diplomatic pressure on those countries that we think need to more to enforce 2270, and will inevitably have to do more once we have a new resolution on the books.

QUESTION: Since the fifth nuclear test was conducted, I know that a new resolution has been crafted. What is your greatest challenge in coming up with this new resolution and how are you trying to overcome that challenge?

AMBASSADOR POWER: My greatest challenge in any negotiation in the UN Security Council is that there are 14 other countries on the UN Security Council. So we need to bring about a resolution that is tough, that makes a material difference to the DPRK's to ability to gain access to hard currency, to know-how, to technology. And we need to secure a resolution that has the support of other Council members including countries like China and the Russian Federation.

The Council is united already in condemning unanimously the test. And we are united already for a very long time in agreeing that the Korean Peninsula needs to be denuclearized. And the way that we overcome the challenge of what can be slightly different perspectives on how one achieves that goal is sustained technical discussions and outreach as well as very high-level political engagement to all the relevant stakeholders.

This is why President Obama telephoned President Park in the immediate wake of the latest nuclear test. It is also one of the topics that President Obama and President Xi discussed on the margins of the G-20. And it was a centerpiece of President Obama's discussion with Premier Li just a couple of weeks ago at the UN General Assembly.

QUESTION: You were supposed to have a press availability up in the DMZ, but you moved it to this venue this afternoon. Was the reason to not provoke North Korea? And was there any change in the statement you announced here and were going to announce at the DMZ?

AMBASSADOR POWER: I am unaware of venue issues, so maybe that is something you want to follow up with my team on. I think our schedule was in flux because we are cramming a huge amount into just three days on the ground here.

QUESTION: You mentioned that the last resolution was just the toughest, most robust, that has happened, but since it has passed, North Koreas has arguably become stronger. And with the clock ticking on the Obama Administration, and with some of the candidates, Mr. Trump in particular, talking about lowering the commitment to the Koreasan how much leverage do you have now, and how do you overcome the challenges of passing a stronger resolution and implementing it, considering China's opposition also to more binding measures?

AMBASSADOR POWER: First, I would say North Korea has not become stronger. A government lashing out, staging provocations, violating international law – doing that with increased frequency is not a sign of strength. That said, of course, with every test they do, they are refining their capabilities and we take that threat extremely seriously and it's one of the reasons I have flown all this way to Japan and the Republic of Korea.

In terms of the timing and how it relates to presidential transition in the United States, I sense as of now, no abatement in other countries' enthusiasm for engaging with the United States, with the Obama Administration. If anything we see a flurry of enthusiasm by a lot of different countries on a lot of

different issues to see what we can get done together between now and January 20. We have worked for nearly eight years to build and to deepen a whole set of relationships and we are drawing on those relationships in our final months, both to try to close out progress on a range of issues, to mitigate suffering on a number of humanitarian crises and to ensure that the world that we hand over – or the world that greets the next President – is more stable and has within it the framework needed for progress. And we feel confident that we can get a strong resolution that responds to the recent nuclear test and see significant progress on designations and on implementation of that resolution in the coming weeks and months.

QUESTION: Two questions. These are very local questions. First, you mentioned how the technical experts in Iran are currently discussing ways to limit technology transfer to North Korea. As you know, North Korea used to receive its technology from Russia or the Syrian experts. I was wondering if there are any concrete discussions on ways to impose sanctions on that front?

The second question relates to human rights as well as nuclear tests. We are hearing information that people who live around the area of the nuclear site have been contaminated because of the nuclear tests. Do you or does the UN have any information with respect to this issue?

AMBASSADOR POWER: With respect to your first question, I am not going to get into the details of what we are pursuing or what we are pursuing, or what we are discussing, in the negotiations.

With respect to your second question, I don't have any information, nor have I received any information from the United Nations. But when a country carries out a nuclear test, that is an extreme and very, very dangerous act. And it is a further reflection of a total lack of curiosity and lack of regard as to whether such effects would in fact ensue. So that is not surprising in light of the regime's actions toward its own people on a daily basis, but it is nonetheless an additional feature of the nuclear test.

I thank you all very much.

###

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 6:02 AM
To: Sam [redacted] B6
Subject: Fw: PRINT
Attach: Power_redux_v42_clean.docx

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Wexler, Rebecca <WexlerR@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 5:43 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: PRINT

Ambassador,
Please note I do not have the most recent version of this with me if you wish to print at home

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:53 AM
To: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-COMMS-DL
Subject: Fw: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

Latest.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:08 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Samantha
Subject: Russia speech, 12:50 a.m.

Ambassador,

Attached is the updated version of the remarks.

[redacted] B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Friday, August 26, 2016 1:25 PM
To: Chriqui, Jacob <ChriquiJ@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Big speeches memo

Tks so much. Only urgent and time sensitive things while here if poss.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Chriqui, Jacob
Sent: Friday, August 26, 2016 6:19 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Big speeches memo

Ambassador:

Please find attached and copied below a list of notional ideas from Nik, Gideon, and Sergio for big speeches before the end of the administration. It also will be in your book for when you return.

Thank you,
Jacob Chriqui

BIG SPEECHES MEMO
From: SteinbergN, MaltzG, AguirreS
August 24, 2016 | 7:15 p.m.

Ambassador:

Below is a list of notional ideas for big speeches before the end of the administration. B5

B5

Page Denied

B5

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Wednesday, August 24, 2016 7:04 PM
To: USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: FOR BOOK: Big speeches memo

Specials,
Can you add this to SP's book and keep to this smaller distro?
Thanks!

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Monday, January 16, 2017 8:16 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Trump / weekend interviews

Tks. Sergio are u in touch w finer and curtis re clearances

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Monday, January 16, 2017 8:14 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Trump / weekend interviews

Trump's interviews over the weekend with the foreign press questioning R sanctions and value of NATO will be very helpful for relevance of speech.

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

Sent: Friday, August 26, 2016 11:53 AM
To: Baer, Lauren E <BaerLE@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Re: last night!

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Baer, Lauren E
Sent: Friday, August 26, 2016 4:32 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: RE: last night!

Ambassador,

[redacted] John Mack: B5

[redacted] B5

Best,

Samantha

Lauren E. Baer
Senior Policy Advisor, Executive Office
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
Email: BaerLE@state.gov

Phone: [redacted] B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, August 20, 2016 10:01 AM
To: Baer, Lauren E
Subject: Re: last night!

Tks. To do what?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Baer, Lauren E
Sent: Saturday, August 20, 2016 9:58 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: last night!

[redacted] B5

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, August 20, 2016 9:07 AM
To: Baer, Lauren E
Subject: Re: last night!

That's great news. [redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Baer, Lauren E
Sent: Friday, August 19, 2016 9:41 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: last night!

[redacted] B5

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, August 19, 2016 8:16 PM
To: Baer, Lauren E
Subject: Fw: last night!

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: John Mack <[redacted] B6
Sent: Friday, August 19, 2016 7:04 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: last night!

First, it was a pleasure for the two of us to have dinner with you. The only disappointment was we invited you, but you paid.
As for refugee Call to Action our family is obviously concerned about this refugee issue and as we mentioned, are intimately involved with the IRC. Having said that we would welcome the opportunity to learn more about Call to Action, so we look forward to chatting further.

Sent from my iPad

On Aug 16, 2016, at 7:34 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:

John,

It was lovely to see you and Christie at dinner last night. We definitely covered the universe – from Duke basketball to Donald Trump "ditch the _____" to the largest refugee crisis in seventy years to, at the very end, too briefly, how bad guys are ruining things for too many. You each have such tremendous humanity, and I will not soon forget [redacted] B6
[redacted] We would love to see you again sometime. I wanted to follow up on the refugee Call to Action I mentioned toward the end of the evening, as it will culminate on September 20 in an event at the UN with Secretary Pritzker and President Obama. I hope I am not spamming you in attaching several documents. These include:

1. Remarks that I delivered at USIP on the global refugee crisis, describing what we are trying to get done against a bleak political backdrop;
2. The White House Fact Sheet on the private sector Call to Action;
3. A one-page pamphlet about our implementing partner, the Partnership for Refugees;
4. The list of 200+ companies that the White House informed of the Call to Action after the June 30 launch; and
5. A status update showing the subset of approximately 90 of those companies that we are in active conversation with, including descriptions of how far along we are in talks and commitments made to date.

And for a change of pace, I have also included a copy of my remarks at Yale College Class Day! If it is not too much trouble, I would be grateful if you could look over the material and if you and I could touch base in the next couple days. I know refugees but really don't know the private sector well, and your thoughts on how we are approaching this would be invaluable. Also you and Christy mentioned a few names of people that you thought we should reach out to, and perhaps when you look at the list you will find that we are missing some obvious partners. If all of this doesn't drive you away, would you be good with speaking by phone in the next few days? It would be great to have Christy join too…

I would be glad to discuss any of the above. Thank you again for your help.

Warmly,

Samantha

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

<Tab 1 - SP USIP Refugee Remarks.pdf>
<Tab 2 - Call to Action Fact Sheet.pdf>
<Tab 3 - Call to Action - P4R One-Pager (FINAL).pdf>
<Tab 4 - Call to Action Target List.xlsx>
<Tab 5 - P4R Status Report - Updated_8.16.16.pptx>
<SP Remarks at Yale Class Day.pdf>

RELEASE IN PART B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 11:05 AM
To: Degory, John A <DegoryJA@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-COMMS-DL <USUN-COMMS-DL@state.gov>; Finkelstein, Craig L <FinkelsteinCL@state.gov>; DeBartolo, David M <DeBartoloDM@state.gov>; Tachco, Amy N <TachcoAN@state.gov>
Subject: RE: FOR APPROVAL: Draft Statement on Syria CW Sanctions

B5

Standing by for your edits.

Statement by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, on the Announcement of U.S. Sanctions against Syrian Officials in Connection with UN Findings of the Regime's Use of Chemical Weapons on Civilians, January 12, 2017

B5

Page Denied

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, January 11, 2017 4:21 PM
To: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>; Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate) <BarryMK@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; McCarthy, Aoife <McCarthyA@state.gov>; Degory, John A <DegoryJA@state.gov>; Tomaselli, Elizabeth <TomaselliE@state.gov>; Sardar, Satrajit <SardarS@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL <USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Friday Speech Concerns

How about Friday at CFR in NY?

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Wednesday, January 11, 2017 4:15 PM
To: Power, Samantha; Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate)
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; McCarthy, Aoife; Degory, John A; Tomaselli, Elizabeth; Sardar, Satrajit; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: RE: Friday Speech Concerns

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, January 11, 2017 3:33 PM
To: Cooper, Kurtis A; Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate)
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; McCarthy, Aoife; Degory, John A; Tomaselli, Elizabeth; Sardar, Satrajit; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: RE: Friday Speech Concerns

Ah ok – what is the collective set of views?

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Wednesday, January 11, 2017 3:28 PM

To: Power, Samantha; Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate)
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; McCarthy, Aoife; Degory, John A; Tomaselli, Elizabeth; Sardar, Satrajit; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: RE: Friday Speech Concerns

It's a federal holiday and we'll struggle to build an audience or find a venue.

Official
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From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, January 11, 2017 3:26 PM
To: Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate); Cooper, Kurtis A
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; McCarthy, Aoife; Degory, John A; Tomaselli, Elizabeth; Sardar, Satrajit; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: RE: Friday Speech Concerns

[redacted] B5
[redacted] Why not Monday?

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate)
Sent: Wednesday, January 11, 2017 2:20 PM
To: Cooper, Kurtis A; Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; McCarthy, Aoife; Degory, John A; Tomaselli, Elizabeth; Sardar, Satrajit; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: RE: Friday Speech Concerns

Adding scheduling.

Official
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From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Wednesday, January 11, 2017 2:10 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; McCarthy, Aoife; Degory, John A; Tomaselli, Elizabeth; Sardar, Satrajit
Subject: Friday Speech Concerns

Ambassador,

[redacted] B5

B5

Kurtis

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Saturday, January 7, 2017 2:53 AM
To: Cass Sunstein [redacted] B6
Subject: Fw: AP / SP / US Ambassador Meets Goal Visiting 189 UN Missions

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, January 6, 2017 10:45 PM
To: USUN-Breakingnews
Subject: AP / SP / US Ambassador Meets Goal Visiting 189 UN Missions

US Ambassador Meets Goal _ Visiting 189 UN Missions

By EDITH M. LEDERER, ASSOCIATED PRESS
UNITED NATIONS — Jan 6, 2017, 8:46 PM ET

Samantha Power has completed a personal goal she set when becoming the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations in August 2013: She has visited the missions of the 189 countries the United States has diplomatic relations with — and she recommends that her successor Nikki Haley does the same.

Power's last courtesy call Friday morning was to the two-room mission of the Pacific island kingdom of Tonga and its Ambassador Mahe'uli'uli Sandhurst Tupouniua, who surprised her by saying "Our 18th century constitution, I understand, is the second oldest to the United States."

"Wow! Really! That's amazing!" Power said.

But she appeared less impressed when the ambassador — whom she knows because they're both in the U.N. band "UN Rocks" — told her that women still don't have the right to vote or inherit land, though efforts are underway to allow women to inherit property.

Power said she decided to pay a courtesy call on every mission the U.S. has relations with because "it would send a really important signal of the respect that the United States has for these countries, for their views, for their history, for their cultures — and to show American curiosity."

She said she wanted to show that she was "not just speaking at people" but was seeking to learn from the ambassadors "how we can better partner together."

And she also thought the "show of respect might be something that would matter to them and would make them an ally" on tough U.N. votes.

Three U.N. member states that the United States doesn't have diplomatic relations with missed out on a visit — North Korea, Iran and Syria.

Power said she was amazed to discover that about 40 countries had never had a visit from an American ambassador.

She recalled her first visit to a mission that had never had a U.S. ambassador cross its doorstep — the Central African Republic — which she went to soon after her arrival at the U.N. to learn more about the sectarian strife between Muslims and Christians engulfing the country.

Then ambassador Charles-Armel Doubane "literally wept and said you have no idea what this means to my country that America would deign to come. We didn't think you knew where we lived even," Power recalled.

When she saw what just showing up meant, she said her decision to visit every mission was reinforced.

Power said she prepares for her visits by learning as much as she can about the ambassador and the country, and she usually goes into the meetings with no agenda.

This always surprises the ambassadors "because they're so used to, when America comes calling we always have a list of 10 things we want," she said.

"Believe me, I have that list," Power said, but for the visits, which last between 30 minutes and an hour, she said her focus is on finding out how the ambassadors got to the U.N., about their country and their concerns.

Many stories are very moving, she said, like the Bhutan ambassador who started life in a community where no one was literate.

"Don't get me wrong," Power said. "In these courtesy calls we argue. It's not as if you park your national interests at the door. They have theirs and we have ours. But you do so on their turf."

Sometimes, she said she's learned to make arguments more persuasively because she understands the country's position better and "that will make you a better diplomat as well."

Power said visiting every mission is a big investment of time, "but I absolutely will recommend it" to Haley, the South Carolina governor tapped by President-elect Donald Trump to succeed her.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Wednesday, August 17, 2016 5:56 PM
To:	Haines, Avril [redacted] Bitar, Maher B <bitarmb@state.gov>
Subject:	found this very interesting in light of ttx

B6

Monday, August 15, 2016
Nuclear Orthodoxy After Trump
The Real Requirements of Deterrence
Michael Krepon

MICHAEL KREPON is Cofounder of the Stimson Center.

Nuclear deterrence makes the most sense at the most basic level: nuclear weapons deter use by an adversary for fear of retaliation in kind. Deterrence, therefore, requires survivable nuclear capabilities. From this fundamental requirement, there are now approximately 15,000 nuclear weapons in the world. Most of them are in the United States and Russia. The explanation for why there are so many lies in the layers of nuclear orthodoxy and doctrinal complexity that have accumulated like sediment atop the foundation of nuclear deterrence.

One gets to thousands of nuclear weapons by subscribing to requirements for extreme redundancy—not just a nuclear triad of bombers, submarines, and land-based missiles, but also air- and sea-launched cruise missiles to accompany them. Some missiles and all bombers carry more than one warhead. Massive targeting lists are needed to make sense of large numbers of warheads. Add to this the requirement to launch within minutes of learning [1] about a nuclear attack. Add also short-range, "tactical" nuclear weapons. Then add the option of using nuclear weapons first [2] as well as in retaliation.

It is this superstructure of beliefs about nuclear deterrence that leads to high warhead numbers. Few explain such beliefs in detail because they sound so Strangelovian, and most take them on faith since the United States managed to survive the Cold War without nuclear warfare. We choose not to think about the close calls, and we assume that our national leaders will recognize the craziness of the nuclear war-fighting plans. But add in the prospect of a person with deeply suspect personality traits becoming president and the expansive belief system atop nuclear deterrence seems quite worrisome.

During and after the Cold War, the United States looked to treaties to alleviate its concerns about nuclear weapons. Now treaties are unraveling, and nuclear orthodoxy has made a comeback, thanks to Russian President Vladimir Putin's actions and U.S. and Russian strategic modernization programs. The tab for

recapitalizing the U.S. triad, plus cruise missiles, plus life cycle costs, runs to approximately one trillion dollars. Because Washington never got around to questioning nuclear orthodoxy, it now finds all of these programs necessary and finds it hard to accept downsizing.

Let's give nuclear deterrence its due: offsetting nuclear capabilities have helped prevent full-scale conventional wars between major powers since 1945. They have also induced caution during crises and during the two limited conventional wars that have been fought between nuclear-armed states. As long as nuclear weapons exist, nuclear deterrence will be needed. But nuclear deterrence doesn't require so many weapons or such complicated nuclear war-fighting plans.

To believe in nuclear orthodoxy requires either the wholesale suspension of disbelief that nuclear war-fighting plans can be usefully employed or an otherworldly belief in the ability of national leaders to control damage once the nuclear threshold has been crossed. Defenders of nuclear orthodoxy assert that they are supreme realists, but it is not realistic to presume meaningful brain function in the limited time structured for some limited uses of nuclear weapons or for their wholesale use.

Further, after the first mushroom cloud appears, everything depends on escalation control, not "credible" deterrence and war-fighting options. Indeed, once the nuclear threshold is crossed, the belief system surrounding nuclear orthodoxy becomes flimsy and brittle; the "pacifying logic [3]" of deterrence theory implodes with first use.

Nuclear deterrence theory works until it fails, and then the foremost danger is that it will fail catastrophically. The prevention of catastrophic failure rests on extremely limited use, after which national leaders might somehow be able to intervene to stop the madness—even though they have failed to prevent a war.

Absent orthodoxy-busting leaders such as Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, the path of least resistance (although it still prompts great resistance) is to down-build nuclear arsenals one decrement at a time. This process is slow going and prone to disruption. More progress will become possible if leaders take a hard look at the belief system that has produced this huge, deathly monument to wishful thinking.

There has never been an ideal time to fundamentally reassess the most extreme tenets of nuclear orthodoxy—not during the Cold War, not during big drawdowns after the Soviet Union dissolved, and not now, with Vladimir Putin's landgrabs and saber-rattling. But the presidential candidacy of Donald Trump demands reassessment of this belief system, which is very expensive to maintain and which cannot withstand serious scrutiny.

SBU

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RELEASE IN FULL

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Sunday, July 24, 2016 9:02 AM
To:	Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Subject:	Fw: Francis and Poland differ on migrants ahead of pope's visit (AP)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: StateOpsSubscriptions <StateOpsSubscriptions@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, July 24, 2016 6:24 AM
Subject: Francis and Poland differ on migrants ahead of pope's visit (AP)

News Tickers

July 24, 2016 0623 EDT

Francis and Poland differ on migrants ahead of pope's visit (AP)

VATICAN CITY (AP) - Support for migrants is so central to Pope Francis' vision for the church that he has made welcoming them a potential test for those seeking entry to Heaven on Judgment Day.

The pontiff's advocacy for refugee rights faces a diplomatic test Wednesday when he begins a five-day visit to Poland, where a populist government has slammed the door on most asylum-seekers.

Francis is scheduled to meet Polish President Andrzej Duda in Krakow's millennium-old castle atop Wawel Hill where, in the neighboring cathedral, Polish national heroes for centuries have been laid to rest. He then will hold a question-and-answer session with Poland's bishops behind closed doors.

Ahead of the pope's arrival, Polish Interior Minister Mariusz Blaszczak defended the ruling Law and Justice party's opposition to immigration by citing the Bastille Day truck massacre of 84 people in Nice, France. Blaszczak argued that such violence was an inevitable consequence of multiculturalism.

The pope suggests that reluctance or refusal to shelter newcomers in need conflicts with the parable of the Good Samaritan, who offered aid to a robbed, wounded stranger.

Addressing the faithful last month in St. Peter's Square, Francis said that ultimately "we will be judged on the basis of works of mercy."

"The Lord will be able to say to us: 'Do you remember? That migrant, who so many wanted to kick out, was me.'"

Seeking to inspire by example, Francis in April brought 12 Syrians back with him to Rome after visiting a migrant camp on the Greek island of Lesbos, where tens of thousands were stranded after perilous crossings from nearby Turkey in often overcrowded boats.

The Rev. David Hollenbach, a professor of ethics at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Affairs in Washington, said the pope's championing of migrants is "politically important and socially important, but also religiously important to the identity of Christianity." Hollenbach, who like Francis is a Jesuit, said in a telephone interview that the treatment of migrants and foreigners is "central in the Bible."

It's also intrinsic to the pope's definition of a Christian.

Returning in February from a pilgrimage to Mexico, Francis told reporters aboard his plane: "I think that a person who thinks of building walls and not bridges isn't Christian." The pope was responding to a question about Donald Trump, the Republican U.S. presidential candidate, who says he wants to build a border wall to bar Mexicans from the United States.

A Polish commentator, Adam Szostkiewicz, said he expected the pope to raise Poland's opposition to aiding refugees during this week's visit because "this is the central theme of his pontificate in Europe. This is a European problem."

Szostkiewicz said he expected the pope to argue against Poland's policy, which he compared to Pontius Pilate's attitude to the crucifixion of Jesus: "We wash our hands. This does not concern us." But he forecast that any papal appeal would spark only a momentary stir, not any shift in government policy.

"It will be good if he says it, and it will be commented on, but it will soon be forgotten," he said.

Catholic figures in Poland have been widely seen to reinforce the government's nationalist views. University of Maryland history professor Piotr Kosicki recalled how a Polish priest railed against Muslims, Jews and "leftists" during an address to an Independence Day rally in Warsaw in November. Kosicki, writing in the Catholic magazine Commonweal, concluded that the priest, Jacek Miedlar, represented "a nationalist revival for which being Catholic and Polish implies also being anti-European, anti-pluralist and anti-liberal."

Some within the church have been struck by how Poland's anti-migrant stand is equated with protecting the country's Polish and Catholic identity.

"Turning away the refugees would not have been so readily accepted by our society had it not been done in the name of the defense of Christianity and of being Polish," wrote the Rev. Leon Wisniewski, a Dominican friar, in the Catholic intellectual weekly Tygodnik Powszechny.

At the Vatican, the visiting spokesman for Poland's bishops conference was asked by The Associated Press how Poland and the Polish church might react to Francis' insistence on welcoming migrants.

"It's not a black and white question," said the Rev. Pawel Rytel-Andrianik, who stressed that Poland has taken in refugees, most of them from countries with predominantly Christian backgrounds. He said Polish bishops had issued their own appeal for parishes to shelter refugees the day before Francis, in September 2015, similarly called on each parish to host a family of refugees.

Most of Poland's refugees come from Russia, Ukraine and other neighbors in the former Soviet Union, not from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq or Africa, major sources for people trying to gain European Union protection. The right-wing Polish government elected in October has refused to observe an EU-wide agreement on sharing the burden of accommodating tens of thousands of asylum seekers largely stuck in Italy and Greece.

Analysts see a wide gulf in Polish attitudes to Francis and to the only Polish pope, John Paul II, whom Francis canonized in 2014. While John Paul was beloved by Poles for his staunch defense of the Solidarity labor movement that helped to topple Soviet rule in 1989, many Poles don't relate to Francis' world view.

Kosicki told The AP in a telephone interview that "the substance of what he says doesn't compute for the vast majority of Poland."

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B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Friday, July 22, 2016 12:22 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Tomorrow

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Thursday, January 5, 2017 5:05 PM
To:	Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: Wash Post column
Attach:	zaka170105.txt; ATT00001.htm

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

[redacted] B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Samantha [mailto[redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 4:56 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Fwd: Wash Post column

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Zakaria, Fareed (CNN)"[redacted] B6
Date: January 5, 2017 at 4:29:00 PM EST
To: Samantha Power[redacted]
Subject: Wash Post column

FAREED ZAKARIA COLUMN

(Advance for Friday, January 6, 2017, and thereafter.
Web release Thursday, January 5, 2017, at 8 p.m.
Eastern time.)

(For Zakaria clients only)

The political briefing on Russia that Trump should get

By FAREED ZAKARIA

NEW YORK -- I'm glad that Donald Trump will finally get a briefing on the unanimous conclusion of

America's intelligence agencies that the Russian government was behind the hacking of the Democratic National Committee and Hillary Clinton's campaign chairman. But he should also request and receive a political briefing on Russia that can shed light on the backdrop to Russia's actions. We need to understand why Russia behaved the way it has.

It all started with the Arab Spring. The sudden mass demonstrations and demands for democracy took most of the world by surprise. In particular, they rattled Moscow at a precarious moment. The Kremlin was in the midst of managing the country's political future and worried about opposition at home. Parliamentary elections were scheduled in less than a year, to be followed by a presidential election. Vladimir Putin was not then president, having stepped aside in keeping with the Russian constitution, allowing Dmitry Medvedev to ascend to the office.

Roland Dannreuther of the University of Westminster in London points out that the "crises in both Libya and Syria coincided with the rise of opposition to the re-election of Putin, with unprecedented large opposition rallies in Moscow and other cities in Russia during 2011-12." He argues that the Kremlin watched in these countries as street protests morphed into broader opposition, created instability, and then attracted the attention and intervention of Western powers. Moscow was determined that no such scenario would play out in Russia or in any of its close neighbors like Ukraine.

In fact, there was a rare disagreement between Putin and Medvedev on how to respond to Libya. Putin bitterly attacked his own president for not vetoing a U.N. Security Council resolution sanctioning an intervention in Libya and lambasted the West for launching a "crusade" against a Muslim country. Medvedev, who was technically in charge of foreign policy, flatly contradicted him, calling his rhetoric "inexcusable." Some Russia hands believe that this disagreement might have sealed Medvedev's fate, ensuring that he served just one term and then made way for Putin's return to the presidency. In any event, as Dannreuther writes, "for conservative Russian elites, the evidence of the Arab Spring confirms that such factional divisions in the guise of democracy promotion only lead to internal disorder, societal conflict and the loss of the

sovereign integrity of the state." (The fact that Clinton encouraged Russian democracy protesters at this sensitive moment branded her an arch enemy in the eyes of the Kremlin elite.)

About a year later, in 2013, the chief of staff of the Russian Armed Forces, Gen. Valery Gerasimov, wrote an article suggesting that Russia's key challenge was responding to the underlying dynamics of the Arab Spring and North Africa's "color revolutions." He urged that these not be viewed as non-military events because "a perfectly thriving state can, in a matter of months and even days, be transformed into an arena of fierce armed conflict, become a victim of foreign intervention, and sink into a web of chaos, humanitarian catastrophe, and civil war." He advocated that Russia better understand and develop the non-military and asymmetrical methods, including special operations, information warfare and the use of internal opposition to cripple a society.

Since then, Moscow has made information and asymmetrical warfare central to its foreign and military policy. When asserting itself in Georgia and Ukraine, Russia has used a hybrid strategy that involves the funding of local politicians and militias, fake news and cyberattacks. Leading German and Polish politicians assert that Russia has engaged in some such activities in their countries as well. And now there is the apparent involvement in America's election.

The idea of information warfare is not new. The Soviet Union developed and practiced a strategy of "disinformation" throughout the Cold War, complete with fake news and the penetration of Western political parties and media organizations. But the revival of this approach and the aggressive and sophisticated manner in which it is now being used in a social media landscape mark a new and dangerous trend in geopolitics.

This is the political backdrop behind the technical evidence that Russia interfered in last November's election. It needs to be moved out of a partisan framework and viewed in a much broader context. Since the end of the Cold War, no major country has challenged the emerging international system. But now, a great-power strategy, designed to

work insidiously, could well succeed in sowing doubt, division, discord -- and ultimately destruction -- within the West.

Fareed Zakaria's email address is comments@fareedzakaria.com.

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RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 12:05 PM
To: Bitar, Maher B <bitarmb@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

interesting!

Official - SBU
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Bitar, Maher B
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 12:04 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

B5

Official - SBU
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 12:00 PM
To: Bitar, Maher B
Subject: FW: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Finer, Jonathan J
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 11:38 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

B5

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 11:26 AM
To: Malley, Robert; Haines, Avril Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Alzayat, Wa'el N; Finer, Jonathan J
Subject: FW: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

B6

B5

B5

Official
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From: OpsSubscriptions
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 11:13 AM
Subject: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

News Tickers

January 05, 2017 1113 EST

Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

ANKARA (Reuters) - Turkish officials are questioning the presence of U.S.-led coalition forces at an air base in southern Turkey over what they see as insufficient support for Turkey's military operations against Islamic State in Syria.

President Tayyip Erdogan's spokesman Ibrahim Kalin said on Thursday there was no need for a "rushed evaluation" on Incirlik, a base used by NATO allies to launch air strikes against Islamic State in neighbouring Syria.

But he questioned why the United States, which backs some Kurdish groups against Islamic State in northern Syria, had not lent support to NATO ally Turkey's latest push to take the Syrian town of al-Bab back from the jihadists.

"In the past month-and-a-half, we have seen and understood that this support was not given at the sufficient level and effectiveness," Kalin told broadcaster Kanal 24, calling for full support and saying "excuses are not acceptable".

Turkey has been angered by U.S. policy in Syria, not least by Washington's support for Kurdish militia fighters it sees as an extension of PKK militants fighting within Turkey, a group the U.S. and Ankara both classify as a terrorist organisation.

Kalin said he hoped the administration of U.S. President-elect Donald Trump, who will be sworn in on Jan. 20, would be more attuned to Turkey's sensitivities.

Deputy Prime Minister Veysi Kaynak said the U.S.-led coalition had only infrequently used Incirlik to join operations by the Turkish military and the Syrian rebels it backs, raising questions among the Turkish population.

"Their presence (in Incirlik) is being questioned by our people and nation, and this issue is on the agenda of the government," he told broadcaster A Haber.

Turkey launched an incursion into Syria in August to push Islamic State from its borders and prevent Kurdish militia fighters taking ground in their wake.

A U.S. military spokesman said on Wednesday that Washington was in talks with Ankara about future support around al-Bab, the current focus of the Turkish operations.

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B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 9:01 AM
To: Sardar, Satrajit <SardarS@state.gov>; USUN-COMMS-DL <USUN-COMMS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Reuters / SP / In exit memo, U.S. envoy warns U.N. retreat would be harmful

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Sardar, Satrajit
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 8:32 AM
To: Power, Samantha; USUN-COMMS-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: Re: Reuters / SP / In exit memo, U.S. envoy warns U.N. retreat would be harmful

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 8:21 AM
To: USUN-COMMS-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: Fw: Reuters / SP / In exit memo, U.S. envoy warns U.N. retreat would be harmful

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Kim, Ji Yun <kimjiyun@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 8:14 AM
To: USUN-Breakingnews
Subject: Reuters / SP / In exit memo, U.S. envoy warns U.N. retreat would be harmful

In exit memo, U.S. envoy warns U.N. retreat would be harmful
January 5, 2017
Reuters
By Michelle Nichols

United States interests, including national security, would be harmed if the country retreats from a leading role at the United Nations, U.S. Ambassador Samantha Power warned on Thursday amid a backlash among Washington lawmakers against the world body.

President-elect Donald Trump also disparaged the United Nations after the Security Council adopted a Dec. 23

resolution demanding an end to settlement building by U.S. ally Israel. Trump questioned the value of the organization, while some Republican lawmakers threatened to cut crucial U.S. funding.

In an exit memo on Thursday, Power - a member of President Barack Obama's cabinet - wrote: "Other nations will follow us if we continue to lead; without our leadership the vacuum on the global stage will prove very harmful to U.S. interests."

Among the reasons for continued strong U.S. engagement at the 193-member United Nations, Power listed North Korea's nuclear ambitions, conflicts in Syria, Libya and South Sudan, climate change, the global refugee crisis and Russia.

"As Russia continues to menace our allies and attempt to interfere in political systems in Europe and beyond, we will need to show broad condemnation of these actions in U.N. fora," Power wrote in the 13-page memo. U.S. intelligence agencies say Russia was behind cyber attacks before the U.S. election in November that aimed to help Trump defeat Democrat Hillary Clinton. Moscow denies this.

Power also promoted the importance of the United Nations in ensuring the success of the a deal between Iran and key world powers to curb Tehran's nuclear ambitions in exchange for relief from economic sanctions. Trump has vowed to scrap the deal.

"We must continue to fulfill our own commitments and use U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 ... to ensure that Iran's nuclear program will remain exclusively peaceful," Power said.

Trump plans to replace Power with South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley once she is confirmed by the U.S. Senate.

"Working with the U.N. to address these challenges will not be a litmus test of whether one is committed to international norms and institutions or not – it will simply be a strategic necessity," said Power, who has been ambassador since 2013.

Trump last week described the world body as "just a club for people to get together, talk and have a good time."

New U.N. Secretary-General Antonio Guterres spoke with Trump on Wednesday and the two had "a very positive discussion on U.S./U.N. relations," a U.N. spokesman said.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Saturday, June 18, 2016 4:58 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Silvers / NYRB edits

He said he wld welcome edits this week. I haven't sent him yours yet.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, June 18, 2016 4:01 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Re: Silvers / NYRB edits

Hit send too early -- my bad. Perhaps we write back to Silvers to request a bit of time to finish a new intro?

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, June 18, 2016 3:55 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Re: Silvers / NYRB edits

In that case, we'll need a new introduction that we refer back to at several points.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, June 18, 2016 3:41 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Re: Silvers / NYRB edits

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, June 18, 2016 3:29 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Re: Silvers / NYRB edits

B5

B5

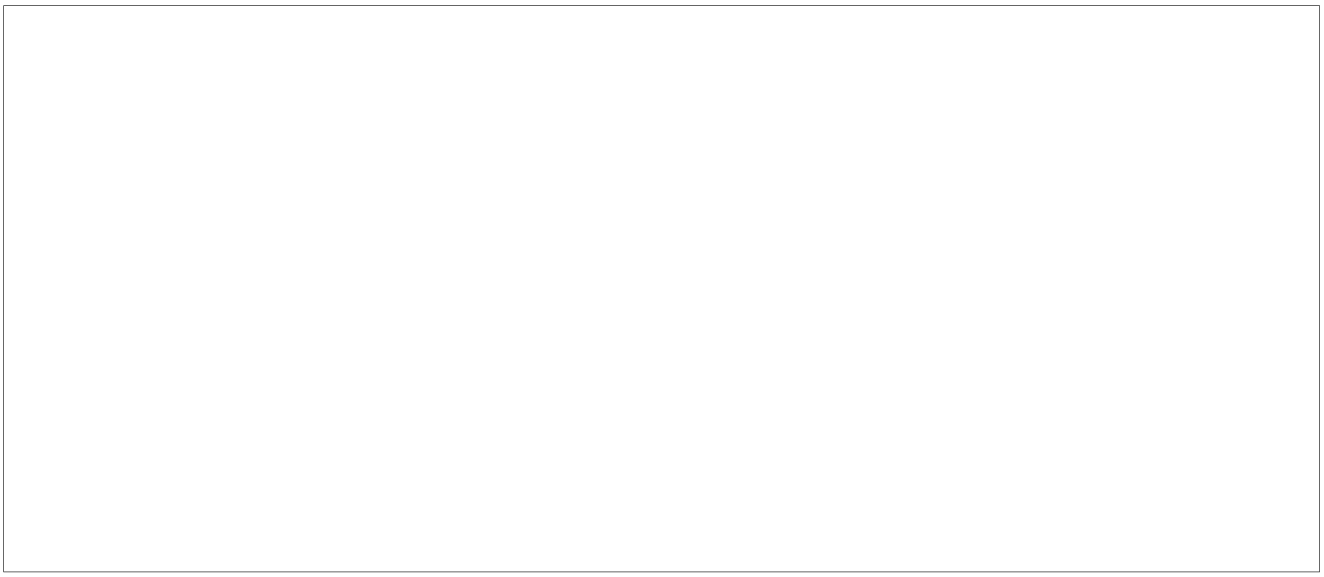
From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, June 18, 2016 2:42 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Re: Silvers / NYRB edits

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, June 17, 2016 3:25 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Silvers / NYRB edits

B5



This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, June 17, 2016 2:38 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Re: msC

Thank you!

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, June 17, 2016 2:36 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: msC

Woot woot! Will read his proof now.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, June 17, 2016 2:12 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Fw: msC

!!

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

B6

From: Robert Silvers
Sent: Friday, June 17, 2016 2:10 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: msC

Dear Samantha,

How good to see you on the Turtle Bay Terrace. The spirited talk you gave in Berlin has been much on my mind and I arrived at a somewhat shorter version of it that left out the opening remarks that were very much of the occasion, and that concentrates on the central message of the need for attention to the people living in states.

I hope you'll think this shorter version works. We would identify it in the contributor's note as drawn from a speech at the Academy. You'll see some small suggestions here and there. (If all PhDs since 1954 were to be called Doctor, there would be huge numbers of doctors to be acknowledged, and so we say Henry Kissinger, which is surely not objectionable.) If you feel it can't be done in this shorter form of course I would understand, but I'll be hoping we can run it in the Review. Let's be in touch after you've seen this.

My best to you both,
Bob

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 9:00 AM
To: Sardar, Satrajit <SardarS@state.gov>; USUN-COMMS-DL <USUN-COMMS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Reuters / SP / In exit memo, U.S. envoy warns U.N. retreat would be harmful

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Sardar, Satrajit
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 8:32 AM
To: Power, Samantha; USUN-COMMS-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: Re: Reuters / SP / In exit memo, U.S. envoy warns U.N. retreat would be harmful

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 8:21 AM
To: USUN-COMMS-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: Fw: Reuters / SP / In exit memo, U.S. envoy warns U.N. retreat would be harmful

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Kim, Ji Yun <kimjiyun@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 8:14 AM
To: USUN-Breakingnews
Subject: Reuters / SP / In exit memo, U.S. envoy warns U.N. retreat would be harmful

In exit memo, U.S. envoy warns U.N. retreat would be harmful
January 5, 2017
Reuters
By Michelle Nichols

United States interests, including national security, would be harmed if the country retreats from a leading role at the United Nations, U.S. Ambassador Samantha Power warned on Thursday amid a backlash among Washington lawmakers against the world body.

President-elect Donald Trump also disparaged the United Nations after the Security Council adopted a Dec. 23 resolution demanding an end to settlement building by U.S. ally Israel. Trump questioned the value of the organization, while some Republican lawmakers threatened to cut crucial U.S. funding.

In an exit memo on Thursday, Power - a member of President Barack Obama's cabinet - wrote: "Other nations will follow us if we continue to lead; without our leadership the vacuum on the global stage will prove very harmful to U.S. interests."

Among the reasons for continued strong U.S. engagement at the 193-member United Nations, Power listed North Korea's nuclear ambitions, conflicts in Syria, Libya and South Sudan, climate change, the global refugee crisis and Russia.

"As Russia continues to menace our allies and attempt to interfere in political systems in Europe and beyond, we will need to show broad condemnation of these actions in U.N. fora," Power wrote in the 13-page memo. U.S. intelligence agencies say Russia was behind cyber attacks before the U.S. election in November that aimed to help Trump defeat Democrat Hillary Clinton. Moscow denies this.

Power also promoted the importance of the United Nations in ensuring the success of the a deal between Iran and key world powers to curb Tehran's nuclear ambitions in exchange for relief from economic sanctions. Trump has vowed to scrap the deal.

"We must continue to fulfill our own commitments and use U.N. Security Council Resolution 2231 ... to ensure that Iran's nuclear program will remain exclusively peaceful," Power said.

Trump plans to replace Power with South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley once she is confirmed by the U.S. Senate.

"Working with the U.N. to address these challenges will not be a litmus test of whether one is committed to international norms and institutions or not – it will simply be a strategic necessity," said Power, who has been ambassador since 2013.

Trump last week described the world body as "just a club for people to get together, talk and have a good time."

New U.N. Secretary-General Antonio Guterres spoke with Trump on Wednesday and the two had "a very positive discussion on U.S./U.N. relations," a U.N. spokesman said.

RELEASE IN FULL

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Tuesday, January 3, 2017 6:56 PM
To:	Soifer, Halie S <SoiferHS@state.gov>
Cc:	USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>
Subject:	any word from dole's office re trump/cprd

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, June 15, 2016 11:50 AM
To: USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: NYT / DP / Editorial / The Orlando Attack and Its Global Echoes

Let's get hard copy of this and get it framed for David. Tks

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Tomaselli, Elizabeth <TomaselliE@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, June 15, 2016 11:11 AM
To: USUN-Breakingnews
Subject: NYT / DP / Editorial / The Orlando Attack and Its Global Echoes

The Orlando Attack and Its Global Echoes
June 15, 2016
New York Times
By The Editorial Board

The massacre of 49 people at a gay club in Orlando, Fla., on Sunday by a gunman claiming inspiration from the Islamic State resonated instantly around the world. Though it echoed recent terrorist attacks in Paris, Brussels, Beirut and Bamako, it also raised painful memories of attacks targeting gay men and women, from the arson at a gay bar in New Orleans in 1973 that took 32 lives to the nail-bomb explosion at a London pub in 1999.

Yet despite the messages of condolence and outrage from world leaders — several of whom were silent about the sexual orientation of the victims — and the heartening displays of solidarity as rainbow colors lighted up the Eiffel Tower and Sydney's Harbour Bridge, the fact is, gay rights remain elusive in much of the world. In at least 74 countries, being gay is a crime. In at least 10 countries, gay sex is a crime punishable by death.

In Russia, a noxious "gay propaganda" law enacted in 2013 is being used to prosecute people for such offenses as publishing a poem or posts on social media that refer to same-sex love. In India, a colonial-era law criminalizing sex "against the order of nature" rarely results in convictions but remains a powerful tool to harass gay men and lesbians.

As with Donald Trump in America, hatemongering is on the rise around the world, as authoritarian leaders and right-wing nationalist groups target the immigrant, the gay man or the minority citizen as a scapegoat for frustrations. "Hate is becoming mainstreamed," Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein, the United Nations high commissioner for human rights, warned on Monday.

David Pressman, the deputy United States ambassador to the United Nations, pressed member nations on Monday to unite to protect "the universal dignity of all persons regardless of who they love." Russia, China, India and the African Group, the Islamic Group and the "Friends of the Family" group at the United Nations have in the past opposed modest efforts on gay rights. It was a promising sign that they did not object Tuesday when the Security Council issued a statement condemning the Orlando attack and specifically said victims were targeted "as a result of their sexual orientation."

The United Nations now needs to extend all human rights protections to cover sexual orientation and gender identity. That, and the elimination of laws that criminalize being gay, would be a far better tribute to the Orlando victims than displays of rainbow colors and ritual condemnations of yet another hate-fueled attack.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Tuesday, January 3, 2017 3:36 PM
To:	Green, Mackenzie L <GreenML@state.gov>
Cc:	USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia <USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia@state.gov>; Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: NYT / Ailing Vermont Town Pins Hopes on Mideast Refugees

ok

@AmbassadorPower
Taking 100 #refugees from Syria&Iraq, Rutland VT makes case for economic reasons to welcome #refugees,not fear them [LINK to NYT piece] [*0 characters left*]

Official - SBU
UNCLASSIFIED

Official - SBU
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 03, 2017 3:10 PM
To: USUN-COMMS-DL; Cooper, Kurtis A; Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: FW: NYT / Ailing Vermont Town Pins Hopes on Mideast Refugees

Anything on this?

Official - Transitory
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Green, Mackenzie L
Sent: Tuesday, January 03, 2017 1:46 PM
To: USUN-REFUGEES-DL; USUN-SyriaNews-DL
Subject: NYT / Ailing Vermont Town Pins Hopes on Mideast Refugees

Ailing Vermont Town Pins Hopes on Mideast Refugees
January 3, 2017
New York Times
By Jess Bidgood

They hustled into the church on a biting winter evening, unburdened themselves of scarves and gloves, and settled into pews to sound out words in Arabic.

"Ahlan fii Rutland," said Fran Knapp, a retiree who lives about 20 minutes away, one of two or three dozen people who have attended a class here on rudimentary Arabic.

Welcome to Rutland.

It was one of many preparations this remote city in central Vermont is making before 100 refugees from Syria and Iraq arrive here over the next year, with the first expected to come later this month.

The plan's fiercest advocate has been the mayor of Rutland, Christopher Louras, who has cited not the moral argument for resettling refugees, but an economic one: This shrinking city, long removed from its heyday as a marble producer and regional railroad hub, needs every new resident it can get. Syrian refugees, he has said, are an opportunity.

"Rutland's demographic condition right now is not just one of a declining population, but it's also a graying population," said Mr. Louras, who became the mayor about 10 years ago as a Republican, but has since become an independent. "We need people," he added.

The plan, born in a time of national discord over Muslim immigration and criticism by President-elect Donald J. Trump of Syrian refugees, has divided the city: An opposition group, Rutland First, sprang up — as did Rutland Welcomes, to collect donated items, help the new arrivals and watch for job openings that might suit them.

But the preparations are unfolding under a cloud of uncertainty, because it is not yet clear whether, as president, Mr. Trump will make good on his campaign promise to suspend the resettlement of Syrian refugees in the United States.

Immigration is part of the history of every American city. But experts say that in recent years, some towns and cities, reeling from shifts in the economy and declining populations, have focused anew on potential economic benefits from refugee resettlement, even as immigration has become a subject of partisan political battles.

"Over the last couple of decades, especially in the last 10 years, places have started to develop strategies to attract and retain immigrants and resettle refugees in order to boost their economic activity," said Audrey Singer, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute who has studied refugee resettlement in American cities.

Refugees are a small subset of immigrants, and many cities that have made a point of welcoming them say that they do so primarily for humanitarian, not economic, reasons. But as cities in the Rust Belt, like Pittsburgh and Dayton, Ohio, and in other parts of the country, like Maine and upstate New York, set up offices to connect immigrants and refugees with services and job opportunities, advocates say economic benefits have arisen as a result.

"We've seen a few neighborhoods kind of turn around because of immigrants and refugees moving in," said Melissa Bertolo, the coordinator for one such support group, Welcome Dayton. She added that cities in the Rust Belt are "all looking at how immigrant integration plays a part in the revitalization of a city."

That is what some are hoping for here in Rutland, as the state suffers from population stagnation, according to Art Woolf, an associate professor of economics at the University of Vermont. The birthrate has declined and net migration has slowed, which Mr. Woolf ascribed to Americans' increasing preference for cities and dense suburbs.

"I think we're right on the beginning of the cusp of serious, serious labor problems," said Mr. Woolf, who added that the state's unemployment rate, at 3.6 percent, was a sign of more trouble to come. "We're low because there's nobody available to work."

Nowhere is that more pronounced, Mr. Woolf said, than Rutland County, here in the center of the state, which has lost residents since 2000. The city of Rutland has 15,824 residents, according to an estimate by the United

States Census Bureau, which said the city had lost 4 percent of its population since 2010. The highest population for Rutland recorded by the Census Bureau was 19,293, in 1970.

It is a striking community, lately hobbled by isolation: There are mountains on the horizon, but the city is an hour from major highways. Its status as a railroad hub and a marble powerhouse is long gone, and recent decades have seen the loss of major factory employers.

"It hit a peak, it leveled off, and now we're trying to find ourselves," said Will Notte, 45, the president of the board of selectmen and a fifth-generation Rutlander who supports the refugee proposal.

The city's tiny downtown is making its way back from the recession and a fight against heroin; new bookstores, furniture stores and clothing boutiques have opened in recent years.

But city leaders are worried that population loss could make it harder for the remaining major employers, like General Electric plants that make parts for aircraft engines and the Rutland Regional Medical Center, to stay. They are putting $100,000 toward a $200,000 effort from local economic development groups to market the area and draw more residents.

Syrian refugees, business leaders say, could become an integral part of that effort, both by adding to the population — if only slightly — and bringing cultural diversity that they hope will attract younger residents.

The plan originated in the fall of 2015, when, after that November's terrorist attacks in Paris, Mr. Trump and more than two dozen governors expressed opposition to the resettlement of Syrian refugees in the United States. But Peter Shumlin, the departing Democratic governor, said Vermont would welcome Syrian refugees, and Mr. Louras texted the governor to see whether they could bring refugees to Rutland. The city was officially selected by the State Department as a resettlement site in September.

"I saw that as an opportunity to grow our population, bring in individuals, families, new Americans from Syria who have a strong work ethic, who were fleeing for their lives and looking to rebuild those shattered lives," Mr. Louras said.

But the argument did not go down well among everyone in Rutland. One online petition referred to the refugees as "the same people who hate us." Rutland First, the opposition group, emerged — using a Facebook page that has drawn vitriolic and obscene comments about refugees — with the goal of blocking or delaying the plan. Over the summer, seven of Rutland's 11 aldermen voted to approve a letter to the State Department saying they were not ready to support the plan.

Many members of Rutland First say that they are not biased or xenophobic, as their critics have said, but that they have economic concerns about whether the city can absorb the new arrivals.

"We're kind of stuck out here, with our level of economic depression, with our level of crime and drug issues," said Timothy Cook, a doctor and an Army Reserve colonel who gave Rutland First its name. "We're the ones who are gonna have to foot the bill for this."

A report from the National Academies of Science, Engineering and Medicine found that between 2011 and 2013, first-generation immigrants cost states about $1,600 per person, but that second- and third-generation immigrants contributed $1,700 and $1,300 to state and local budgets, respectively.

And that is what business leaders in Rutland hope will happen here.

Resettlement, said Lyle Jepson, the executive director of the Rutland Economic Development Corporation, is "supporting people when they need help."

But, he added, "Frankly, we need help. We need people to join our community."

Official - Transitory
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, June 15, 2016 7:35 AM
To: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>; Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>; Wexler, Rebecca <WexlerR@state.gov>; Degory, John A <DegoryJA@state.gov>; McCarthy, Aoife <McCarthyA@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Gregor Peter Schmitz

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Tuesday, June 14, 2016 9:57 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Wexler, Rebecca; Degory, John A; McCarthy, Aoife
Subject: RE: Gregor Peter Schmitz

Ambassador,

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Saturday, June 11, 2016 9:25 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Wexler, Rebecca; Degory, John A; McCarthy, Aoife
Subject: Re: Gregor Peter Schmitz

Ambassador,

Flagging this email again. Gregor has since told me that while his preference would be to run this piece this week, he's willing to give us another week if we need it. That would be far preferable I think for everyone.

B5

From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Friday, June 10, 2016 4:58 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Wexler, Rebecca; Degory, John A; McCarthy, Aoife
Subject: Gregor Peter Schmitz

Ambassador,

Per our conversation earlier, here are the 8 questions for the written Q and A. He gave us a Tuesday deadline, which given the time difference is probably a Monday deadline. Their book closes Thursday and they have to translate into German. That said, Embassy Berlin's steer is that without an interview or Q and A, they will not be able to run the speech excerpts.

On your question about the circulation of the magazine, the print version has a circulation of 124,000 plus online. By way of comparison, Der Spiegel's circulation is 840,000. We can talk about this at 6:00,

B5

h)You came from Ireland to the US: How worried are you about a Brexit? What would such a step mean for the European Union and the transatlantic relationship?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Tuesday, June 14, 2016 5:35 PM
To: McCarthy, Aoife <McCarthyA@state.gov>
Cc: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>; Weisser, Caroline <WeisserC@state.gov>; Degory, John A <DegoryJA@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL <USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL@state.gov>; Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>; McCarthy, Aoife <McCarthyA@state.gov>; Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate) <BarryMK@state.gov>; Trainor, Stina <TrainorSSC@state.gov>; Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject: Re: ACTION: CBS This Morning

Ok

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: McCarthy, Aoife
Sent: Tuesday, June 14, 2016 5:17 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Cooper, Kurtis A; Weisser, Caroline; Degory, John A; USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL; Steinberg, Nikolaus; McCarthy, Aoife; Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate); Trainor, Stina; Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: ACTION: CBS This Morning

Ambassador,

The producer of CBS This Morning has offered to postpone the interview until next Tuesday and it is our recommendation is that we take this option.

B5

Please let me know if you have any concerns.
Aoife

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Tuesday, June 14, 2016 1:35 PM
To: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Pool Report #3: POTUS Remarks at Treasury

B6

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: White House Press Office <noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, June 14, 2016 1:27 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Reply To: noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov
Subject: Fwd: Pool Report #3: POTUS Remarks at Treasury

Begin forwarded message:
From: Sabrina Siddiqui <sabrina.siddiqui@theguardian.com<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:sabrina.siddiqui@theguardian.com>>
Date: June 14, 2016 at 1:22:59 PM EDT
To: "Gabriel, Brian A. EOP/WHO" [redacted]<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:[redacted]
Subject: Pool Report #3: POTUS Remarks at Treasury
Following a meeting with his National Security Council, where he was briefed on the latest developments related to the attack in Orlando, PO
Key quotes are below -- please check them against the transcript. More quotes to come shortly.
On Orlando shooting
POTUS said there isn't currently "any information to indicate that a foreign terrorist group directed the attack in Orlando."
"It is increasingly clear, however, that the killer took in extremist information and propaganda over the Internet ... He appears to have be
Lone wolf attacks, POTUS said, are "the hardest to detect ... but we are doing everything in our power to stop these kinds of attacks."
POTUS touted the gains made against ISIS, noting it's "been a full year since ISIL has been able to mount a major offensive operation in Ira
"ISIL is on defense," POTUS said.
POTUS did not name Donald Trump but went after his proposal to ban Muslims his rhetoric toward the Muslim community in America.
"When does it end?" he said, adding it "betrays the very values America stands for."
"If we ever abandon those values, we would not only make it a lot easier to radicalize people here and around the world, but we would have b
"And then the terrorists would have won, and we cannot let that happen. I will not let that happen."
In particular, POTUS defended his decision not to use the phrase "radical Islam."
"What exactly would using this language accomplish? What exactly would it change?"
"Would it make ISIL less committed to try and kill Americans?"
"Would it bring in more allies? Is there a military strategy that is served by this? The answer is none of the above. Calling a threat by a
"The men and women who put their lives at risk and the Special Forces I ordered to get bin Laden and are now on the ground in Iraq and in Sy
"So there's no magic to the phrase 'radical Islam.' It's a political talking point. This is a political distraction."
POTUS also renewed his call on Congress to pass stricter gun laws and renew the assault weapons ban.
"We have to make it harder for people who want to kill Americans to get their hands on weapons of war that let them kill dozens of innocents
POTUS spoke for roughly 25 minutes.
--
Sabrina Siddiqui
Political Reporter
The Guardian
Cell: [redacted]
Twitter: @SabrinaSiddiqui<>http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.twitter.com/SabrinaSiddiqui<>
>http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.theguardian.com/profile/sabrina-siddiqui<<>http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.theguardian.com/pro
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The White House · 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW · Washington DC 20500 · 202-456-1111

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Thursday, December 29, 2016 11:39 AM
To:	Alzayat, Wa'el N <alzayatwn@state.gov>
Cc:	Sison, Michele J <SisonMJ@state.gov>; USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; Sison, Michele J <SisonMJ@state.gov>; Tachco, Amy N <TachcoAN@state.gov>; Ibrahim, Mounir E <IbrahimME@state.gov>; Kiel, Kristin <KielK@state.gov>
Subject:	Re: Wadi al-Barada

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Awful. Let me know if I can help

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Alzayat, Wa'el N
Sent: Thursday, December 29, 2016 11:17 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Sison, Michele J; USUN-SP-COS-DL; Sison, Michele J; Tachco, Amy N; Ibrahim, Mounir E; Kiel, Kristin
Subject: Wadi al-Barada

[redacted] B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Alzayat, Wa'el N
Sent: Thursday, December 29, 2016 11:12 AM
To: Bass, John R; Ratney, Michael A; Patterson, Anne W; Jones, Stuart E; Pounds, Timothy J; Grencik, Theresa A; Finer, Jonathan J; Kenna, Lisa D; Sullivan, Thomas D; Malley, Robert; jeffrey_M_prescott@nsc.eop.gov; Roman, Lisa; Karr, Ryan P; Parker, Samuel K; McGurk, Brett H; Wood, William B; Adler, Michael J; Krol, George A; Smith, Dana S; Decker, Karen B; Bell, Zehra H; Bell, Kimberlee; Albright, Richard A; Dorosin, Joshua L; Morgan Z. Muir; Cohen, Jonathan R; Kosnett, Philip S; Wells, Alice G (Amman); Sison, Michele J; Tachco, Amy N; Ibrahim, Mounir E; Kiel, Kristin; Rosenthal, Gavrielle (USUN-NY); Blake, Courtney; Bitar, Maher B
Cc: Boening, Emily; Farra, Nadia; Gillen, Steven; Heinzer, Clifford D; Hunter, James J; Keene, Lucas E; Leo, Scott; Martin, Maxwell A; Maze, Elizabeth P; Qureshi, Rabia Y; Totilo, Matthew A; White, Edward A; L'Ecuyer, Paula I (London); Caudill, David R; Smith-Levy, Rachel M (Amman); Friedman, Justin; Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: FW: The Spokesman's Morning Headlines - Thursday

B5

Wadi Barada near Damascus and the reportedly 100K who live there continue to be pummeled by the regime and Hezbollah in an effort to cleanse them from the area. [redacted] B5

[redacted]

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Stephane Dujarric
Sent: Thursday, December 29, 2016 9:03:21 AM (UTC-05:00) Eastern Time (US & Canada)
Subject: The Spokesman's Morning Headlines - Thursday

SPOKESMAN'S MORNING HEADLINES FOR THURSDAY, 29 DECEMBER 2016

SYRIA: **Russia President Vladimir Putin Thursday announced a nationwide ceasefire deal to come into effect across Syria from midnight and that the warring parties had agreed to sit down for peace talks. (AFP) The Syrian government and its most important ally, Russia, announced on Thursday that they had reached a cease-fire agreement with Syrian rebels and with Turkey — a potential turning point in a civil war that has lasted nearly six years and claimed hundreds of thousands of lives**. (The New York Times)

Russia and Turkey, which back opposing sides in the bitter conflict, will act as guarantors. The Syrian army said in a statement that so-called Islamic State (IS) and Jabhat Fateh al-Sham (formerly the Nusra Front) "and the groups affiliated to them" were excluded. (BBC)

Syrian Kurdish groups and their allies are expected to approve a blueprint for a system of federal government in northern Syria this week, Kurdish officials said, reaffirming their plans for autonomy as Russia and Turkey seek to revive diplomacy. (Reuters)

Russia is drumming up diplomatic support for talks in Kazakhstan next month aimed at ending the fighting in Syria, a plan that would give Moscow a greater voice in efforts to broker a settlement of the nearly six-year-old conflict. (Wall Street Journal)

The Russian embassy in Damascus was shelled twice on Wednesday afternoon, the Russian Foreign Ministry said. The Ministry described the attack as a provocation aimed at derailing peace settlement in Syria. (TASS, Russia)

A senior U.S. defense official is confirming that a top Islamic State military commander was killed by a coalition airstrike in Syria on Monday. The official says that Abu Jandal al-Kuwaiti was killed near Tabqa Dam. He was a key leader of the group in Raqqa. (AP) A pro-Islamic State group on Wednesday urged supporters of the jihadists to carry out attacks on targets such as markets and hospitals in Europe over the Christmas holiday period and urged Muslims to stay away from Christian celebrations. (Reuters)

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has continued accusing the United States of sending arms to the People's Protection Units (YPG) in Syria and of not giving support to Turkey in its fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) in Syria's al-Bab region. (Hurriyet)

The Syrian conflict "has become a cancer on a global scale", incoming UN Secretary General

Antonio Guterres has said, while hoping Washington and Moscow overcome their differences to help end the crisis. (AFP)

IRAQ: On the road to Raqqa: Kurds close in on Islamic State's Syrian capital. But a full offensive to retake the city could still be months or more away, despite hopes in Washington that an operation to take the Islamic State's most symbolically significant stronghold would be well underway before President Obama left office. (Washington Post)

The Iraqi armed forces Thursday began the second phase of the military campaign launched on October 17 aiming at recapturing Mosul from the Daesh terrorist group, an army officer said. (Anadolu)

IRAN: The Spokesman of the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran, Behrouz Kamalvandi says Iran's nuclear capabilities will help take a long step in the development of the region in the fields of science and medicine. (Press TV)

OMAN: **Oman, which has traditionally resisted Gulf Arab states' efforts to close ranks against Iran, has joined a Saudi-led coalition of Muslim countries to fight terrorism, Saudi and Gulf sources said on Wednesday**. (Reuters)

BAHRAIN: **Hopes that Bahraini activist Nabeel Rajab would be freed were dashed Wednesday after the prosecution said he will stay in custody pending another case, shortly after he was granted bail**. (AFP)

ISRAEL/PALESTINE: **In a stern parting shot, US Secretary of State John Kerry warned Israel on Wednesday that building settlements on Palestinian land threatens the country's very future as a democracy.** (AFP) "Despite our best efforts over the years, the two-state solution is now in serious jeopardy," Kerry said in remarks at the State Department. "We cannot, in good conscience, do nothing, and say nothing, when we see the hope of peace slipping away." (Reuters)

US Secretary of State John Kerry hit back Wednesday against Israeli claims that Washington conspired behind its back to push a United Nations resolution condemning its settlements. In a clear message to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government, Kerry suggested that the charge -- which he firmly denied -- could harm Israel's relationship with its most important ally. (AFP)

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on Wednesday slammed the United States State Secretary John Kerry's Middle East policy speech, denouncing Kerry as "obsessed" and "biased." (Xinhua)

President Barack Obama will not allow any further United Nations measures critical of Israel to pass during the remainder of his term, deputy national security adviser Ben Rhodes promised on Wednesday. (Times of Israel)

ISRAEL: Israel's attorney-general has ordered police to open a criminal investigation in two unspecified matters involving Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's Channel 10 television said on Wednesday. (Reuters)**TUNISIA**: The Tunisian Prime Minister Youssef Chahed has said that combatting racism is a "priority" for his government, after protests were held following a violent assault on Congolese students. (Albawaba)

MALI: A Malian state prosecutor said on Wednesday that the Islamist militant group al Mourabitoun is

suspected of kidnapping a French-Swiss aid worker from the city of Gao in northern Mali. (Reuters)

BURKINA FASO: Burkina Faso President Roch Marc Christian Kabore replaced army chief of staff Pingrenoma Zagre on Wednesday, the government said in a statement, after a string of deadly militant attacks, including against the security forces. (Reuters)

NIGERIA: **Boko Haram fighters fleeing an attack on their base last week may have used some of the girls kidnapped in 2014 from northeast Nigeria's Chibok as human shields** to prevent being fired upon by fighter jets, a military commander said on Wednesday. (Reuters)

Boko Haram's elusive leader Abubakar Shekau appeared in a new video on Thursday to dispute a claim that the jihadist group had been routed from its Sambisa Forest stronghold. (AFP)

The Nigerian government claimed on Wednesday that it has sacked 50,000 "ghost workers" from the federal payroll, a big step in its fight against corruption. (Xinhua)

SUDAN: **Sudanese lawmakers voted Wednesday to bring back the post of prime minister**, a position abolished after President Omar al-Bashir came to power in a 1989 Islamist-backed coup. (AFP)

KENYA: The European Union (EU) has delayed refunds for Kenyan troops fighting Al-Shabaab militants in Somalia amid claims of a verification hitch. (Business Daily)

SOMALIA: UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon Wednesday welcomed the inauguration of new federal parliament of Somalia, while urging the parliament to maintain the momentum to complete the electoral process. (Xinhua)

BURUNDI: The Union for National Progress (UPRONA), also party that fought for Burundi's independence, has called on Burundian citizens living in exile to return home, the party chairman said Wednesday in a statement. It urged the Burundian government to take "adequate" measures to ensure their security. (Xinhua)

DR CONGO: **A court in Democratic Republic of Congo sentenced a political opposition leader to five years in prison on Wednesday**, a human rights advocate said, a judgment that risks imperiling multi-party talks meant to organise a presidential election next year. (Reuters)

More refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have continued entering Zambia following political unrest in that country, the official state-run news agency reported on Wednesday. (Xinhua)

MOZAMBIQUE: Mozambique's escalating violence forces thousands to flee. The UN refugee agency says 8,600 people have fled from the conflict in neighbouring Malawi and Zimbabwe. This year has seen a sharp escalation in violence, and more than 15,000 people have been forced to flee to government-run camps, relatives' homes or across the border. (Daily Nation)

UNITED STATES: **US President-elect Donald Trump fueled a simmering dispute with Barack Obama on Wednesday, accusing him of derailing a smooth transition with "inflammatory" remarks, before appearing to row back**. (AFP)

The Obama administration plans to announce on Thursday a series of retaliatory measures against Russia for hacking into U.S. political institutions and individuals and leaking information in an

effort to help President-elect Donald Trump and other Republican candidates, two U.S. officials said on Wednesday. (Reuters) U.S. lawmakers on a tour of Eastern Europe are promising hard-hitting sanctions against Russia if election tampering claims are proven, while President Obama is also vowing action against the Kremlin. (Boston Herald)

UNITED STATES/UNITED NATIONS: **US President-elect Donald Trump launched a fresh salvo of accusations against the United Nations Wednesday, saying the world body had not lived up to its potential and failed to solve global problems**. (AFP) President-elect Donald Trump continued to berate the United Nations on Wednesday, saying the organization is causing problems rather than solving them and that it will be "a waste of time and money" if it doesn't start living up to its potential. (Washington Post)

Incoming UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres said he wants to meet Donald Trump "as soon as possible" and is "determined to establish a constructive dialogue with the new US administration". Guterres, who met with Russian President Vladimir Putin at the end of last month, said he hoped for a similar outcome with the American President-elect. (AFP)

Attempts to use the Middle East Quartet and the United Nations Security Council in bickering between the Democrats and the Republicans are harmful, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said in a telephone conversation with U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry on Tuesday. (TASS, Moscow)

HAITI: **Ban Ki-moon's effort on apologizing for the UN's role regarding Cholera in Haiti marked the first stage in an intensive effort to shore up Ban's legacy before he steps down as the world's top diplomat at the end of December**. **Having endured a withering barrage of attacks on his leadership from his earliest days at Turtle Bay, Ban has notched some noteworthy late victories. He browbeat states into ratifying the Paris climate accord well ahead of schedule, and promoted gay rights within the U.N. bureaucracy and with conservative governments.** (Foreign Policy)

Haiti's economy expanded by only 1.4 percent this year, according to official figures released Wednesday, as the impoverished country's electoral crisis is discouraging investment, with prospects for 2017 even more dismal. (AFP)

The end of the participation of Uruguay in MINUSTAH means the loss of the main savings source for Uruguayan Army as the UN payed Uruguay in 2015 a total of 3.7 million dollars for the participation of the soldiers in Haiti as well as a similar amount to compensate the military equipment wear. Uruguay received about 600 million dollars since 2005 from the UN to integrate MINUSTAH. (El Observador, Uruguay)

COLOMBIA: **Colombia's Congress on Wednesday approved an amnesty law to protect thousands of demobilizing Marxist guerrilla fighters from prosecution for minor crimes committed during the country's 52-year war**. The law, a key part of a peace deal signed last month between the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) rebels, will not include fighters who have committed war crimes or human rights violations. (Reuters)

Not a single "no" vote was cast on Wednesday as both houses of Colombia's Congress approved a bill granting amnesty to members of the FARC guerrilla group who lay down their arms under the peace accord signed last month. (EFE)

VENEZUELA: New Venezuelan coins began circulating Wednesday in the capital Caracas, but long-awaited new bills had yet to arrive, prolonging the chaos unleashed by a botched currency reform. (AFP)

RUSSIA: Minister of Transport Maxim Sokolov said a technical fault most likely caused the crash of a Ministry of Defense Tu-154 airliner that killed all 92 people on board. According to the Ministry of Defense, the pilot of the plane announced an emergency situation prior to the crash. (Prime news agency)

Russian authorities investigating the crash of a military plane that killed 92 people said on Thursday there was no explosion on board but they had not ruled out a "terrorist act" as the cause. (Reuters)

UKRAINE: Two members of the Armed Forces of Ukraine have been killed and two wounded in the past day as a result of hostilities in the Anti-Terrorist operation (ATO) zone in Donbas, ATO speaker for the Defense Minister Oleksandr Motuzianyk has said. (Interfax – Ukraine)

GERMANY: German anti-terrorism experts believed Berlin truck attack suspect Anis Amri was unlikely to commit an assault, even though he was a known Islamist who had volunteered for a suicide attack, a report said Thursday. (AFP) Prosecutors in western Germany say they opened a fraud investigation earlier this year against Anis Amri, the main suspect in last week's Berlin truck attack, suspecting that he simultaneously claimed benefits in two towns under different identities. (ABC News)

UNITED KINGDOM: **Dozens of child asylum seekers formerly from the Jungle camp in Calais have launched a legal challenge to Home Secretary Amber Rudd.** Lawyers say 28 of them want written reasons for the determination that it was not in their "best interests" to be relocated to the UK. (BBC)

DENMARK: The Danish immigration service, Udlaendingestyrelsen, is currently investigating the possibility of sending about 100 Somali quota refugees back to their home country. (The Copenhagen Post)

ITALY: Italian coast guards rescued more than 900 migrants in the Mediterranean on Wednesday after they were found by two of their ships. (EFE)

PHILIPPINES: Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte derided U.S. ambassadors as "spies" on Thursday, responding to a media report of an alleged American plot to destabilize his government, a job he said some envoys were appointed solely to do. (Reuters)

JAPAN: **Japan's defence minister went to a controversial war shrine in Tokyo Thursday**, media reports said, the day after accompanying Prime Minister Shinzo Abe on a highly symbolic visit to Pearl Harbor. **The shrine honours millions of mostly Japanese war dead and has been criticised by countries such as China and South Korea which suffered under Japan's colonialism and aggression in the first half of the 20th century**. (AFP)

REPUBLIC OF KOREA: **South Korean police surrounded dozens of protesters holding a sit-in demonstration in Busan Wednesday, on the first anniversary of an agreement to compensate victims of Japan's twentieth century sexual slavery**. Up to 150 activists tried to install a statue of a young girl outside the southeastern city's Japanese consulate, according to local media, emulating a similar monument to so-called comfort women across from Tokyo's embassy in Seoul. (Anadolu)

MYANMAR: **Bangladesh's border guard accused the Myanmar navy on Wednesday of opening fire on a fishing boat in the Bay of Bengal, underlining tensions over a refugee crisis.** (Reuters)

China is extending its sway over an autonomous enclave run by Myanmar's most powerful ethnic armed group, sources in the region told Reuters, bolstering Beijing's role in the peace process that is the signature policy of Aung San Suu Kyi. (Reuters)

CHINA: Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen will pass through the United States when she visits Latin America next month, the Taiwan Foreign Ministry said on Thursday (Dec 29), angering China which urged the United States to block any such stopover. Details of the stopovers will be disclosed before the end of this week, the ministry said. (Straits Times – Singapore)

Five people were killed in a clash at a branch of the Communist Party in the western Chinese region of Xinjiang, the state news media reported on Thursday. (The New York Times)

PAPUA-NEW GUINEA: **Researchers have warned that villagers in Papua New Guinea could be facing future food shortages because of a dramatic increase in population**. (ABC Radio Australia)

AUSTRALIA: **Australia's spending on foreign aid is at an eight-year low**, with planned increases by 2020 still less than spending by the Rudd and Gillard governments more than a decade earlier. (The Age)

SECRETARY-GENERAL: UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, after racking up the Paris Climate Change Agreement and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), has been lavished with praise in the last days of his 10-year tenure although he has been also criticized on other fronts. (Global Times-China)

Stopping protectors from becoming predators: the United Nations flag represents the highest ideals of humanity. All those who work under this banner have a responsibility to live up to those values. As I end ten years as head of the world Organization, I feel enormous anguish that sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers continues to compound the suffering of people already caught up in armed conflict. (Op-ed, Huffington Post)

Disclaimer: These Headlines consist of selected excerpts from press articles for the information of UN and Mission personnel. The inclusion of headlines does not imply endorsement by the UN. The Office of the Spokesperson for the Secretary-General cannot vouch for the accuracy of these reports.

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Thursday, December 29, 2016 10:16 AM
To: USUN-COMMS-DL <USUN-COMMS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: WaPo / How the U.S. came to abstain on a U.N. resolution condemning Israeli settlements

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Kim, Ji Yun <kimjiyun@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 29, 2016 8:40 AM
To: USUN-MiddleEastNews-DL
Subject: WaPo / How the U.S. came to abstain on a U.N. resolution condemning Israeli settlements

How the U.S. came to abstain on a U.N. resolution condemning Israeli settlements
December 28, 2016
Washington Post
By Karen DeYoung

On Dec. 21, amid his morning workout, an afternoon round of golf and a family dinner with friends, President Obama interrupted his Hawaii vacation to consult by phone with his top national security team in Washington. Egypt had introduced a resolution at the U.N. Security Council condemning Israeli settlements as illegal, and a vote was scheduled for the next day.

The idea had been circulating at the council for months, but the abrupt timing was a surprise. Obama was open to abstaining, he said on the call, provided the measure was "balanced" in its censure of terrorism and Palestinian violence and there were no last-minute changes in the text.

Skeptics, including Vice President Biden, warned of fierce backlash in Congress and in Israel itself. But most agreed that the time had come to take a stand. The rapid increase of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, despite escalating U.S. criticism, could very well close the door to any hope of negotiating side-by-side Israeli and Palestinian states. Pending Israeli legislation would retroactively legalize settlements already constructed on Palestinian land.

The resolution's sponsors, four countries in addition to Egypt, were determined to call a vote before Obama left office. A U.S. veto would not only imply approval of Israeli actions but also likely take Israel off the hook for at least the next four years during President-elect Donald Trump's administration.

"People debated whether the backlash to the vote, if we abstained, would do more harm than good, that it would reverberate into our politics, into Israeli politics, and would accelerate trends," a senior administration official said. But "every potential argument about making things worse is already happening."

Israel had been a third rail of U.S. political debate for decades, but Obama, aides noted, never had to run for office again. He had nothing to lose.

When the vote finally came two days later, all but one of the Security Council's 15 members, including Russia,

China and the United States' closest European allies, approved it. U.S. Ambassador Samantha Power, who had just received the go-ahead from Obama, via a call from White House national security adviser Susan E. Rice, raised her hand high in abstention. The resolution was approved.

Reaction was as predicted. Members of Congress charged that Obama had undercut one of the United States' closest allies. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu called the measure "absurd," and his government said the United States had secretly "colluded" with the Palestinians on the resolution — a charge Obama aides heatedly denied.

Trump, who had publicly urged a veto, tweeted for Israel to "stay strong" until his inauguration. Trump clearly plans a sharp change of course in U.S. policy. Chief Trump strategist Stephen K. Bannon and others close to the president-elect have grown increasingly unhappy with administration comments in recent weeks, especially on Israel. Bannon and Trump son-in-law Jared Kushner are leading the president-elect's efforts on the Israel debate during the transition, fielding calls from Israeli officials and allies, and arranging meetings, according to several people familiar with the internal setup.

Asked by reporters Wednesday whether he thinks the United States should leave the United Nations, Trump said that as long as the international body is "solving problems" rather than causing them, "if it lives up to its potential, it's a great thing. If it doesn't, it's a waste of time."

But for the moment, at least, according to senior Obama administration officials who discussed the road to the president's decision on the condition of anonymity, the administration takes some satisfaction in that the issue of settlements and the perceived risk they pose to an eventual Israeli-Palestinian peace deal is back on the international agenda.

The first public hint of the move came in the heat of the U.S. presidential campaign in September, just after nominees Trump and Hillary Clinton held meetings with Netanyahu in New York. In an Israeli television interview, Dan Shapiro, U.S. ambassador to Israel, said Obama was "asking himself" about the best way to promote a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

"This could be a statement we make or a resolution or an initiative at the U.N. . . . which contributes to an effort to be continued by the next administration," he said.

Shapiro clearly anticipated a Clinton victory, reflecting thinking within the administration that if Obama took the heat for a critical statement or resolution, she would be in a better position to play the "good cop" and move Israel toward substantive negotiations. For her part, Clinton had expressed no interest in a resolution.

The United States had long declined to join much of the rest of the world in defining as "illegal" the building of Israeli housing in the West Bank and majority-Palestinian East Jerusalem. The final decision on who had the rights to what land was to be negotiated, according to decades of international agreements by Israelis and Palestinians.

During his eight years in office, Obama had tried to kick-start direct Israeli-Palestinian talks over a "final status" accord, including with nearly two years of intensive negotiations by Secretary of State John F. Kerry. Throughout that time, the administration had avoided Security Council action on the issue, persuading sponsors to withdraw potential resolutions before a vote.

The Palestinians were always lobbying for a vote, although the administration considered most of the proposed resolutions too one-sided. At the same time, the administration's thinking was that there was no point in preempting talks if there were still a realistic chance of getting the parties back to the table.

But with settlements rapidly expanding, and senior officials in Netanyahu's right-wing coalition saying the two-state solution was effectively dead, other Security Council members were agitating for a new resolution, and the administration was listening.

So was Netanyahu's government, which picked up immediately on Shapiro's comments.

Trump's Nov. 8 victory increased Israeli concern of a preemptive move by Obama, along with determination by other U.N. members to table a resolution before the new U.S. administration took office.

The Palestinians and Egypt — which currently holds the rotating Arab seat on the Security Council — had been talking up a new resolution on settlements since the summer. At the same time, New Zealand, which had withheld a previous measure at the United States' request, had written a new draft.

Both versions began to circulate in early December. The United States, in discussions with New Zealand and indirectly with Egypt, insisted it would not even consider the matter unless the resolutions were more balanced to reflect criticism of Palestinian violence along with condemnation of Israeli settlements, according to U.S. officials.

The officials categorically denied Israeli allegations this week that the United States secretly pushed the resolutions. An Egyptian newspaper report alleging that Rice and Kerry met in early December with Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat and the head of Palestinian intelligence to plot the resolution was false, officials said. While Kerry and Rice met separately with Erekat during a visit here, they said, there was no intelligence official and no discussion of a resolution.

The officials also denied that Biden, in two mid-December calls to Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko, had urged a "yes" vote in the council. Biden, who handles the Ukraine account for the White House, calls Poroshenko several times a month, and those times were supporting the proposed nationalization of a corrupt bank.

The Egyptian draft, tweaked with help from Britain, was submitted to the council on Dec. 21. As often happens when competing and overlapping resolutions circulate, New Zealand and co-sponsors Malaysia, Senegal and Venezuela decided to drop their version and support the nearly identical Egyptian resolution in order to cut short prolonged negotiations and push for a vote.

"The United States did not draft or originate this resolution. Nor did we put it forward," Kerry said in a speech Wednesday. "It was drafted by Egypt . . . which is one of Israel's closest friends in the region, in coordination with the Palestinians and others."

The final text was carefully drawn to use identical, or near-identical, language to resolutions dating to the 1970s on Israel and the Palestinians that the United States had previously approved.

"We wanted to see Security Council action," said a diplomat from one of the sponsors. "We wanted the international community to reaffirm the two-state solution."

"We wanted to do it; it's a very important issue for us," said another diplomat, who said there had been "no conversation" with the United States about the subject. "I didn't see the U.S. play any role at all."

In the meantime, however, Egypt came under sharp pressure from Israel — which frequently supports U.S. military aid to Cairo — and from Trump, who called Egyptian President Abdel Fatah al-Sissi. Arab foreign

ministers convened a Thursday meeting in Cairo, and by midday, Egypt had withdrawn its resolution. A scheduled 3 p.m. vote was canceled.

Under Security Council rules, co-sponsors can still put the resolution forward, which is what New Zealand and the others did Friday, when the council reconvened for a vote.

At the time, according to several diplomats, few — if any — knew how the United States would vote.

Official
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RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, December 28, 2016 11:31 AM
To: Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC [redacted] Ben Rhodes [redacted] B6
Subject: Fw: SMART Core / Tel Aviv Media Reaction: December 28, 2016

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Priskos, Stefani <PriskosS@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, December 28, 2016 11:25 AM
To: USUN-MiddleEastNews-DL
Subject: SMART Core / Tel Aviv Media Reaction: December 28, 2016

From: SMART Core
Sent: Wednesday, December 28, 2016 6:56 AM
To: Fern, Daniel D; Conahan, Donald J; Degory, John A; Sardar, Satrajit; Tomaselli, Elizabeth
Subject: Tel Aviv Media Reaction: December 28, 2016

UNCLASSIFIED

Action Office: Z_ALL, PA

MRN: 16 TEL AVIV 4506
Date/DTG: Dec 28, 2016 / 281154Z DEC 16
From: AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
Action: JEDDAH, AMCONSUL *ROUTINE*; WHITE HOUSE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; USUN NEW YORK, USMISSION *ROUTINE*; RABAT, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; LONDON, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; PARIS, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; ROME, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; RIYADH, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; ANKARA, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; BEIRUT, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; CAIRO, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; AMMAN, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; ALGIERS, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; ABU DHABI, AMEMBASSY *ROUTINE*; JERUSALEM, AMCONSUL *ROUTINE*; WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC *ROUTINE*; WASHDC, SECSTATE *ROUTINE*
E.O.: 13526
TAGS: OPRC, KMDR, IL
Subject: Tel Aviv Media Reaction: December 28, 2016

PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE TEL AVIV

MEDIA REACTION:

Wednesday, December 28, 2016

Summary: All media cite a report in Egyptian media, quoting minutes of an alleged meeting between a Palestinian delegation and American officials, including Secretary of State Kerry and National Security Advisor Susan Rice. All media also report that Kerry is expected to give a speech today and layout the Obama administration's vision for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The reports on the fallout of Friday's UNSC vote continue in all media outlets. Army Radio reports that the Jerusalem Municipal Planning and Construction Committee has taken all the plans to build hundreds of new housing units in the east neighborhoods off the agenda at the request of PM Netanyahu. Additional coverage includes reports that a Ukrainian MP introduced a bill to move the country's embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem; MK Basel Ghattas was released for house arrest, during which he will be able to participate in Knesset votes; Harsh reactions to a report that PM Netanyahu instructed Israel's UN delegation to skip a UNGA vote on war crimes in Syria. End summary.

Click to jump:

- U.S.-PALESTINIAN TALKS LEAKED
- KERRY SPEECH ON MIDDLE EAST
- UNSC RESOLUTION AFTERMATH
- JERUSALEM CONSTRUCTION
- ISRAEL-FRANCE
- ISRAEL-UKRAINE
- ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT
- MK GHATTAS TO HOUSE ARREST
- ISRAEL'S ABSENCE FROM THE UN VOTE ON SYRIA
- F-35 TEST FLIGHT
- BLOCK QUOTES

Yotam Fishbain (cartoonist,) Facebook, 12/28 - "The number one diplomat"

U.S.-PALESTINIAN TALKS LEAKED

All media cite a report in Egyptian news website El-Youm el-Sabaa, quoting minutes of an alleged meeting between a Palestinian delegation and American officials some ten days prior to the Security Council vote against the settlements. According to the minutes, top American administration officials coordinated the Security Council vote with the Palestinians, who on their part warned that the PLO would retract its recognition of Israel should the U.S. Embassy move from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Israel Radio reports that Saeb Erekat, Commander of the General Intelligence Service Maj. Gen. Majed Faraj, the Palestinian Ambassador to Washington and other advisors are alleged to have attended the meeting with Kerry, National Security Advisor Susan Rice and other American officials. The reports also cite the Egyptian website as reporting that Kerry and Rice said during the meeting that Netanyahu was seeking to destroy the two-state solution and that he wanted the status-quo in the territories with relief for Palestinians. The Americans asked the Palestinians to continue security coordination with Israel, prevent terrorist attacks, and refrain from undertaking drastic measures such as dismantling the PA or making a bid at the International Criminal Court in The Hague. The reports also note that the source of the leak of the minutes to the Egyptian website is unknown, but Ha'aretz adds that the five-page Arabic document appears to be a summary of the meeting, composed by the Palestinian delegation, and if it turns out to be authentic, it was probably leaked by officials in the Egyptian government.

According to the document, Kerry and Rice asked Erekat and the other members of the delegation to keep the meeting top secret, adding that they wanted to avoid leaks of the meeting to the media because of the sensitivity of the transition to the Trump administration. Kerry is also quoted as suggesting during the meeting that he would give a speech presenting principles to resolve the core issues between the Palestinians and Israel – adding that he would do so only if the Palestinians supported the principles he put forward. According to the leaked document, Rice also warned the Palestinian delegation that the Trump administration was very dangerous for them because his positions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict differed from those of all American administrations since 1967, and recommended that the Palestinians take seriously what Trump's advisers were saying about moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem and annexation of parts of the West Bank to Israel.

State Department Deputy Spokesman Mark Toner is quoted as denying the contents of the document, and saying that Kerry did not discuss the American position regarding the UNSC resolution in his meeting with Erekat and the Palestinian delegation.

KERRY SPEECH ON MIDDLE EAST

All media report that U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry is expected to give a speech tonight, and lay out the Obama administration's stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. According to the reports, Kerry will clarify the issue of the abstention by the U.S. in the UN Security Council vote. A top administration official is quoted as saying that it was important to make it clear that the two-state principle is at risk and to express the profound understanding that the administration feels for Israel and the Palestinians' red lines. The official also reportedly added that Kerry will address Israel's mistaken allegations that Washington had concocted and initiated the vote against it. Yediot Ahronot notes that the speech is expected to address the American principles for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which would include an end of the occupation and formula for addressing the core issues—borders, Jerusalem, security and refugees. The report also notes that Israeli officials are worried that the principles presented by Kerry today would gain international support at the upcoming French Peace Summit and later be brought to a vote as a resolution at the UNSC – before the end of President Obama's term.

Public Security Minister Gilad Erdan (Likud) referred to Kerry's upcoming speech in an interview on Channel Two News this morning, saying that it was against peace and democracy. Erdan also said that Kerry was

expected to support the Palestinian position, and added: "We know about the American administration's involvement in the miserable vote in the UNSC and we hope that the damage left behind by the outgoing administration can be fixed." After saying that he hoped that the Trump administration would be able to mend the damage caused by the Obama administration, Erdan also said: "This speech is as destructive as the chaos that the Obama administration is leaving behind in the Middle East—the agreement with Iran and the turn of events in Syria and Iraq. For eight years we tried to maintain restraint despite the enormous ideological disagreements with the Obama administration, which erred in its conception of the turn of events in the Middle East and failed to adhere to the principles that it had laid out, such as opposition to chemical weapons in Syria."

UNSC RESOLUTION AFTERMATH

The diplomatic and political fallout of the UN Security Council vote last Friday continues to make headlines this morning. Yediot Ahronot quotes Deputy Foreign Minister Tzipi Hotovely as criticizing PM Netanyahu's decision to cancel visits and meetings with heads of state and other officials from countries that supported the resolution against the settlements. Hotovely, who is considered to have a close working relationship with Netanyahu, is quoted as saying: "Cancelling the visits was not a good idea. We should have received the leaders and clearly explained to them our position against the despicable resolution that was approved by the UNSC. We need to explain to them to what extent they are damaging their own interests." In wake of the resolution vote on Friday, PM and Foreign Minister Netanyahu ordered to cancel the scheduled visits of the Ukrainian PM and the Senegalese Foreign Minister, and announced that he would not meet with the British and Chinese PMs during the economic conference in Davos. The Foreign Ministry also canceled the international aid program for Angola—a program that amounted to hosting a single person at a workshop in Israel.

Ma'ariv quotes an official statement issued yesterday by the French Foreign Ministry in wake of the UNSC vote and the preparations for the international peace summit scheduled to be held on January 15 in Paris – as well as the harsh reactions to these topics in Israel. The French statement reportedly warned that the Israelis and the Palestinians "must refrain from any steps that are liable to undermine the two-state solution. Only the two-state solution will make it possible to establish a just and sustainable peace that will ensure Israel's security. This is what the Security Council approved when it adopted Resolution 2334 on December 23."

Meanwhile, Yediot and Israel Hayom also quote several cabinet ministers as lashing out at U.S. President Obama for the U.S. not casting a veto on the resolution. Culture and Sports Minister Miri Regev (Likud) is quoted as saying, "Who's Obama? Obama is history. We have Trump, we have an excellent Prime Minister who is dealing with enormous challenges in order to preserve our security—and we have the Holy God Blessed Be He." Minister of Science, Technology and Space Ofir Akunis (Likud) is quoted as saying: "Obama's conduct shames him more than it hurts us. […] this is not how allies behave." Conversely, Army Radio quotes Transport Minister Yisrael Katz, also of the Likud, as saying that Israel needs America and must treat it with respect, saying: "without the U.S., we have no status in the international organizations." However, Katz also criticized the Obama administration for cooperating with what he called the extreme UNSC resolution'

<u>Netanyahu's Last Minute Attempts to Avoid Friday's Vote Revealed</u>

Ha'aretz and Ma'ariv report that PM Netanyahu phoned New Zealand's Foreign Minister Murray McCully on Friday, a few hours prior to the UNSC vote, and attempted to persuade him to postpone it. Netanyahu reportedly threatened McCully: "If you continue to promote this resolution from our point of view it will be a declaration of war. It will rupture the relations and there will be consequences. We'll recall our Ambassador to Jerusalem." McCully reportedly refused to back down from the vote and replied to Netanyahu that "this resolution conforms to our policy and we will move it forward." Ha'aretz notes that when McCully visited Israel and met with Netanyahu just one month earlier, Netanyahu was "pleasant, friendly and overflowing with warmth." The report also adds that a few hours prior to Netanyahu's threatening phone call to McCully on

Friday, a senior official in the Israeli Foreign Ministry called New Zealand's Ambassador to Israel, Jonathan Curr, and warned that if New Zealand's move came to a vote, Israel might close its Embassy in Wellington in protest.

The report quotes anonymous western diplomats as saying that Britain – as well as the Palestinians and some of the Gulf States – exerted pressure on New Zealand, Senegal, Malaysia and Venezuela to move ahead with the resolution after Egypt backed down on it. Israeli diplomats are quoted as adding that the Brits have also worked directly with the Palestinians on the wording of the resolution even before it was distributed by Egypt. According to the reports, officials in Jerusalem suspect that the Brits were acting on behalf of the Americans, to make sure the resolution was to President Obama's liking, but without the need to intervene directly in formulating it.

According to Ha'aretz, Netanyahu also called Russian President Vladimir Putin and tried to persuade him to tackle the vote. Following that conversation, the Russian Ambassador to the UN Vitaly Churkin asked the other ambassadors just an hour before the vote to postpone it until after Christmas, explaining that there had not been enough discussion on the wording of the resolution. A western diplomat is quoted as saying that the Russian Ambassador, who realized that he had not managed to garner support, backed down.

JERUSALEM CONSTRUCTION

Israel Radio reported this morning that the Jerusalem Municipal Committee for Planning and Construction is scheduled to authorize today building permits for approximately 490 housing units in the neighborhoods of Ramat Shlomo and Ramot today. Authorization to build 316 apartments will be given in Ramot, along with 174 housing units in Ramat Shlomo. Committee Chairman Meir Turgeman is quoted as saying that he was not getting emotional over the UNSC resolution or any official who attempted to dictate to Israel how to conduct itself in Jerusalem.

However, later reports said that the Committee has taken all of said plans off the agenda, following a request by PM Netanyahu according to Army Radio.

ISRAEL-FRANCE

Ma'ariv reports that PM Netanyahu will meet in Jerusalem today with Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur Regional Council President Christian Estrosi, a former French minister and one of the leaders of the French Republican party. The report cited election polls that indicate that the party's candidate, François Fillon, has the best chances of being elected the next president of France in the spring. According to the reports, Estrosi is expected to play a senior role in a potential administration led by Fillon, with whom Netanyahu spoke recently. In today's meeting, Estrosi is expected to deliver a message to Netanyahu from Fillon and his party in view of the crisis with Paris over its vote in the UNSC and the upcoming peace summit. The report quotes Estrosi as saying that the next administration, should Fillon be elected, will alter French policy on Israel for the better and take action to strengthen bilateral ties. However, the report also notes that Fillon himself has expressed in the past his support of more rigorous steps by the EU against Israel with regard to the settlements.

The report also quotes an official statement issued yesterday by the French Foreign Ministry, as saying in response to Israeli statements against the international peace summit, particularly those voiced by Defense Minister Avigdor Lieberman, that "Peace in the Middle East must be built in the spirit of tolerance, openness and dialogue." The statement also added that the conference will be "an opportunity for the participants to present an inclusive package of incentives for resuming Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. Only the sides themselves can achieve peace directly."

ISRAEL-UKRAINE

Ma'ariv reports that a Jewish Ukrainian MP has sponsored a bill to move his country's embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. MP Oleksandr Feldman is quoted as explaining in a Facebook post: "I am very angry about what happened in the vote against Israel in the Security Council and the fact that Ukraine did not abstain, resulting in the cancelation of our leader's visit to Israel." The MP added: "I think that we, the Ukrainians, should revise this situation that brought about an unprecedented diplomatic incident. The best way to do that is by means of moving the Ukrainian Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem."

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

Shin Bet against Terror

Israel Radio quoted Shin Bet (security Service) Director Nadav Argaman as saying yesterday that the organization had thwarted over 400 substantial terror attacks in 2016. PM Netanyahu is quoted as saying at the same ceremony held for decorating Shin Bet officials for nine operations in recent years, that the Shin Bet carried out hundreds of operations annually that were a defensive shield against terrorism.

Bedouin Terrorist Cell Uncovered

All media report that the Shin Bet arrested two Israeli citizens from the Negev in late November on suspicion of involvement in a plot to commit attacks on Israeli soldiers to avenge in the outlawing of the Israeli Islamic movement's northern branch last year by the Israeli government. Three other suspects, all Negev residents, had been detained on suspicion of trafficking in weapons to be used in the alleged plot. Security officials are quoted as saying that the two primary suspects confessed to the plan and following their arrest, reenacted their part in the alleged plot.

MK GHATTAS TO HOUSE ARREST

All media report that MK Basel Ghattas was released yesterday for house arrest for 10 days, during which he will be allowed to enter the Knesset and vote as an ordinary MK. As recalled, Ghattas was arrested last Thursday, following the lifting of his parliamentary immunity, for suspicion of smuggling cell phones and letters to two convicted Palestinian security prisoners in Ketziot Prison.

ISRAEL'S ABSENCE FROM THE UN VOTE ON SYRIA

All media report on harsh reactions to yesterday's report by Yediot Ahronot PM Netanyahu instructed Israel's UN delegation to skip a General Assembly vote on a proposal to establish an international mechanism for gathering evidence for crimes against humanity that are being committed in Syria. Some of the reports assert that the PM's directive was at Russian President Putin's request.

Yesh Atid Chairman Yair Lapid is quoted as slamming Netanyahu for the decision, adding: "today is my father's birthday (Lapid's father was the former cabinet minister and journalist, Yosef "Tommy" Lapid) If [...] My father was a Holocaust survivor. In Syria children are being murdered. Tens of thousands of children are starving, just as he starved, are sentenced to death, just as he was. And we didn't bother to come to the vote. If he were to hear that we were silent at that moment, he wouldn't forgive us." A retired high-ranking IDF officer is quoted as saying: "It is very sad to see the moral place we've come to, in which we haven't got a drop of morality to demand that the murderers in Syria be prosecuted." A senior UN official from a Western country is quoted as mocking Netanyahu's description of the UNSC resolution about the settlements as "shameful," saying: "this truly is shameful and disgraceful that he preaches morality to everyone but when it's Israel's turn to take a stance he instructs his people to flee from the discussion. He ought to be ashamed of himself!"

The report in Ha'aretz notes that on Saturday night, following Friday's UNSC vote, Netanyahu said: "Think about this absurdity, Half a million human beings are being slaughtered in Syria … The entire Middle East is going up in flames and the Obama administration and the Security Council choose to gang up on the only democracy in the Middle East: the State of Israel. What a disgrace."

F-35 TEST FLIGHT

Israel Hayom and Yediot Ahronot report that the Israeli Air Force [IAF] Commander Maj Gen Amir Eshel took the new American-made fighter jet, the F-35 [Adir] for a test flight yesterday. Eshel is quoted as saying: "this is a new generation, this is a new era, this is a capability we did not know in the past. […] I do not doubt that the 'Adir', along with all the wonderful people here at the Nevatim air base, will bring a large-scale change to the IAF."

BLOCK QUOTES

UNSC RESOLUTION AFTERMATH

THE MOST IMPRTANT RULE IS - DON'T FORSAKE YOUR FRIENDS

Foreign News Editor Boaz Bismuth, who was Israel's former Ambassador to Mauritania, wrote in the pro-Netanyahu Israel Hayom (12/28): "In another apocalyptic editorial, Ha'aretz ruled yesterday that "Netanyahu is dragging Israel into an abyss." […] Israel chose to respond to the UNSC resolution with legitimate diplomatic tools that the editorial staff of Ha'aretz for some reason perceive as breaking all the rules, even though in every properly run country it is acceptable to protest to ambassadors for unsupportive activities. […] Ha'aretz claims that Netanyahu broke the rules, but the most important rule in life, both between individuals and between states, is that you do not forsake your friends. President Obama, whose failing foreign policy made the Middle East worse than perhaps any president before him, violated this gentleman's rule time and again. […] The citizens of Israel elected their Prime Minister, and not the president of the United States, so that he would protect their interests."

YOU PASSED A RESOLUTION BUT SOLVED NOTHING

"Chief Economic Editor and senior columnist Sever Plotker wrote in the mass-circulation, pluralist Yediot Ahronot (12/28): "Much has been written over the past several days about the UNSC resolution about the settlements. Its principal problem is that it is unwise; it is a stupid resolution. And stupidity, in a world in which facts carry no weight, is dangerous. […] what is the point of the UNSC resolution? What and whom does it serve, barring the opportunity it provides several governments around the world to blow off steam over completely different issues? It did a disservice to the two peoples. The stupidity of the resolution becomes even more salient when one reads it closely. It does not contain even a shadow of a recommendation for a reasonable Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement as opposed, for example, to the operative resolution that was passed to conclude the Second Lebanon War. It does not have even a single foothold for anyone who truly wants to end the occupation. To the contrary, it paves the way for the perpetuation of the occupation: if that is the best that the prattlers of the world can do, let them continue to be against us. We'll do as we please and will remain defiant. We'll manage. […] Finally, the UNSC was misguided in terms of its political substance. It isn't the settlements that are the problem; the occupation is the problem, and it is the occupation that needs to be ended, as the late Ariel Sharon said. The problem is that the members of the UN SC haven't got a clue how to accomplish that."

U.S.-ISRAEL

THE RULE OF EVIDENCE

Liberal columnist Professor Aviad Kleinberg wrote in the mass-circulation, pluralist Yediot Ahronot (12/28): "There was something strange about the statement that was made by the Israeli ambassador to the U.S., Ron Dermer, that Israel would "present evidence" proving that Obama was behind the UN resolution. Evidence! From the perspective of Netanyahu's Israel, the American decision to refrain from vetoing a resolution that does not contradict its own policies (settlements are an obstacle to peace) is a crime that it, the State of Israel, is investigating. It isn't merely investigating either. It has evidence that it intends to present to the authorities – in this case the new boss, Trump. [...] To a great extent, Obama's U.S. has fed Netanyahu's delusions. It took in stride all of the spitting, insults and lies, and refrained from reacting. [...] Obama contributed his fair share to Netanyahu's delusions of grandeur, which primarily manifest themselves in the sense that actions have no consequences in everything that pertains to the U.S. We do as we please, and the Americans politely take out their checkbooks and pay anyway. [...] Trump and Netanyahu speak the same emotional and political language. But that is precisely the problem: megalomaniacs understand one another, but only rarely do they get along with one another. Trump might move the American embassy to Jerusalem and announce that he doesn't give a hoot about the UN and the Palestinians, but the good times that were made possible by Obama are about to end. If there is something that Trump is not going to tolerate it is that anyone might dare to give the U.S. (in other words, him) the sense that it is the junior partner, that it needs to take insults in stride for the sake of the greater cause (no cause is greater than Trump's own ego). For Trump, dignity (the United States'/his own) is of paramount importance. At some point Israel's policy of "we do as we please" is going to step on Trump's toes. What will happen then?"

Nitzan Levy-Polliack
Press Section
Public Diplomacy Office
U.S. Embassy, Tel Aviv
Levy-PolliackXN@state.gov

B6

Signature:	SHAPIRO
Drafted By:	TEL AVIV:Levy-Polliack, Nitzan
Cleared By:	Public Diplomacy Section (PD):Alexander, Alexis J
Approved By:	Public Diplomacy Section (PD):Alexander, Alexis J
Released By:	TEL AVIV:Levy-Polliack, Nitzan
Action Post:	USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
Dissemination Rule:	Z_ALL, PA

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Official
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RELEASE IN PART
B6

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Friday, June 10, 2016 10:03 AM
To:	Cass Sunstein < [redacted] B6
Subject:	Fw: Irish PM says would meet Trump and tell him his views are racist (Reuters)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: StateOpsSubscriptions <StateOpsSubscriptions@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, June 10, 2016 9:40 AM
Subject: Irish PM says would meet Trump and tell him his views are racist (Reuters)

News Tickers

June 10, 2016 0939 EDT

Irish PM says would meet Trump and tell him his views are racist (Reuters)

DUBLIN (Reuters) - Ireland's prime minister said on Friday he is open to meeting Donald Trump, who is due to visit Ireland this month, but he would use the opportunity to tell the presumptive Republican U.S. presidential nominee that his views are racist.

Enda Kenny told the Irish parliament last week that he believed Trump had made "racist and dangerous" comments during his campaign to secure the Republican nomination and later said there were no plans in place to meet him.

Pressed by reporters on Friday, Kenny said: "I would have no difficulty in meeting Donald Trump"

although he had not been contacted about a meeting yet.

Asked if he would use a meeting to explain why he thought Trump's comments were racist, Kenny said: "Certainly. I would be very happy to."

Trump announced last week he would to visit his golf course in Doonbeg on Ireland's west coast during a trip to Scotland and Ireland on June 22-25.

Trump last year angered many on both sides of the Atlantic by proposing a temporary ban on Muslims entering the United States as a response to Islamist attacks in Paris and California. His comments about stopping Mexican migrants entering the United States also caused offence.

British Prime Minister David Cameron has described comments made by Trump as "divisive, stupid and wrong".

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 11:07 AM
To: Gee, Stephen J <GeeSJ@state.gov>; Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; Sokoler, Jennifer <SokolerJ@state.gov>; Klein, Christopher C <KleinCC@state.gov>; Farid, Omar <FaridO@state.gov>; Myers, Nathaniel <MyersN@state.gov>; Sokoler, Jennifer <SokolerJ@state.gov>; Pressman, David <PressmanD@state.gov>; Kris, Robert E <KrisRE@state.gov>; Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>; Simonoff, Mark A <SimonoffMA@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Time sens eu speech

Tks I'm OK w below. Can someone confirm that and other changes coming?
Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Gee, Stephen J
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 11:05 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Sokoler, Jennifer; Klein, Christopher C; Farid, Omar; Myers, Nathaniel; Sokoler, Jennifer; Pressman, David; Kris, Robert E; Aguirre, Sergio; Simonoff, Mark A
Subject: Re: Time sens eu speech

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 10:57 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Sokoler, Jennifer; Klein, Christopher C; Farid, Omar; Myers, Nathaniel; Sokoler, Jennifer; Gee, Stephen J; Pressman, David; Kris, Robert E; Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Time sens eu speech

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 10:45 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus

Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Sokoler, Jennifer; Klein, Christopher C; Farid, Omar; Myers, Nathaniel; Sokoler, Jennifer; Gee, Stephen J; Pressman, David; Kris, Robert E; Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Time sens eu speech

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Monday, June 6, 2016 10:42 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Sokoler, Jennifer; Klein, Christopher C; Farid, Omar; Myers, Nathaniel; Sokoler, Jennifer; Gee, Stephen J; Pressman, David; Kris, Robert E; Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: RE: Time sens eu speech

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Monday, June 06, 2016 10:23 AM
To: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; Sokoler, Jennifer
Subject: Time sens eu speech

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Tuesday, December 27, 2016 11:15 AM
To:	Haines, Avril [redacted] B6
Subject:	FW: Fox News / SP / Israel suggests US should consider cutting funds to UN after Security Council vote

[redacted] B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Kim, Ji Yun
Sent: Tuesday, December 27, 2016 11:09 AM
To: USUN-Media-Officers; USUN-MiddleEastNews-DL
Subject: Fox News / SP / Israel suggests US should consider cutting funds to UN after Security Council vote

Israel suggests US should consider cutting funds to UN after Security Council vote
December 27, 2016
Fox News

Israel's ambassador to the United States on Monday slammed the United Nations Security Council's adoption of a resolution opposing Jewish settlements in occupied territory, suggesting the incoming Trump administration and Congress should take a close look at how much money the U.S. hands over to the U.N.

Speaking on Fox News' "Special Report," Ambassador Ron Dermer also doubled down on Israel's claim the U.S. orchestrated the resolution vote before abstaining last week. Still, he gave few specifics. "We have that evidence... we're going to present it to the new administration, and if they choose to share it with the American people, that'll be their choice."

Dermer called the U.N. a "cesspool" of anti-Israel and anti-American activity, and said Israel appreciated that President-elect Donald Trump called the vote a mistake. After the vote, Trump vowed that "things will be different after Jan. 20th."

The ambassador responded to calls from some prominent Republicans to stop all U.S. funds bound for the U.N. "I think a new president and Congress that wants to make sure that every penny of your money is going to something that protects and defends and advances U.S. interests -- I think there's a lot of changes that could happen at the United Nations," Dermer said.

The U.S. pays 22 percent of the world's contributions to the U.N. budget, much more than any other nation, a 2014 report showed.

The resolution said the settlements had "no legal validity" and constituted a "flagrant violation" of international law. It also urged all states to distinguish between Israel and "the territories occupied since 1967."
In the short term, the resolution was largely symbolic. It did not include talk of sanctions or any other measures to punish Israel.

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Samantha Power said "it is because this resolution reflects the facts on the ground -- and is consistent with U.S. policy across Republican and Democratic administrations throughout the history of

the state of Israel -- that the United States did not veto it." She cited a 1982 statement by then-President Ronald Reagan that the United States "will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements" and that "settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel."

Speaking to Israel's Channel Two on Monday, White House Deputy National Security Adviser Ben Rhodes said Secretary of State John Kerry planned to lay out a "comprehensive vision for how we see the conflict being resolved."

David Keyes, spokesman for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, told Fox News on Sunday, "We have rather ironclad information from sources in both the Arab world and internationally that this was a deliberate push by the United States and in fact they helped create the resolution in the first place."

"The Egyptians, in partnership with the Palestinians, are the ones who began circulating an earlier draft of the resolution," White House spokesman Eric Schultz responded. "The Egyptians are the ones who moved it forward on Friday. And we took the position that we did when it was put to a vote."

Netanyahu's office told reporters he looked forward to working with Trump "to negate the harmful effects of this absurd resolution."

Texas Sen. Ted Cruz and South Carolina Sen. Lindsey Graham were among the Republicans calling to defund the United Nations. Cruz said the U.S. should withhold money until the Security Council vote on Israel is reversed.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Saturday, December 24, 2016 11:12 AM
To: Derek Shearer [redacted] Samantha Power [redacted] B6
Samantha.Power4[redacted] B6
Subject: Re: Holiday Greetings

Thanks Derek. Happy holidays. Samantha

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Derek Shearer
Sent: Saturday, December 24, 2016 9:48 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Samantha Power; Samantha.Power4[redacted] B6
Subject: Holiday Greetings

Samantha,
Nice parting profile in WSJ today. Great job standing up to Israel on the settlements.
Here's my end of year piece on the Huffington Post:
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/derek-shearer/a-hard-rains-a-gonna-fall_b_13553694.html

[redacted] B5

I'll be in Cambridge in mid-April, and will probably do something at Kennedy school on Trump's emerging foreign policy. Perhaps, we'll catch up in person. [redacted] B5

[redacted] B5

All the best for 2017,
Derek

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Saturday, December 24, 2016 12:31 AM
To: Swanee Hunt [redacted] B6
Subject: Re: January 4th -- would you like to speak to my class?

Hi Swanee - lovely to hear from you, [redacted] On the 4th, I wld love to - and will in the future - but I can't. It is a mad dash to the finish between syria, s sudan and Yemen [redacted] B6 [redacted] I hope I can take a rain check and, if I B6 return to Boston, that we can team up. Xxos

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Swanee Hunt
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 7:41 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: January 4th -- would you like to speak to my class?

[redacted]

Back to the land of the living.... would you be able to speak to my "Inclusive Security" class (40 or so students and others) at the Kennedy School on January 4th? At 2:15 is ideal, but before is possible. Of course in person is better, but Skype is possible.

This year, we're adding a look at gender in politics, in between pondering the role of gender in shaping the world, and the place of women leaders in stopping wars. After all, the past campaign looked more like a war than any of this century or the last, I'll wager.

We'll be discussing footage of Maggie Thatcher, Dilma Rouseff in Brazil, Hillary, and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (Liberia). Could you be with us, or beam in, to tell us how gender seemed to you to play into this last political season? Your reflection could be broader than the US, or just focused on ours. Could include not just Hillary's or Dem's races, but Republican women's races as well. Or could address the gender gap. Or the gender nuance in how this election was perceived internationally.

No need to prepare. Your off-the-cuff reflections are wisdom enough.

(By the way, I haven't heard anyone talk about this, but I heard research findings a decade or so ago.... There's an enormous gender gap related to bellicosity. But when women believe their families may be threatened, the gap disappears. I think that's one reason the gap decreased at the end when Trump was saying that Hillary would let hordes of refugees/terrorists into the country.)

To be continued....

Hope you can make it!

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Monday, September 26, 2016 7:08 PM
To: [redacted] B6
Subject: Re: FYI, you might enjoy this

I wld love to see you. Maybe we can swing it w all the wonderful men on the "to" line!

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: [redacted]
Sent: Monday, September 26, 2016 6:56 PM
To: Power, Samantha; [redacted]
Subject: Re: FYI, you might enjoy this

I have thought for some time that he has about a 20% chance to win. [redacted] One, most Republicans, in the end, will come back to the tribal fold. Two, there may be enough leakage to Johnson and Stein to enable him to win with 43-45% of the votes . Three, shit happens, and I worry that with Putin and ISIS wanting the most for Trump to win, that events in October could create a lot of turmoil, which could play to his advantage. But I do think Plouffe is far more right than wrong. She has major advantages with the electoral map, and with demographics, and despite her negatives, the fact that so many Americans see him as unfit for office ought to mean something. If you haven't read it, Jay Rosen's piece on the challenges to the press is just excellent. Here is a link: http://pressthink.org/ **By the way, I will be up in NY for the election, for BBC; hope to see you all, maybe for dinner**

-----Original Message-----
From: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
To: Norman Ornstein [redacted] csunstei [redacted] Oskar Eustis [redacted] B6
Sent: Mon, Sep 26, 2016 4:00 pm
Subject: RE: FYI, you might enjoy this

Definitely. How worried are you? I would like to believe Plouffe – can i?
-----Original Message-----
From: Norman Ornstein [mailto:[redacted] B6
Sent: Saturday, September 17, 2016 7:42 PM
To: Power, Samantha; [redacted]
Subject: FYI, you might enjoy this

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/09/16/a-media-critic-called-my-sort-of-journalism-pathetic-then-we-had-an-email-conversation-about-it/

Sent from my iPad

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From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 12:12 PM
To: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO [redacted] B6
Subject: FW: Vice / Applied pressure: Donald Trump isn't even president yet and he's already making waves at the U.N.

This reflects the lack of understanding of history

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Priskos, Stefani
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 12:03 PM
To: USUN-MiddleEastNews-DL
Subject: Vice / Applied pressure: Donald Trump isn't even president yet and he's already making waves at the U.N.

Applied pressure: Donald Trump isn't even president yet and he's already making waves at the U.N.
December 22, 2016
Vice
By Noah Kulwin

A United Nations draft resolution calling for an immediate end to Israeli settlement construction is on life support, if not dead entirely, following aggressive diplomatic pressure from U.S. President-elect Donald Trump and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on Thursday morning.

Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, who introduced the resolution, has asked to postpone a Thursday vote on the measure, reportedly under pressure from the Israeli government. It is unclear whether the resolution will be resuscitated, although it seems unlikely.

Although the United States probably would have vetoed the resolution anyway, it comes as a surprise that the measure was killed even before a vote could take place.

Netanyahu seemed to take a page out of Trump's book in the lead-up to the morning of the vote. In the dim hours of the night, he used Twitter to implore the U.S. to veto the draft resolution being considered by the U.N. Security Council.

Trump, who since the election has voiced strong support for the Israeli right wing, responded with his own strong criticism of the resolution. In a Thursday morning Facebook post, Trump said that the measure should be vetoed when it came up for a vote, as it "puts Israel in a very poor negotiating position and is extremely unfair to all Israelis."

The United States, as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, has veto power over all measures that come before the Council. For years, including under President Obama, the U.S. government has repeatedly killed U.N. resolutions even remotely critical of Israel.

Current U.N. Ambassador Samantha Power has not signaled how she would have voted on the measure, but it appears unlikely that the Obama administration would have reversed its longstanding support for Israel at the

U.N. In the past, Power has been critical both of Israeli settlement construction and of using the U.N. to pursue action against Israeli policies.

Trump's Facebook post is just the latest in a series of moves that signal an unprecedented rightward shift in American policy toward Israel and the Palestinians. His recently announced intentions to appoint bankruptcy lawyer David Friedman, a prolific supporter of Israeli settlement construction in occupied Palestinian territory, as ambassador to Israel when he takes office next month. Friedman has no government or diplomatic experience, but previously served as an advisor to Trump during the presidential campaign.

From Netanyahu's perspective, Trump's embrace of pro-settlement politics is a welcome change from President Obama, who pushed hard for Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations in the early years of his presidency. According to the Jerusalem Post, Netanyahu and his allies in the Israeli Knesset are planning a period of "unprecedented" new settlement construction.

Stefani Priskos
Press Assistant, U.S. Mission to the UN
Phone: (212) 415-4240
Email: PriskosS@state.gov

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RELEASE IN PART
B5

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Thursday, December 22, 2016 9:24 AM
To:	Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Cc:	USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; Ordeman, Leslie T <OrdemanLT@state.gov>; USUN-COMMS-DL <USUN-COMMS-DL@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Reuters / Trump calls for veto of U.N. resolution on halting Israeli settlements

Correction: it was in my inbox. Apologies.

B5

Official
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From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 9:23 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Ordeman, Leslie T; USUN-COMMS-DL
Subject: RE: Reuters / Trump calls for veto of U.N. resolution on halting Israeli settlements

Had not seen. Wld be good to be on distros

Official
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From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 9:13 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Ordeman, Leslie T
Subject: FW: Reuters / Trump calls for veto of U.N. resolution on halting Israeli settlements

In case folks didn't see this.

Official
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From: Kim, Ji Yun
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 9:04 AM
To: USUN-MiddleEastNews-DL
Subject: Reuters / Trump calls for veto of U.N. resolution on halting Israeli settlements

Trump calls for veto of U.N. resolution on halting Israeli settlements
December 22, 2016
Reuters

U.S. President-elect Donald Trump on Thursday echoed Israel's call for a veto on a U.N. Security Council draft resolution to halt settlements, saying it "puts Israel in a very poor negotiating position and is extremely unfair to all Israelis."

"Peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians will only come through direct negotiations between the parties, and not through the imposition of terms by the United Nations," Trump said in a statement released by his transition team.

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Sunday, December 18, 2016 5:30 PM
To: Jorge Ramos [redacted] B6
Cc: Dax Tejera [redacted]; Stacey Fox Hocheiser [redacted] Veronica.Bautista [redacted] Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Jorge Ramos-interview

Adding Kurtis. Will get back to you soonest. If we do something, we will make it good. Ptsd in retreat - Trump has vanquished it. Let's see!

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Jorge Ramos
Sent: Sunday, December 18, 2016 5:13 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Dax Tejera; Stacey Fox Hocheiser; Veronica.Bautista [redacted]
Subject: Jorge Ramos-interview

Hola Samantha from Tokyo.

I had many hours to think about it and I would love to have an interview with you while you get ready to leave the UN. It would take 30 minutes of your time, about the best and the most difficult of these incredibly intense years.

We don't want a seat down interview. I would like to walk with you, if possible, from your office or home to a UN meeting so you can show us something we don't know. Whatever you want. It would be shown on Univision and on a new interview show for Fusion. (I promise no surprises like the last time.)

I could be in NYC January 9, 10 or 11. Stacey, copied here, could coordinate with your staff.

Thanks for considering this.

Abrazos, Jorge

Sent from my iPhone

RELEASE IN FULL

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Wednesday, December 14, 2016 6:38 PM
To:	Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Cc:	USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>; USUN-COMMS-DL <USUN-COMMS-DL@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Kissinger on Tillerson / China

Tks can you get his speech at nobel from this mo? Becca his office will have if not onlne

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 6:27 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL; USUN-COMMS-DL
Subject: Kissinger on Tillerson / China

Ambassador:
Kissinger spoke last night to the Committee of 100, a non-profit that works on U.S.-China relations; based on the articles, it seems to have been a conversation. Have pasted two articles below on his comments, which were pretty widely covered. Thought it'd be useful for background as you head into tonight's dinner – not to mention a show of his enduring ability to garner coverage when he weighs in (including the "One-China" policy, which many of the pieces have pointed out was negotiated by Kissinger).
The pieces below are from Politico and Bloomberg, respectively. Highlights in yellow.

Kissinger dismisses concerns about Tillerson, One China policy

By **ADDY BAIRD**

12/14/16 02:38 PM EST

Former secretary of state Henry Kissinger dismissed concerns Wednesday about President-elect Donald Trump's nominee for secretary of state, ExxonMobil CEO Rex Tillerson, who has been criticized for his close ties with Russian President Vladimir Putin.

"I pay no attention to this argument that he is too friendly with Russia," Kissinger said at an event in Manhattan. "He would be useless at the head of Exxon if he was not friendly with Russia... I don't hear those concerns at all."

Kissinger was asked about Tillerson at an event put on by the Committee of 100, an organization that works to advance Chinese-American relations, where the former secretary talked about the future of U.S.-Chinese relations under Trump.

But Kissinger walked a fine line in talking about Tillerson, joking when he was asked about the appointment that he didn't "come to commit suicide," but that he "sympathized" with Trump's decision.

"Nobody can meet every single qualification for secretary of state," Kissinger said. "I think it's a good appointment."

Reflecting on Trump's developing relationship with China, Kissinger said he is optimistic about the coming administration.

"[We have to decide] whether to attempt to deal cooperatively or confrontationally" with China, Kissinger said. "I hope and I am optimistic that the cooperative way will prevail... Keep in mind that if China and America are in conflict, then the whole world will be divided."

Earlier this month, Trump became the first U.S. president or president-elect to speak with the leader of Taiwan since 1979. And he suggested this past weekend that the U.S. shouldn't have to be "bound" by the "One China" policy that American leaders have stood by for decades. Those comments "seriously concerned" China's Foreign Ministry, its spokesperson said Monday.

Kissinger himself negotiated the One China policy, which recognizes the Chinese government in Beijing, as opposed to Taiwan.

Kissinger, who met with Trump after his election, has also more recently traveled to China to meet with Chinese President Xi Jinping.

"I have supported [the One China policy] in eight administrations," Kissinger said Wednesday. "It was not a disputed policy."

Despite the call with Taiwan's leader, Kissinger disputed that the policy is in question now.

"What I have understood is not that he doesn't have to be bound by it, but that he doesn't have to be bound by every obligation of it," he said.

The former secretary of state also cautioned against making out the phone call to be more than it was. "One should give these things some time," he said. "I

don't think this is a good time to turn it into a big political issue... I don't think [the policy] will be overturned."

This isn't the first time Kissinger has warned against expecting too much from Trump's words. Kissinger has previously said that he believes people shouldn't expect Trump to stand by all of his campaign positions. During a Nobel Peace Prize forum this month, Kissinger said Trump is "a personality for whom there is no precedent in modern American history."

He added then, "Before postulating an inevitable crisis, an opportunity should be given to the new administration to put forward its vision of international order."

Kissinger at 93 Expounds on Rex Tillerson, 'One-China' and Trump

by
Sangwon Yoon
December 14, 2016, 2:19 PM EST
Tillerson's job was to work with Russia, Kissinger says

Henry Kissinger, the 93-year-old foreign policy guru to world leaders, isn't slowing down. On Wednesday he weighed in on Donald Trump's pick of Exxon Mobil Corp. chief Rex Tillerson as the top U.S. diplomat, the importance of the 'One-China' policy and the president-elect's decision to take a phone call from Taiwan's leader.

Speaking to the Committee of 100, a non-profit that works on improving U.S.-China relations, Kissinger dismissed criticism that Tillerson's work winning contracts with Russia for Exxon disqualifies him for the State Department job.

"I pay no attention to the argument that he is too friendly to Russia," Kissinger said. "As head of Exxon it's his job to get along with Russia. He would be useless as the head of Exxon if he did not have a working relationship with Russia."

Citing his acquaintance with Tillerson from serving together on the board of a Washington-based think tank, Kissinger praised Trump's selection and added that "we should not think about these relationships as the personal relationship of individuals."

A message left with Kissinger's consulting company, Kissinger Associates, asking whether the firm has a financial relationship with Exxon, wasn't immediately answered.

Weeks before he takes office on Jan. 20, Trump has injected an air of unpredictability into U.S. relations with both allies and adversaries. In addition to saying he wants friendlier ties with Russia, Trump has slammed China over currency and trade, had an unprecedented call with Taiwan's leader, praised the Philippine president's violent war on drugs and promised to visit Pakistan, a sign of validation President Barack Obama never bestowed on Islamabad.

That's a lot of material for Kissinger, who brokered the U.S. rapprochement with China as Richard Nixon's secretary of state more than four decades ago and has advised U.S. presidents ever since, to work with. With Trump heading to the White House next month, Kissinger continues to fulfill a role as unofficial adviser to the world's most powerful leaders, visiting both Trump in his New York offices and Chinese President Xi Jinping in Beijing since the Nov. 8 election.

Kissinger chided Trump for making Taiwan a key issue at the beginning of his dialogue with China, by taking a protocol-breaking phone call with the island's president, Tsai Ing-wen, this month. He called the move "unwise" and "not the most

efficient." However, he said he is "hopeful, optimistic, and confident" that Trump will uphold the decades-old "One-China" policy and avoid diplomatic or formal relations with an island that China considers part of its territory.

Chinese Protest

"One should give these things a little time, the new administration isn't in office yet," he said. "Every president of the U.S. since 1971 and both parties have accepted this framework and once that framework is studied, I do not expect it to be overturned."

Kissinger didn't say what advice he gave the Chinese during his most recent visit, but the government's official response to Trump's Taiwan call was measured. While Beijing lodged a "solemn representation" -- a mild form of diplomatic protest -- and urged U.S. authorities to adhere to the so-called One-China principle, it stopped short of criticizing Trump.

"Some would argue that Trump's out-of-the-line talk and behavior was meant to poke at China, and that the Chinese should retaliate," the People's Daily, the Communist Party's flagship newspaper, said in a front-page story this month. "Otherwise he might think China is a soft persimmon, easy to pinch." But the country "doesn't throw a tantrum to strive for only temporary superiority, or to gain immediate gratification."

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RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2016 12:34 PM
To: Senator Lindsey Graham [redacted] B6
Subject: follow up

Senator – a lot has happened since we met in my office and cheerfully talked about the future. I'm doing my best up here in the face of Russian lies and aggression, but I know the election has placed a huge burden on your and Sen. McCain's shoulders. Although hanging out with a former UN ambassador doesn't do you any political favors, I'm here to support you in any way I can going forward. We need a bipartisan sensible, principled, strong, confident foreign policy. Sharing the below article by Larry Diamond, which shows the stakes. Warmly, Samantha

Russia and the Threat to Liberal Democracy

By **Larry Diamond**, www.theatlantic.com
View Original
December 9th, 2016

Since the end of World War II, the most crucial underpinning of freedom in the world has been the vigor of the advanced liberal democracies and the alliances that bound them together. Through the Cold War, the key multilateral anchors were NATO, the expanding European Union, and the U.S.-Japan security alliance. With the end of the Cold War and the expansion of NATO and the EU to virtually all of Central and Eastern Europe, liberal democracy seemed ascendant and *secure* as never before in history.

Under the shrewd and relentless assault of a resurgent Russian authoritarian state, all of this has come under strain with a speed and scope that few in the West have fully comprehended, and that puts the future of liberal democracy in the world squarely where Vladimir Putin wants it: in doubt and on the defensive.

On the global chessboard, there has been no more deft and brilliant (and of late, lucky) player than Putin. From the early days of his presidency a decade and a half ago, he began to signal that he intended to make Russia great again, and that he saw this imperative as a zero-sum game: As the West gained friendships among post-communist states, Russia lost, and so everything possible had to be done to force Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, and the Balkan states out of a Western liberal orientation and back into the greater Russian orbit.

The first dramatic salvo came in the summer of 2008, when Russia intervened militarily to back separatist forces in the enclaves of Abkhazia and South Ossetia seeking to break away from Georgia. Russia's military assault was brief but brutal, and involved bombing civilian populations both in the disputed areas and in the rest of Georgia, as well as attacking fleeing civilians. The overconfident pro-Western president of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili, was dealt a painful lesson courtesy of Putin, and the two breakaway "republics" remain under Russian occupation to this day. It was the first time since the end of the Soviet Union that Russia's military violated the sovereignty of an independent state, but it would not be the last.

Since huge swaths of society rose up in color revolutions in the former Yugoslavia in 2000, in Georgia in 2003, and in Ukraine in 2004-2005—all to protest electoral fraud and bring about a transition from authoritarianism to democracy—Putin has behaved as if obsessed with fear that the virus of mass democratic mobilization might spread to Russia itself. Neither was he prepared to condone the "loss" of key parts of the former Soviet Union, such as Georgia and Ukraine, to any potential alliance structure with the West. As the forces of Ukraine's Orange Revolution squandered their miraculous victory in corruption and political squabbling, Putin won another victory in 2010, when the pro-Russian villain of the rigged election that prompted the 2004 uprising, Viktor Yanukovych, finally won the presidency.

But Yanukovych's authoritarianism and pro-Russia orientation—which led him to scuttle a much hoped-for association agreement between Ukraine and the EU—increasingly outraged the Ukrainian people, who ousted him in a second people-power revolution (the Euromaidan) in February 2014. Soon thereafter, Russian

troops without insignias infiltrated Crimea and, with sympathetic local actors, seized control of its infrastructure. Militarily weak and bereft of Western military support—which in any case was difficult to deliver quickly and effectively due to the distance relative to Russia's proximity—Ukraine watched helplessly as Putin consolidated his conquest with a pseudo-referendum that endorsed Crimea's re-absorption into Russia.

It was the first time since the Nazis marauded across Europe in World War II that the boundaries of a European country had been altered by military aggression. But Putin did not stop there. In a replay of its shadowy campaign of aggression against Georgia, Russia infiltratedits troops and equipment into the Donbas region of far eastern Ukraine, in support (and probably orchestration) of separatist forces there. It was one of those eastern Ukrainian armed groups that used a Soviet-era missile system to shoot down Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 on July 17, 2014. More blatant Russian military intervention followed, with Russia denying any involvement of its own soldiers, despite abundant evidence to the contrary. Today, Russia still occupies a portion of the Donbas region. A major swing state between West and East has been militarily violated and partially dismantled, and the story isn't over yet.

Like President Bush with respect to the Georgia crisis in 2008, President Obama did not respond militarily to this aggression. But he was not passive. Together with the European Union, the U.S. imposed several rounds of painful economic and financial sanctions on key Russian officials, banks, and businesses. As the sanctions have broadened, they have hurt important Russian elites and seriously impaired the functioning of the Russian financial, energy, and defense sectors—not exactly a great formula for making Russia great again.

Putin has been desperate to get out from under these sanctions so that his regime can thrive domestically and internationally. His goals appear to be twofold. First, he seeks to restore some form of Russian empire—with at least informal dominion over all the territories of the former Soviet Union—while forcing the West to accept this new balance of power and treat Russia as a superpower once again. Second, he seeks to invert Woodrow Wilson's famous call to arms and instead "make the world safe for autocracy." Democracy is his enemy. He is smart enough to know that he cannot undermine it everywhere, but he will subvert, corrupt, and confuse it wherever he can.

And so Putin's regime has been embarked for some years now on an opportunistic

but sophisticated campaign to sabotage democracy and bend it toward his interests, not just in some marginal, fragile places but at the very core of the liberal democratic order, Europe and the United States. As *The Telegraph* reported in January, Western intelligence agencies have been monitoring a Russian campaign on a Cold War scale to support a wide range of European parties and actors—illiberal parties and politicians of both the far left and far right—that are sympathetic to Russia and Putin. This includes not just newer neo-fascist parties, but anti-immigrant far-right parties like the National Front of France—which obtained a 9 million euro loan from a Russian bank in 2014—and the Freedom Party of Austria, both of which have been gaining popularity for some time. While the Freedom Party lost the election for Austria's ceremonial presidency last Sunday, its candidate, Norbert Hofer, won over 46 percent of the vote, and it remains the third-largest party in the parliament, poised to do better in the next elections.

Hofer's defeat may temporarily slow the right-wing populist momentum across Europe, but National Front leader Marine Le Pen, who endorsed Putin's annexation of Crimea and has called for an end to Western sanctions on Russia, could well be elected the next President of France next spring. And even if she loses, Putin is likely to be sitting pretty with the next French president. Le Pen's principal rival, former French Prime Minister Francois Fillon, who recently won the conservative presidential primaries in France, has for years been calling for an end to sanctions on Putin and a closer relationship between France and Russia.

The romance between far-right, anti-immigrant European parties and Vladimir Putin's Russia springs not just from practical ties of support but a shared conservative reaction against liberalism, globalization, and multiculturalism, and a celebration of Putin, in the words of the scholar Alina Polyakova, as "as a staunch defender of national sovereignty and conservative values who has challenged US influence and the idea of 'Europe' in a way that mirrors their own convictions." This same spirit suffused the Brexit campaign in the U.K., whose longtime populist champion, Nigel Farage, has combined fierce demands for British independence from Europe with fawning admiration for Putin. Yet the Russian boost to Brexit did not come only from the right. Russian media lavishly praised the successful campaign for Labour Party leadership of the far-left candidate Jeremy Corbyn, a NATO and EU skeptic whose extremely tepid support for the Remain campaign contributed to the narrow victory of Brexit.

Meanwhile, the damage to liberalism in Europe was also being driven by a more

brutal form of Russian intervention—in Syria. Russia's bombing campaign there has not only tilted the war in favor of the dictator, Bashar al-Assad, who along with his allies has killed more civilians than either ISIS fighters or rebels, but it also dramatically accelerated the flow of Syrian refugees (now nearing 5 million) into other countries, including European ones. While Europe's refugee crisis has many sources and causes, roughly 30 percent of European asylum-seekers last year were Syrian refugees, and the human exodus from that civil war has incidentally further helped to feed right-wing (pro-Putin) populist parties and movements across Europe, while undermining liberal leaders like Angela Merkel of Germany.

The destabilizing effects of the refugee crisis in Europe have been a kind of dividend of Putin's campaign to defend his Middle East ally. But Putin has also attempted to destabilize democracies directly through methods more reminiscent of the Cold War. After Montenegro's parliamentary elections on October 16 (which saw Putin pouring money into the pro-Russian opposition party and sympathetic media and NGOs, in an unsuccessful attempt to defeat the pro-NATO prime minister), evidence emerged of a plot involving three Russian citizens (alleged in the Montenegrin news media to be agents of the GRU, Russian military intelligence) and some 20 right-wing Serbian nationalists. Montenegrin authorities now allege they planned to stage a terrorist attack that would discredit the election outcome, assassinate the pro-Western prime minister, and topple his government.

As these political dramas and tensions have unfolded in democratic Europe, Putin's Russia has made brilliant use of old and new forms of propaganda to exploit political divisions. The leading element of this has been RT (Russia Today) which is not only one of the most widely watched (and heavily subsidized) global sources of state television propaganda—and which claims 70 million weekly viewers and 35 million daily— but a vast social-media machinery as well. Added to this is the hidden influence of a vast network of Russian trolls—agents paid to spread disinformation and Russian propaganda points by posing as authentic and spontaneous commentators.

What began as a somewhat preposterous effusion of fake news reports spreading panic, for example, about an Ebola outbreak in the U.S., morphed into something more sinister, sophisticated, and profoundly consequential: a dedicated campaign to discredit Hillary Clinton and tilt the U.S. presidential election to Donald Trump. The army of Russian trolls started infiltrating U.S. media with conservative commentaries, playing up Clinton's scandals and weaknesses, and widely diffusing other right-wing

narratives against Clinton. The Russian government (America's own intelligence agencies believe) hacked into the emails of the Democratic Party and of Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta and passed them on to Wikileaks to dispense in a devastating drip-drip-drip of divisive and unflattering revelations. In *The Washington Post*'s words, the campaign portrayed "Clinton as a criminal hiding potentially fatal health problems and preparing to hand control of the nation to a shadowy cabal of global financiers." All of this gave Trump significantly more political traction while dispiriting and discouraging possible Clinton voters (many of whom simply stayed home in disgust). Given how close the U.S. election outcome was, it is easy to imagine that this intervention might have provided Trump with his margin of victory in the Electoral College.

We stand now at the most dangerous moment for liberal democracy since the end of World War II. There are still many more democracies worldwide today than when the Cold War ended. But outside the West, many of them are fragile or rapidly declining. Turkey is in the grip of full authoritarianism, the Philippines is sliding in that direction, and Korea and Brazil have both seen their first women presidents disgraced in eruptions of public anger over corruption and misuse of power. Some 200,000 Muslim Indonesians have flooded the streets of Jakarta demanding that the Christian governor be arrested for insulting Islam. In much of Africa, the people still overwhelmingly want democracy, but leaders in numerous countries are dragging their systems in the opposite direction.

The greatest danger, however, is not what is happening in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. It is the alarming decay of liberal democracy in Europe and the United States, accelerated by escalating Russian efforts at subversion. Putin's forces are on such a roll that they can no longer contain their glee. One pro-Putin Russian governor recently declared in a radio interview, "It turns out that United Russia [Putin's political party] won the elections in America."

Donald Trump's election victory was an extraordinary political achievement for someone who has never held or sought political office. It drew the support of many tens of millions of voters who rallied to his themes of controlling immigration, changing the way things are done in Washington, generating economic opportunity for those left behind by globalization, or somehow just "making American great again." But it probably would not have happened without Russia's hacking of America's political process—and on behalf of a candidate who had said he wanted good relations with Vladimir Putin.

Geopolitics does not have to be a zero-sum game. But great powers must recognize and defend vital interests. Having a Europe that is whole and free is a vital American interest. Enforcing the principle that established borders cannot be eviscerated by military aggression is a vital American interest—and nowhere more so than in Europe. Ensuring that an authoritarian Russian regime does not replicate its values and expand its power by subverting democracy in the heart of Europe is also a vital American interest.

The most urgent foreign-policy question now is how America will respond to the mounting threat that Putin's Russia poses to freedom and its most important anchor, the Western alliance. Nothing will more profoundly shape the kind of world we live in than how the Trump administration responds to that challenge.

SBU
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RELEASE IN FULL

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Wednesday, December 7, 2016 7:46 PM
To:	Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Subject:	Re: AP / SP / US envoy to UN sees security risk if refugees not rescued

Any prob or ok?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Thursday, December 8, 2016 1:36 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: FW: AP / SP / US envoy to UN sees security risk if refugees not rescued

Making sure you see.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Green, Mackenzie L
Sent: Thursday, December 08, 2016 1:09 AM
To: USUN-Breakingnews
Subject: AP / SP / US envoy to UN sees security risk if refugees not rescued

US envoy to UN sees security risk if refugees not rescued
December 7, 2016
Associated Press
By Elaine Ganley

As Western nations dig in to protect their own citizens, their territory and their way of life, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations warned on Wednesday that a security challenge may await them down the road if they fail to do their share in sheltering refugees today.

Samantha Power said that from the United States to Europe to the Middle East "no one was ready" for the crisis.

"Because we are dealing with the largest displacement crisis since World War II, it has overwhelmed the global system," Power said.

She spoke after a tour of a way station for migrants in northern Paris, opened a month ago to shelter travelers for up to 10 days while helping them apply for asylum, then placing them in more permanent lodgings.

The center can house 400 single men — a far cry from the nearly 30,000 people taken off Paris streets over the past year. But it is the first official attempt to organize and speed up asylum bids. It opened two weeks after some 7,000 migrants, most trying to sneak into Britain, were evacuated from a camp in the English Channel port city of Calais and given temporary lodgings around France.

Power spent some 45 minutes meeting privately with four migrants, from Somalia, Pakistan and Afghanistan. One, 18-year-old Mohamed Abdi said later he had hoped to go to Britain, but is now applying for asylum in

France.

Scores of weary travelers trying to get into the Paris center — which takes in only 50 per day — waited in the cold, many saying they had slept nearby on a sidewalk to ensure a place in line, or in a park. A center for women and children is to open in early 2017 just south of Paris.

Power praised the center, which includes a health clinic, as an example of trying to bring order to chaotic lives. She said she believes the mass surge of the displaced onto an unprepared world stoked people's fear and fed "the sense that the movement was out of control."

Today, nearly two years after people uprooted by war, despots or fear for their lives began pouring into Europe, other forces are at work. Nationalists in Europe and the United States are making their voices heard.

In France, Marine Le Pen, leader of the anti-immigrant National Front party, is a favorite in spring presidential elections, and has said that "perhaps" she could benefit from the victory of U.S. President-elect Donald Trump and tagged Britain's Brexit vote "the most important historic event since the fall of the Berlin Wall."

Power said she cannot predict whether the Trump administration will scale back the Obama administration's target of taking in 110,000 refugees for fiscal year 2017. Congress must approve funding.

"We have put in place the most stringent and rigorous vetting procedures for the refugee population," she said. During the presidential campaign, Trump called for "extreme vetting" of migrants coming to the U.S.

Power said nations neighboring Syria, with fragile infrastructures, have shown generosity for Syrians fleeing the war ravaging their country, and noted that one in every five Lebanese residents today is a Syrian refugee.

The U.N. ambassador issued a word of caution as some Western nations turn inward, saying that allowing the crisis to fester can be dangerous.

"We should avoid the mistake of latching onto the idea that if these populations are (consigned) to one part of the world that there's no security threat in that and no risk in that.

"If countries do not have the wherewithal to absorb this population ... this is going to be a security challenge that the United States, France and the world will be dealing with for generations to come."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Friday, December 2, 2016 6:16 PM
To: Soifer, Halie S <SoiferHS@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL <USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Re: FOR ACTION: Dole meeting

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Friday, December 2, 2016 6:07 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: RE: FOR ACTION: Dole meeting

Sounds good. Will have SCHEDULING reach out.

Yes, Dole was the only former GOP nom to strongly support him. Obviously, you know where Romney was and McCain backed off in October. Here's a good Hill article about his support, which also includes a link to another WSJ article. Will of course collect more in advance of a meeting to inform your memo.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, December 02, 2016 5:14 PM
To: Soifer, Halie S
Cc: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: Re: FOR ACTION: Dole meeting

Yes pls. But I need more backgd. Didn't he campaign for trump? [redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Friday, December 2, 2016 4:18 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: FOR ACTION: Dole meeting

Ambassador,

[redacted] B5

B5

FOR ACTION: Should we schedule a meeting for you with Dole for some time soon?

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Tuesday, November 29, 2016 8:46 AM
To: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Subject: Re: interview request from Público, Portugal

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Monday, November 28, 2016 8:36 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: interview request from Público, Portugal

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Monday, November 28, 2016 11:21 AM
To: Cooper, Kurtis A
Subject: FW: interview request from Público, Portugal

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Bárbara Reis [mailto:breis@publico.pt]
Sent: Monday, November 28, 2016 11:15 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: interview request from Público, Portugal

Hello again. António Guterres is to be sworn in as UN chief at a ceremony on 12 December. Would you agree on an interview the week before to be published in our 12 December edition? We could center it on UN reform and the challenges of the future.

From: Power, Samantha [mailto:PowerS@state.gov]
Sent: quarta-feira, 23 de Novembro de 2016 18:35
To: Bárbara Reis

Subject: RE: interview request from Público, Portugal

I can't do anything trump related so you might be better off with more political people.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Bárbara Reis [mailto:breis@publico.pt]
Sent: Wednesday, November 23, 2016 12:29 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: interview request from Público, Portugal

Hello, thank you! Of course I would like a broader take. On the future of the UN, your experience as Ambassador, the state of the world and small things like that. A bit of the future of the USA and the world with Trump as well, if that is within your official possibilities. Would that be ok with you? Thank you, barbara

---

From: Power, Samantha [mailto:PowerS@state.gov]
Sent: quarta-feira, 23 de Novembro de 2016 16:28
To: Bárbara Reis
Cc: Cooper, Kurtis A
Subject: RE: interview request from Público, Portugal

The newspaper sounds fabulous and of course I remember you. Unfortunately, I can't say anything about my successor for all the obvious reasons. So I am not sure the interview would be worthwhile. Sounds like a great publication if you would like a broader take. Cheers, samantha

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Bárbara Reis [mailto:breis@publico.pt]
Sent: Wednesday, November 23, 2016 11:11 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: interview request from Público, Portugal

Dear Samantha Power, how are you? I am Bárbara Reis, we met years ago in Geneva, when Sérgio Vieira de Mello died, with Jonathan Prentice, Fabrizio, Helena Fraser and the rest of "Sergio's gang".

I just read that Trump has announced your successor, so I would like to ask whether you could/would like to be interviewed by Público, "my" newspaper, at some point in the future.

In Portugal, we like to say that Público is "our NYT". We have 15 million unique visitors a month, including 1,5 million in Brazil, plus we are a "must read newspaper" in all Portuguese speaking countries.

I have been editor-in-chief of Público for the last seven years, and just changed shoes to a reporter at large position.

I know Portugal is not a priority for you, nor is Público. Still, as we well know, clever and relevant readers can be found anywhere.

With my warmest regards and thanking you in advance,
barbara

Bárbara Reis
www.publico.pt
[redacted]
breis@publico.pt

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, November 26, 2016 12:40 PM
To: [redacted]@aol.com; Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> B6
Subject: Re: emergency growing -- Gloria Steinem

Thank you Gloria. Weighing in

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: [redacted]@aol.com
Sent: Saturday, November 26, 2016 12:38 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: emergency growing -- Gloria Steinem

Dear Samantha,

The new December 5th deadline for all the water protectors to leave is so dangerous.

Also the fact that Sunoco, the same company that is doing Standing Rock, has a spill of 55,000 gallons of gasoline direct into the drinking water supply in Pennsylvania.

I hear secondhand from Jodi Gillette, President Obama's former Special Assistant for Native American Affairs and who is on the ground at Standing Rock, that calls to Obama from influential, Non-Indians could make a difference. Will try.

Research says that, by law and precedent, the President has the authority, and the Constitutional responsibility, to intervene in disputes between states, private entities, and sovereign Tribes. Obama should use this power to nationalize the North Dakota National Guard to protect protesters from the attack dogs, tear gas, and rubber bullets unleashed by out-of-control state, federal, and private security forces.

Also I think he can deny oil companies permission to build the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) on Army Corps of Engineers land, and to enforce the Sioux interpretation of the 1851 treaty that granted much of the land in dispute to the tribe. In the face of an oil-friendly Trump Administration hostile to both Native American and environmental issues, such a move can set a strong precedent for the Federal protection of Native lands and honoring of U.S. Treaties.

The situation at Standing Rock is the Bull Connor stand-off of our day -- with attack dogs and water cannons used against nonviolent people. This is environmental racism at its most obvious, given the pipeline relocation.

I so hope the President can take action to honor his pledge to the people of Standing Rock and not have his legacy perpetuate our shameful treatment of Native people in a commercial deal poised to enrich President-Elect Trump and North Dakota Governor Jack Dalrymple.

with so much gratitude.....
Gloria

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

Sent: Friday, November 25, 2016 10:49 PM
To: Maltz, Gideon <MaltzG@state.gov>; USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Re: from Gloria Steinem -- an emergency while we're still here

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Jpsaki@ B6

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Maltz, Gideon
Sent: Friday, November 25, 2016 10:07 PM
To: Power, Samantha; USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: Re: from Gloria Steinem -- an emergency while we're still here

B5

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, November 25, 2016 7:07 PM
To: USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: Fw: from Gloria Steinem -- an emergency while we're still here

I've done nothing. This really seems to be v grave B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From @aol.com B6
Sent: Friday, November 25, 2016 7:06 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: from Gloria Steinem -- an emergency while we're still here

Dear Samantha,

Below is a letter I wrote to the President earlier this week in care of Valerie Jarrett.

Below that is more recent information that tells me there is going to be a request for UN Peacekeeping Forces at Standing Rock.

On both counts -- and at the risk of telling you what you already know -- I wanted you to have all the information that I do.

Standing Rock is truly reaching a crisis -- and all the more so because its such a short time before Trump, a major investor in that pipeline, assumes power.

Please tell me if there is anything at all that I can do.

with hope and friendship,

Gloria

Dear Valerie,
November 24, 2016

It's ironic that I'm writing you this letter just before Thanksgiving -- and tragic that it's just after the election of a President who is himself an investor in the Dakota Access Pipeline.

On both those counts, I ask if you could get this letter in front of President Obama. He may be once again the only hope.

with hope that we will be working together wherever we are.

Gloria

Dear President Obama,

There has been a lot of bad news -- and also some good news in the rebellion and resolution that it is causing -- but right now, I'm writing because of an imminent danger.

Inspire of the month delay in the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline that you so wisely and courageously ordered, there is now a daily escalation of official violence against the many hundreds of peaceful water protectors who oppose that pipeline.

From my research and writing about it, and from friends who are among the protectors, I have come to fear that Standing Rock, the largest demonstration by Indian Country in a century, is about to turn into Wounded Knee.

This is made even more likely by the new confidence of the Pipeline's corporate and state supporters who know that the President Elect is an investor in it.

On Sunday, when protectors tried to remove a blockade that had cut them off from emergency services in nearby Bismarck, the police responded with rubber bullets, mace, hoses, long range acoustic devices, and concussion grenades. Despite freezing temperatures, police also turned water cannon on the protectors. As a result, 200 young people and many Native elders needed medical treatment for hypothermia. One young non-Native woman who was there in support, was hit by a police grenade, and wounded so severely that her arm may have to be amputated.

You are far wiser than I about what actions are possible. If there ever were a case for Federal Marshals to move in as protectors, this seems to be it. Perhaps sheriffs could be asked to stand down. Also the Department of Justice could open an investigation into the Morton County Sheriff's Office on the pattern and practice of using excessive force, as other such offices were asked to do in Chicago, Baltimore and Ferguson. The Army Corps of Engineers could deny the easement permit requited of Energy Transfer Partners, the investors

in this pipeline. And there must be other measures.

You are already the President who has done the most for the residents of Indian Country. I'm so grateful for that. We will do our best to preserve and continue your legacy.

I'm just asking: Could there be one more action now?

Whatever the answer, I hope, as so many millions do, that we will have your leadership, grace, courage and kindness in a new form and different place.

with love and gratitude,

[redacted] Gloria Steinem B6

United Nation Experts Validate

Standing Rock Sioux Opposition To

Dakota Access Pipeline

Share
4

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
September 23, 2016
Media Contact: Tom Goldtooth [redacted] B6

Cannon Ball, North Dakota (23 Sept. 2016) – United Nations Expert, the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, released a statement yesterday calling upon the United States to immediately halt the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline, in recognition of dire and direct threats to the drinking water, burial grounds and sacred sites of the

Standing Rock Sioux people.

The pipeline also directly endangers traditional lifeways and practices, and the health and wellbeing of current and future generations. Members of the Standing Rock Sioux and thousands of allies from across the United States and the world have been taking direct action since April 2016 to call attention to the violation of their Indigenous rights, desecration of their lands and waters and the threats to our global climate engendered by the Dakota Access Pipeline.

The 1,172 mile pipeline, being pushed by the US Army Corps of Engineers and the Energy Transfer LLC Corporation, is proposed to pass under the Missouri river and Lake Oahe, a vital source of the tribes drinking water and ceremonial practice.

In her statement, Ms Tauli-Corpuz drew attention to blatant violation of treaty rights, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples and other international legal standards requiring the free, prior and informed consent of Indigenous peoples before the approval of any project affecting their lands.

She called for immediate attention to the ongoing persecution, intimidation and harassment of the many protectors gathered on the ground in Standing Rock to directly oppose the pipeline and present alternative visions for a just and healthy world.

Ms. Tauli-Corpuz's call for the United States government to take action to halt pipeline was endorsed by other United Nations Experts, including:

- Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders, Mr. Michel Forst
- Special Rapporteur on the human right to safe drinking water and sanitation, Mr. Léo Heller
- Special Rapporteur on human rights and the environment, Mr. John H. Knox
- Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association, Mr. Maina Kiai

- Special Rapporteur on cultural rights, Ms. Karima Bennoune
- UN Special Rapporteur on human rights and hazardous substances and wastes, Mr. Baskut Tuncak
- Current Chairperson of the Working Group on business and human rights, Mr. Pavel Sulyandziga

During his recent appeal to the United Nations, Standing Rock Sioux Chairman David Archambault II invited Ms Tauli-Corpuz to visit Standing Rock and witness for herself the escalating violations against Indigenous peoples and the land and water of the region.

“The UN Expert got it right,” said Tom Goldtooth, the Director of the Indigenous Environmental Network. “What the US calls consultation is not consultation but a statement telling people what they’re doing after millions of dollars have been invested, painting Indigenous Peoples as spoilers. The right of free, prior and informed consent begins prior to the planning process, not when their bulldozers are at your doorstep.”

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Wednesday, November 23, 2016 4:43 PM
To:	Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Subject:	FW: interview request from Público, Portugal
Attach:	image001.jpg

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

B5

-----Original Message-----
From: Bárbara Reis [mailto:breis@publico.pt]
Sent: Wednesday, November 23, 2016 4:41 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: interview request from Público, Portugal

I would love to interview you on UN reform and future and current affairs, without Trump. Sorry, I was speaking at a conference

On 23/11/2016, at 18:35, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov<mailto:PowerS@state.gov>> wrote:

I can't do anything trump related so you might be better off with more political people.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Bárbara Reis [mailto:breis@publico.pt]
Sent: Wednesday, November 23, 2016 12:29 PM
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Sent: quarta-feira, 23 de Novembro de 2016 16:28
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Subject: RE: interview request from Público, Portugal

The newspaper sounds fabulous and of course I remember you. Unfortunately, I can't say anything about my successor for all the obvious reasons. So I am not sure the interview would be worthwhile. Sounds like a great publication if you would like a broader take. Cheers, samantha

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From: Bárbara Reis [mailto:breis@publico.pt]
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with Jonathan Prentice, Fabrizio, Helena Fraser and the rest of "Sergio's gang".

I just read that Trump has announced your successor, so I would like to ask whether you could/would like to be interviewed by Público, "my" newspaper, at some point in the future.

In Portugal, we like to say that Público is "our NYT". We have 15 million unique visitors a month, including 1,5 million in Brazil, plus we are a "must read newspaper" in all Portuguese speaking countries.

I have been editor-in-chief of Público for the last seven years, and just changed shoes to a reporter at large position.

I know Portugal is not a priority for you, nor is Público. Still, as we well know, clever and relevant readers can be found anywhere.

With my warmest regards and thanking you in advance, barbara

<image001.jpg>
Bárbara Reis
www.publico.pt<http://www.publico.pt>
B6
breis@publico.pt<mailto:breis@publico.pt>

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, November 23, 2016 1:41 PM
To: Maltz, Gideon <MaltzG@state.gov>
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>; Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate) <BarryMK@state.gov>; Wexler, Rebecca <WexlerR@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Haley announcement

Susan confirmed!

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Maltz, Gideon
Sent: Wednesday, November 23, 2016 1:07 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio; Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate); Wexler, Rebecca
Subject: FW: Haley announcement

FYI – the official announcement characterizes the US Perm Rep position as "cabinet-level."

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Lynch, Kevin
Sent: Wednesday, November 23, 2016 1:04 PM
To: Maltz, Gideon
Subject: FW: Haley announcement

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Wagner, William
Sent: Wednesday, November 23, 2016 10:46 AM
To: USUN-POL-OFFICERS
Subject: Haley announcement

Below is President-Elect Trump's official announcement about the appointment of Nikki Haley to be the next PermRep. The announcement specifies that this is a Cabinet-level appointment, which I thought would be of

interest; I felt like that wasn't clear from the press coverage this morning.

President-Elect Donald J. Trump Intends to Nominate South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

NOVEMBER 23, 2016 • MAKING NEWS

(New York, NY)—President-elect Donald J. Trump today announced his intent to nominate Governor Nikki Haley (R-SC) as the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, a cabinet-level position in the Trump-Pence Administration.

Governor Haley is one of the most universally respected governors in the country. After working at her family's business, Governor Haley turned her focus to economic development and has traveled abroad to negotiate with international companies on behalf of South Carolina. As governor, she has led seven overseas trade missions and successfully attracted jobs and investment through negotiations with foreign companies.

"Governor Haley has a proven track record of bringing people together regardless of background or party affiliation to move critical policies forward for the betterment of her state and our country," said President-elect Trump. "She is also a proven dealmaker, and we look to be making plenty of deals. She will be a great leader representing us on the world stage."

"Our country faces enormous challenges here at home and internationally, and I am honored that the President-elect has asked me to join his team and serve the country we love as the next Ambassador to the United Nations," said Governor Haley.

Born in Bamberg, South Carolina, the daughter of Indian immigrants, Governor Haley became the first female governor of her home state in 2011 and is currently the youngest governor in the country. Prior to becoming governor, she represented Lexington County in the South Carolina House of Representatives from 2005 to 2011.

A true fiscal conservative and savvy businesswoman, Governor Haley's leadership drove down South Carolina's unemployment to a 15 year low by adding more than 82,000 jobs in each of

South Carolina's 46 counties.

Prior to dedicating her life to public service, Governor Haley worked at her family business. In 1998, Governor Haley was named to the board of directors of the Orangeburg County Chamber of Commerce and named to the board of directors of the Lexington Chamber of Commerce in 2003. She also became treasurer of the National Association of Women Business Owners in 2003 and president in 2004.

Governor Haley is a proud graduate of Clemson University where she earned a degree in accounting. Governor Haley and her husband, Michael, a Captain in the Army National Guard and combat veteran who was deployed to Afghanistan's Helmand Province, have two children, Rena, 18, and Nalin, 15.

William Wagner
Political Adviser
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
Department of State
Office: (212) 415-4114
Cell: [redacted] B6
E-mail: WagnerW@state.gov

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, November 23, 2016 1:10 PM
To: Maltz, Gideon <MaltzG@state.gov>
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>; Barry, Mary-Katherine (Mary-Kate) <BarryMK@state.gov>; Wexler, Rebecca <WexlerR@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Haley announcement

Wow!

SBU
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William Wagner
Political Adviser
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
Department of State
Office: (212) 415-4114
Cell:
E-mail: WagnerW@state.gov

B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Monday, November 14, 2016 1:51 PM
To: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>; Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Subject: FW: me again!

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, November 11, 2016 5:43 PM
To: [redacted]@cbsnews.com'
Subject: me again!

B6

Dear Bill:

Hope this email out of the blue finds you well. We're still reeling here, as you might imagine. My mission to the UN is a cabinet agency under President Obama, but will be demoted to something very different in January. Notwithstanding this, Tuesday's results have given us an even greater sense of urgency to get our work done in our last few months. 70 good long days left!

I'm writing, unusually, because you came to my mind as I was talking to my team about a trip that I have decided to take to the wild, exotic, remote locale of Buffalo, New York! After all the hot spots we have visited, I am heading to Buffalo because it is one of the leading cities in resettling refugees – taking in more than 10,000 refugees since 2002, nearly half of them from Burma. And as part of the Administration's push to admit more Syrian refugees, Buffalo has taken 262 Syrians this year alone, and, thought the city fits so many of the rust belt characteristics – a declining population, shrinking industry – I gather refugees have provided a big boost to the city, starting new business, revitalizing depressed commercial and residential areas. In essence, the trip will show why the effort to take in more refugees should persist beyond the Obama Administration, particularly in the midst of the largest refugee crisis since WWII. I'll likely be joined by Senator Gillibrand.

Now I gather you just did a segment, which I will watch this weekend, on the tough transition refugees generally face, but as we were thinking of the trip, I was also being informed that the job of US Ambassador to the UN will be downgraded by the Trump Administration to non-Cabinet level (typical of Republican administrations, but we have never had so many of our core interests embedded here). Indeed it is quite likely that my job – not a priority -- will remain vacant for some time at a time of the world's most pressing crises. I am also being inundated daily by questions from other countries about what the election means for eg the future of NATO, our non pro efforts against Kim Jung Un, the Iran deal, Paris climate agt etc.. I am not sure exactly what I am pitching, but it seems there could be something interesting to show through USUN about this waning multilateral moment for the US, how we use these last two months, what we are trying to defend, how we are consoling other countries, etc.. I wondered if there could be something in this that would hit home for viewers,

even or perhaps especially those who support Trump. Let me know if you would like to brainstorm.

Warmly,
Samantha

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, May 9, 2016 12:31 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>; Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Packer on Trump / this week's NY'er

Tks. Just read en route

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Monday, May 9, 2016 11:51 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Packer on Trump / this week's NY'er

Ambassador:
This Talk of the Town piece by Packer is in this week's NY'er, so I don't think it made your press packet. In case you want to skim on way to lunch – pasted below.

Head of the Class

How Donald Trump is winning over the white working class.

Last week, Donald Trump became the leader of the Republican Party. He thrashed his way to this summit by understanding what many intelligent people utterly failed to see: the decline of American institutions and mores, from Wall Street and the Senate to cable news and the Twitterverse, made the candidacy of a celebrity proto-fascist with no impulse control not just possible but in some ways inevitable. It shouldn't have been such a surprise. An early tremor came in 2008, in the person of Sarah Palin, who endorsed Trump before almost any other top Republican. In her contempt for qualifications, her blithe ignorance, she was an avatar for Trump. A lot of Republicans, many of them female, saw in the small-town common woman an image of themselves; many men see in the say-anything billionaire an image of their aspirations. Palin showboated her way from politics to reality TV, while Trump swaggered in the opposite direction. Together, they wore a path that is already almost normal.

Trump also grasped what Republican élites are still struggling to fathom: the ideology that has gripped their Party since the late nineteen-seventies—anti-government, pro-business, nominally pious—has little appeal for millions of ordinary Republicans. The base of the Party, the middle-aged white working class, has suffered at least as much as any demographic group because of globalization, low-wage immigrant labor, and free trade. Trump sensed the rage that flared from this pain and made it the fuel of his campaign. Conservative orthodoxy, already weakened by its own extremism—the latest, least appealing standard-bearer was Ted Cruz—has suffered a stunning defeat from within. And Trump has replaced it with something more dangerous: white identity politics.

Republican Presidential candidates received majorities of the white vote in every election after 1964. In 2012, Barack Obama won about forty per cent of it, average for Democrats in the past

half century. But no Republican candidate—not even Richard Nixon or Ronald Reagan—made as specific an appeal to the economic anxieties and social resentments of white Americans as Trump has. When he vows to "make America great again," he is talking about and to white America, especially the less well off. The ugliness of the pitch will drive some more moderate and perhaps more affluent Republicans to sit out the fall election, or even to vote for Hillary Clinton, the nearly certain Democratic nominee. #NeverTrump and #ImWithHer are trending on select Republican Twitter feeds. Trump's toxicity, combined with a decline in the white electorate—which, since 1976, has dropped from eighty-nine per cent of the American voting public to seventy-two per cent—might make this a year of Democratic routs.

The Democratic Party has a strange relationship with the white working class. Bernie Sanders speaks to and for it—not as being white but as being economically victimized. He kept his campaign alive last week, in Indiana, in large part by beating Clinton nearly two to one among whites without a college degree. Coverage of Sanders has focussed on his support among the young and the progressive, but he has also outperformed Clinton with the white working class. Even in losing, Sanders has shown that a candidacy based on economic populism can win back some voters who long ago deserted the Democratic Party. It's hard to know whether these voters, faced with a choice between Clinton and Trump, will revert to the Republican side, stay home, or vote for a Democrat who until now hasn't known how to reach them.

Identity politics, of a different brand from Trump's, is also gaining strength among progressives. In some cases, it comes with an aversion toward, even contempt for, their fellow-Americans who are white and sinking. Abstract sympathy with the working class as an economic entity is easy, but the feeling can vanish on contact with actual members of the group, who often arrive with disturbing beliefs and powerful resentments—who might not sound or look like people urban progressives want to know. White male privilege remains alive in America, but the phrase would seem odd, if not infuriating, to a sixty-year-old man working as a Walmart greeter in southern Ohio. The growing strain of identity politics on the left is pushing working-class whites, chastised for various types of bigotry (and sometimes justifiably), all the more decisively toward Trump.

Last fall, two Princeton economists released a study showing that, since the turn of the century, middle-aged white Americans—primarily less educated ones—have been dying at ever-increasing rates. This is true of no other age or ethnic group in the United States. The main factors are alcohol, opioids, and suicide—an epidemic of despair. A subsequent Washington *Post* story showed that the crisis is particularly severe among middle-aged white women in rural areas. In twenty-one counties across the South and the Midwest, mortality rates among these women have actually doubled since the turn of the century. Anne Case, one of the Princeton study's co-authors, said, "They may be privileged by the color of their skin, but that is the only way in their lives they've ever been privileged."

According to the *Post*, these regions of white working-class pain tend to be areas where Trump enjoys strong support. These Americans know that they're being left behind, by the economy and by the culture. They sense the indifference or disdain of the winners on the prosperous coasts and in the innovative cities, and it is reciprocated. Trump has seized the Republican nomination by finding scapegoats for the economic hardships and disintegrating lives of working-class whites, while giving these voters a reassuring but false promise of their restoration to the center of American life. He plays to their sense of entitlement, but his hollowness will ultimately deepen their cynicism.

The Democrats probably won't need the votes of the white working class to win this year. Demographic trends favor the Party, as does the bloated and hateful persona of the Republican choice. Nonetheless, the Democratic nominee can't afford, either politically or morally, to write off those Americans. They need a politics that offers honest answers to their legitimate

grievances and keeps them from sliding further into self-destruction. ♦

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Sunday, May 1, 2016 11:03 AM
To: Sam <
Subject: Fw: Remarks by the President at White House Correspondents' Dinner

B6

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: White House Press Office <noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov>
Sent: Sunday, May 1, 2016 4:00 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Reply To: noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov
Subject: Remarks by the President at White House Correspondents' Dinner

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
April 30, 2016

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' DINNER

Capital Hilton
Washington, D.C.

10:05 P.M. EDT

(Entrance music: "When I'm Gone" by Anna Kendrick.)

THE PRESIDENT: You can't say it, but you know it's true. (Laughter.)

Good evening, everybody. It is an honor to be here at my last -- and perhaps the last -- White House Correspondents' Dinner. (Laughter and applause.)

You all look great. The end of the Republic has never looked better. (Laughter and applause.)

I do apologize -- I know I was a little late tonight. I was running on C.P.T. -- (laughter) -- which stands for "jokes that white people should not make." (Laughter and applause.) It's a tip for you, Jeff. (Laughter.)

Anyway, here we are. My eighth and final appearance at this unique event. (Laughter.) And I am excited. If this material works well, I'm going to use it at Goldman Sachs next year. (Laughter and applause.) Earn me some serious Tubmans. That's right. (Laughter and applause.)

My brilliant and beautiful wife, Michelle, is here tonight. (Applause.) She looks so happy to be here. (Laughter.) That's called practice -- it's like learning to do three-minute planks. (Laughter.) She makes it look easy now. (Laughter.)

Next year at this time, someone else will be standing here in this very spot, and it's anyone's guess who she will be. (Laughter and applause.) But standing here, I can't help but be reflective, a little sentimental. Eight years ago, I said it was time to change the tone of our politics. In hindsight, I clearly should have been more specific. (Laughter.)

Eight years ago, I was a young man, full of idealism and vigor, and look at me now. (Laughter.) I am gray and grizzled, just counting down the days 'til my death panel. (Laughter and applause.) Hillary once questioned whether I'd be ready for a 3 a.m. phone call -- now I'm awake anyway because I've got to go to the bathroom. (Laughter and applause.) I'm up.

In fact, somebody recently said to me, Mr. President, you are so yesterday; Justin Trudeau has completely replaced you -- he's so handsome, he's so charming, he's the future. And I said, Justin, just give it a rest. (Laughter and applause.) I resented that. (Laughter.)

Meanwhile, Michelle has not aged a day. (Applause.) The only way you can date her in photos is by looking at me. (Laughter.) Take a look.

Here we are in 2008. (Slide is shown.)

Here we are a few years later. (Slide is shown.)

And this one is from two weeks ago. (Slide is shown.) (Laughter and applause.)

So time passes. (Laughter.) In just six short months, I will be officially a lame duck, which means Congress now will flat-out reject my authority. (Laughter.) And Republican leaders won't take my phone calls. And this is going to take some getting used to, it's really going to -- it's a curve ball. I don't know what to do with it. (Laughter.)

Of course, in fact, for months now congressional Republicans have been saying there are things I cannot do in

my final year. Unfortunately, this dinner was not one of them. (Laughter.) But on everything else, it's another story. And you know who you are, Republicans. In fact, I think we've got Republican Senators Tim Scott and Cory Gardner, they're in the house, which reminds me, security, bar the doors! (Laughter.) Judge Merrick Garland, come on out, we're going to do this right here, right now. (Applause.) It's like "The Red Wedding." (Laughter.)

But it's not just Congress. Even some foreign leaders, they've been looking ahead, anticipating my departure. Last week, Prince George showed up to our meeting in his bathrobe. (Laughter and applause.) That was a slap in the face. (Laughter.) A clear breach in protocol. (Laughter.) Although while in England I did have lunch with Her Majesty, the Queen, took in a performance of Shakespeare, hit the links with David Cameron -- just in case anybody is still debating whether I'm black enough, I think that settles the debate. (Laughter and applause.)

I won't lie -- look, this is a tough transition. It's hard. Key staff are now starting to leave the White House. Even reporters have left me. Savannah Guthrie, she's left the White House Press Corps to host the Today show. Norah O'Donnell left the briefing room to host CBS This Morning. Jake Tapper left journalism to join CNN. (Laughter and applause.)

But the prospect of leaving the White House is a mixed bag. You might have heard that someone jumped the White House fence last week, but I have to give Secret Service credit -- they found Michelle, brought her back, she's safe back at home now. (Laughter and applause.) It's only nine more months, baby. Settle down. (Laughter.)

And yet, somehow, despite all this, despite the churn, in my final year, my approval ratings keep going up. (Laughter.) The last time I was this high, I was trying to decide on my major. (Laughter and applause.)

And here's the thing: I haven't really done anything differently. So it's odd. Even my aides can't explain the rising poll numbers -- what has changed, nobody can figure it out. (Slide is shown.) (Laughter and applause.) Puzzling.

Anyway, in this last year I do have more appreciation for those who have been with me on this amazing ride, like one of our finest public servants, Joe Biden. God bless him. Love that guy. (Applause.) I love Joe Biden, I really do. And I want to thank him for his friendship, for his counsel, for always giving it to me straight, for not shooting anybody in the face. (Laughter.) Thank you, Joe. (Laughter.)

Also, I would be remiss -- let's give it up for our host, Larry Wilmore. (Applause.) Also known as one of the two black guys who is not Jon Stewart. (Laughter.) You're the South African guy, right? (Laughter.) I love Larry. And his parents are here, who are from Evanston, which is a great town. (Applause.)

I also would like to acknowledge some of the award-winning reporters that we have with us here tonight. Rachel McAdams. Mark Ruffalo. Liev Schreiber. (Laughter.) Thank you all for everything that you've done. (Laughter.) I'm just joking. As you know, "Spotlight" is a film, a movie about investigative journalists with the resources and the autonomy to chase down the truth and hold the powerful accountable. Best fantasy film since Star Wars. (Laughter.) Look -- that was maybe a cheap shot. (laughter.)

I understand the news business is tough these days, it keeps changing all the time. Every year at this dinner, somebody makes a joke about BuzzFeed, for example, changing the media landscape. And every year, the Washington Post laughs a little bit less hard. (Laughter.) Kind of a silence there. (Laughter.) Especially at the Washington Post table. (Laughter.)

GOP Chairman Reince Priebus is here as well. (Applause.) Glad to see you that you feel that you've earned a night off. (Laughter.) Congratulations on all your success. The Republican Party, the nomination process -- it's all going great. Keep it up. (Laughter and applause.)

Kendall Jenner is also here. And we had a chance to meet her backstage -- she seems like a very nice young woman. I'm not exactly sure what she does, but I am told that my Twitter mentions are about to go through the roof. (Laughter.)

Helen Mirren is here tonight. (Applause.) I don't even have a joke here. I just think Helen Mirren is awesome. (Laughter and applause.) She's awesome. (Laughter.)

Sitting at the same table, I see Mike Bloomberg. (Applause.) Mike, a combative, controversial New York billionaire is leading the GOP primary and it is not you. (Laughter.) That's has to sting a little bit. (Laughter.) Although it's not an entirely fair comparison between you and the Donald. After all, Mike was a big-city mayor. He knows policy in depth. And he's actually worth the amount of money that he says he is. (Laughter and applause.)

What an election season. For example, we've got the bright new face of the Democratic Party here tonight -- Mr. Bernie Sanders! (Applause.) There he is -- Bernie! (Applause.) Bernie, you look like a million bucks. (Laughter.) Or to put it in terms you'll understand, you look like 37,000 donations of 27 dollars each. (Laughter and applause.)

A lot of folks have been surprised by the Bernie phenomenon, especially his appeal to young people. But not me, I get it. Just recently, a young person came up to me and said she was sick of politicians standing in the way of her dreams. As if we were actually going to let Malia go to Burning Man this year. (Laughter.) That was not going to happen. (Laughter.) Bernie might have let her go. (Laughter.) Not us. (Laughter.)

I am hurt, though, Bernie, that you've distancing yourself a little from me. (Laughter.) I mean, that's just not something that you do to your comrade. (Laughter and applause.)

Bernie's slogan has helped his campaign catch fire among young people. "Feel the Bern." (Laughter.) Feel the Bern -- it's a good slogan. Hillary's slogan has not had the same effect. Let's see this. (Slide is shown.) (Laughter.)

Look, I've said how much I admire Hillary's toughness, her smarts, her policy chops, her experience. You've got to admit it, though, Hillary trying to appeal to young voters is a little bit like your relative just signed up for Facebook. (Laughter.) "Dear America, did you get my poke?" (Laughter.) "Is it appearing on your wall?" (Laughter.) "I'm not sure I am using this right. Love, Aunt Hillary." (Laughter and applause.) It's not entirely persuasive.

Meanwhile, on the Republican side, things are a little more -- how should we say this -- a little "more loose." Just look at the confusion over the invitations to tonight's dinner. Guests were asked to check whether they wanted steak or fish, but instead, a whole bunch of you wrote in Paul Ryan. (Laughter.) That's not an option, people. Steak or fish. (Laughter.) You may not like steak or fish -- (laughter) -- but that's your choice. (Laughter.)

Meanwhile, some candidates aren't polling high enough to qualify for their own joke tonight. (Slide is shown.) (Laughter.) The rules were well-established ahead of time. (Laughter.)

And then there's Ted Cruz. Ted had a tough week. He went to Indiana -- Hoosier country -- stood on a basketball court, and called the hoop a "basketball ring." (Laughter and applause.) What else is in his lexicon? Baseball sticks? Football hats? (Laughter.) But sure, I'm the foreign one. (Laughter and applause.)

Well, let me conclude tonight on a more serious note. I want to thank the Washington press corps, I want to thank Carol for all that you do. The free press is central to our democracy, and -- nah, I'm just kidding! You know I've got to talk about Trump! Come on! (Laughter and applause.) We weren't just going to stop there. Come on. (Laughter and applause.)

Although I am a little hurt that he's not here tonight. We had so much fun the last time. (Laughter.) And it is surprising. You've got a room full of reporters, celebrities, cameras, and he says no? (Laughter.) Is this dinner too tacky for The Donald? (Laughter.) What could he possibly be doing instead? Is he at home, eating a Trump Steak -- (laughter) -- tweeting out insults to Angela Merkel? (Laughter.) What's he doing? (Laughter.)

The Republican establishment is incredulous that he is their most likely nominee -- incredulous, shocking. They say Donald lacks the foreign policy experience to be President. But, in fairness, he has spent years meeting with leaders from around the world: Miss Sweden, Miss Argentina, Miss Azerbaijan. (Laughter and applause.)

And there's one area where Donald's experience could be invaluable -- and that's closing Guantanamo. Because Trump knows a thing or two about running waterfront properties into the ground. (Laughter and applause.)

All right, that's probably enough. I mean, I've got more material -- (applause) -- no, no, I don't want to spend too much time on The Donald. Following your lead, I want to show some restraint. (Laughter.) Because I think we can all agree that from the start, he's gotten the appropriate amount of coverage, befitting the seriousness of his candidacy. (Laughter and applause.)

I hope you all are proud of yourselves. (Laughter.) The guy wanted to give his hotel business a boost, and now we're praying that Cleveland makes it through July. (Laughter.)

Mm-mm-mm. (Laughter and applause.) Hmm. (Laughter.)

As for me and Michelle, we've decided to stay in D.C. for a couple more years. (Applause.) Thank you. This way, our youngest daughter can finish up high school, Michelle can stay closer to her plot of carrots. (Laughter.) She's already making plans to see them every day. Take a look. (Slide is shown.) (Laughter.)

But our decision has actually presented a bit of a dilemma because, traditionally, Presidents don't stick around after they're done. And it's something that I've been brooding about a little bit. Take a look.

(Video is shown.)

(Applause.)

I am still waiting for all of you to respond to my invitation to connect on LinkedIn. (Laughter.) But I know you have jobs to do, which is what really brings us here tonight.

I know that there are times that we've had differences, and that's inherent in our institutional roles -- it's true of every President and his press corps. But we've always shared the same goal -- to root our public discourse in the truth; to open the doors of this democracy; to do whatever we can to make our country and our world more free and more just. And I've always appreciated the role that you have all played as equal partners in reaching these goals.

And our free press is why we once again recognize the real journalists who uncovered a horrifying scandal and brought about some measure of justice for thousands of victims throughout the world. They are here with us tonight -- Sacha Pfeiffer, Mike Rezendes, Walter Robinson, Matt Carroll, and Ben Bradlee, Jr. Please give them a big round of applause. (Applause.)

Our free press is why, once again, we honor Jason Rezaian. (Applause.) As Carol noted, last time this year, we spoke of Jason's courage as he endured the isolation of an Iranian prison. This year, we see that courage in the flesh and it's a living testament to the very idea of a free press, and a reminder of the rising level of danger, and political intimidation, and physical threats faced by reporters overseas. And I can make this commitment that as long as I hold this office, my administration will continue to fight for the release of American journalists held against their will -- and we will not stop until they see the same freedom as Jason had. (Applause.)

At home and abroad, journalists like all of you engage in the dogged pursuit of informing citizens, and holding leaders accountable, and making our government of the people possible. And it's an enormous responsibility. And I realize it's an enormous challenge at a time when the economics of the business sometimes incentivize speed over depth; and when controversy and conflict are what most immediately attract readers and viewers.

The good news is there are so many of you that are pushing against those trends. And as a citizen of this great democracy, I am grateful for that. For this is also a time around the world when some of the fundamental ideals of liberal democracies are under attack, and when notions of objectivity, and of a free press, and of facts, and of evidence are trying to be undermined. Or, in some cases, ignored entirely.

And in such a climate, it's not enough just to give people a megaphone. And that's why your power and your responsibility to dig and to question and to counter distortions and untruths is more important than ever. Taking a stand on behalf of what is true does not require you shedding your objectivity. In fact, it is the essence of good journalism. It affirms the idea that the only way we can build consensus, the only way that we can move forward as a country, the only way we can help the world mend itself is by agreeing on a baseline of facts when it comes to the

challenges that confront us all.

So this night is a testament to all of you who have devoted your lives to that idea, who push to shine a light on the truth every single day. So I want to close my final White House Correspondents' Dinner by just saying thank you. (Applause.) I'm very proud of what you've done. It has been an honor and a privilege to work side by side with you to strengthen our democracy. (Applause.)

And with that, I just have two more words to say -- Obama out. (Drops microphone.) (Laughter and applause.) Thank you. (Applause.)

END

10:37 P.M. EDT

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2016 8:16 PM
To: Kris, Robert E <KrisRE@state.gov>; Koilparampil, Megan S. <KoilparampilM@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL <USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL@state.gov>; Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Time 100 Flags

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Kris, Robert E
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2016 6:52 PM
To: Power, Samantha; Koilparampil, Megan S.
Cc: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL; Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: RE: Time 100 Flags

B5

B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2016 6:51 PM
To: Koilparampil, Megan S.
Cc: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL; Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Time 100 Flags

Pls just send me pts?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Koilparampil, Megan S.
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2016 6:46 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL; Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Time 100 Flags

Ambassador,

Upon arrival, I'll meet you at the drop to walk you through the night. We'll proceed to the red carpet and then on to the reception. You are seated between Cass and Nancy Gibbs. On the other side of Cass is a woman named Melissa Shapiro who is a guest of Melissa Long, the TIME Publisher. Donald Trump is seated at the table next to you. It should be an interesting night!

B5

See you shortly,
Megan

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Thursday, February 25, 2016 11:52 AM
To:	Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Cc:	USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; Pressman, David <PressmanD@state.gov>; Vasquez, Edgar J <VasquezEJ@state.gov>; Degory, John A <DegoryJA@state.gov>; Piechowski, Jon E <PiechowskiJE@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: Domestic TV Today

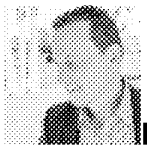
RELEASE IN PART B5

B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Thursday, February 25, 2016 11:51 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; Vasquez, Edgar J; Degory, John A; Piechowski, Jon E
Subject: RE: Domestic TV Today

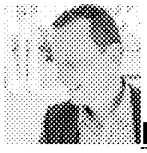
Further to this, NBC has now pulled out. They are going with a Trump story.



Richard Grenell @RichardGrenell 14h14 hours ago

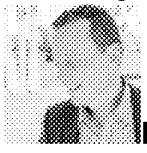
Breaking: U.S. caves to China, weakens UN SecurityCouncil draft resolution on North Korea.

Resolution has no teeth. @AmbassadorPower fails.



Richard Grenell @RichardGrenell 14h14 hours ago

US Mission officials at the UN tell me @AmbassadorPower was traveling outside the country while negotiations on resolution took place.



Richard Grenell @RichardGrenell 14h14 hours ago

UN Security Council will meet tomorrow to consider the new weakened North Korea

resolution. @AmbassadorPower out-maneuvered by China.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Thursday, February 25, 2016 10:21 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; Vasquez, Edgar J; Degory, John A; Piechowski, Jon E
Subject: Domestic TV Today

Ambassador,

B5

Kurtis

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 10:47 AM
To: Mr. Bret Stephens
Subject: Fw: WSJ / Opinion / Israel Looks Beyond America

We sld compare notes...I wish it were as simple as you suggest...

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Dinkel, Alessia A <DinkelAA@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 4:41 PM
To: USUN-MiddleEastNews-DL; USUN-ISRAEL-DL
Subject: WSJ / Opinion / Israel Looks Beyond America

Israel Looks Beyond America
February 15, 2016
Wall Street Journal
By Bret Stephens

Talk to Israelis about the United States these days and you will provoke a physical reaction. Barack Obama is an eye roll. John Kerry is a grimace. The administration's conduct of regional policy is a slow, sad shake of the head. The current state of the presidential race makes for a full-blown shudder. The Israeli rundown of the candidates goes roughly as follows: "Hillary—she doesn't like us." "Cruz—I don't like him." "Rubio—is he done for?" "Sanders—oy vey." "Trump—omigod."

As for Israel's own troubles—a continuing Palestinian campaign of stabbings; evidence that Hamas is rebuilding its network of terror tunnels under the Gaza border and wants to restart the 2014 war; more than 100,000 rockets and guided missiles in the hands of Hezbollah—that's just the Middle East being itself. It's the U.S. not being itself that is the real novelty, and is forcing Israel to adjust.

I've spent the better part of a week talking to senior officials, journalists, intellectuals and politicians from across Israel's political spectrum. None of it was on the record, but the consistent theme is that, while the Jewish state still needs the U.S., especially in the form of military aid, it also needs to diversify its strategic partnerships. This may yet turn out to be the historic achievement of Benjamin Netanyahu's long reign as prime minister.

On Sunday, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon publicly shook hands with former Saudi intelligence chief Prince Turki al-Faisal at the Munich Security Conference. In January, Israeli cabinet member Yuval Steinitz made a trip to Abu Dhabi, where Israel is opening an office at a renewable-energy association. Turkey is patching up ties with Israel. In June, Jerusalem and Riyadh went public with the strategic talks between them. In March, Egyptian President Abdel Fatah al-Sisi told the Washington Post that he speaks to Mr. Netanyahu "a lot."

This de facto Sunni-Jewish alliance amounts to what might be called the coalition of the disenchanted; states that have lost faith in America's promises. Israel is also reinventing its ties to the aspiring Startup Nations, countries that want to develop their own innovation cultures. In October, Israel hosted Indian President Pranab Mukherjee for a three-day state visit; New Delhi, once a paragon of the nonaligned movement that didn't have diplomatic ties to Israel for four decades, is about to spend $3 billion on Israeli arms. Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who is personally close to Mr. Netanyahu, sees Israel as a model for economic reinvention. Chinese investment in Israel hit $2.7 billion last year, up from $70 million in 2010. In 2014, Israel's exports to the Far

East for the first time exceeded those to the U.S.

Then there is Europe—at least the part of it that is starting to grasp that it can't purchase its security in the coin of Israeli insecurity. Greece's left-wing Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras used to lead anti-Israel protests. But Greece needs Israeli gas, so he urges cooperation on terrorism and calls Jerusalem Israel's "historic capital." In the U.K., Prime Minister David Cameron's government is moving to prevent local councils from passing Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) measures against Israel.

All this amounts to another Obama administration prediction proved wrong. "You see for Israel there's an increasing delegitimization campaign that has been building up," Mr. Kerry warned grimly in 2014. "There are talks of boycotts and other kinds of things. Today's status quo absolutely, to a certainty, I promise you 100%, cannot be maintained." Except when the likely alternatives to the lousy status quo are worse. Over the weekend, U.N. Ambassador Samantha Power came to Jerusalem to preach the virtues of a two-state solution. Her case would be unarguable if the Palestinian state to be created alongside Israel were modeled on Costa Rica—democratic, demilitarized, developing, friendly to outsiders.

But the likelier model is Gaza, or Syria. Why should Israelis be expected to live next to that? How would that help actual living Palestinians, as opposed to the perpetual martyrs of left-wing imagination? And why doesn't the U.S. insist that Palestinian leaders prove they are capable of decently governing a state before being granted one?

Those are questions Mr. Obama has been incapable of asking himself, lest a recognition of facts intrude on the narrative of a redemptive presidency. But a great power that cannot recognize the dilemmas of its allies soon becomes useless as an ally, and it becomes intolerable if it then turns its strategic ignorance into a moral sermon.

More than one Israeli official I spoke with recalled that the country managed to survive the years before 1967 without America's strategic backing, and if necessary it could do so again. Nations that must survive typically do. The more important question is how much credibility the U.S. can afford to squander before the loss becomes irrecoverable.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN FULL

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Thursday, January 21, 2016 8:26 PM
To:	Kris, Robert E <KrisRE@state.gov>
Subject:	Re: NYT Mag / Why Is It So Difficult for Syrian Refugees to Get Into the U.S.?

Fine for my return

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Kris, Robert E
Sent: Friday, January 22, 2016 5:20 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: NYT Mag / Why Is It So Difficult for Syrian Refugees to Get Into the U.S.?

Thanks, Ambassador. Will add this to the next batch of items for delivery from Embassy Bujumbura.

All the best,

-Robert

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2016 8:18 PM
To: Kris, Robert E
Subject: Fw: NYT Mag / Why Is It So Difficult for Syrian Refugees to Get Into the U.S.?

Pl print

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Tomaselli, Elizabeth <TomaselliE@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 2016 6:26 PM
To: USUN-SyriaNews-DL; USUN-REFUGEES-DL
Subject: NYT Mag / Why Is It So Difficult for Syrian Refugees to Get Into the U.S.?

Why Is It So Difficult for Syrian Refugees to Get Into the U.S.?
January 20, 2016
New York Times Magazine
By Eliza Griswold

Of the 4.5 million people who have fled the Syrian war, only 2,647 have been taken in by the United States.

"We aren't the kind of family that sends our daughters to work," Mahmoud al-Haj Ali told me one evening this

fall. He'd just returned to the family's dingy second-floor apartment in Aurora, Ill., from the warehouse where he and his 19-year-old daughter, Sham, sorted boxes. At work, Mahmoud tried to keep her in sight. ''I saw how tired she was,'' he continued. ''It's more than she can take.'' Sham's English classes provided only a shaky foundation in the language, and she struggled to negotiate basic conversations. Mahmoud also spoke little English — we were sitting with an interpreter — but he could manage the essential. Mahmoud work tomorrow, Mahmoud no work tomorrow, he said in self-parody. But he, too, was tired. He rolled up his sweatpants to reveal a swollen leg. In Syria, Mahmoud, 57, who once owned a flourishing locksmith business in the Emirates, would have already retired.

''We didn't expect it to be so expensive,'' he said of life in Aurora, an industrial river town 41 miles from Chicago, where the al-Haj Alis arrived in March. ''What can we do?'' The federal government and the nine nongovernmental agencies that help to relocate refugees in the United States select cities like Aurora because housing and jobs are readily available and the cost of living is relatively low. The al-Haj Alis also receive help with the rent from a local organization, the Syrian Community Network. Still, it isn't enough. Mahmoud and his wife, Azizeh, had been counting on their son Waseem, who is 27 and trained as a psychologist, to help support the family. His wife, Noorhan, and their two young sons were supposed to be in Aurora, too. But, at the last minute, something went wrong with their application to resettle in America. Now they were stuck in Jordan.

Mahmoud flipped through the spiral notebook in which he calculates monthly expenses: Internet, $52; garbage collection, $40; rent, $1,125; repayments on the United States government loan for the plane tickets from Amman to America, $172. Mahmoud went into his and Azizeh's bedroom and found the bill for the family's airfare: $6,130. ''Since I used to own a business, I like to record everything,'' he said.

Most nights, Mahmoud works at the warehouse until 11 before returning home with Sham. The al-Haj Alis' sons Ahmad and Mohamed arrive home around then, too, from six-hour after-school shifts at a local supermarket. Although they're twins, the boys, 17, dress and act as if they weren't. Mohamed, curls stiffened with gel, favors a tie. Ahmad, an artist, is often bed-headed and prefers sweatsuits. Every day he tucks a Syrian flag into his waistband before heading to West Aurora High School, despite the occasional trouble the flag invites. At the supermarket, he mans the cash register; he likes to interact with customers, in part to show off the Syrian identity to which he clings. Mohamed, who is shyer and speaks far less about Syria, prefers to herd the stray carts in the parking lot.

Now, collapsed on the couch, the twins scrolled through homemade videos of Ahmad strolling around their new neighborhood in sunglasses and found footage showing the rubble of their hometown, 6,000 miles away. The al-Haj Ali family comes from Khirbet Ghazaleh, a town of 16,000. It is 15 miles from Daraa, where the revolution against Assad began, in 2011, after his security forces arrested and tortured a group of students for writing antigovernment slogans.

The al-Haj Ali twins were only 13 at the time. They had nothing to do with the protests. Nor did anyone else in the immediate family. Although they listened to news reports of the Assad government's ferocious attacks on civilians, they saw little indication, at first, of the violence around them. There was the odd black helicopter in the sky. And once, when Waseem was taking Azizeh to driving school, they watched a group of protesters carrying olive branches stream out of Daraa. Only later did they realize these were people fleeing a massacre by Assad's forces.

Then the airstrikes began. Government security forces raided the family's home dozens of times. Their cousins, who lived next door, were imprisoned and tortured. Still, the al-Haj Alis hung on; they adapted to living in a war zone, spending evenings in the dark. Then, one morning in August 2012, they learned from a television news report that Azizeh's brother, a high-ranking official in Assad's military, had defected overnight to Jordan. His family would most likely be punished, with death, in his stead. He hadn't warned them. He couldn't: His phone

was bugged, and sending a message would only have further endangered them. The al-Haj Alis never slept at home again. Within days, they left Syria for Jordan by car. Azizeh feared they'd be unable to make it across the border and was even more terrified that the names of her family members would be on a blacklist and that they would be arrested. Mahmoud handed their keys to a neighbor whose house had been flattened by airstrikes. ''If we're not back by sunset,'' he told her, ''you can have our house.''

The war scattered the al-Haj Alis across the globe. Mahmoud, his wife, the twins and Sham made it to Aurora after a 30-month stay in Amman, Jordan. Two elder daughters, Rasha and Ruba, are in the Netherlands. Rasha arrived with her husband two years ago, and this fall Ruba followed. She and her three boys fled first to Morocco, then to Spain by boat, making their way on foot to an asylum center in the Netherlands, sharing a single room with two other families. (Ruba would like to bring her sons to America, but now that they are in a safe country, there is little chance of resettlement in the United States.) A third daughter, Rana, recently gave birth in Egypt; her 1-month-old is officially stateless. Another, Fatimah, is in Jordan. Yet the child of greatest concern to the family is their adult son, Waseem.

The al-Haj Alis worry he may never make it to Aurora. The family had been in Illinois for eight months when ISIS attacked in Paris, killing 130 people. Early reports claimed that one of the terrorists made his way to Europe by posing as a Syrian refugee. European countries imposed new border restrictions, and 31 American governors, including the governor of Illinois, Bruce Rauner, called for a moratorium on Syrian refugees. In December, when a militant couple shot up a center for the disabled in San Bernardino, Calif., killing 14 and earning accolades from ISIS, the rhetoric grew more vociferous. A store clerk was shot in Michigan, a Somali restaurant was set ablaze in North Dakota and anti-Muslim hate crimes spiked around the United States.

Azizeh wondered if she had brought her sons from Syria only to put them at risk in America, and if Waseem would ever join them now.

The al-Haj Alis are five of the 2,647 Syrian refugees who have been resettled in the United States, roughly 0.06 percent of the more than 4.5 million driven from the country since the uprising began in 2011. The scale of the crisis is such that of the 20 million refugees flooding the world today, one in four is Syrian. Although President Obama has committed to bringing at least 10,000 more Syrians to the United States by this October, that number is still a trickle compared with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's effort to resettle 25,000 in Canada; Chancellor Angela Merkel's acceptance of nearly 93,000 in Germany last fall; and President François Hollande's promise to bring 30,000 more Syrian refugees to France over the next two years. Why has the United States taken so few?

''It's extremely difficult to get into the United States as a refugee — the odds of winning the Powerball are probably better,'' says David Miliband, head of the International Rescue Committee, which helps place refugees from 40 countries in American cities. And Syrians are subject to an extra degree of vetting. Although all refugees are screened by the National Counterterrorism Center, the F.B.I., the Defense Department, the State Department and United States Customs and Border Protection, among other intelligence agencies, Syrians must complete what is known as the Enhanced Syrian Review. This is an added screening by caseworkers at U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services in Washington, which assesses each Syrian case and selects some for processing through the Fraud Detection and National Security Directorate office. This extra step was put in place because of the difficulty of assessing the allegiances of the various rebel groups in Syria's continuing war — what Barbara Strack, chief of the Refugee Affairs Division at U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, describes as ''the myriad actors and dynamic nature of the conflict.''

Until recently, Syria's refugees were not a pressing domestic political concern. To many Americans, the war in Syria seemed remote, a problem for Syria's neighbors. Of greater import were the 11 million immigrants who had entered the United States illegally. Then last summer, images of the Syrian toddler Alan Kurdi lying dead on

the Turkish shore mobilized American sympathies in favor of refugees, and the Obama administration found itself faulted for admitting so few. Quietly, President Obama directed Denis McDonough, the White House chief of staff, to work with the State Department to find out why vetting for Syrian refugees required 18 to 24 months.

McDonough, known for urging Obama to be cautious in engaging militarily in Syria, took the issue of refugees personally. As a Catholic growing up in Stillwater, Minn., the 10th of 11 children, he worked with his church to help arriving Vietnamese refugees. Now, carrying a stack of charts and graphs, he met with refugee advocates and members of Congress to learn about the pitfalls and procedural bottlenecks within the resettlement program and to study potential means of bringing Syrians more quickly to the United States without compromising on security. In closed-door National Security Council meetings last year, he advised State Department officials to lift bureaucratic hurdles. As a result, the United States has opened up refugee-processing centers in new locations that refugees can actually reach, including one in Erbil, in northern Iraq. By streamlining the process of resettling Syrian refugees, the Obama administration also hoped to demonstrate support for its European allies. ''It's important to the president's view to show our allies overseas, who are taking a considerable influx of Syrians, that we support them and we're doing our part,'' McDonough told me recently.

Paris threatened to change everything. The Syrian passport found near the body of one militant turned out to be a fake, but at least two of the attackers had exploited the refugee routes from the Middle East to Europe. Overnight, the global good will toward refugees that had been building all but vanished. Suddenly, the images of hundreds of thousands of refugees heading north inspired not empathy but alarm. According to the Soufan Group, a New York-based company that provides security-intelligence services, between 27,000 and 31,000 foreign fighters have gone to Iraq or Syria since the start of Syria's civil war, the vast majority to fight alongside ISIS. At least 10 percent have headed back home. What once seemed like a trickle of vulnerable civilians now looked, to some, like a potentially dangerous flood.

Republican presidential candidates seized on the Syrian refugee issue as proof that Obama wasn't keeping Americans safe. Dr. Ben Carson conflated Syrian refugees with ''rabid dogs.'' Jeb Bush called for deprioritizing Muslim refugees from the Middle East in favor of Christians. Senator Ted Cruz echoed this sentiment, proclaiming that Muslims should be sent to ''Muslim-majority'' countries while ''Christians who are being targeted for genocide, for persecution, Christians who are being beheaded or crucified, we should be providing safe haven to them.'' Donald Trump upped the ante by calling for a ban on all Muslims entering the United States.

In November, Republicans and some Democrats rallied behind House Bill 4038, the American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act, introduced by Representative Michael T. McCaul of Texas to slow the arrival of Syrian and Iraqi refugees in the United States. Days before the House vote, McDonough and Jeh Johnson, secretary of homeland security, briefed members of Congress on the Syrian-refugee-resettlement program and its screening process, in an attempt to reassure them that such a measure was unnecessary. The House nonetheless voted in favor of the bill, and as 2015 drew to a close, the Syrian refugee issue was at risk of becoming part of the year-end omnibus bill amid discussions of a government shutdown.

In the face of mounting political opposition, the president, in a choreographed Trudeau-esque gesture at the National Archives in Washington, welcomed 31 people from 25 countries at their citizenship ceremony. In private, McDonough rang up supporters and opponents alike. ''Every phone call I've had with my friends on Capitol Hill, Republican and Democrat, and with governors around the country, I've underscored that we recognize the fear,'' McDonough told me. He spoke of the need to ''send a message'' to ''the Assad regime and to ISIL that the United States will continue to play the role that it has, that the world has become accustomed to it playing — mainly the role of alleviating suffering at the source and of being a refuge for the most vulnerable people.''

The Syrian crisis is often described as a crisis of migration, but that's not how it began. ''This exodus didn't come out of nowhere,'' says Dr. Zaher Sahloul, senior adviser for the Syrian American Medical Society. The war in Syria has left some 250,000 people dead and displaced millions. And Syrian-American activists often refer to it as Obama's Rwanda. ''From Day 1 of the Syrian catastrophe,'' says Bassam Barabandi, co-founder of the organization People Demand Change, ''the U.S. started signing checks to the U.N., but they missed the point.'' The point, he said, is ending the war, not creating a welfare state made up of refugees.

''It's not a zero-sum choice,'' Deputy Secretary of State Antony Blinken said. Blinken, who served as Obama's national security adviser before returning to the State Department, where he began his career, has been asked by the White House to handle the thorny refugee issue. ''We're working 36 hours a day to solve the war in Syria,'' he said, ''but meanwhile, what do you do about the huge immediate challenge of more than four million people displaced from their country?''

For millions of Syrians, Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan have become vast waiting rooms. ''The two biggest drivers of onward migration are lack of access to education and lack of access to work,'' Blinken told me recently, at the United States Embassy in Amman. The United States frequently trumpets the fact that of the countries donating to the United Nations in support of Syrian refugees, it gives the most aid, much of it going to front-line countries. But this is in part a self-serving strategy. The United States supports Syria's neighbors so that they can withstand the pressures of millions of additional people. Refugees place a large burden on natural resources and social services. As a result, relations between Syrians and their hosts are souring. (Jordanians, groaning under the burden of 633,000 refugees, joke darkly that they live ''between Iraq and a hard place.'') Part of American strategy in the region has been to ease tensions between Syrians and their hosts. The United States provides services (schools and hospitals) for the refugees as well as for the citizens of host countries. They also allocate money for development to keep the host country happy. In Jordan, Blinken had just attended a falafel lunch with Jordanian venture capitalists who started a fund, with United States government support, to incubate technology start-ups.

Resettlement in the United States, however, remains a political challenge. ''This is where ISIL neatly joins the problem,'' Blinken said. ''Very few of the refugees we admit are young males without families — we focus on women, children, the sick and those vulnerable to violence. But you now have this new concern that these refugee populations will somehow be infiltrated by terrorists.'' In the aftermath of the Paris attacks, European countries hardened their stance on refugees, making illegal migration more difficult by closing borders. (For the first time in 50 years, for instance, those crossing between Denmark and Sweden have to show photo ID.) Turkey is under pressure to do the same. Recently, after receiving promises of $3.25 billion in aid from the E.U., Turkey reportedly arrested 1,300 asylum seekers trying to cross the sea to Greece.

The refugees already in Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan are more likely to be stuck there, which means that a humanitarian crisis is becoming an economic-development problem. Syrians, many of whom lived sophisticated lives, are often unable to access even the most basic services. ''These are people who had microwaves and cars, and now they're in tin boxes in the desert,'' says Jonathan Campbell of the World Food Program. The key factor in their migration is hopelessness. This past fall, the W.F.P. sent text messages to 230,000 Syrians living in Jordan to tell them that their food benefits were going to be substantially reduced because of lack of funding and donor fatigue. (They were later restored.) Although the United States made a large pledge, other countries, facing financial crises at home, did not. As a result, 64 percent of the refugees told the W.F.P. they were going to be forced to leave the country. One family out of every four took a child out of school to work. ''It's not a pull factor that makes them move, it's a push factor,'' says Myriam Baele, head of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees' refugee-resettlement unit in Jordan. ''If there isn't a means to survive here, they will go,'' she went on. ''Either to Europe or back to Syria, where they will die.''

Waseem al-Haj Ali and his wife, Noorhan, keep two blue suitcases packed in the apartment they once shared with their family in Amman. ''It's a nightmare,'' Waseem said on a recent evening. ''There's no future here in Jordan. I can't even get a driver's license.'' In exasperation, he raised his eyebrows, bushy like his father's. The apartment's peeling walls were covered in blue and purple flowers, drawn by his brother Ahmad before he left for America.

Early last spring in Amman, when the al-Haj Alis were all still together, Waseem, Noorhan and their sons, who are 4 and 2, cleared the Enhanced Syrian Review and completed four days of cultural-orientation classes — which include everything from pictures of what to pack (warm clothing and money) and what not to (weapons and illegal drugs) to the importance Americans place on such concepts as punctuality and privacy. These courses are offered only to those who are in the process of resettling in the United States. Noorhan, who had been studying in Syria to become a teacher and whose dark eyes glitter with an easy intelligence, paid special attention to the weather. ''Arizona is like the gulf,'' she recalled learning. ''Hot, dry and full of snakes.''

Ten days before Waseem and his family were scheduled to leave, they had completed everything but their medical exams. Then they received a call from the Americans: They couldn't go just yet. Something had come up in their security clearance, Waseem recalled being told. In retrospect, Waseem's parents wonder if they should have waited for him. The plan had always been for Waseem to support the family: Azizeh had three ruptured disks and needed back surgery; Mahmoud had an old leg injury. But if the al-Haj Alis had delayed and lost their place in line, they might never have gotten to America. Waseem now feels guilty that he encouraged them to go ahead. He wasn't sure his parents could make it without him. ''I'm trying to be patient for my parents,'' he said. ''If it weren't for them, I would've already left.''

''If we don't get a call from the Americans before smuggling season begins in the spring, we'll leave for Europe,'' he went on. The last thing he and his wife wanted to do was take two toddlers over the sea. Like everyone else, they had seen the photos of Alan on the beach. Their children couldn't swim, and neither could Noorhan. But what choice did they have?

''We think only about traveling,'' he said. ''All we want is to go the United States.'' Day after day, he checked the news on Facebook and chatted with his mother in Aurora. ''We hope to live in a simple house, with a car outside, and just to watch our kids grow up,'' Noorhan said. ''That's it. We don't want a palace or some luxury life.''

When the rest of his family left in March, Waseem thought he would have to wait for about a month at the most. One month was now eight. As it grew colder, he stopped walking along the highway looking for illegal construction jobs. The market for day laborers was drying up. He didn't dare ask for work in the strip of neon-lit shawarma stands downtown, even though many were staffed by fellow refugees. If he was caught working, Waseem could be imprisoned, transferred to the refugee camps, where only the poorest of the poor live, or sent back to Syria. Still, he had to find a way to pay the $247 rent on the apartment he once shared with his parents. He and Noorhan relied increasingly on whatever Mahmoud could send back from America. Instead of helping to support his parents, he was taking from them. ''My father used to be a wealthy man,'' Waseem said, recalling Mahmoud's locksmith business in Abu Dhabi. Once the war began, Mahmoud sold the business for $120,000. For nearly five years, that money supported more than a dozen family members in five different countries. Now the money was gone.

Among Syrian refugees, ''on hold'' is the most dreaded category. It is extremely difficult to get clear answers about why the hold has been applied or when it will be lifted. To try to learn more, Waseem designated The New York Times as a third party with the legal right to inquire about his case. In response to an email from The Times in November, the International Organization for Migration would say only that Waseem's case ''is currently on hold pending further review by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services.''

Officials cannot comment on individual cases, but when briefed on the case as a hypothetical, immigration officers and resettlement experts offered several possible explanations: It could be as simple as an applicant's security clearance having expired while a family member waited to be vetted. Or maybe Waseem's name sounds like a name on a terrorist watch-list. Or maybe, at the very last minute, ''recurrent vetting'' raised a red flag. Recurrent vetting, which began in 2015, checks names through a series of databases right up to when the flight lands in the United States. As a senior intelligence officer with the National Counterterrorism Center described it: ''If you have an 800 credit score and you're good for a new Visa card, and two weeks from now they find out that, hey, two years ago, you changed your name to cover up a prior bankruptcy, then they can take away that card.''

Or maybe it was Azizeh's brother. As a former military member of the Assad regime, he might still count as a black mark. Even though he defected early on, he could, by some bureaucratic oversight, still be designated a security risk to the United States. When reached in Qatar this fall, via Skype, he expressed relief that all of his family had made it out of Syria alive. He, too, was searching for a new country. ''I'm not looking for beauty or history,'' he said. ''I'm looking for a country with human rights and freedom.'' Other family members described specific questions regarding Azizeh's brother posed to them by American immigration officers in Jordan. For example, did they serve him coffee or tea when he was in their homes? This was most likely a question to determine whether the family had provided material support — which could include a cup of coffee, a glass of water, a ride — to someone designated to be an enemy of the United States.

As months passed with no answers, Waseem turned over the strange questions he was asked during his final interview. Could these hold the key to the predicament in which he now found himself? Did he intend to commit terrorism in the United States? No. Did he intend to visit a prostitute in the United States? No. Refugees often refer to questions like the last one as ''the crazy questions,'' a senior immigration official told me: queries that, by law, immigration officials must ask to determine grounds of inadmissibility, even though they're anachronistic. Others include Are you a member of the Nazi Party? and Are you a habitual drunkard?

The system of vetting refugees was first overhauled after Sept. 11. Since then, America's wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and conflicts in Africa and Asia have led to further refinements in how the United States evaluates refugees. Since 2007, for instance, the Defense Department has worked with the Homeland Security Department to share its intelligence on Iraqis, who represent one of the largest influxes of refugees to the United States in the last decade (more than 85,000 since 2008). Many won the right to apply for admission to the United States after risking their lives to aid American soldiers. Yet, as these Iraqis began to arrive, opposition to resettling them was swift. It began, for the most part, with fringe groups. Ann Corcoran, a conservative from rural Maryland, started a blog called Refugee Resettlement Watch, in which she chronicles news related to Muslims and others arriving in the United States. She warns that Muslims are coming to build ''cities within cities'' and to establish Shariah law in America. Corcoran told me that in Iowa last spring, she handed her book, ''Refugee Resettlement and Hijra to America,'' directly to Donald Trump.

Resettling refugees isn't a perfect process. ''No immigration program is completely without risk,'' a senior intelligence officer says. Yet over more than a decade, the United States agencies involved in the program have learned to communicate more effectively. ''We got a lot smarter and developed additional relationships with the intelligence community beginning with the large-scale Iraqi processing in 2007,'' Strack, of U.S.C.I.S., says. She adds, ''We are the opposite of stove-piped — we're incredibly networked.''

One common misconception about how a Syrian refugee comes to America is that she simply approaches the United States Embassy in Jordan or Turkey or wherever she first lands. This is not how resettlement works. To be legally designated a refugee, she must first apply to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. U.N.H.C.R. takes a photograph and scans her iris. Verification can take anywhere from a couple of

months to a few years before she's interviewed in person. Although these interviews aren't considered security vetting, caseworkers are trained to eliminate those who may be lying, as well as those who have persecuted others or may be war criminals.

In addition to collecting biometric data like iris scans and photographs, U.N.H.C.R. case officers are trained in basic facial recognition and have 2-D screening capabilities to detect fake passports. The goal is to make sure people meet the criteria of the refugee convention, established after World War II. They're also experts in country-of-origin information. ''Listen, I know where your school is, I know the colors of its walls,'' one U.N.H.C.R. officer says. ''We detect lies based on what's happened in the country of origin. It's not just hour-by-hour events; it's ethnicity, region, family. We know the custom — we know what their dresses look like.''

U.N.H.C.R. then advocates for the most vulnerable 10 percent; the other 90 percent will have to make a new life as best they can. Of the 20 million refugees worldwide, less than 1 percent will be officially resettled, and of those, the United States takes about half. Resettlement is only one of three options. The others are returning home (which, for most Syrians, is impossible) or remaining in the host country (which, given the pressures Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon are under, is becoming increasingly difficult). Those either barred or ''deprioritized'' include individuals with certain military ties, as well as families with missing members. This is to guard against the possibility that the missing member may be fighting alongside an anti-American group like ISIS and later try to rejoin his family.

Syrians, like other refugees, don't choose the country they end up in. U.N.H.C.R. selects the best option based on various criteria specified by host countries, like those from the most vulnerable groups or victims of torture. But there are limits to the requests countries can make. ''We're not a labor department,'' a senior U.N.H.C.R. official said. ''If countries come to us asking for a particular religion, we don't encourage that.''

All of this takes place before U.N.H.C.R. refers the case to any one country. Once U.N.H.C.R. provides a complete file to the United States, then the applicant's entire family visits the State Department's Resettlement Support Center for a prescreening interview. At this point, each individual is run through several databases, including ones at the Department of Homeland Security, the National Counterterrorism Center, the F.B.I. and the Department of Defense, and entered into the Worldwide Refugee Admissions Processing System, which warehouses the data and facilitates interagency screening checks. A pilot program will soon include iris scans, which are currently used by U.N.H.C.R. only for identification, not security purposes.

This fall, in several closed-door classified briefings before Congress and in public hearings, Anne C. Richard, the assistant secretary of state for population, refugees and migration, defended the rigorous vetting process. Of the more than 784,000 refugees who have been admitted to the United States in the last 14 years, five have been arrested on terrorism-related charges: One was an Uzbek man arrested in Idaho; the other four were refugees from Iraq. Such mistakes have provided fodder for those who worry that the country is exposing itself to needless risk. ''ISIS has vowed to send its operatives into the West posing as refugees,'' says McCaul, chairman of the Homeland Security Committee. ''The threat is real.'' Advocates say that the threat of a refugee being a terrorist is statistically negligible. ''We don't leave holes, and we don't take chances,'' Richard told me. ''If there's any doubt about someone, they don't come.'' Indeed, as León Rodríguez, director of U.S.C.I.S., recently testified in Congress, the United States has barred 30 individuals from entering ''based on their showing up in the databases.'' (When queried, a senior intelligence official would say only that there were individuals of ''national security concern.'') Emily Gray, the executive director in Aurora of World Relief, a branch of the agency assigned by the United States government to help resettle the al-Haj Ali family, says, ''You'd have to be a really stupid terrorist to come this way.''

After the U.S.C.I.S. officers in Washington conduct the enhanced review, the entire family is scheduled for another interview with a member of the Refugee Affairs Division, a team of 10 to 14 immigration officers from

U.S.C.I.S. who spend six weeks on ''circuit rides'' — traveling up to four times a year to Turkey, Egypt, Jordan and other locations in the region, interviewing refugees being considered for resettlement in the United States.

''Just having an interview doesn't sound so secure, but this is one heck of an interview,'' Richard says. ''First off, refugees are people fleeing tyrannical governments, so they may not trust people in positions of authority. They may be used to lying. They have to be prepared to have this interview, and if they're caught lying, then they're not going to make it, no matter how worthy.'' At the end of this process, there are four possible outcomes: immediate acceptance, which is rare and can still involve waiting another 18 months, especially if there is a new marriage or birth; acceptance pending verification; denial; and the limbo into which Waseem al-Haj Ali and his family have now fallen, ''on hold.''

From Jordan, one afternoon late this fall, Waseem called his mother in Chicago. ''How are you?'' he asked. He hadn't anticipated her reply. She was fine, thank God, she said, but there was something wrong at the twins' school. The night before, she received a call from the school saying there would be police there the next day and it was fine if the boys stayed home. She wasn't sure what that meant or if other Syrians had received the same call. Azizeh sent the boys anyway. They survived airstrikes and house-to-house raids by Assad's security forces; they could face American high school. ''Oh,'' Waseem said, and hung up. He and Noorhan were taken aback. What if, after all they had endured, his parents or Sham or the twins were hurt in America? Waseem was the one who was supposed to protect them, and all he could do was sit on the couch in Amman and accept handouts from his father.

''The worst thing is this game of waiting,'' Issam Smeir, a psychologist in Aurora with World Relief who has counseled the al-Haj Alis, says. ''It kills your soul.''

The situation unfolding at West Aurora High wasn't quite as Azizeh understood it. Ron Murphy, an assistant principal of operations at the high school, explained that yes, the Aurora police were called in as a precaution (Mohamed even snapped a selfie with an officer). But it had nothing to do with the boys. After a student tweeted his support for Trump and Trump's stance on immigration, a Twitter war broke out. Even though there was no credible threat, the school took steps to reassure parents and defuse the situation. More than half of the school's population is Hispanic.

The issue was immigration, not Islam, Murphy said. The school district models diversity remarkably; the twins were enrolled alongside Iraqis, Nepalis, Bangladeshis and immigrants from 57 countries in a curriculum for students learning English. Ahmad and Mohamed grumbled about it; these kids were uncool, and they only saw regular Americans during gym class.

Outside school, the opposition to Syrian refugees wore on: In nearby Indiana, a Syrian family had to be rerouted to Connecticut because of the governor's opposition. In an attempt to block the arrival of another Syrian family, Texas sued the International Rescue Committee, the resettlement agency working with that family, as well as the federal government.

In Congress, as the year drew to a close, House Bill 4038, which would have barred Syrian refugees, at least for a time, never came to the floor of the Senate, nor was it part of the omnibus — a pair of victories for McDonough and the White House. Instead, the mass shooting in San Bernardino refocused national security concerns on the visa-waiver program, which the administration had long seen as a problem, and through which one of the attackers had entered the country legally.

In January 2016, even as rising tensions between Iran and Saudi Arabia, key players in the war in Syria, imperiled upcoming cease-fire negotiations at the U.N. The Senate stood poised to consider new legislation that would halt the arrival of Syrian refugees. ''We cannot stand by while jihadists try to exploit humanitarian programs to

reach our shores undetected,'' Michael McCaul, who sponsored 4038, said, citing serious screening gaps. Senator Mark Kirk, a Republican from Illinois, who recently introduced a similar bill in the Senate, also supports such legislation. ''Reputable media outlets are uncovering examples of how terrorists infiltrate the Iraq and Syria refugee programs in an effort to commit acts of violence against the American people and our allies,'' Kirk said. ''Common sense requires thoughtful measures to keep Americans safe.''

One winter afternoon, not long after the incident at the boys' school, Azizeh nursed a cup of tea and talked bleakly of the family's future. What if the governor had the power to keep Waseem out of Illinois? And if he couldn't come, what would they do? Then there were the boys. ''I'm worried someone will target them,'' she said.

She also worried about herself and Sham. The long coats and hijabs they wore when they went out might attract the wrong kind of attention. Sham had come to America at the worst age possible. At 19, she wasn't eligible to attend high school, and her English was too poor to pursue her dreams of becoming a lawyer. ''That's too expensive,'' Sham said. ''It would take too many years.''

To secure a future for her, her parents had accepted the marriage proposal of an Iraqi used-car salesman named Layth Alali, Azizeh told me. Fifteen years older than Sham, Alali came to the country on a much-coveted Special Immigrant Visa in 2010, as part of the group of Iraqis who had worked with the United States military. (In Baghdad, he was the head of a checkpoint set up by the Americans.) The whole thing was rushed; he had asked just two weeks earlier, and the engagement ceremony was taking place immediately.

After picking Sham and Azizeh up in a BMW S.U.V., Alali drove them to a prom-dress shop in Aurora, and they had less than an hour to find a dress. Sham picked out a spangled strapless confection, but Azizeh worried it exposed too much flesh. ''Problem, problem, problem,'' she said, pointing to her daughter's bare neck, arms and shoulders. In the end, she snapped a picture and sent it via WhatsApp to her daughter-in-law, Noorhan, who was, as usual, sitting idle in the apartment in Jordan. A few seconds later, Noorhan sent back a smiley-face emoji with hearts for eyes. The dress, however flawed, was a yes.

In a life marked by disappointment and compromise, Azizeh remarked, what did the dress really matter? As a married woman, Sham would be more secure, and so would her family. At least, Azizeh said, Sham would no longer have to work in the office-supply warehouse.

The family had other concerns. The boys needed hundreds of dollars of dental work that Medicaid didn't cover. The al-Haj Alis were struggling to make the rent, and winter was coming, which meant a new bill for heating. Azizeh was trying to figure out what kind of program might help pay the gas bill. As the temperature dropped and it grew dark at 4:30 in the afternoon, Ahmad and Mohamed seemed to be slowing down; Azizeh had to prod them off the couch to get them to work at the market.

School was still a challenge. After nearly a year, neither spoke enough English to hold a conversation. Unlike their fellow refugees, who learned English by watching television and American movies, the boys preferred to spend their downtime watching Arabic-language news about Syria or YouTube videos from home.

For a long time, when they looked on Google Earth, they could see the debris of their family's homes, which had been either burned or bombed. Now a mysterious white film obscured satellite images of the town. Was it a glitch, or a security measure on the part of the Assad regime to protect this strategic town, which now serves as a military base?

If Ahmad and Mohamed had stayed in Syria, they might be dead by now — either killed by the Assad government's barrel bombs or fallen among the young men who have joined up with the Free Syrian Army.

When one of their friends or cousins fighting with the F.S.A. is killed, the boys study the photographs of his death, often posted on Facebook in tribute, with a mixture of envy and guilt.

Issam Smeir, the World Relief counselor, met with the al-Haj Ali family to help them handle the psychological stress of Waseem's unexpected absence. He was watching for signs of depression in the boys. ''Depression in kids doesn't look like sadness,'' Smeir said. ''It looks like restlessness and anger.'' The biggest argument that Ahmad has had at school involved fellow Syrians who support the Assad regime. The two sides got into a fight over which flag was the true Syrian flag — the one belonging to the Assad regime, or the revolutionary flag that Ahmad tucks into his waistband.

''Students ask about what Syria was like before the war,'' Ahmad said at home after work one evening. ''We say it was beautiful. It's kind of baffling how people feel that the value of those who die in France is higher than those who die in countries like Iraq or Syria.'' That day at school, during their first-period English class, their reading-comprehension portion involved a lesson about Cappadocia, Turkey, where people built an underground city to protect themselves during invasions. Afterward, the teacher handed out work sheets quizzing the kids on what they had learned. Why did people in Turkey live underground? The answer was B: to hide from their enemies. But Ahmad circled C: to live.

Three days later, a text came in from Noorhan. More American politicians were opposing Syrians, and what she and Waseem had been reading on Facebook made them think the United States was shutting its borders tighter than ever. It looked as if they were going to have to take their boys over the sea. ''After all the news,'' she wrote, ''we have no hope to travel to America.''

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, February 3, 2016 2:32 PM
To: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>; Weisser, Caroline <WeisserC@state.gov>; USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>
Subject: FW: CNN Breaking News

Didn't know this was happening. Can we amplify

From [redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, February 03, 2016 2:28 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Fwd: CNN Breaking News

-----Original Message-----
From: John Prendergast [redacted]
To: Sia Sanneh [redacted] Samantha Power [redacted] Cass at Harvard [redacted]
Sent: Wed, Feb 3, 2016 2:26 pm
Subject: Fwd: CNN Breaking News

so important!!!

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **CNN Breaking News** <BreakingNews@mail.cnn.com>
Date: Wed, Feb 3, 2016 at 1:55 PM
Subject: CNN Breaking News
To: BreakingNews@mail.cnn.com

"An attack on one religion is an attack on all religions," President Barack Obama says while visiting a U.S. mosque for the first time as president.

Seeking to rebut what he views as perilous election-year bombast about Muslims, Obama spoke at the Islamic Society of Baltimore on Wednesday.

"Muslim Americans keep us safe," he told the audience, crediting the contributions Muslims have made to communities across the country. "They are our police. They are our firefighters. They're in (the Department of) Homeland Security."

Obama heralded the contributions of Muslims to American society while issuing a forceful counterpoint to the language favored by some Republican presidential candidates like Donald Trump, according to White House officials.

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http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://cnn.com/EMAIL/breakingnews/unsubscribe.html?l=textbreakingnews
One CNN Center Atlanta, GA 30303
(c) & (r) 2016 Cable News Network

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 1:11 PM
To: Stephens, Bret [redacted] B6
Subject: Re: WSJ / Opinion / Israel Looks Beyond America

I think tweets are the way to achieve the requisite depth and complexity of the situation...!

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Stephens, Bret
Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 7:05 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: Fw: WSJ / Opinion / Israel Looks Beyond America

Anytime you're free I'm happy to meet. Any ground rules you want to set are good for me.

You know as well as I do that it's never as simple as an 830 word column suggests. But the column was mainly an attempt to reflect a broad range of views, not just on the right, and not just mine.

All best,
Bret

On Tue, Feb 16, 2016 at 10:46 AM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:

> We sld compare notes...I wish it were as simple as you suggest...
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> From: Dinkel, Alessia A <DinkelAA@state.gov>
> Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 4:41 PM
> To: USUN-MiddleEastNews-DL; USUN-ISRAEL-DL
> Subject: WSJ / Opinion / Israel Looks Beyond America
>
> Israel Looks Beyond America
> February 15, 2016
> Wall Street Journal<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.wsj.com/articles/israel-looks-beyond-america-1455578241>
> By Bret Stephens
>
> Talk to Israelis about the United States these days and you will provoke a physical reaction. Barack Obama is an eye roll. John Kerry is a grimace. The administration's conduct of regional policy is a slow, sad shake of the head. The current state of the presidential race makes for a full-blown shudder. The Israeli rundown of the candidates goes roughly as follows: "Hillary—she doesn't like us." "Cruz—I don't like him." "Rubio—is he done for?" "Sanders—oy vey." "Trump—omigod."

As for Israel's own troubles—a continuing Palestinian campaign of stabbings; evidence that Hamas is rebuilding its network of terror tunnels under the Gaza border and wants to restart the 2014 war; more than 100,000 rockets and guided missiles in the hands of Hezbollah—that's just the Middle East being itself. It's the U.S. not being itself that is the real novelty, and is forcing Israel to adjust.

I've spent the better part of a week talking to senior officials, journalists, intellectuals and politicians from across Israel's political spectrum. None of it was on the record, but the consistent theme is that, while the Jewish state still needs the U.S., especially in the form of military aid, it also needs to diversify its strategic partnerships. This may yet turn out to be the historic achievement of Benjamin Netanyahu's long reign as prime minister.

On Sunday, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon publicly shook hands with former Saudi intelligence chief Prince Turki al-Faisal at the Munich Security Conference. In January, Israeli cabinet member Yuval Steinitz made a trip to Abu Dhabi, where Israel is opening an office at a renewable-energy association. Turkey is patching up ties with Israel. In June, Jerusalem and Riyadh went public with the strategic talks between them. In March, Egyptian President Abdel Fatah al-Sisi told the Washington Post that he speaks to Mr. Netanyahu "a lot."

This de facto Sunni-Jewish alliance amounts to what might be called the coalition of the disenchanted; states that have lost faith in America's promises. Israel is also reinventing its ties to the aspiring Startup Nations, countries that want to develop their own innovation cultures. In October, Israel hosted Indian President Pranab Mukherjee for a three-day state visit; New Delhi, once a paragon of the nonaligned movement that didn't have diplomatic ties to Israel for four decades, is about to spend $3 billion on Israeli arms. Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who is personally close to Mr. Netanyahu, sees Israel as a model for economic reinvention. Chinese investment in Israel hit $2.7 billion last year, up from $70 million in 2010. In 2014, Israel's exports to the Far East for the first time exceeded those to the U.S.

Then there is Europe—at least the part of it that is starting to grasp that it can't purchase its security in the coin of Israeli insecurity. Greece's left-wing Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras used to lead anti-Israel protests. But Greece needs Israeli gas, so he urges cooperation on terrorism and calls Jerusalem Israel's "historic capital." In the U.K., Prime Minister David Cameron's government is moving to prevent local councils from passing Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) measures against Israel.

All this amounts to another Obama administration prediction proved wrong. "You see for Israel there's an increasing delegitimization campaign that has been building up," Mr. Kerry warned grimly in 2014. "There are talks of boycotts and other kinds of things. Today's status quo absolutely, to a certainty, I promise you 100%, cannot be maintained." Except when the likely alternatives to the lousy status quo are worse. Over the weekend, U.N. Ambassador Samantha Power came to Jerusalem to

preach the virtues of a two-state solution. Her case would be unarguable if the Palestinian state to be created alongside Israel were modeled on Costa Rica—democratic, demilitarized, developing, friendly to outsiders.

But the likelier model is Gaza, or Syria. Why should Israelis be expected to live next to that? How would that help actual living Palestinians, as opposed to the perpetual martyrs of left-wing imagination? And why doesn't the U.S. insist that Palestinian leaders prove they are capable of decently governing a state before being granted one?

Those are questions Mr. Obama has been incapable of asking himself, lest a recognition of facts intrude on the narrative of a redemptive presidency. But a great power that cannot recognize the dilemmas of its allies soon becomes useless as an ally, and it becomes intolerable if it then turns its strategic ignorance into a moral sermon.

More than one Israeli official I spoke with recalled that the country managed to survive the years before 1967 without America's strategic backing, and if necessary it could do so again. Nations that must survive typically do. The more important question is how much credibility the U.S. can afford to squander before the loss becomes irrecoverable.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

--
Bret Stephens
Foreign Affairs Columnist
Deputy Editorial Page Editor
The Wall Street Journal
1211 Ave. of the Americas
New York, NY 10036

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, August 19, 2016 4:30 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject: FOR REVIEW: updated P memo for UNGA
Attach: UNGA memo P v12.docx

Ambassador:
Did some more work on the POTUS UNGA memo today. New version attached for your review. Robert will also have a new version printed for you.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

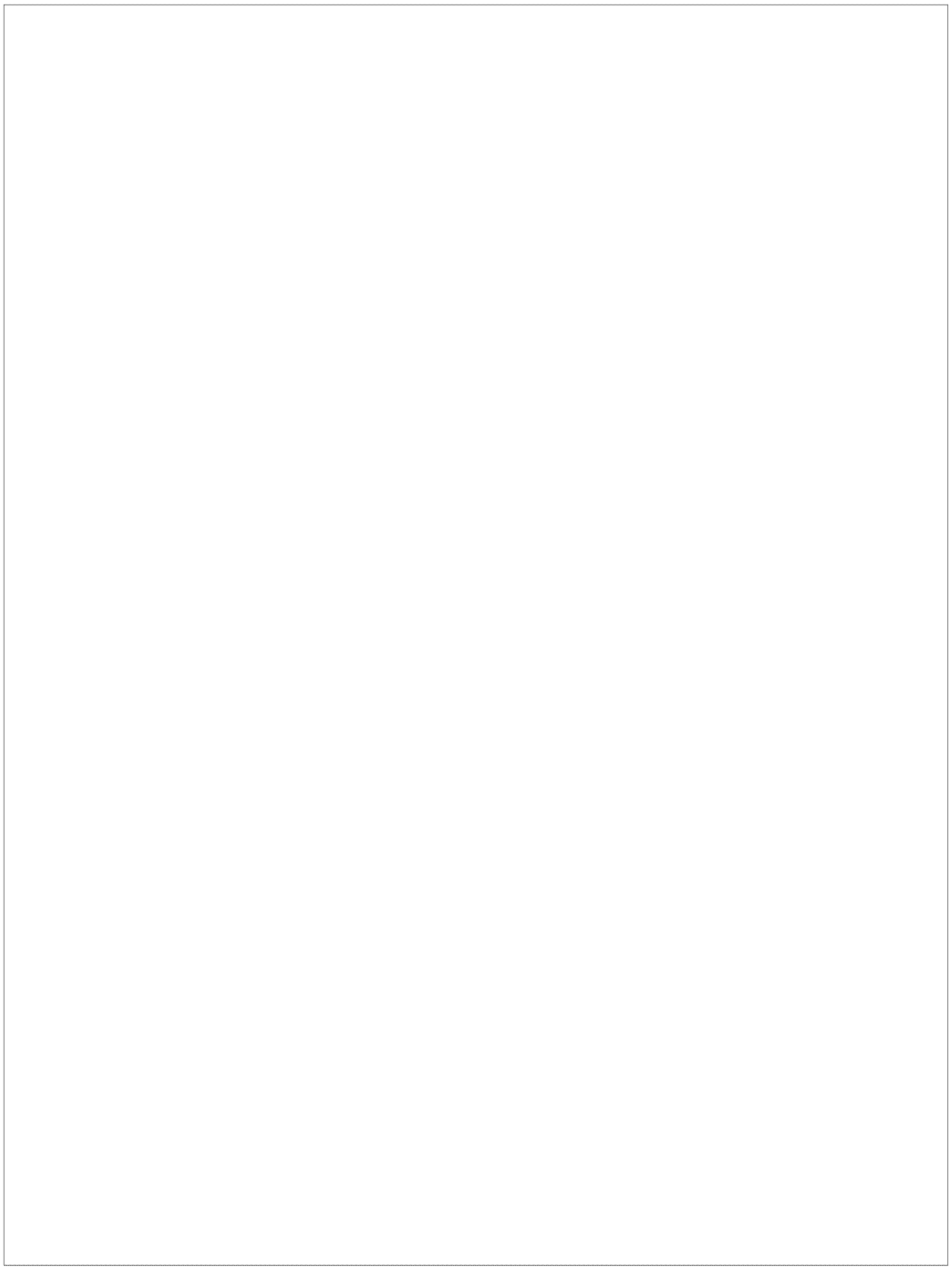
August 19, 2016 | 4:25 p.m.

RELEASE IN PART B5

Draft Memo to POTUS: UNGA 2016

B5

B5



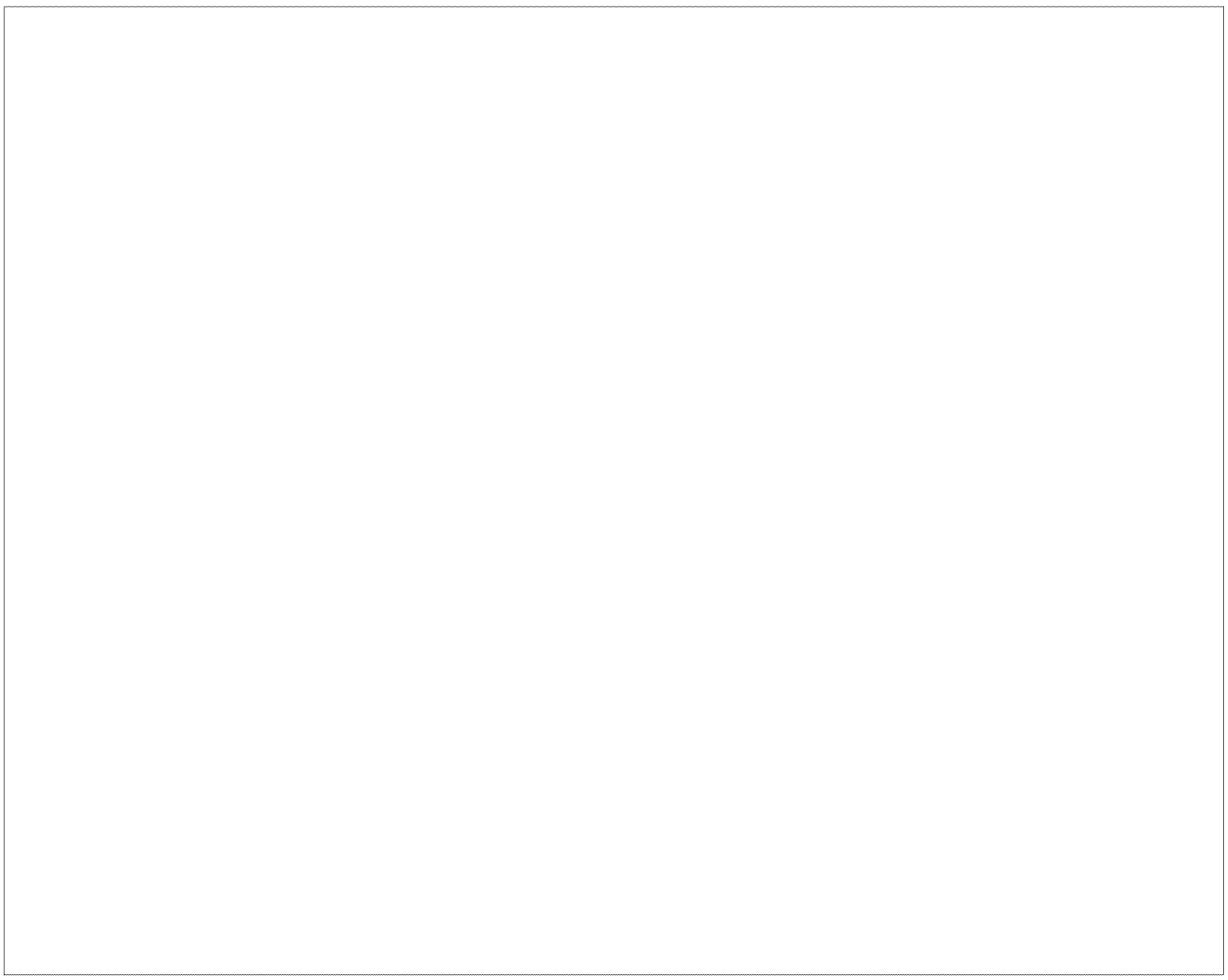
B5

B5

B5

August 19, 2016 | 4:25 p.m.

B5



RELEASE IN FULL

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, August 18, 2016 7:41 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>; Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject: FOR REVIEW: UNGA / P memo
Attach: UNGA memo P v10.docx

Ambassador:
Attached is an initial stab at the memo to P for UNGA. Robert is putting a copy in your book, but sending electrons in case you decide you want to dig into it.

August 18, 2016 | 7:10 p.m.

RELEASE IN PART B5

Draft Memo to POTUS: UNGA 2016

B5

B5

B5

B5

B5

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 8:42 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: RE: i have to run out

RELEASE IN PART B5

No worries, I'll keep ahold of version control. I won't send another tracked one so as not to mix things up, but I've just sent you a clean version for Jake et. al.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 8:39 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Re: i have to run out

OK. I printed the previous alas

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 8:37 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: i have to run out

Yep. Will send you a completely clean version of the latest.

I will also send you one that has tracked note bubbles in a separate email.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 8:37 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus; Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: i have to run out

B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 7:58 PM

To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: i have to run out

Yes. Should I print now?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, May 20, 2016 7:52 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: i have to run out

To Cameroon reception. Do you have another draft I sld take w me?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, October 26, 2016 2:08 PM
To: DMCOS [redacted]; brhodes [redacted]; Rice, Susan [redacted] B6 B6
Subject: note from menendez on cuba vote

I sent Menendez the eov and made the case for why we needed to abstain – that we would be more effective drawing attention to human rights abuses etc. This is the note I got back. Oh well.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Menendez, Robert (Menendez) [mailto:njfirst@menendez.senate.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, October 26, 2016 2:03 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: today

Legacy doesn't trump human rights. We care nothing about what is happening to human rights activists in Cuba.

This is long-standing, bipartisan, human rights-based US law that the Administration is choosing not to defend. That is shameful. As is getting no heads up about it.

Sent from my iPhone

AS DELIVERED October 26, 2016

Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a UN General Assembly Meeting on the Cuba Embargo, October 26, 2016

For more than 50 years, the United States had a policy aimed at isolating the government of Cuba. For roughly half of those years, UN Member States have voted overwhelmingly for a General Assembly resolution that condemns the U.S. embargo and calls for it to be ended. The United States has always voted against this resolution. Today the United States will abstain. [Applause.]

Thank you. Let me explain why. In December 2014, President Obama made clear his opposition to the embargo and called on our Congress to take action to lift it. Yet while the Obama Administration agrees that the U.S. embargo on Cuba should be lifted, I have to be clear, we don't support the shift for the reason stated in this resolution. All actions of the United States with regard to Cuba have been and are fully in conformity with the UN Charter and international law, including applicable trade law and the customary law of the sea. We categorically reject the statements in the resolution that suggest otherwise.

But the resolution voted on today is a perfect example of why the U.S. policy of isolation toward Cuba was not working – or worse, how it was actually undermining the very goals it set out to achieve. Instead of isolating Cuba, as President Obama has repeatedly said, our policy isolated the United States. Including right here at the United Nations.

Under President Obama, we have adopted a new approach: rather than try to close off Cuba from the rest of the world, we want the world of opportunities and ideas open to the people of Cuba. After 50-plus years of pursuing the path of isolation, we have chosen to take the path of engagement. Because, as President Obama said in Havana, we recognize that the future of the island lies in the hands of the Cuban people, of course.

In the nearly two years since President Obama announced the shift in our approach, we have amended the regulations implementing the embargo six times – most recently on October 14 – finding ways to increase engagement between our governments and our people. We have re-established diplomatic relations with the Government of Cuba; re-opened embassies in our respective capitals; resumed regularly scheduled commercial flights between the U.S. and Cuba; facilitated people-to-people travel; eased restrictions on American businesses and entrepreneurs who want to do business in Cuba; and stopped limiting how often Cuban Americans can visit their families on the island. President Obama memorably became the first sitting U.S. President to visit Cuba since 1928; and, in a much more modest journey here in New York, I made the first visit by a U.S. Ambassador to the UN to Cuba's mission to the United Nations since the Cuban revolution. Today, we add to that list the first-ever U.S. abstention on the UN General Assembly resolution calling for the embargo to be ended.

Abstaining on this resolution does not mean that the United States agrees with all of the policies and practices of the Cuban government. We do not. We are profoundly concerned by the serious human rights violations that the Cuban government continues to commit with impunity against its own people – including arbitrarily detaining those who criticize the government; threatening, intimidating, and, at times, physically assaulting citizens who take part in peaceful marches and meetings; and severely restricting the access that people on the island have to outside information.

As President Obama made clear when he traveled to Havana, we believe that the Cuban people – like all people – are entitled to basic human rights, such as the right to speak their minds without fear, and the right to assemble, organize, and protest peacefully. Not because these reflect a U.S.-centric conception of rights, but rather because they are universal human rights – enshrined in the UN Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – which all of our 193 Member States are supposed to respect and defend. Rights that are essential for the dignity of men, women, and children regardless of where they live or what kind of government they have.

Let me be among the first to acknowledge – as our Cuban counterparts often point out – that the United States has work to do in fulfilling these rights for our own citizens. And we know that at times in our history, U.S. leaders and citizens used the pretext of promoting democracy and human rights in the region to justify actions that have left a deep legacy of mistrust. We recognize that our history, in which there is so much that makes us proud, also gives us ample reason to be humble.

We also recognize the areas in which the Cuban government has made significant progress in advancing the welfare of its people, from significantly reducing its child mortality rate, to ensuring that girls have the same access to primary and secondary school as boys.

But none of this should mean that we stay silent when the rights of Cuban people are violated, as Member States here at the United Nations have too often done. That is why the United States raised these concerns directly with the Cuban government during our historic dialogue on human rights in Havana on October 14,

which shows that, while our governments continue to disagree on fundamental questions of human rights, we have found a way to discuss these issues in a respectful and reciprocal manner. We urge other Member States to speak up about these issues as well.

The United States believes that there is a great deal we can do together with Cuba to tackle global challenges. That includes here at the United Nations, where the decades-long enmity between our nations has at best been a distraction – and at worst, an obstacle – to carrying out some of the most important work of this institution and helping the world's most vulnerable people.

Let me close by giving just one example – a very moving example. In 2014, we were confronted with the deadliest outbreak of Ebola in our planet's history. The most dire projections estimated that more than a million people could be infected within a few months. Yet while experts made clear that the only way to stop the epidemic was to confront it at its source, the international community was slow to step up. Many were paralyzed.

It was in that context that President Obama decided to deploy more than 3,000 U.S. personnel to the epicenter of the outbreak, where they joined hundreds of Americans working for non-governmental organizations and humanitarian agencies in the hardest hit areas. President Obama also set about rallying other Member States to do their part. One of the very first countries to step forward was Cuba, which sent more than 200 health professionals to the region – an awe-inspiring contribution for a country of just 11 million people.

One of them was a 43-year-old Cuban doctor named Felix Sarria Baez, who was dispatched to an Ebola Treatment Unit in Sierra Leone. In the course of treating those infected, Dr. Baez came down with the symptoms of the virus – and he quickly went from being the doctor to being a patient. As his condition deteriorated, he was airlifted to Geneva, where, for two days, he drifted in and out of consciousness. He nearly died, yet miraculously he pulled through, and eventually returned to Havana, where he says he regained his strength by cradling his two-year-old son.

I'd like you to think, just for one moment, about what it took to save the life of Dr. Baez – a man who risked his life to save people from a country on the other side of the world. He was initially treated in the clinic where he worked, which had been built with the help of a U.S.-based NGO. From there, he was transported to a clinic run by doctors from the British ministry of defense. Then he was airlifted to Switzerland aboard a medical transport plan operated by an American charter service. Upon arriving at the hospital in Geneva, he was treated by Swiss doctors with a Canadian-developed experimental treatment.

Look at all the nations that played a part in saving the life of that brave doctor – a doctor who, after recuperating in Havana, actually chose to return to Sierra Leone, so that he could rejoin his colleagues in the field, saving the lives of Sierra Leoneans. Dr. Baez and all his colleagues belonged to Cuba's Henry Reeve Contingent – which responds to international disasters and epidemics – and takes its name from a young American born in Brooklyn, who at the age of 19 traveled to the Cuba to join the country's struggle for independence, and gave his life in 1876 fighting alongside Cubans for their freedom.

When Dr. Baez returned to Sierra Leone, he was asked why he had come back after all he had been through. He said, simply, "I needed to come back. Ebola is a challenge that I must fight to the finish here, to keep it from spreading to the rest of the world."

That – what I've just described – is what the United Nations looks like, when it works. And noble efforts like these are precisely why the United States and Cuba must continue to find ways to engage, even as our differences persist. Today, we will take another small step to be able to do that. May there be many, many more – including, we hope, finally ending the U.S. embargo once and for all.

I thank you.

###

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

<_Ambassador Samantha Power.pdf>

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Friday, September 30, 2016 12:49 PM
To:	Patel, Bindi K <PatelBK@state.gov>
Cc:	USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; Pressman, David <PressmanD@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: south sudan memo draft section/s
Attach:	s sudan Memo 09 30 2016.docx

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

Here is the latest (now full) draft of the UNMISS memo. Still a few gaps and the whole thing needs to be tightened. Gideon or nik could you take a crack as cold readers on tightening. [redacted] B5
[redacted] Critical comments/edits welcome from all. But would v much like this to move today if at all possible. Thanks!

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, September 30, 2016 12:25 PM
To: Patel, Bindi K
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Patel, Bindi K
Sent: Friday, September 30, 2016 11:42 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

Will consult with Tasha and revert.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, September 30, 2016 11:40 AM
To: Patel, Bindi K
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

Hi there thanks for the additions to the draft memo. Please feel free to loop in the relevant ecosoc folks.

B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Patel, Bindi K
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2016 6:28 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

Please see edits below. The 200,000 figure is correct.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Patel, Bindi K
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2016 6:05 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

Editing now.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2016 6:01 PM
To: Patel, Bindi K
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David
Subject: south sudan memo draft section/s

Bindi can you fill in the gaps and make corrections to this first section at your earliest convenience (ie today if possible)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

September 30, 2016

To: President Obama
From: Ambassador Samantha Power
Re: South Sudan

B5

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

September 30, 2016

RELEASE IN PART B5

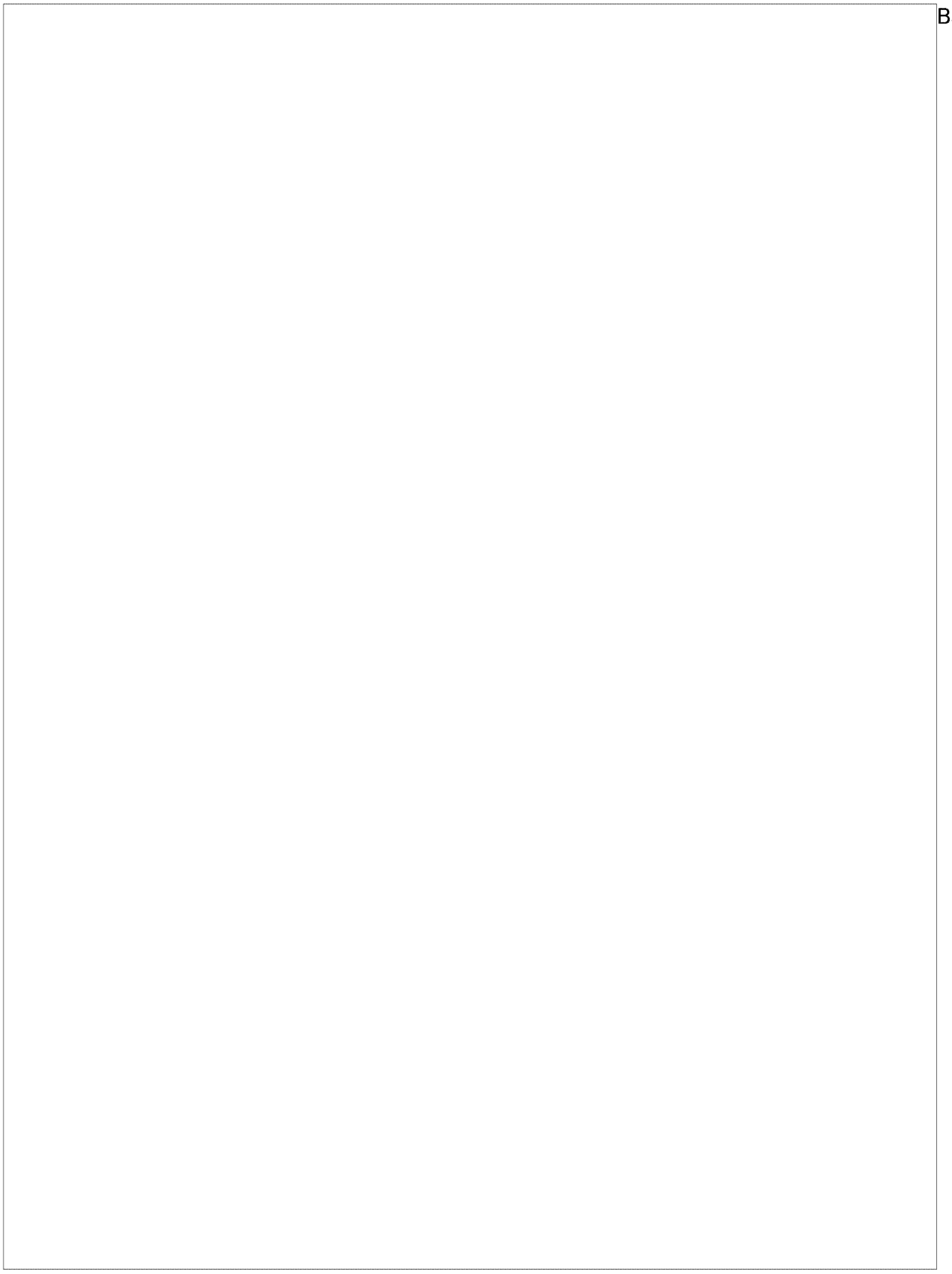
To: President Obama

From: Ambassador Samantha Power

Re: South Sudan

B5

B5



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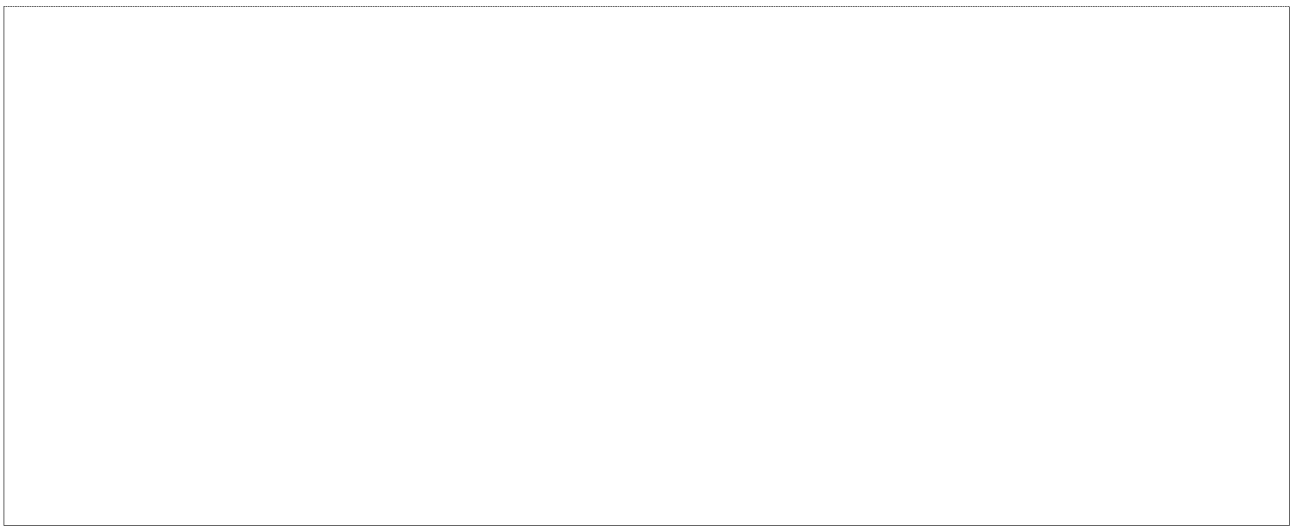

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RELEASE IN PART B5

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Friday, September 9, 2016 12:52 PM
To:	Maltz, Gideon <MaltzG@state.gov>; USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>
Subject:	RE: unga memo tracked draft
Attach:	UNGA memo P v14 SP.docx

Another version attached. Please fill in the few remaining questions. B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Maltz, Gideon
Sent: Friday, September 09, 2016 9:58 AM
To: Power, Samantha; USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: RE: unga memo tracked draft

Please find attached the revised memo with the gaps filled. Please let me know if there's anything more I can do to help.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, September 08, 2016 5:39 PM
To: USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: unga memo tracked draft

Hi Gideon – could you farm out these gaps tonight. Shouldn't take anybody too long. B5

If you get me a new clean tonight, I will work tonight. Otherwise, tomorrow and the weekend. Thanks
Samantha

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

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Cleared:

S/P – MKimmage (info by request)

D – EClancy (info by request)

P – ARomano (info)

D-MR: JPierreLouis (ok)

NSC – CKupchan (ok)

NSC – CWallander (ok)

IO/FO – SCrocker (ok)

EUR/FO – VNuland

EUR/FO – MHardiman, acting (ok)

EUR/RUS – EGreen (ok)

EUR/EE – MMontgomery (ok)

EUR/PD – WMartin (ok)

L/EUR – JGresser (ok)

L/PM – BFinucane (ok)

NEA/LEV – TGrencik (ok)

S/INI – DMilich (ok)

USUN/W – WAlzayat (ok)

PA/PRS – ETrudeau (ok)

R- EWebster (ok)

INR/GGI – TFitzgibbons (ok)

September 9, 2016 | 10:00 a.m.

RELEASE IN PART B5

Draft Memo to POTUS: UNGA 2016

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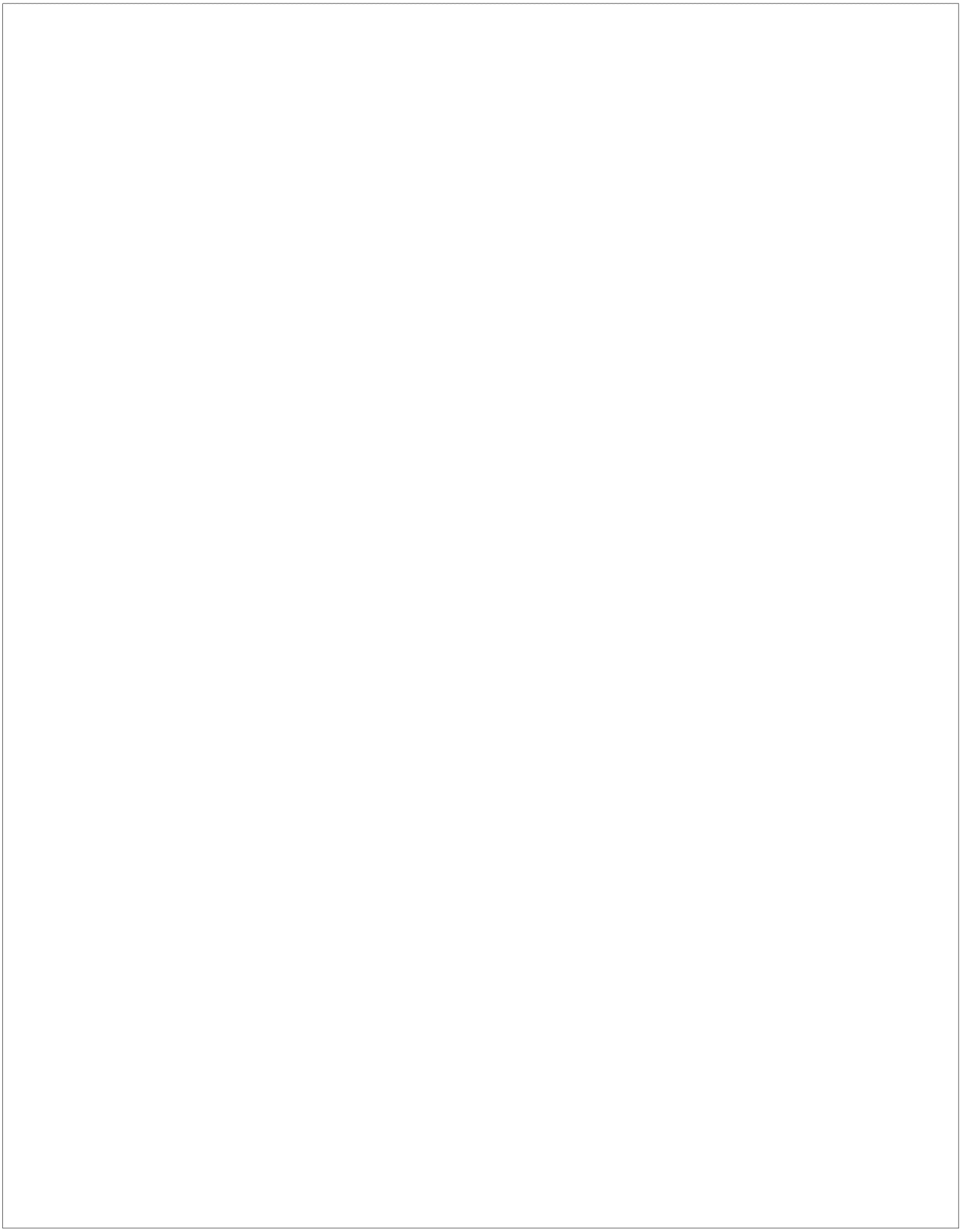

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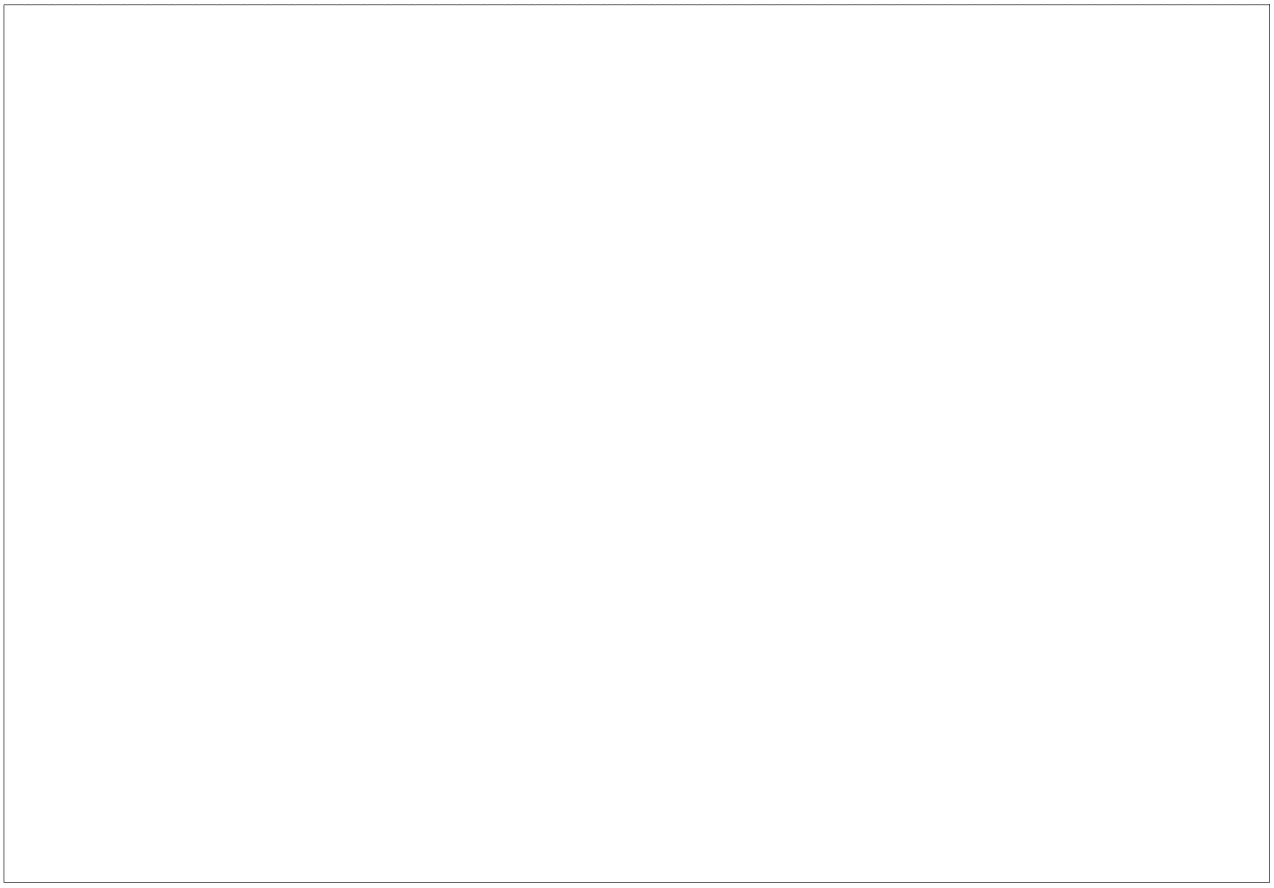

September 8, 2016 | 5:25 p.m.

RELEASE IN PART B5

Draft Memo to POTUS: UNGA 2016

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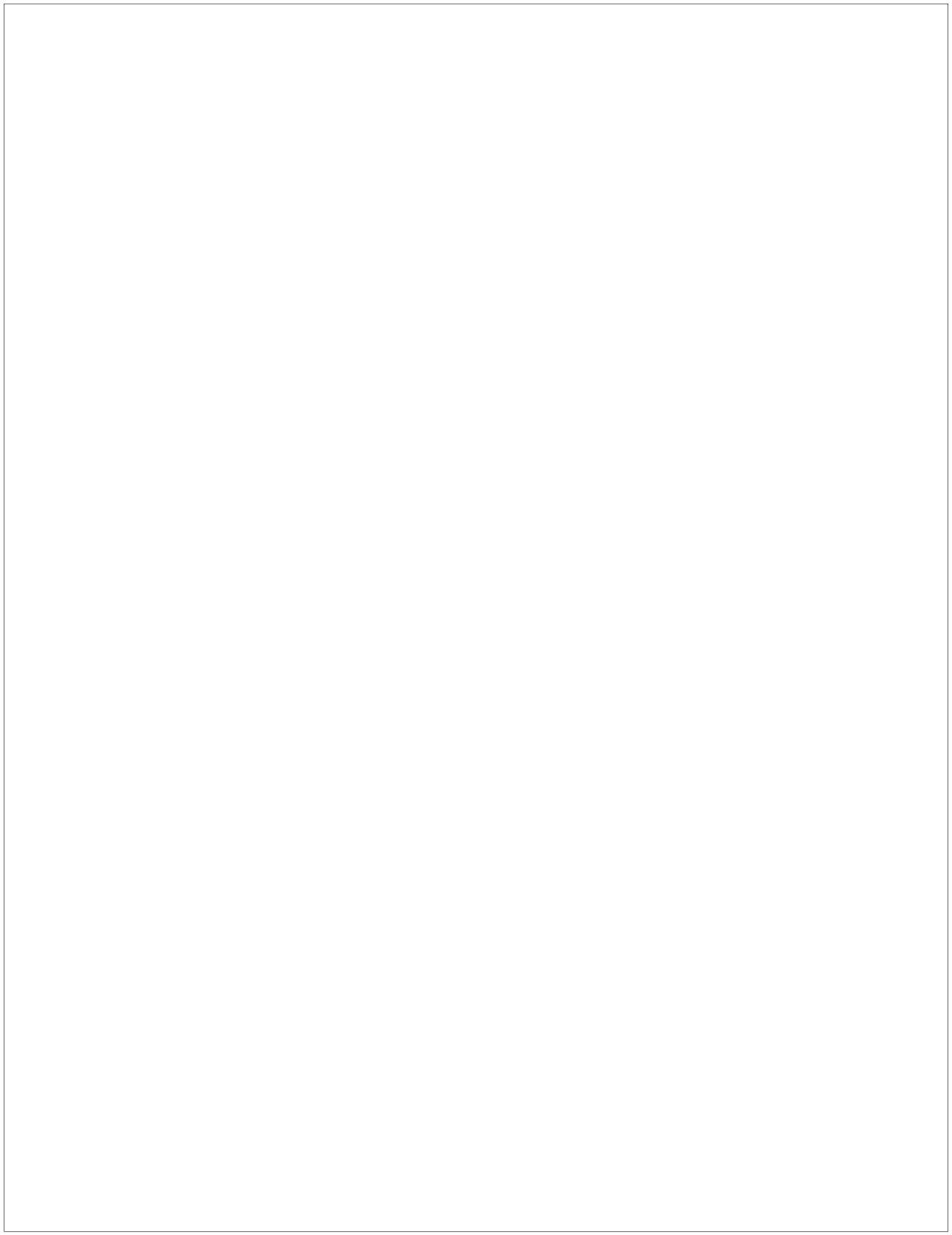

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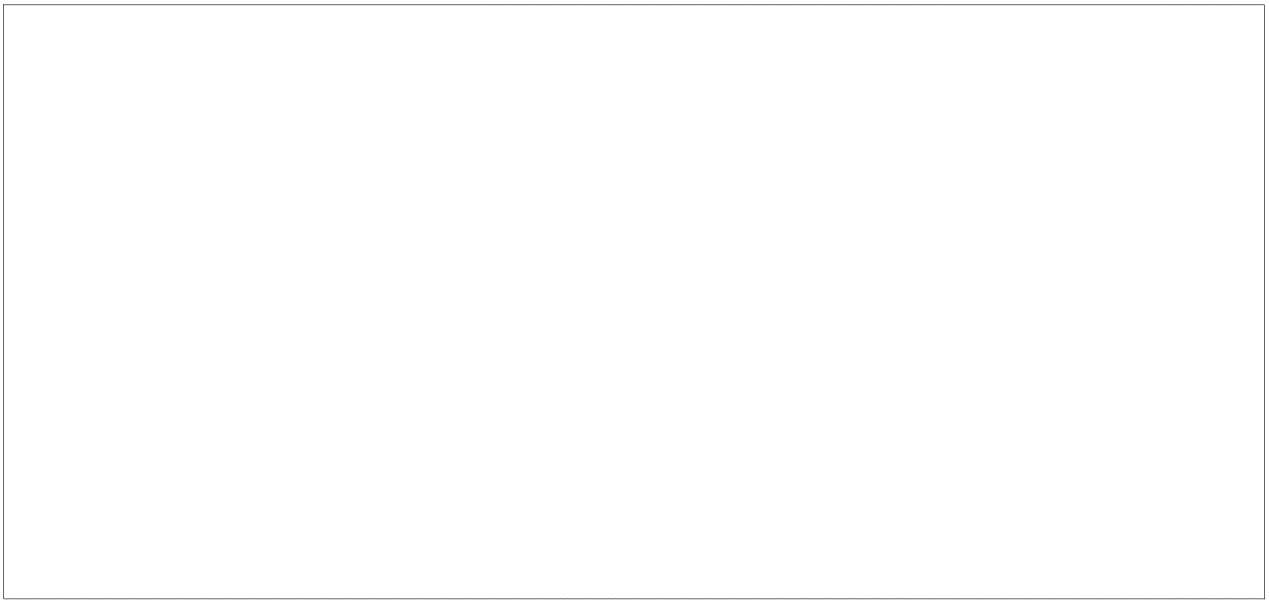


RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:45 AM
To: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO [redacted] B6
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

Can u read it quickly? (sorry). Trying to make it imp. It is I think what u outlined w nik

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:38 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; SESTravel1, User; DMCOS; Celeste A. Wallander; Blinken, Antony J
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone on the Verizon Wireless 4G LTE network.
Original Message
From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:34 AM
To: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO; Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; SES Travel; DMCOS; Wallander, Celeste A. EOP/NSC; Blinken, Antony J
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

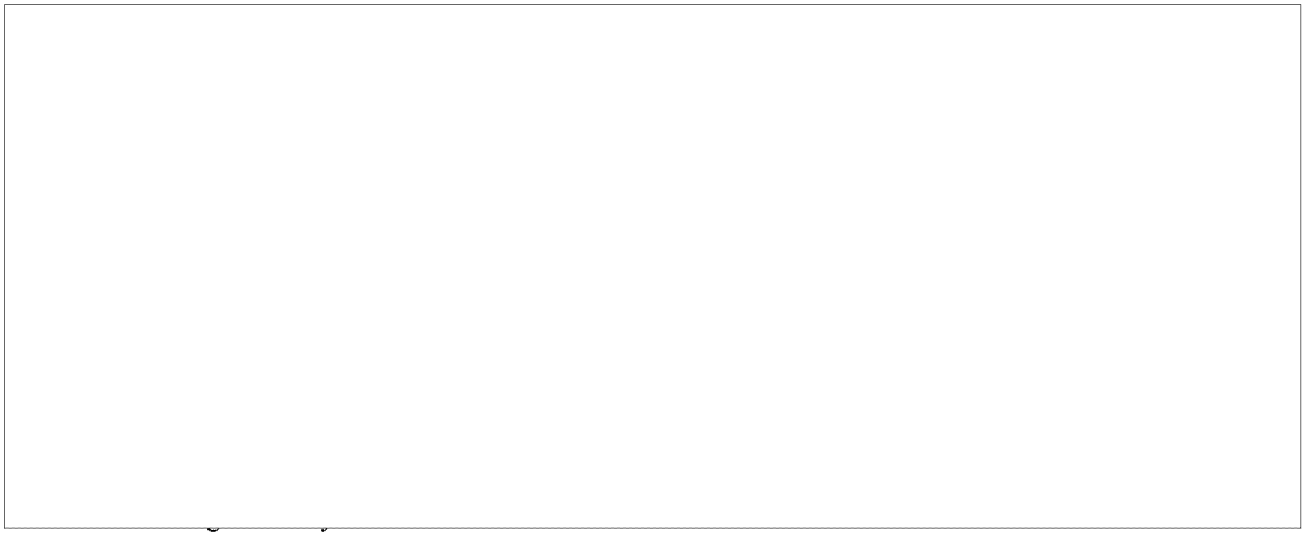
Ok can reinsert. Cut only for length but 36 mins not so bad

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:30 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; SESTravel1, User; DMCOS; Celeste A. Wallander; Blinken, Antony J
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

Back online here in Cuba. [redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone on the Verizon Wireless 4G LTE network.
Original Message

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:25 AM
To: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; SES Travel; DMCOS; Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO; Wallander, Celeste A. EOP/NSC; Blinken, Antony J
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Russia speech 1am version



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Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:33 AM
To: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO [redacted] B6
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:30 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; SESTravel1, User; DMCOS; Celeste A. Wallander; Blinken, Antony J
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

Back online here in Cuba. [redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone on the Verizon Wireless 4G LTE network.
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From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:25 AM
To: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; SES Travel; DMCOS; Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO; Wallander, Celeste A. EOP/NSC; Blinken, Antony J
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Russia speech 1am version

[redacted] B5

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Cleared:

S/P – MKimmage (info by request)

D – EClancy (info by request)

P – ARomano (info)

D-MR: JPierreLouis (ok)

NSC – CKupchan (ok)

NSC – CWallander (ok)

IO/FO – SCrocker (ok)

EUR/FO – VNuland

EUR/FO – MHardiman, acting (ok)

EUR/RUS – EGreen (ok)

EUR/EE – MMontgomery (ok)

EUR/PD – WMartin (ok)

L/EUR – JGresser (ok)

L/PM – BFinucane (ok)

NEA/LEV – TGrencik (ok)

S/INI – DMilich (ok)

USUN/W – WAlzayat (ok)

PA/PRS – ETrudeau (ok)

R- EWebster (ok)

INR/GGI – TFitzgibbons (ok)

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

From: Chriqui, Jacob on behalf of Power, Samantha
Sent: Tue, 13 Dec 2016 17:28:00 -0500
To: Jones, Stuart E;Silliman, Douglas A;Power, Samantha;Sison, Michele J;Buchwald, Todd F;Aguirre, Sergio;Sison, Michele J
Cc: Curran, Sylvia R (Baghdad);Pennington, Joseph S;Shea, Peter T;Wong, Kam T
Subject: RE: Iraq

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)

Doug-
Thanks so much for this. Good to get this back on their radar.

Keep at it!

Samantha

From: Jones, Stuart E
Sent: Monday, December 12, 2016 8:02 AM
To: Silliman, Douglas A; Power, Samantha; Sison, Michele J; Buchwald, Todd F
Cc: Curran, Sylvia R (Baghdad); Pennington, Joseph S; Shea, Peter T
Subject: RE: Iraq

Thanks.

+ Todd Buchwald, who is masterminding accountability issues here.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Silliman, Douglas A
Sent: Monday, December 12, 2016 6:44 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Sison, Michele J
Cc: Curran, Sylvia R (Baghdad); Pennington, Joseph S; Jones, Stuart E; Shea, Peter T
Subject: FW: Iraq

Following up on our phone conversation last week, attached is the short readout of my conversation with

[redacted]

B1
1.4(B)
1.4(D)
B5

Doug

Douglas A. Silliman
U.S. Ambassador to Iraq
+1-301-985-8841 x3976

Sensitivity: Sensitive
Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Classified By: Douglas A. Silliman, Ambassador, EXEC, Embassy Baghdad
Derived From: Derived from previous message.
Declassify On: 2026/12/12

Subject: Iraq [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 12:54 PM
To: Soifer, Halie S
Subject: FW: follow up

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: David Cicilline [mailto [redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 12:44 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: follow up

Samantha,

Thanks so much for all of your time necessary and your follow up. All of this has been very helpful. We had a very spirited debate in Caucus on this situation and regardless of my final decision, I now have a much better understanding of the Presidents s thinking.

Thanks again.

David

Sent from my IPhone.

On Jan 5, 2017, at 12:38 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:

> David,
>
> Thank you for the call earlier. As promised, I wanted to get back to you with my explanation of vote, enclosed here and below, and some additional information with regard to the reference in UNSCR 2334 to East Jerusalem.
>
> You are correct – the reference to East Jerusalem, versus Jerusalem generally, is specific to UNSCR 2334. Prior UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs), by comparison, repeatedly referenced Jerusalem broadly, without specifying East Jerusalem, to Israel's detriment. As I mentioned, at least 18 previous (UNSCRs) that passed with the explicit or tacit support of the U.S. have cited "Jerusalem" (as opposed to "East Jerusalem") as "occupied" or as part of the "Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967" during the tenure of the following U.S. presidents - Nixon (1); Carter (6); Reagan (4); George H.W. Bush (6); and Clinton (1).
>
> By specifying East Jerusalem, vice Jerusalem, UNSCR 2334 actually aligned the Security Council and, by extension, the international community more closely with U.S. policy and the negotiating position both Israel and the Palestinians have accepted in previous negotiations – that

Jerusalem is a final status issue and, as such, final status negotiations will need to address the territory encompassing East Jerusalem.

For context, it has been the longstanding U.S. position, shared by the international community, that the final status of territories occupied by Israel in 1967 – including East Jerusalem - should not be prejudged in any way and should instead be resolved through negotiations between the parties. This includes longstanding U.S. opposition to preemptive claims of sovereignty over these areas by either party -- Israel or the Palestinians. As the Administration argued in 2014 to the Supreme Court in the *Zivotovsky* case, the United States has never accepted the sovereignty of any state over any part of Jerusalem, and has opposed unilateral acts by any state in the area to change the status of Jerusalem. We have, however, acknowledged the practical necessity of administration by Israel of West Jerusalem, including the application of Israeli law, just as the United States accepted Jordanian administration of East Jerusalem from 1948 to 1967. The United States has never taken the position that the status of East Jerusalem should be settled apart from West Jerusalem, and this UNSCR marks no change in that policy. In fact, the United States has consistently taken the position that the status of Jerusalem should be settled through negotiations in the context of a comprehensive peace settlement.

Please let me know if you have any additional questions.

Warmly,

Samantha

Explanation of Vote at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East
Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
New York City
December 23, 2016

AS DELIVERED

Thank you, Mr. President.

Let me begin with a quote: "The United States will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements during the transitional period. Indeed, the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, more than any other action, could create the confidence needed for wider participation in these talks. Further settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel and only diminishes the confidence of the Arabs that a final outcome can be freely and fairly negotiated."

This was said in 1982 by President Ronald Reagan. He was speaking about a new proposal that he was launching to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While ultimately, of course, President Reagan's proposal was not realized, his words are still illuminating in at least two respects. First, because they underscore the United States' deep and long-standing commitment to achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. That has been

the policy of every administration, Republican and Democrat, since before President Reagan and all the way through to the present day.

Second, because President Reagan's words highlight the United States' long-standing position that Israeli settlement activity in territories occupied in 1967 undermines Israel's security, harms the viability of a negotiated two-state outcome, and erodes prospects for peace and stability in the region. Today, the Security Council reaffirmed its established consensus that settlements have no legal validity. The United States has been sending the message that the settlements must stop – privately and publicly – for nearly five decades, through the administrations of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and now Barack Obama. Indeed, since 1967, the only president who had not had at least one Israeli-Palestinian-related Security Council resolution pass during his tenure is Barack Obama. So our vote today is fully in line with the bipartisan history of how American Presidents have approached both the issue – and the role of this body.

Given the consistency of this position across U.S. administrations, one would think that it would be a routine vote for the U.S. to allow the passage of a resolution with the elements in this one, reaffirming the long-standing U.S. position on settlements, condemning violence and incitement, and calling for the parties to start taking constructive steps to reverse current trends on the ground. These are familiar, well-articulated components of U.S. policy.

But in reality this vote for us was not straightforward, because of where it is taking place – at the United Nations. For the simple truth is that for as long as Israel has been a member of this institution, Israel has been treated differently from other nations at the United Nations. And not only in decades past – such as in the infamous resolution that the General Assembly adopted in 1975, with the support of the majority of Member States, officially determining that, "Zionism is a form of racism" – but also in 2016, this year. One need only look at the 18 resolutions against Israel adopted during the UN General Assembly in September; *or the 12 Israel-specific resolutions adopted this year in the Human Rights Council – more than those focused on Syria, North Korea, Iran, and South Sudan put together – to see that in 2016 Israel continues to be treated differently from other Member States.

Like U.S. administrations before it, the Obama Administration has worked tirelessly to fight for Israel's right simply to be treated just like any other country – from advocating for Israel to finally be granted membership to a UN regional body, something no other UN Member State had been denied; to fighting to ensure that Israeli NGOs are not denied UN accreditation, simply because they are Israeli, to getting Yom Kippur finally recognized as a UN holiday; to pressing this Council to break its indefensible silence in response to terrorist attacks on Israelis. As the United States has said repeatedly, such unequal treatment not only hurts Israel, it undermines the legitimacy of the United Nations itself.

The practice of treating Israel differently at the UN matters for votes like this one. For even if one believes that the resolution proposed today is justified – or, even more, necessitated – by events on the ground, one cannot completely separate the vote from the venue.

And Member States that say they are for the two-state solution must ask themselves some difficult questions. For those states that are quick to promote resolutions condemning Israel, but refuse to recognize when innocent Israelis are the victims of terrorism – what steps will you take to stop treating Israel differently? For those states that passionately denounce the closures of crossings in Gaza as exacerbating the humanitarian situation, but saying nothing of the resources diverted from helping Gaza's residents to dig tunnels into Israeli territory so that terrorists can attack Israelis in their homes – what will you do to end the double-standard that undermines the legitimacy of this institution?

Member States should also ask themselves about the double standards when it comes to this Council taking action. Just this morning we came together, as a Council, and we were unable to muster the will to act to stop the flow of weapons going to killers in South Sudan, who are perpetrating mass atrocities that the UN has said could lead to genocide. We couldn't come together just to stem the flow of arms. Earlier this month, this Council could not muster the will to adopt the simplest of resolutions calling for a seven-day pause in the savage bombardment of innocent civilians, hospitals, and schools in Aleppo. Yet when a resolution on Israel comes before this Council, members suddenly summon the will to act.

It is because this forum too often continues to be biased against Israel; because there are important issues that are not sufficiently addressed in this resolution; and because the United States does not agree with every word in this text, that the United States did not vote in favor of the resolution. But it is because this resolution reflects the facts on the ground – and is consistent with U.S. policy across Republican and Democratic administration throughout the history of the State of Israel – that the United States did not veto it.

The United States has consistently said we would block any resolution that we thought would undermine Israel's security or seek to impose a resolution to the conflict. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by the Palestinians such as terrorism and incitement to violence, which we've repeatedly condemned and repeatedly raised with the Palestinian leadership, and which, of course, must be stopped.
Unlike some on the UN Security Council, we do not believe that outside parties can impose a solution that has not been negotiated by the two parties. Nor can we unilaterally recognize a future Palestinian state. But it is precisely our commitment to Israel's security that makes the United States believe that we cannot stand in the way of this resolution as we seek to preserve a chance of attaining our long-standing objective: two states living side-by-side in peace and security. Let me briefly explain why.

The settlement problem has gotten so much worse that it is now putting at risk the very viability of that two-state solution. The number of settlers in the roughly 150 authorized Israeli settlements east of the 1967 lines has increased dramatically. Since the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords – which launched efforts that made a comprehensive and lasting peace possible – the number of settlers has increased by 355,000. The total settler population in the West Bank and East Jerusalem now exceeds 590,000. Nearly 90,000 settlers are living east of the separation barrier that was created by Israel itself. And just since July 2016 – when the Middle East Quartet issued a report highlighting international concern about a systematic process of land seizures, settlement expansions, and legalizations – Israel has advanced plans for more than 2,600 new settlement units. Yet rather than dismantling these and other settler outposts, which are illegal even under Israeli law, now there is new legislation advancing in the Israeli Knesset that would legalize most of the outposts – a factor that propelled the decision by this resolution's sponsors to bring it before the Council.

The Israeli Prime Minister recently described his government as "more committed to settlements than any in Israel's history," and one of his leading coalition partners recently declared that "the era of the two-state solution is over." At the same time, the Prime Minister has said that he is still committed to pursuing a two-state solution. But these statements are irreconcilable. One cannot simultaneously champion expanding Israeli settlements and champion a viable two-state solution that would end the conflict. One has to make a choice between settlements and separation.

In 2011, the United States vetoed a resolution that focused exclusively on settlements, as if settlements were they only factor harming the prospects of a two-state solution. The circumstances have changed dramatically. Since 2011, settlement growth has only accelerated. Since 2011, multiple efforts to pursue peace through negotiations have failed. And since 2011, President Obama and Secretary Kerry have repeatedly warned – publically and privately – that the absence of progress toward peace and continued settlement expansion was going to put the two-state solution at risk, and threaten Israel's stated objective to remain both a Jewish State and a democracy. Moreover, unlike in 2011, this resolution condemns violence, terrorism and incitement, which also poses an extremely grave risk to the two-state solution. This resolution reflects trends that will permanently destroy the hope of a two-state solution if they continue on their current course.

The United States has not taken the step of voting in support of this resolution because the resolution is too narrowly focused on settlements, when we all know – or we all should know – that many other factors contribute significantly to the tensions that perpetuate this conflict. Let us be clear: even if every single settlement were to be dismantled tomorrow, peace still would not be attainable without both sides acknowledging uncomfortable truths and making difficult choices. That is an indisputable fact. Yet it is one that is too often overlooked by members of the United Nations and by members of this Council.

For Palestinian leaders, that means recognizing the obvious: that in addition to taking innocent lives – the incitement to violence, the glorification of terrorists, and the growth of violent extremism erodes prospects for peace, as this resolution makes crystal clear. The most recent wave of Palestinian violence has seen terrorists commit hundreds of attacks – including driving cars into crowds of innocent civilians and stabbing mothers in front of their children. Yet rather than condemn these attacks, Hamas, other radical factions, and even certain members of Fatah have held up the terrorists as heroes, and used social media to incite others to follow in their murderous footsteps. And while President Abbas and his party's leaders have made clear their opposition to violence, terrorism, and extremism, they have too often failed to condemn specific attacks or condemn the praised heaped upon the perpetrators.

Our vote today does not in any way diminish the United States' steadfast and unparalleled commitment to the security of Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by Palestinians. We have to recognize that Israel faces very serious threats in a very tough neighborhood. Israelis are rightfully concerned about making sure there is not a new terrorist haven next door. President Obama and this administration have shown an unprecedented commitment to Israel's security because that is what we believe in.

Our commitment to that security has never wavered, and it never will. Even with a financial crisis and budget deficits, we've repeatedly increased funding to support Israel's military. And in September, the Obama administration signed a Memorandum of Understanding to provide $38 billion in security assistance to Israel over the next 10 years – the largest single pledge of military assistance in U.S. history to any country. And as the Israeli Prime Minister himself has noted, our military and intelligence cooperation is unprecedented. We believe, though, that continued settlement building seriously undermines Israel's security.

Some may cast the U.S. vote as a sign that we have finally given up on a two-state solution. Nothing could be further from the truth. None of us can give up on a two-state solution. We continue to believe that that solution is the only viable path to provide peace and security for the

state of Israel, and freedom and dignity for the Palestinian people. And we continue to believe that the parties can still pursue this path, if both sides are honest about the choices, and have the courage to take steps that will be politically difficult. While we can encourage them, it is ultimately up to the parties to choose this path, as it always has been. We sincerely hope that they will begin making these choices before it is too late.
I thank you.

###

*Correction: The line should read: "Or the five Israel-specific resolutions adopted this year in the Human Rights Council – more than those focused on any other specific country, such as Syria, North Korea, Iran, or South Sudan – to see that in 2016 Israel continues to be treated differently from other member states."

Official - SBU
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UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 12:52 PM
To: Soifer, Halie S
Cc: Wexler, Rebecca; Bitar, Maher B
Subject: RE: FOR ACTION: email to Rep. Cicilline (fully cleared)

B5

Official - SBU
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 12:21 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Wexler, Rebecca; Bitar, Maher B
Subject: FOR ACTION: email to Rep. Cicilline (fully cleared)

To: B6
Re: follow-up from our call

David,

Thank you for the call earlier. As promised, I wanted to get back to you with my explanation of vote, enclosed here and below, and some additional information with regard to the reference in UNSCR 2334 to East Jerusalem.

You are correct – the reference to East Jerusalem, versus Jerusalem generally, is specific to UNSCR 2334. Prior UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs), by comparison, repeatedly referenced Jerusalem broadly, without specifying East Jerusalem, to Israel's detriment. As I mentioned, at least 18 previous (UNSCRs) that passed with the explicit or tacit support of the U.S. have cited "Jerusalem" (as opposed to "East Jerusalem") as "occupied" or as part of the "Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967" during the tenure of the following U.S. presidents - Nixon (1); Carter (6); Reagan (4); George H.W. Bush (6); and Clinton (1).

By specifying East Jerusalem, vice Jerusalem, UNSCR 2334 actually aligned the Security Council and, by extension, the international community more closely with U.S. policy and the negotiating position both Israel and the Palestinians have accepted in previous negotiations – that Jerusalem is a final status issue and, as such, final status negotiations will need to address the territory encompassing East Jerusalem.

For context, it has been the longstanding U.S. position, shared by the international community, that the final status of territories occupied by Israel in 1967 – including East Jerusalem - should not be prejudged in any way and should instead be resolved through negotiations between the parties. This includes longstanding U.S. opposition to preemptive claims of sovereignty over these areas by either party -- Israel or the Palestinians. As the Administration argued in 2014 to the Supreme Court in the *Zivotovsky* case, the United States has never accepted the sovereignty of any state over any part of Jerusalem, and has opposed unilateral acts by any state in the area to change the status of Jerusalem. We have, however, acknowledged the practical necessity of administration by Israel of West Jerusalem, including the application of Israeli law, just as the United States

accepted Jordanian administration of East Jerusalem from 1948 to 1967. The United States has never taken the position that the status of East Jerusalem should be settled apart from West Jerusalem, and this UNSCR marks no change in that policy. In fact, the United States has consistently taken the position that the status of Jerusalem should be settled through negotiations in the context of a comprehensive peace settlement.

Please let me know if you have any additional questions.

Warmly,

Samantha

Explanation of Vote at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East
Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
New York City
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AS DELIVERED

Thank you, Mr. President.

Let me begin with a quote: "The United States will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements during the transitional period. Indeed, the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, more than any other action, could create the confidence needed for wider participation in these talks. Further settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel and only diminishes the confidence of the Arabs that a final outcome can be freely and fairly negotiated."

This was said in 1982 by President Ronald Reagan. He was speaking about a new proposal that he was launching to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While ultimately, of course, President Reagan's proposal was not realized, his words are still illuminating in at least two respects.
First, because they underscore the United States' deep and long-standing commitment to achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. That has been the policy of every administration, Republican and Democrat, since before President Reagan and all the way through to the present day.

Second, because President Reagan's words highlight the United States' long-standing position that Israeli settlement activity in territories occupied in 1967 undermines Israel's security, harms the viability of a negotiated two-state outcome, and erodes prospects for peace and stability in the region. Today, the Security Council reaffirmed its established consensus that settlements have no legal validity. The United States has been sending the message that the settlements must stop – privately and publicly – for nearly five decades, through the administrations of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and now Barack Obama. Indeed, since 1967, the only president who had not had at least one Israeli-Palestinian-related Security Council resolution pass during his tenure is Barack Obama. So our vote today is fully in line with the bipartisan history of how American Presidents have approached both the issue – and the role of this body.

Given the consistency of this position across U.S. administrations, one would think that it would be a routine vote for the U.S. to allow the passage of a resolution with the elements in this one, reaffirming the long-standing U.S. position on settlements, condemning violence and incitement, and calling for the parties to start taking constructive steps to reverse current trends on the ground. These are familiar, well-articulated components of U.S. policy.

But in reality this vote for us was not straightforward, because of where it is taking place – at the United Nations. For the simple truth is that for as long as Israel has been a member of this institution, Israel has been treated differently from other nations at the United Nations. And not only in decades past – such as in the infamous resolution that the General Assembly adopted in 1975, with the support of the majority of Member States, officially determining that, "Zionism is a form of racism" – but also in 2016, this year. One need only look at the 18 resolutions against Israel adopted during the UN General Assembly in September; *or the 12 Israel-specific resolutions adopted this year in the Human Rights Council – more than those focused on Syria, North Korea, Iran, and South Sudan put together – to see that in 2016 Israel continues to be treated differently from other Member States.

Like U.S. administrations before it, the Obama Administration has worked tirelessly to fight for Israel's right simply to be treated just like any other country – from advocating for Israel to finally be granted membership to a UN regional body, something no other UN Member State had been denied; to fighting to ensure that Israeli NGOs are not denied UN accreditation, simply because they are Israeli, to getting Yom Kippur finally recognized as a UN holiday; to pressing this Council to break its indefensible silence in response to terrorist attacks on Israelis. As the United States has said repeatedly, such unequal treatment not only hurts Israel, it undermines the legitimacy of the United Nations itself.

The practice of treating Israel differently at the UN matters for votes like this one. For even if one believes that the resolution proposed today is justified – or, even more, necessitated – by events on the ground, one cannot completely separate the vote from the venue.

And Member States that say they are for the two-state solution must ask themselves some difficult questions. For those states that are quick to promote resolutions condemning Israel, but refuse to recognize when innocent Israelis are the victims of terrorism – what steps will you take to stop treating Israel differently? For those states that passionately denounce the closures of crossings in Gaza as exacerbating the humanitarian situation, but saying nothing of the resources diverted from helping Gaza's residents to dig tunnels into Israeli territory so that terrorists can attack Israelis in their homes – what will you do to end the double-standard that undermines the legitimacy of this institution?

Member States should also ask themselves about the double standards when it comes to this Council taking action. Just this morning we came together, as a Council, and we were unable to muster the will to act to stop the flow of weapons going to killers in South Sudan, who are perpetrating mass atrocities that the UN has said could lead to genocide. We couldn't come together just to stem the flow of arms. Earlier this month, this Council could not muster the will to adopt the simplest of resolutions calling for a seven-day pause in the savage bombardment of innocent civilians, hospitals, and schools in Aleppo. Yet when a resolution on Israel comes before this Council, members suddenly summon the will to act.

It is because this forum too often continues to be biased against Israel; because there are important issues that are not sufficiently addressed in this resolution; and because the United States does not agree with every word in this text, that the United States did not vote in favor of the resolution. But it is because this resolution reflects the facts on the ground – and is consistent with U.S. policy across Republican and Democratic administration throughout the history of the State of Israel – that the United States did not veto it.

The United States has consistently said we would block any resolution that we thought would undermine Israel's security or seek to impose a resolution to the conflict. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by the Palestinians such as terrorism and incitement to violence,

which we've repeatedly condemned and repeatedly raised with the Palestinian leadership, and which, of course, must be stopped.
Unlike some on the UN Security Council, we do not believe that outside parties can impose a solution that has not been negotiated by the two parties. Nor can we unilaterally recognize a future Palestinian state. But it is precisely our commitment to Israel's security that makes the United States believe that we cannot stand in the way of this resolution as we seek to preserve a chance of attaining our long-standing objective: two states living side-by-side in peace and security. Let me briefly explain why.

The settlement problem has gotten so much worse that it is now putting at risk the very viability of that two-state solution. The number of settlers in the roughly 150 authorized Israeli settlements east of the 1967 lines has increased dramatically. Since the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords – which launched efforts that made a comprehensive and lasting peace possible – the number of settlers has increased by 355,000. The total settler population in the West Bank and East Jerusalem now exceeds 590,000. Nearly 90,000 settlers are living east of the separation barrier that was created by Israel itself. And just since July 2016 – when the Middle East Quartet issued a report highlighting international concern about a systematic process of land seizures, settlement expansions, and legalizations – Israel has advanced plans for more than 2,600 new settlement units. Yet rather than dismantling these and other settler outposts, which are illegal even under Israeli law, now there is new legislation advancing in the Israeli Knesset that would legalize most of the outposts – a factor that propelled the decision by this resolution's sponsors to bring it before the Council.

The Israeli Prime Minister recently described his government as "more committed to settlements than any in Israel's history," and one of his leading coalition partners recently declared that "the era of the two-state solution is over." At the same time, the Prime Minister has said that he is still committed to pursuing a two-state solution. But these statements are irreconcilable. One cannot simultaneously champion expanding Israeli settlements and champion a viable two-state solution that would end the conflict. One has to make a choice between settlements and separation.

In 2011, the United States vetoed a resolution that focused exclusively on settlements, as if settlements were they only factor harming the prospects of a two-state solution. The circumstances have changed dramatically. Since 2011, settlement growth has only accelerated. Since 2011, multiple efforts to pursue peace through negotiations have failed. And since 2011, President Obama and Secretary Kerry have repeatedly warned – publically and privately – that the absence of progress toward peace and continued settlement expansion was going to put the two-state solution at risk, and threaten Israel's stated objective to remain both a Jewish State and a democracy. Moreover, unlike in 2011, this resolution condemns violence, terrorism and incitement, which also poses an extremely grave risk to the two-state solution. This resolution reflects trends that will permanently destroy the hope of a two-state solution if they continue on their current course.

The United States has not taken the step of voting in support of this resolution because the resolution is too narrowly focused on settlements, when we all know – or we all should know – that many other factors contribute significantly to the tensions that perpetuate this conflict. Let us be clear: even if every single settlement were to be dismantled tomorrow, peace still would not be attainable without both sides acknowledging uncomfortable truths and making difficult choices. That is an indisputable fact. Yet it is one that is too often overlooked by members of the United Nations and by members of this Council.

For Palestinian leaders, that means recognizing the obvious: that in addition to taking innocent lives – the incitement to violence, the glorification of terrorists, and the growth of violent extremism erodes prospects for peace, as this resolution makes crystal clear. The most recent wave of Palestinian violence has seen terrorists commit hundreds of attacks – including driving cars into crowds of innocent civilians and stabbing mothers in front of their children. Yet rather than condemn these attacks, Hamas, other radical factions, and even certain members of Fatah have held up the terrorists as heroes, and used social media to incite others to follow in their

murderous footsteps. And while President Abbas and his party's leaders have made clear their opposition to violence, terrorism, and extremism, they have too often failed to condemn specific attacks or condemn the praised heaped upon the perpetrators.

Our vote today does not in any way diminish the United States' steadfast and unparalleled commitment to the security of Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by Palestinians. We have to recognize that Israel faces very serious threats in a very tough neighborhood. Israelis are rightfully concerned about making sure there is not a new terrorist haven next door. President Obama and this administration have shown an unprecedented commitment to Israel's security because that is what we believe in.

Our commitment to that security has never wavered, and it never will. Even with a financial crisis and budget deficits, we've repeatedly increased funding to support Israel's military. And in September, the Obama administration signed a Memorandum of Understanding to provide $38 billion in security assistance to Israel over the next 10 years – the largest single pledge of military assistance in U.S. history to any country. And as the Israeli Prime Minister himself has noted, our military and intelligence cooperation is unprecedented. We believe, though, that continued settlement building seriously undermines Israel's security.

Some may cast the U.S. vote as a sign that we have finally given up on a two-state solution.
Nothing could be further from the truth. None of us can give up on a two-state solution. We continue to believe that that solution is the only viable path to provide peace and security for the state of Israel, and freedom and dignity for the Palestinian people. And we continue to believe that the parties can still pursue this path, if both sides are honest about the choices, and have the courage to take steps that will be politically difficult. While we can encourage them, it is ultimately up to the parties to choose this path, as it always has been. We sincerely hope that they will begin making these choices before it is too late.
I thank you.

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*Correction: The line should read: "Or the five Israel-specific resolutions adopted this year in the Human Rights Council – more than those focused on any other specific country, such as Syria, North Korea, Iran, or South Sudan – to see that in 2016 Israel continues to be treated differently from other member states."

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From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 10:11 AM
To: Samantha Power
Subject: speeches
Attachments: Get Close, Remarks to Graduating Students at Yale College Class Day.docx; Remarks at the Barnard College Commencement.docx; 10.26.16 Cuba Remarks in GA.pdf; The Inexorable Joyfulness of Elie Wiesel Remarks at the U.S. Holocaust Museum Memorial Tribute.pdf; You Are What America Looks Like Remarks Welcoming New American Citizens at a Naturalization Ceremony at the Lower East Side Tenement Museum, New York City.pdf; Remarks on As Long as She Is Competent Confronting Gender Inequality at the UN and in the World, at the UN Foundation Global Leadership Dinner.pdf; 20160916 - SP - Lincoln Center Global Exchange Remarks.pdf; 20160629 - Ambassador Power - Global Refugee Crisis Speech, USIP.pdf; EOV UNSCR 2334 Middle East Peace.pdf

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"Get Close," Remarks to Graduating Students at Yale College Class Day

Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
New Haven, CT
May 22, 2016

AS DELIVERED

Good afternoon class of 2016! [Applause.]

For starters, I think I owe you an apology. I know what you were thinking. 2014: John Kerry. [Laughter.] 2015: Joe Biden. [Laughter.] Then 2016 rolls around, and your Class Day speaker still hasn't been announced, and you start thinking – ok, Secretary of State, then Vice President…who else would follow naturally in the hierarchy…and then, boom! You get the U.S. Ambassador *to what*? [Laughter.] Biggest disappointment since they canceled "Safety Dance." [Laughter.] Or, to get more specific, as one of your classmates summed it up on Facebook – yeah, thanks – "How come 2014 and 2015 got Kerry and Biden and we get this rando?" [Laughter.]

So, sorry. Sorry for being the rando. [Laughter and applause.] Thank you. Thank you – it's ok, really. It's ok.

Since I went to school here – right here – I have been blessed to be able to do some pretty amazing things – none more extraordinary than getting to serve every day as the American Ambassador to the United Nations. But getting to be back at Yale with you on this day is a life highlight. It is an honor to speak at any university on such a day. But this is no ordinary university. This is Yale! [Applause.] And I am floored and very, very humbled.

Three special shout-outs: First, to the parents, step-parents, and other loved ones of the graduates. Let's give them a huge round of applause for all they have sacrificed to make this weekend – and in many ways, this life – possible. [Applause.] Second, I have to give a special congrats to the Davenport grads, because some colleges – some colleges are more equal than others. [Applause.] And finally, a shout out of commiseration to the seniors from Saybrook, [laughter] who I gather – word travels – I gather have had a rough year, especially when it comes to laundry. Too soon? [Laughter.]

When I sat where you are sitting today more than two decades ago – or, as you may think of that time, not long after Homo sapiens began to walk upright, and the tectonic plates came together to form the Himalayas, the Yale Bowl, and Science Hill [laughter] – I would never have imagined that I, an Irish immigrant and Atlanta public high school grad, would one day get the chance to come back to Yale in this capacity. Never. Indeed, when I was a dazed freshman holed up in Bingham right over there [applause]; or grabbing lunch in Commons – sorry, "Commons at the Schwarzman Center," – sorry [applause]; or spending my senior year in McLellan as a Freshman Counselor, right there – if in any one of those incarnations, if someone had tried to tell me that I

would one day be Yale Class Day speaker, I would have said they had clearly been taking Mory's punch intravenously. [Laughter.] This would have seemed even more unlikely than my beloved Red Sox winning three World Series in a decade; even lower odds than an African-American whose first name was one consonant removed from the world's most infamous terrorist becoming President; and just about as inconceivable as it becoming the law of the land in America that anyone can marry the person they love. [Applause.]

But somehow, here I am. I have received two monumental breaks in my life, without which I would not be here. The first came when I was nine, and my mother decided to bring my younger brother Stephen and me to the United States from Dublin, Ireland. The second came in 1988, when I arrived home from high school basketball practice in Atlanta one day to find that my then-13-year-old brother had laid out all the college admissions letters on our dining room table – including a thick manila envelope with the capital navy "Y" and a New Haven return address – telling me that, against all odds, I had been accepted here. At that time, I had never before even visited the Northeast.

I've got to admit, I was far from a superstar here at Yale. I had been an avid basketball player in high school, but I wasn't good enough to play on the Yale varsity team. Though now, thanks to Ben and Katayon, I can wear the jersey and tell people I did. [Laughter.] But I didn't make the cut. I became instead a fanatical intramural sports player. And this is rather embarrassing to unearth, but I was actually voted by my senior year Davenport classmates not "Most Likely to Succeed," but "Most Likely to Come Back from the Intramural Fields with Bloody Knees." [Laughter.] That was an actual award they gave out. I think it hasn't been given out since – I hope. I also tried my hand at sports reporting for the *Yale Daily News*.

Now, you might be thinking: Samantha Power – eventual contributor to *The Economist* and *The New Yorker* – turns to writing at Yale and discovers she's a natural. Well, thanks to the Internet, we can let some of my early reporting speak for itself.

Here's how I opened my first article, in September 1988, just having arrived on campus: "Volleyballs aren't the only things high up in the air this week for the women's volleyball team; so are expectations and spirits." [Laughter.] Ouch. [Applause.] Or consider this – I really got better quickly – March 1989, "[The a capella group] 'Something Extra' sang the national anthem before Saturday night's Yale/Cornell women's basketball game, and the Blue were well aware that it would take 'something extra,' or rather, 'something extra-ordinary' for them to win." [Laughter.] Really?

Early in my sophomore year, I was briefly given a sports column called "Power Play," [laughter] whose name – judging from my abuse of puns in the other articles – was probably my idea. Mercifully, it seems only to have run a couple times.

But instead of throwing myself into journalism, I mostly held back. I wrote articles the way I wrote my class papers – last-minute, without investing the time or energy it takes to get better. When you risk little, you can't be disappointed if you don't excel. You are not failing to thrive; you just aren't trying. These were my unconscious alibis.

And then, at the end of my freshman year here, a pair of lightning bolts hit.

The first came in a class. During my freshman spring, Professor Victor Luftig was teaching an advanced seminar on modern Irish literature, which I'd managed to talk my way into. I had signed up for the course because I'd already read most of the books and figured I could coast through on being originally Irish. [Laughter.]

At the end of the year, I walked to the professor's office right over there in LC, and I fished my paper out of the pile and found a long handwritten note on the last page.

The note was utterly eviscerating. Professor Luftig called me out for never making a serious effort, questioning why I had fought for a seat in a class where I didn't care to do the work. And he talked about how disrespectful it was to the other students, to the literature, and – most of all – to myself.

I walked into the professor's office and held up his note. "This is harsh," I said. "You deserved it," he shot back. And he was right. And the same judgment really could have been made about my entire freshman year here. I hadn't put my heart into it. And although I wasn't conscious of doing so, I was keeping myself at a distance. I could remain the carefree outsider, never getting hurt because I would never make myself vulnerable by going all in.

The second lightning bolt struck just a few weeks later, when I was back in Atlanta, where I had lined up a summer internship with the local CBS sports affiliate. I was sitting in a video booth taking notes on a Braves-Padres game, when I spotted something out of the corner of my eye, coming from another live feed. It was from Tiananmen Square in China, where students my age – your age – had gathered to ask their government to grant them fundamental freedoms. And I watched – frozen, with my clipboard in hand – as tanks rolled into the square and soldiers opened fire on the protestors.

Watching those students – who were risking their freedom and even their lives for their rights – brought home just how little I had put on the line. I knew that I wanted to be all in for something, and to do what little I could to help people who were fighting for their dignity. And while I didn't yet know what that meant, or how I was going do it, or whether I could do it, my compass had been reset. So when the iconic photo of the man standing in front of a tank in Tiananmen Square appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine, I tore it out and put it up in my dorm room as a reminder of what it meant to take real risks. The worst that could happen to me at Yale was that I would study zealously and end up with a middling grade. What was so risky about that?

I share this personal experience with you because when someone is introduced at an event like this one, the bio often implies that they have walked a linear and pre-ordained path to get where they are. Nobody tells you that your Class Day speaker wrote a remarkably mediocre sports column with a lame name in the college paper that was discontinued. [Laughter.] Your class chairs didn't open up: "Samantha Power spent her freshman year at Yale mailing it in and wondering whether she deserved to be here." But everyone has voices in their heads that tell them that everyone else is more capable. I even have a name for the place where those voices live – I call it my Bat Cave. Bats – flying around. Call it what you want, everybody's got one. A

healthy dose of self-doubt is a good thing – it is the sister of humility, which is a great thing. The trick is not letting the voices that live in your Bat Cave hold you back from pursuing your path.

And that was what I realized at the end of my freshman year here: I didn't want to go through my time at Yale or anywhere else giving myself alibis for not trying to change at least my little slice of the world. Especially when there were people out there who were risking so much more. But my question was: how was I going to do that? And that's what I want to speak to you about today. My message is – no matter what you choose to do with your life, if you truly want to live fully and leave the world a little better than you found it, you have to *get close*.

The great photographer Robert Capa, who shot some of the most iconic photos of the Second World War, put it this way: "If your pictures aren't good enough, you aren't close enough." Now rest assured, parents, the message of your child's graduation speech is not: go stand in front of a tank, or go report on a civil war. But the message is that if you want to have a deep impact on what matters to you, don't do things at remove. Invest yourself fully. *Get close.*

Now, what does that even mean?

First, getting close means moving beyond approaching an issue through the screen on your laptop or phone, or the filter of someone else's interpretation, and instead finding a way to get to know the individuals whose lives are impacted.

By hearing people's experiences first hand – whether the people who live in your buildings if you become an architect, the people who work for you if you run a small business – or a big business, for that matter – or the people who are suffering injustice if you become a full-time advocate – you will see what cannot later be unseen.

You don't have to look far for models of how to do this; I found my own in my own home. My mother is a kidney doctor, and I've never seen anyone relate to the people she's treating in the way that she does. When I was a kid, she would come home and share such vivid details about the lives of her patients – details that had nothing to do with their physical conditions – that it was as if the patients themselves were telling jokes and sharing their sagas at the dinner table with us. She got close. My father – who's here today – is retired, but, always a devourer of history, he became a continuing education student not that long ago at Columbia University, and recently has decided to explore the history of Islam. When he stays overnight at our apartment to help babysit my kids, I can hear the loud and persistent scrape of his pencil on his history and theology texts from the next room, deep into the night. He brings his professors and his classmates to the UN gallery when we have public sessions of the UN Security Council on Syria or Iran.

I've been lucky enough to wear a number of different professional hats over my career. And with each one, getting close has made me care more about – and get better at – what I worked at. Soon after I graduated from Yale, I became consumed with the conflict at the time in the Balkans, and decided to move to Bosnia to try to report on the war's devastating human consequences. As a journalist there, I had occasion to interview Bosnian families, religious leaders, and militia, as well as UN peacekeepers and humanitarians. When I was an academic researching American

foreign policy, getting close meant interviewing hundreds of policymakers who had made the decisions I was studying, in order to try to understand their calculus. And of course as a diplomat, I try to get out to the field as often as I can to meet people whose lives are affected by U.S. and UN policies – whether that's the doctors and nurses running an Ebola treatment clinic, or a Nigerian girl struggling to rebuild her life after having been abducted by Boko Haram.

This brings me to my second point: to really get close to an issue, you must seek out ways to see the world and its problems from a radically different perspective from the one that comes naturally to you. This is hardly a new challenge. For example, a previous Yale Class Day speaker lamented the fact that, "We subject all facts to a prefabricated set of interpretations. We enjoy the comfort of opinion without the discomfort of thought." That was John F. Kennedy, in 1962. But the problem has only become worse. From the Facebook and Twitter feeds we monitor, to the algorithms that determine the results of our Web searches based on our previous browsing history and location, our major sources of information are increasingly engineered to reflect back to us the world as we already see it. They give us the comfort of our opinions without the discomfort of thought. So you have to find a way to break out of your echo chambers.

This is tougher than it sounds – especially when it comes to the issues you care most about. But it is in your interest to engage the people you disagree with, rather than shutting them out or shutting them up. Not only because it gives you a chance to challenge their views, and maybe even change them. But also because sometimes they may just be right.

When I started as the U.S. Ambassador to the UN three years ago, I made up my mind that – since I wouldn't be able to travel to every country in the world, truly getting close – I'd at least try to visit as many ambassadors from the 192 other UN Member States as I could. I decided that I didn't want to go into the meetings with a set of "asks," as I normally do; I just wanted to get to know a little more about the issues that mattered most to them, how they had become diplomats, what books and keepsakes they had brought with them all the way from home, and the art and photos they had chosen to put up on their walls. So far, I've visited the ambassadors of 164 countries.

The ambassador from Zambia told me how HIV/AIDS had ravaged her country. A pediatrician before becoming a diplomat, she said that at the peak of the epidemic, she could hardly rally herself to go to work in the morning, because, as she put it, "there was nothing I could do to help my babies." But she cared too much to quit. At the Cuban Mission to the UN, which I was the first U.S. Ambassador to visit in a half century, photographs of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro still lined the halls.

The ambassadors of many small island nations have told me about witnessing climate change transform their countries in their lifetimes – seeing the villages where they grew up completely flooded. One of these ambassadors brought the stakes home to me recently, and unforgettably. He said, "I just don't know where all of my people will go. Who will take us?" Now imagine if you live on a small island state. Imagine what that means and what your future looks like.

Third, if you really want to make change, it's rarely enough to get close yourself. You also have to bring others close with you – helping them see issues that can otherwise feel far removed or invisible in their daily lives.

Consider here the work of one of your classmates, Sarah Yazji. A Syrian-American – where's Sarah? I hope she's at Class Day. [Laughter.] Hi, Sarah – Sarah probably didn't know this was coming. [Laughter.] Sarah is a Syrian-American who made multiple trips to volunteer in refugee camps and clinics along the border with Syria, where she witnessed firsthand all the needs that were going unmet, from undersupplied medical clinics to schools that didn't have room to take in more kids. In her sophomore year, she and other students raised more than $30,000 to aid Syrian refugees and support hospitals still operating in Syria. But Sarah and her fellow students didn't just rally support – they also brought what was happening to Syrians close to people here at Yale. Like the time in December when they blanketed the quad at Cross-Campus with miniature flags, each of which represented approximately 50,000 displaced Syrians. Or like the time when they drew the chalk outlines of footsteps along walkways all around campus, making visible the millions of miles that Syrians have traveled to seek refuge in neighboring countries. Through these and so many other actions, Sarah and other students made people see the millions of Syrian refugees not as abstract masses, but as individuals just like them – just like us – and in so doing motivated more people to get involved.

My fourth and final point is that getting close – and staying close – requires patience and impatience at once. Look at the history of any great rights struggle and you will see that when it moved forward at all, it was always in a two-steps-forward, one-and-a-half steps back fashion. Or as the late great UN diplomat Sergio Vieira de Mello put it, "History is not in a hurry." So if you are setting out to make a slice of the world better, you must go in knowing that real change often requires a long struggle.

That doesn't mean being patient in the face of injustice. Because while history may not be in a hurry, you can – and you must – speed it up. Indeed, the struggle to advance basic human rights has almost always been driven by people who refused to accept that any one of us should have to wait until tomorrow for the dignity that every one of us deserves today.

It is because history is not in a hurry that we must always bring a healthy skepticism to claims that the great rights struggles are behind us, and that we have mostly achieved the equality we seek. Few have rebutted this myth more eloquently than Franklin. And here I'm not talking about Benjamin Franklin [laughter], or Aretha Franklin [laughter], but the late African-American historian John Hope Franklin.

Born in 1915, John Hope Franklin played a key role on the NAACP team that brought the case for *Brown v. Board of Education*, but his greatest contribution was his life's work documenting the history of slavery and its enduring – and deeply corrosive – impact on American life. Here's what Franklin said in 1992, not long after the police's beating of Rodney King set off the L.A. riots: "A color-blind society does not exist in the United States, and never has existed. Those

who insist we should conduct ourselves as if such a utopian state already existed have no interest in achieving it and, indeed, would be horrified if we even approached it."

Again: "Those who insist we should conduct ourselves as if such a utopian state already existed have no interest in achieving it and, indeed, would be horrified if we even approached it."

That was true in 1992 – and it is true in 2016. And it applies not only to enduring racial issues that have been brought to the surface in places like Ferguson, Baltimore, and Cleveland, but to so many other persistent forms of inequality and prejudice.

Take the ongoing struggle for women's equality. Now, no one can dispute the progress made – in the world, in this country, in this university. Here's what the freshman handbook said in 1970, two years after Yale first admitted women: "Treat Yale as you would a good woman. Take advantage of her many gifts, nourish yourself with the fruit of her wisdom, curse her if you will, but congratulate yourself in your possession of her." Wow. Simply – wow.

So a lot has changed. [Laughter.] But while so much has changed, consider this: while Yale was founded roughly three-quarters of a century before our nation declared its independence – Yale, like the United States, has never had a woman president, except for the great scholar Hanna Gray, who held the role temporarily for a year when her predecessor left suddenly. Another data point: since I graduated way back in 1992, only four other women have been your Class Day speaker. Which makes sense, in a way, because it's not as though there are any amazing women out there who attended Yale. [Laughter.] I mean, it's not like the first-ever Latina Supreme Court Justice went to Yale, or the first woman to chair the Federal Reserve, or the woman who designed our nation's transcendent Vietnam War Memorial. So – I get it – amazing women Yale grads are hard to find. [Applause.] But more important than this, of the 669 women graduating today, I'm willing to bet that every one of you knows what it feels like to be treated differently because you are a woman.

Many of the same dynamics play themselves out at the United Nations. Of the 15 countries with a seat on the UN Security Council, only one – the United States – is represented by a woman. One for 15 – in 2016. [Applause.] The UN is currently in the process of selecting a new Secretary-General – a position that, in the organization's 70 year history, has never been held by a woman. Not long ago, I was discussing the race with another ambassador to the UN, and I made the point that it is important that women be encouraged to apply. In response, this ambassador asked: "Do you want to look at a pretty girl or do you want someone who can actually get the job done for women?" I was shocked. But maybe I shouldn't have been.

By the way, it's not like the U.S. government has figured this out either. Consider our national security workforce, which I hope many of you will join one day. Minorities still make up less than 20 percent of senior diplomats, and less than 15 percent of senior military and intelligence officials. That is an imbalance that deprives us of some of our nation's brightest minds, and addressing it is a national security imperative.

My point is not that the UN, Yale, or the U.S. national security establishment have done a particularly poor job of embracing diversity.

My point is that the enduring inequalities we see in institutions like these reflect systemic injustices that persist in our societies – to the detriment not only of the people who are subjected to discrimination, but to all of us. And acting as if we have overcome these entrenched biases is part of the problem.

To the vast majority of you, this is obvious. To some of you, it is something you have experienced personally. You may come from a country where you cannot openly practice your religion without risking attacks or persecution. You may have felt it on this very campus – when the gate to your residential college was closed and locked as you walked toward it. You may have felt it living in a college named for a man who once argued that enslaving your ancestors was a "positive good." [Applause.] You may have felt it upon hearing U.S. politicians call on our country to ban people of your faith. So when you hear people claim that the work is finished, you say: Not for me, it's not. Not for us. [Applause.]

And some of you have poured a lot of yourselves into these and other struggles over the past four years. If you have you might look at all that remains unchanged and feel discouraged. Whether that's inside Yale, with the name of a college that did not change, or a faculty that does not look as diverse as you and the rest of America, or outside Yale, in the horrific plight of refugees, whose situation only seems to get worse despite all that you and your classmates have done to try to make it better.

But whether serving others is your full-time job or a part-time vocation, setbacks like these are not just probable, they are inevitable. And the more you *get close*, the more of yourself you put into these struggles, and the more you make yourself vulnerable, the harder these setbacks will hit you, the more they will hurt.

But the progress that you make in advancing the rights of others – and you *will* make progress – will more than sustain you. Because in fighting for the dignity of others, you will find a humbling yet profound sense of your own worth.

That is a lesson I take from the life of Pauli Murray, a Yale grad who dedicated her life to struggles for equality and human dignity. [Applause.] Now I admit that I hadn't heard of Murray before Yale decided to name a residential hall in her honor. In learning about her, what struck me was not only how ahead of her time she was in the struggles for equality that she waged. It was also how often she lost, despite being on the side of what was right. In 1938, she applied but was denied admission from the University of North Carolina because she was black. In 1940, she refused to move to the back of a bus, and was detained; and then refused to pay a fine for disobedience, and went to jail. Not long after, she joined the legal defense team of a black sharecropper who she believed had been unjustly sentenced to death by an all-white jury; they lost the case, and then lost the appeal, and the man was executed in 1942. Those are just a few of the painful losses Murray endured; there were so many more.

Yet while it often looked like in that moment as if Murray had lost, history shows us that, even in these losses, she moved the struggle forward – bringing injustice out into the open, exposing its ugliness, and chipping away at its foundation, little by little.

Let me read you something Murray said in an interview later in her life, reflecting back on these efforts: "In not a single one of these little campaigns was I victorious. In other words, in each case, I personally failed. But I have lived to see the thesis upon which I was operating vindicated. And what I very often say is that I've lived to see my lost causes found."

"I've lived to see my lost causes found."

Many of the struggles for equality that Murray dedicated her life to are ones we continue to grapple with to this day. Who better than you to carry them forward?

So, graduating class of 2016, as you embark on what I hope will be a life of embracing struggles like these, this is my message to you: Get close. Go all in. Get close to the people affected by your work. Seek out perspectives different from your own. And work to bring others close with you. Know that history is not in a hurry, but that you can help speed it up. And recognize that while the journey will be long – and you will lose and lose again – it is the struggle itself that will define you.

Do that and you will not only find yourself fulfilled, but you, too, will live to see many of your lost causes found.

Congratulations, class of 2016! We can't wait to see all the causes you will find! Thank you! We are counting on you!

Thank you.

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Remarks at the Barnard College Commencement

RELEASE IN FULL

Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
New York City
May 17, 2015

AS DELIVERED

Good afternoon, President Spar, faculty, trustees, alumni, families and friends of the strong and beautiful Barnard graduates! Congratulations, class of 2015!

Columbia grad Madeleine Albright has said, "It used to be that the only way a woman could truly make her foreign policy views felt was by marrying a diplomat, and then pouring tea on an offending ambassador's lap." I'm here to tell you that in 2015, we have other options! [Applause].

I'm truly honored to be here, and to be among the amazing women, and men, on this stage, and to be with the amazing class of 2015 – I'm so honored that I invited *my* parents to *your* graduation. [Applause] And while we're at it, let's give a huge round of applause to all the parents and loved ones in the audience.

Your great school came into existence largely due to the vision of a remarkable woman, Annie Nathan Meyer. Meyer didn't get the kind of schooling you got, or I got. Her mother kept her home as a small child because she wanted company. Meyer read voraciously, finishing all of Dickens' books by the age of seven. [Laughter]. Yeah, seriously. When she was eleven, her mother died, and while her father agreed to let her go to school, he was so overprotective that he kept her home whenever there was bad weather.

When Meyer learned about a special college course for women at Columbia University, she set about secretly studying for examinations, which she passed on her first try. When she finally told her father, she later wrote, "He drew me gently and lovingly to him and announced, 'You will never be married…Men hate intelligent wives.'" Meyer decided to go to Columbia anyway.

It was not what she had hoped. Women were not allowed into lectures; instead, they were given a reading list, a short meeting or two with the professor, and then an exam. When Meyer sat for her first exam, she found the questions were based entirely on the lectures that she had been barred from attending. Feeling what she called a "devastating sense of desolation," she answered as best she could. And though she passed, she eventually dropped out, and, soon after, started her full-court press to secure the education for women that she had been denied. Four years later, in 1889, as we know, Barnard College – your college – was founded.

As Barnard finishes its 125th school year, it is safe to say that the cause of equality has come a very, very, very long way. But what I want to talk to you about today is how some of the remaining barriers to true equality can, and must, be overcome.

First, true equality will mean not letting our doubts silence our voices.

We live in a time where women have made tremendous strides, particularly here in the United States. And you all know the statistics. Women earn 60 percent of all undergraduate and graduate degrees; hold more than half of all professional-level jobs; and study after study shows that companies employing greater numbers of women outperform their competitors. And you know that, at the end of your four years, you are as well-equipped as any Barnard graduating class to make your mark. So why do you still feel that persistent self-doubt? That fear of making mistakes? And why do those doubts sometimes get in the way of your voices being heard?

I wish I had the answer. Instead, all I can tell you is that we all experience that feeling – even if it's not obvious on the outside. I have even adopted a name for it – the Bat Cave; it's that dark place in your head where all the voices tell you every reason you can't do something.

Let me give you an example. Rewind to August 2008. I am working as a senior advisor on the campaign for then-Senator Barack Obama – who has just earned the Democratic nomination for President. And I find out that I'm pregnant with my first child. Now, I have an amazing husband, and this news – it's seismic. I am over the moon.

And I tell no one at work.

Lots of nods, I bet, back here and up there [Laughter].

I have never gone through this before, and I am worried that if I advertise my blissful state, it will affect how seriously I will be taken by the campaign, and potentially even shut me out of the kind of job that could make an impact. Everything I know of then-Senator Obama and the people around him tells me at the time that this makes zero sense. After all, this is a man who was raised by a single, working mother. A man whose brilliant wife worked while raising two daughters. A man who would go on to demonstrate daily as President his commitment to supporting working moms and dads. But at the time, I am way too deep in the Bat Cave to see any of that.

Eventually, it is my body that tells people the news – not me.

And I acquired quite a collection of scarves.

I ended up having two babies while spending four years at the White House, and thereafter still managed to get to serve in my dream job, representing the United States at the United Nations [Applause]. But if I felt the way I did with a boss like mine, I can only imagine how other women feel – the ecstasy of a pregnancy clouded by the fear it could cause severe professional damage.

Last year, when the Ukraine crisis began, I momentarily experienced another version of this anxiety. Russia, a permanent member of the UN Security Council, is trying to lop off part of its neighbor, Ukraine – a clear violation of the rules that the United Nations was created to defend. An urgent UN Security Council session is called on Russia's attempted takeover of Crimea. I take my seat, and my mind recalls Prague 1968, Budapest 1956, and some epic occasions in the

twentieth century when Ambassadors Adlai Stevenson, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Madeleine Albright, and other legends made memorable, forceful interventions at the United Nations on behalf of the United States.

Then it dawns on me: that's me now! I'm the United States!

Deep in the Bat Cave, I think of the consequences if my response – the United States' response – is too forceful, or not forceful enough. I think of the overwhelming responsibility that comes with speaking on behalf of America and the ideals we stand for. And I think of the people of Ukraine who are counting on me. And I speak.

The fact is that doubt – and his more lovable big sister, self-awareness – both are more pronounced among women. Turns out Batwoman's cave often has more square footage than Batman's.

True equality will not mean shedding our doubts or our self-awareness – but rather not letting them quiet us when we should be speaking up. There are more than enough forces out there doing that without needing our help. And it will mean that, while everyone will have moments of uncertainty – and humility is an especially prized quality – women should not have to worry that if we stumble, it will be more noticed than when men do the same [Applause].

But it is not enough to find our own voices. True equality also requires that we learn to hear, and lift up, the voices of those whom others choose not to hear. This is my second point: You have to teach yourself to see the people and communities who live in society's blind spots. Of course, everyone should strive to do this. But as women who, even to this day, know what it feels like to be unheard or unseen, we have an additional responsibility. I think the burden of being treated differently is also our strength – because it gives us the capacity to notice when others are treated differently. To see the blind spots.

That includes the discussion of gender identity on campus, which the Barnard community – and particularly your class – has embraced [Applause]. We must see that seemingly simple actions that most of us don't have to think twice about – the bathroom we walk into; the gender listed on our driver's licenses; the name people use to address us; the boxes "male" and "female" on a college application – can be a source of profound anguish for others. We must recognize the cruel and hostile treatment that transgender people experience in so many communities, which, according to one study, has contributed to 40 percent of transgender people in the United States attempting suicide during the course of their lives.

We must all work toward the goal of ensuring equal rights for all people – lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender. And while we have a very long way to go, I'm extremely proud to work for an administration that has lifted Medicare's ban on covering gender reassignment surgery, and whose Justice Department has decided to take on cases of discrimination based on an individual's gender identity, including transgender status, under the Civil Rights Act.

Now again, it is no coincidence that women's colleges have been among the first to embrace this discussion. Women know what it feels like to have to fight to be part of institutions whose doors should never have been closed to them.

You often hear people say that past generations struggled so that you would not have to. But I say, past generations struggled so you would be free to fight on behalf of someone else.

The idea of seeing the struggles of others around you – whether the other is a gender or an ethnic or religious group, or even an entire nation that usually does not have a voice – is one of the principles that has defined President Obama's foreign policy. We know that America is stronger, that our policies are more effective, and that the world is better off when America is listening. And that includes listening to countries and communities that often feel invisible to the world's superpowers.

That is why, when I started as the United States Ambassador to the UN a year and a half ago, I decided to visit as many of the other 192 UN ambassadors as I could, regardless of the size or the geopolitical heft of the country that they represent. By visiting their missions, rather than having them travel to ours, as was common practice, I would be able to see the national art they wanted to showcase, the family photos on their desks, the books that they had carried with them long distances to America. And I could show them America's respect and our curiosity. So far, I've visited 119 countries' missions. And when I visit, I try [Applause], when I visit I try to put my long list of policy asks aside. Instead, I ask the ambassadors about their upbringings, about how they became diplomats, what they are most proud of about their countries.

True equality will mean not just seeing the unseen, but also finding a way to make invisible problems visible – and this is my third point. I think the contemporary conversation about the challenge that women face in balancing a demanding job with raising a family is important. Women are opening up about how overwhelmed they feel trying to "have it all." Back in 2013, when I arrived in my job, I was still nursing my one-year-old daughter as I tried to move my family to New York, and find schools for my two kids – and no, I did not enroll my then-four-year-old in a Kaplan course so he could get into a New York pre-school. I had to do all this at the same time, roughly, that the Syrian regime decided to stage massive chemical weapons attacks against its people, horrific atrocities were being committed in the Central African Republic, and a new government was cracking down on the opposition in Egypt. When asked by friends whether I subscribed to "lean in," I would instead describe my philosophy then as "hang on." Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has put it even better – "lean on."

While Ambassador, I have spoken in public a fair amount about the ways my six-year-old, my now six-year-old son Declan, interacts with my new life – making visible a version of what goes on behind the scenes in many homes. Like most young kids with their parents, he seems to delight in interrupting me when I'm on the phone. "Mommy," he says, "Can I ask you something?" I shake my head and I whisper, "I'm on the phone." He says, "Mommy it's important." "I'll be off in a minute." "But Mommy, what's the score of the Nationals game?" he says. I beg him to let me finish the call. But he is insistent. "Mommy, I said it's important." And I hold my hand over the phone and say – "Mine too, this is important too" – I may well be talking to the UN Secretary-General, a UN envoy on a crackling phone line from a war zone, or a

fellow diplomat that I'm trying to put the squeeze on. But nothing persuades Declan. And when this little showdown has abated, and he gives up – which after nine or ten exchanges he does, usually – he invariably storms off in a huff, usually grumbling some version of, "Ukraine, Ukraine, Ukraine!" He's had it up to here with Ukraine.

Now, the juggling act that I am attempting pales compared to that faced by moms who are raising kids alone; or who struggle to provide for families on a minimum wage that is not a livable wage [Applause]; or who risk losing their jobs if they have to stay home to care for a sick child. But I share these stories because – even with all the support that I am lucky enough to have – the balancing is hard and making that visible might be useful to somebody somewhere.

Of course, it is not just our personal challenges that we must make visible. There are far bigger and more important problems that we have to shine a bright light on – like the dark chapters of our own nation's history.

Let me give you one of the most chilling examples. Between 1877 and 1950, nearly 4,000 African Americans were lynched in 12 Southern states, according to a remarkable report released this year by the Equal Justice Initiative. In 1916, a man named Jeff Brown was lynched in Mississippi for accidentally bumping into a white girl while running to catch a train. In 1940, Jessie Thorton was lynched in Alabama for failing to address a white police officer as "Mister." Many of the lynchings were public spectacles, advertised in advance in newspapers. Vendors hawked popcorn and lemonade. Families had photos taken by the bodies of the victims as souvenirs. In 1893, 10,000 people came to watch the lynching of Henry Smith in Paris, Texas.

One of the most alarming findings of the Equal Justice Initiative report is that there are virtually no public memorials to these killings. South Carolina, which witnessed 164 lynchings during this period, has only a few public markers of where they occurred. But the state has at least 170 memorials to Confederate soldiers of the Civil War.

Fifty years after Selma, and 150 after the end of the Civil War – at a time where there remains such enduring racial inequalities – these sites should not be invisible. We have to stop looking past them. Which is why finding ways to mark more of these sites – as the Equal Justice Initiative plans to do – is such an essential step [Applause].

To memorialize the Holocaust – the most unspeakable atrocity of the 20th century – a German artist named Gunther Denmig began installing what he called stolperstein, or stumbling stones. He placed the tiny, four-inch cubes – which simply note the name, date of birth and, when known, the death of an individual victim – in the ground outside the Holocaust victim's former home. He started in Cologne, Germany, in 1992, with 250 little stones. Since then, Denmig has laid some 48,000 stolperstein in 18 countries. Any of you who have stumbled upon one knows the impact. The stone telescopes history. In humanizing a single victim – you feel it, if only for a minute, the incomprehensible loss of six million people.

Of course, we cannot limit ourselves to surfacing the dark parts of our past; we must do the same right here in the present. Consider the enduring problem of sexual violence on college campuses [Applause], only a tiny fraction of which is reported by victims. In spite of this problem, we have

too often seen colleges and universities falling short of adequately investigating and disciplining perpetrators, and of protecting victims.

And yet – even as we are aware of the seriousness of this problem, it takes a woman picking up a mattress and carrying it around her campus to make people really see it [Applause]. A mattress that a good number of the women in this graduating class have helped carry. And men from Columbia, too.

This challenge of rendering the invisible visible is one I face every day at the United Nations, where the people most directly affected by the policies discussed are often far removed from sight and mind. We talk so often in terms of thousands or even millions of people that it's easy to lose a sense of what one person is – and why even a single human being's dignity is so important. So, wherever possible, the United States tries to bring those voices into the debate as a way of sharpening understanding of the human consequences of what can otherwise feel like abstract challenges.

Last September, as the Ebola outbreak was spreading exponentially in Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, the most dire evidence-based projections suggested more than a million people would be infected if the international community failed to mount a swift and massive response. Yet most countries were doing far too little to stop the outbreak. Worse, several countries in the region were sealing their borders out of fear, preventing crucial aid from reaching those in need.

So the United States convened the first-ever emergency meeting of the UN Security Council on a public health crisis – and instead of simply having UN officials present statistics and charts, we arranged for a video link from the Security Council to the capital of Liberia, where a 38-year-old healthcare worker named Jackson Naimah was asked to describe what was happening in his country. Jackson, who was working at Médecins Sans Frontières Ebola clinic, described people dying outside the gates because the clinic was overflowing and had run out of beds to take more patients. He described having to turn away a boy with all the symptoms of the virus, whose father had died a week earlier, and he recalled thinking, "This boy is going to take a taxi, and he is going to go home to his family, and he will infect them." He told the diplomats crammed into the UN chamber: "I feel that the future of my country is hanging in the balance. If the international community does not stand up, we will all be wiped out."

As Jackson spoke, you could hear a pin drop in the Security Council. People who had not really seen Ebola up to that time were forced to grapple with its monstrous efficiency. And you could feel the momentum in the room shift as, one by one, countries spoke with a greater sense of urgency about the need to stand up rather than stand by.

Today, we haven't just bent the curve of the epidemic, we are closing in on ending it [Applause]. And we try, we try, to seize every chance we have to bring voices like Jackson's into discussions at the United Nations. And, when a conflict or a prison cell or some other barrier prevents these individuals from speaking for themselves, we try to describe their experiences in a way that others will hear.

Now, I have talked about what it will mean to secure lasting equality – slaying the bats in our bat caves; taking on the struggles of others seeking dignity; and using a range of means – from mattresses to human contact – to make the invisible visible.

This brings me to my last point, and arguably the simplest. True equality is going to require showing – not telling, but showing – people that change is possible.

Let me tell you what other countries see today when they look at the United States delegation to the UN. They see a woman Permanent Representative – one of only 37 women permanent representatives out of 193 ambassadors to the UN – they also see two other women Ambassadors for the United States, Michele Sison and Isobel Coleman, all three of us working mothers. And when the General Assembly is held each September, the world sees the U.S. delegation led by an African-American man – our President. What we look like to the world matters. Because we know, empirically, that people's belief systems and biases can be shifted dramatically by what they see.

In West Bengal, India, for example, a political affirmative action program reserved spots for women in village governments. Within seven years, a study found, men's individual biases against the capacity of women leaders almost fully disappeared; and women have become more likely to run for – and win – local seats. Parents have developed higher aspirations for their daughters, and girls' expectations have increased for themselves.

I can tell you it's true personally, as well. As a girl growing up in Ireland – where my family lived until I was nine – I watched my mother attend medical school while playing world-class squash and caring for me and my kid brother. I also learned from the stories my mother and father, Dr. Vera Delaney and Edmund Bourke – both kidney doctors – brought home about their patients. I loved the way they saw their patients not as a spreadsheet of symptoms and diseases, but as individuals. And I learned from the way they knew how to listen to them, and glean the details that others may have missed.

There is no question in my mind that growing up with my mother as my model gave me the confidence – or the hubris – to think that covering the women's volleyball team for my college newspaper was experience enough to send me to the Balkans to become a war correspondent. Thanks, Mom [Laughter]. And there's no question that I took from both my parents that – in work, in friendship, in love – we must understand where people around us are coming from, what motivates them, what saddens them, what inspires them, and how they got where they are.

And it's worth remembering to the extent to which we – any of us here – see the world the way we do; make it to the heights we reach; and experience days of such great pride like this one – it's worth remembering that all of that starts with the people we saw first. When you hug them after this, thank them for that. And you can give them a round of applause now, too [Applause].

As I'm wrapping up, I want to leave you with one last image. As you know, there are few places where women and girls have endured greater hardship – or been less visible – than in Afghanistan. Under Taliban rule, women couldn't even walk outside without a male relative and a burqa. No girls were allowed to go to school, and no women served in positions of authority.

Today, notwithstanding the persistence of the Taliban and its monstrous attacks against civilians, more than three million Afghan girls are in school. Women hold 28 percent of seats in Afghanistan's Parliament – a higher proportion, I would note, than in the United States Congress [Applause].

And today, women can not only walk outside without a man or a burqa, but members of Afghanistan's Women's National Cycling Team are racing down the country's roads on their bikes. Team members are pinched for resources, but big on courage. Some drivers yell at them and threaten them, but they ride on. One day, a man on a motorcycle reached out and tried to grab at the captain, causing her to crash and hurt her back. But today she is back on her bike, leading more than 40 other women training with the team.

One of the team members, Malika Yousufi, not only wants to become the first Afghan woman – but the first woman, period – to compete in the Tour de France. She told a reporter, "Nothing will stop us."

Now, imagine just for a minute, what it must feel like to be a little girl from a rural town in Afghanistan – and to suddenly see those 40 women, in a single file, flying down the road. To see something for the first time that you couldn't have believed possible. Think about where your mind would go – about the shockwave that image would send through your system. Think what it would allow you to believe possible. You would never be able to think the same way again.

That impact – that is what equality is all about. It is a memorial that forces us to see a dark part of our history. A woman who picks up a mattress to show us a problem we are overlooking. A woman or girl in a classroom, or on a bike, or in the water* – clearing a path that otherwise would have seemed closed or unimaginable.

Now it's your turn to climb on the bike. As Malika said, nothing can stop you. What will you make people see?

Thank you, and congratulations again, Barnard Class of 2015!

* Ambassador Power gestured to renowned long distance swimmer Diana Nyad, who was on stage after receiving a 2015 Barnard Medal of Distinction.

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RELEASE IN FULL

Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Remarks at a UN General Assembly Meeting on the Cuba Embargo
United Nations Headquarters
New York, New York
October 26, 2016

AS DELIVERED

For more than 50 years, the United States had a policy aimed at isolating the government of Cuba. For roughly half of those years, UN Member States have voted overwhelmingly for a General Assembly resolution that condemns the U.S. embargo and calls for it to be ended. The United States has always voted against this resolution. Today the United States will abstain. [Applause.]

Thank you. Let me explain why. In December 2014, President Obama made clear his opposition to the embargo and called on our Congress to take action to lift it. Yet while the Obama Administration agrees that the U.S. embargo on Cuba should be lifted, I have to be clear, we don't support the shift for the reason stated in this resolution. All actions of the United States with regard to Cuba have been and are fully in conformity with the UN Charter and international law, including applicable trade law and the customary law of the sea. We categorically reject the statements in the resolution that suggest otherwise.

But the resolution voted on today is a perfect example of why the U.S. policy of isolation toward Cuba was not working – or worse, how it was actually undermining the very goals it set out to achieve. Instead of isolating Cuba, as President Obama has repeatedly said, our policy isolated the United States. Including right here at the United Nations.

Under President Obama, we have adopted a new approach: rather than try to close off Cuba from the rest of the world, we want the world of opportunities and ideas open to the people of Cuba. After 50-plus years of pursuing the path of isolation, we have chosen to take the path of engagement. Because, as President Obama said in Havana, we recognize that the future of the island lies in the hands of the Cuban people, of course.

In the nearly two years since President Obama announced the shift in our approach, we have amended the regulations implementing the embargo six times – most recently on October 14 – finding ways to increase engagement between our governments and our people. We have re-established diplomatic relations with the Government of Cuba; re-opened embassies in our respective capitals; resumed regularly scheduled commercial flights between the U.S. and Cuba; facilitated people-to-people travel; eased restrictions on American businesses and entrepreneurs who want to do business in Cuba; and stopped limiting how often Cuban Americans can visit their families on the island. President Obama memorably became the first sitting U.S. President to visit Cuba since 1928; and, in a much more modest journey here in New York, I made the first

visit by a U.S. Ambassador to the UN to Cuba's mission to the United Nations since the Cuban revolution. Today, we add to that list the first-ever U.S. abstention on the UN General Assembly resolution calling for the embargo to be ended.

Abstaining on this resolution does not mean that the United States agrees with all of the policies and practices of the Cuban government. We do not. We are profoundly concerned by the serious human rights violations that the Cuban government continues to commit with impunity against its own people – including arbitrarily detaining those who criticize the government; threatening, intimidating, and, at times, physically assaulting citizens who take part in peaceful marches and meetings; and severely restricting the access that people on the island have to outside information.

As President Obama made clear when he traveled to Havana, we believe that the Cuban people – like all people – are entitled to basic human rights, such as the right to speak their minds without fear, and the right to assemble, organize, and protest peacefully. Not because these reflect a U.S.-centric conception of rights, but rather because they are universal human rights – enshrined in the UN Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – which all of our 193 Member States are supposed to respect and defend. Rights that are essential for the dignity of men, women, and children regardless of where they live or what kind of government they have.

Let me be among the first to acknowledge – as our Cuban counterparts often point out – that the United States has work to do in fulfilling these rights for our own citizens. And we know that at times in our history, U.S. leaders and citizens used the pretext of promoting democracy and human rights in the region to justify actions that have left a deep legacy of mistrust. We recognize that our history, in which there is so much that makes us proud, also gives us ample reason to be humble.

We also recognize the areas in which the Cuban government has made significant progress in advancing the welfare of its people, from significantly reducing its child mortality rate, to ensuring that girls have the same access to primary and secondary school as boys.

But none of this should mean that we stay silent when the rights of Cuban people are violated, as Member States here at the United Nations have too often done. That is why the United States raised these concerns directly with the Cuban government during our historic dialogue on human rights in Havana on October 14, which shows that, while our governments continue to disagree on fundamental questions of human rights, we have found a way to discuss these issues in a respectful and reciprocal manner. We urge other Member States to speak up about these issues as well.

The United States believes that there is a great deal we can do together with Cuba to tackle global challenges. That includes here at the United Nations, where the decades-long enmity between our nations has at best been a distraction – and at worst, an obstacle – to carrying out some of the most important work of this institution and helping the world's most vulnerable people.

Let me close by giving just one example – a very moving example. In 2014, we were confronted with the deadliest outbreak of Ebola in our planet's history. The most dire projections estimated that more than a million people could be infected within a few months. Yet while experts made clear that the only way to stop the epidemic was to confront it at its source, the international community was slow to step up. Many were paralyzed.

It was in that context that President Obama decided to deploy more than 3,000 U.S. personnel to the epicenter of the outbreak, where they joined hundreds of Americans working for non-governmental organizations and humanitarian agencies in the hardest hit areas. President Obama also set about rallying other Member States to do their part. One of the very first countries to step forward was Cuba, which sent more than 200 health professionals to the region – an awe-inspiring contribution for a country of just 11 million people.

One of them was a 43-year-old Cuban doctor named Felix Sarria Baez, who was dispatched to an Ebola Treatment Unit in Sierra Leone. In the course of treating those infected, Dr. Baez came down with the symptoms of the virus – and he quickly went from being the doctor to being a patient. As his condition deteriorated, he was airlifted to Geneva, where, for two days, he drifted in and out of consciousness. He nearly died, yet miraculously he pulled through, and eventually returned to Havana, where he says he regained his strength by cradling his two-year-old son.

I'd like you to think, just for one moment, about what it took to save the life of Dr. Baez – a man who risked his life to save people from a country on the other side of the world. He was initially treated in the clinic where he worked, which had been built with the help of a U.S.-based NGO. From there, he was transported to a clinic run by doctors from the British ministry of defense. Then he was airlifted to Switzerland aboard a medical transport plan operated by an American charter service. Upon arriving at the hospital in Geneva, he was treated by Swiss doctors with a Canadian-developed experimental treatment.

Look at all the nations that played a part in saving the life of that brave doctor – a doctor who, after recuperating in Havana, actually chose to return to Sierra Leone, so that he could rejoin his colleagues in the field, saving the lives of Sierra Leoneans. Dr. Baez and all his colleagues belonged to Cuba's Henry Reeve Contingent – which responds to international disasters and epidemics – and takes its name from a young American born in Brooklyn, who at the age of 19 traveled to the Cuba to join the country's struggle for independence, and gave his life in 1876 fighting alongside Cubans for their freedom.

When Dr. Baez returned to Sierra Leone, he was asked why he had come back after all he had been through. He said, simply, "I needed to come back. Ebola is a challenge that I must fight to the finish here, to keep it from spreading to the rest of the world."

That – what I've just described – is what the United Nations looks like, when it works. And noble efforts like these are precisely why the United States and Cuba must continue to find ways to engage, even as our differences persist. Today, we will take another small step to be able to do that. May there be many, many more – including, we hope, finally ending the U.S. embargo once and for all.

I thank you.

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"The Inexorable Joyfulness of Elie Wiesel": Remarks at the U.S. Holocaust Museum Memorial Tribute

Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
Washington, DC
November 30, 2016

RELEASE IN FULL

AS DELIVERED

Thank you. Words tend to fail us most in two circumstances – in the face of profound evil and in the face of transcendental decency. When Elie Wiesel tried initially to describe his experience in the camps, he later wrote, "I watched helplessly as language became an obstacle." We who have the honor to speak about Elie have the opposite challenge, finding words that capture the fierce and magical essence of this marvelous man.

Elie gave friendship with the intensity of a young man fresh out of college – with innocence and adamant conviction that that friendship will be an eternal bond – which in Elie's case, it usually was. He used to quote someone who said in French, "*Ma patrie c'est les amis.*" "My fatherland is my friends." Elie added, "The only cult I really worship in and believe in is friendship." Well, beloved Elie, your cult is out in force tonight.

The miracle that I would like to explore briefly tonight is that of Elie Wiesel's joyfulness.

Before I do, of course, we must consider the context from which that joy somehow emerged. None of us will ever comprehend the depravity of what Elie experienced during the Holocaust. He tried to help us see and feel that pain, but he knew our limits. Most of us also cannot fathom the aloneness that Elie experienced after he was liberated from Buchenwald on April 11, 1945. Imagine the 16-year-old boy who walked out of those gates. A boy with A-7713 tattooed on his arm.

A boy who, as far as he knew, had lost his entire family, and who – when he gazed at himself in the mirror for the first time since being sent to the concentration camp – saw a corpse staring back at him. "The slightest wind would turn me over," he later said.

Many of us have been struck by the fact that it took Elie 10 years to ready himself to try to put into words the horrors of what had been done to him and to his family and his people. A whole 10 years before he could begin to write. And when he did so, in the spring of 1955, this wise old man who had been to hell and back was just 26 years old. What would it have been like for this man, in his Paris apartment, to drudge it all up, to rouse the demons – to hear what he called the "silent cries?" "While I had many things to say," he would later write, "I did not have the words to say them…How was one to rehabilitate and transform words betrayed and perverted by the enemy? Hunger – thirst – fear – transport – selection – fire – chimney…I would pause at every sentence, and start over and over again. I would conjure up other verbs, other images, other silent cries. It still was not right."

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He re-immersed himself in that period into the darkness of the night. The approach that came most naturally to him was blunt and unsparing. What he bore witness to – and thus re-lived – were the horrors inflicted upon him, but also his own most searing moments of dehumanization, when he could not bring himself to help the person whose companionship had helped keep him alive in Auschwitz and later on the death march – his father. As he wrote later, "He had called out to me and I had not answered." In the original text, which Elie wrote in Yiddish, he had added, "I shall never forgive myself."

Elie Wiesel carried all of this. Gathered here, in a museum dedicated to educating people about a systematic effort to eradicate the Jewish people – a museum built upon the testimonies of thousands of survivors, and in whose foundation are etched Elie's words, "For the dead and the living, we must bear witness" – sitting here, it can be hard to imagine that there was a time when the prevailing wisdom was not to bear witness. But that is precisely what it was like when Elie was writing. Survivors did not speak about their past – even to their own children. Here in the United States, there were no memorials to the six million Jews who had been killed. The word "Holocaust" did not even appear in the *New York Times* until 1959. Even in Europe, where the mass murder had taken place and entire Jewish communities had been wiped out – the topic was hardly mentioned. It was against this wall of silence that Elie wrote.

And then the man whose life's mission would be to combat indifference laid his heart out to the world, presented his experiences, his story, and they reacted with indifference. Although he had cut the original Yiddish version from more than 800 pages to a little more than 100, as we all know, all the major publishing houses turned the book down. The renowned French novelist Francois Mauriac tried to help Elie. "No one is interested in the death camps anymore," publishers told Mauriac. "It just won't sell." When Elie went in search of an American publisher, he later recalled, their rejection letters often noted that American readers "seemed to prefer optimistic books."

All who have read *Night* are haunted, perhaps above all, by Moshe the Beadle. Moshe was among the first wave of foreign Jews deported from Elie's town of Sighet, Hungary, who were transported by train to a forest in Poland, where they were forced to dig their own graves at gunpoint, and then executed en masse by the Gestapo.

Moshe survived, wounded, faking his death, and eventually made his way back to Sighet, where he told his neighbors what he had witnessed. "Jews, listen to me!" he yells outside the synagogue, weeping. "That's all I ask of you. No money. No pity. Just listen to me." But no one listens. Moshe is ignored – dismissed as a madman. How cruel was it, then, that young Elie Wiesel, who was taunted by his perpetrators that nobody would ever know or care what had happened to him and his people, how cruel was it that he encountered a world that again didn't seem to care what he had gone through. When he was hawking that manuscript, did he feel somehow like Moshe the Beadle, a man who possessed the truth, but was ignored?

And yet none of this appears to have tamed the determination – or even the spark and sparkle – in and of Elie Wiesel. *Night* of course did eventually find its publishers and after several years, its readership did begin to grow, at first gradually, and then exponentially. Indeed, arguably no single work did so much to puncture the silence that had previously enveloped survivors, and

bring what happened in the *Night* out into the light, for all to see. And yet. Injustice was still all around. Genocide denial against the Armenians, the horrors of his lifetime – Pol Pot, Bosnia, Rwanda, Darfur, Syria, in his later years. He lived to see more and more people bear witness to unspeakable atrocities, but he also saw indifference remained too widespread.

Amid all the pain and disappointment of Elie's remarkable life, how is it that the darkness did not envelop him, or shield him from the sun? How is it that the twinkle in Elie Wiesel's eye was every bit as defining as his life's experiences? "What is abnormal," Elie once told Oprah Winfrey, "is that I am normal. That I survived the Holocaust and went on to love beautiful girls, to talk, to write, to have toast and tea and live my life – that is what is abnormal."

Elie raged against indifference to injustice, to be sure, but he also savored the gifts of life with ferocious zeal. "We know that every moment is a moment of grace," he once said, "every hour is an offering; not to share them would mean to betray them."

Maybe it was because Elie had such a strong sense of purpose on his journey – to help those who could still be helped. A duty to his neighbor. To the stranger, the stranger that he once was. He called it his 11th commandment: "Thou shalt not stand idly by. You must speak up. You must defend. You must tell the victims, 'You are not alone, somebody cares.'" Through the years, Elie ventured out to the most unlikely, isolated places. There was Elie in a tiny village along the Thai border with Cambodia, meeting with refugees who had just escaped the Khmer Rouge. There was Elie, crossing the jungle in Nicaragua on foot and in a kayak, to reach the Miskito Indians who had been driven from their land. "I," Elie reflected later, "who have been known to lose my way in my own neighborhood and don't know how to swim" travelled all that way to bear witness to their displacement and see how he could help. Now one might think that in these encounters Elie found only suffering, but he did not. He found meaning. Abe Foxman remembered visiting a school program in Tel Aviv that Elie and Marion had helped set up for undocumented children – one of many such initiatives they created, and Abe remembers seeing Elie singing and dancing with the kids, in pure, almost childlike joy.

Elie Wiesel often wrote of the anger within him. But what he projected most effortlessly was his love. Jews, Elie would often say, are a people of unparalleled gratitude – so much so, he pointed out, that they begin the day by thanking God for opening their eyes. Elie's greatest joy came in the time with the people closest to him, especially Marion, Elisha, Elijah, and, of course, others here today.

A few years ago, when he was recovering from heart surgery, Elie was visited by his beloved grandson, Elijah, then just five years old. Here is how Elie described the encounter: "I hug [my grandson] and I tell him, 'Every time I see you, my life becomes a gift.' [Elijah] observes me closely as I speak and then responds: 'Grandpa, you know that I love you, and I see you are in pain. Tell me: If I loved you more, would you be in less pain?'" Elie writes, "I am convinced God at that moment is smiling as He contemplates His creation."

I am so very sad – I am so very sad that my children will not have the chance to talk metaphysics with the master. But before I close, let me offer another reason that God is smiling today. As our nation goes through difficult days, *Night* is a book that is firmly ingrained in that small canon of

literature that kids and young adults read when they are growing up in America. Alongside Atticus Finch and Scout, one of the narrators that will have an early shot at shaping our children's moral universe is 16-year-old Elie.

So while the void is enormous – above all, for Marion, Elisha, Elijah – and the void is enormous for our world, I, too, am filled with profound joy knowing that my seven-year-old boy and my four-year-old girl – like Elie's grandkids, and their children after them – will wade into big questions for the first time with Elie Wiesel as their guide. That they will be less alone for having Elie with them. That *Night* will be one of the works that lays the scaffolding for their moral architecture. All because Elie Wiesel was optimistic enough to keep going – and to find the strength to shine his light on us all. Thank you.

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"You Are What America Looks Like": Remarks Welcoming New American Citizens at a Naturalization Ceremony at the Lower East Side Tenement Museum, New York City

Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
New York City
November 15, 2016

RELEASE IN FULL

AS DELIVERED

It is such an honor to be here, and I thank you so much for choosing me for the award, especially because it gives me the chance to be a part of the ceremony for these 15 new Americans. I'd like to start my remarks just with a few stories.

Akram Razzouk was a university student in Beirut when Lebanon's brutal civil war broke out. It was not long before the army and militia were going door to door, enlisting every able-bodied man and boy to fight. Akram dreamed of studying medicine, and with his professors' encouragement, he applied for a visa to go to the United States. He never expected to get one, but he did, together with a spot at a medical school in California. Akram left Beirut carrying a few hundred dollars, two pairs of pants, and a few shirts. He was 19 years old. Two days after he arrived in the United States of America, soldiers showed up at his family's home to conscript him. It was 1973.

In 1952, Chock Wai Wong was 15 years old, in Taishan, China, when he heard that the Communist Party was coming to register new members in his village. Not wanting to be there when they showed up, he fled to Hong Kong, where he spent most of his family's savings on a boat ticket to America. When he arrived, he and the other Chinese passengers aboard were quarantined on Angel's Island off the coast of San Francisco. Eventually allowed to come ashore, he made his way to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where he started working in a Chinese restaurant run by his relatives. He eventually returned briefly to Hong Kong to marry, before going back to Iowa, where he took on every shift he could in the restaurant – pinching pennies so he could bring his wife and newborn daughter to America.

In April 1945, the U.S. army liberated the German town of Halberstadt from the Nazis. American soldiers went house to house, making sure that there were no Nazi soldiers hiding inside. One door was answered by a 12-year-old named Horst Rauhut. Horst had lost four members of his immediate family in the war – two brothers, who died fighting on the eastern front; a sister killed in an artillery strike; and his father, a firefighter, who was killed in an air raid. When Horst saw the U.S. soldiers on the doorstep, he figured they had come for revenge. But the Americans were respectful and generous, even sharing some of their food with him – something he never forgot. After the war, Horst became a chemist and married a girl from a neighboring town that had also been liberated by Americans. As they started a family of their own, they watched the Berlin wall go up and saw tensions rise again in their country. Fearful that their children might have to suffer through a war as they had when they were younger, they

applied to come to the United States. In 1964, Horst, his wife, and their two young daughters boarded a flight to Washington, D.C.

Here's my last story. In 1901, Joseph Steinberg left the shtetl in Kyiv, Ukraine. The Jewish residents there were routinely the target of mob attacks called pogroms. He set out for America to build a new life for his family. He left behind a pregnant wife and two children, and made the journey to New York, where he built a wooden pushcart on wheels, from which he sold eyeglasses. Customers would simply try on pairs until they found one – it's impossible – until they found one pair of eyeglasses that could help them see. It took Joseph three years to sell enough glasses to send for his family – including his youngest son, Morris, who he had never met. Picking his family up at Ellis Island, Joseph brought the family to their new home. It was in a tenement building on Rivington Street, just a few blocks away from where we are today.

These are the stories of just four individuals who – like those of you who have become citizens here today – made a journey to become citizens of the United States. There are millions of stories like them. There are 15 – I guarantee you – sitting right here. And taken together, these stories are the threads that weave together the rich and intricate fabric of our nation. A nation that is now your nation, and in which your thread – which runs back through your ancestors – will now be a unique part.

Now, because I could have told a lot of stories, you might be wondering, 'Why those four stories?' Well, I picked these stories because these are the families of four of the many people who now serve with me in the U.S. government at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, helping represent our nation – the United States – to the world.

Remember Akram Razzouk – whose story I started with – Akram who fled Lebanon's civil war to come here to study medicine in California? His daughter Kelly is a U.S. career civil servant and a leading human rights expert at the U.S. Mission.

The baby daughter whom Chock Wai Wong worked endless restaurant shifts in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to bring here from China was named Kam. She's been serving in the State Department for 25 years – the last two years with me here in New York.

Horst Rauhut – the 12-year-old whose town was liberated by American soldiers during the Second World War – eventually came to America, where he and his wife had their third child. That boy, Mike, went on to study at West Point, and is now our highest ranking military officer at the U.S. Mission to the UN.

And Joseph Steinberg, who sold eyeglasses on the streets around this museum to get his family out of the shtetl, is the great-grandfather of one of my closest advisors, Nik Steinberg.

Before I lose it further [laughter], let me ask three of the individuals I just named – Kam, Mike, and Nik – to stand up. They're here with us. I couldn't be more honored to get to work with these amazing public servants every day.

Thirty-seven years ago, as well, my family also came to this country as immigrants from Dublin, Ireland. I was nine when my mother, my younger brother, and I landed in Pittsburgh. I remember thinking that I had never seen a bigger or fancier place in my life. Fourteen years later, in a courthouse in Brooklyn – having studied for that test – having been terrified about that test [laughter] – I became a U.S. citizen. And for the last three years, I – an immigrant – have had the privilege of sitting behind the placard that says United States of America at the United Nations.

Now, you may think that I have picked exceptional stories of people who work with me at the U.S. Mission to the UN, but as we heard here, every U.S. government agency is made up of people whose families made similarly remarkable journeys. And it is not just the U.S. government that looks like this. It is the teachers who educate our children. It is the doctors and the nurses who take care of our sick. It is the workers who staff our businesses – from factories to high tech. Everywhere you look, this is what America looks like. You are what America looks like. And as much as any other quality, this is what makes this country so exceptional.

Today, you, too, have become citizens of this nation – at a pretty tumultuous time, as you may have read in the newspapers [laughter]. For some of you, this may be a day of mixed emotions. I suspect many of you were drawn to this country not only because of the opportunities it offers – but also because of the principles that it stands for and strives to live up to. A nation built on the values of freedom and justice, and the idea that all citizens have the right to be treated equally, and with dignity.

And yet we have just come through an election campaign in which some of these very principles have been called into question. We've heard politicians, public figures, and citizens call for people to be treated differently because of what they believe or because of where they were born. We've heard immigrants blamed for many of our country's problems.

Sadly, this is far from the first time. We are a nation of immigrants, but for as long as this amazing country has existed, people have been harkening back to a mythical golden era, before families like yours or mine got here. It never seems to matter to those people that their own parents or their own grandparents were often on the receiving end of similar discrimination when they first arrived in this country.

But even if we know deep down that such intolerance is as old as the nation itself – as every nation – it doesn't make it hurt any less when we experience it. And it doesn't make us any less concerned or any less afraid when we see a spike in reported hate crimes as we have in just the last week.

I imagine that this most recent stretch may have led some of you to ask whether this is the America that you thought you were joining. It may even have led a few of you to reconsider whether you wanted to become U.S. citizens. Yet a week after such a divisive election, here you are, taking this critical, beautiful step.

Since I have a couple decades' head start on you, I hope you will allow me to offer just a few parting thoughts on what it means to become an American – and just as important, what it does not mean.

You may hear some people say that – in order to become real Americans – you need to forget where you came from, or leave behind the history that brought you to this moment. Cover up your accent. Change the way you dress. Stick to neighborhoods where immigrants like you live. Please don't listen to those voices. Joining a new nation does not mean you have to leave behind the one you came from or what it taught you.

Every one of those individuals whose histories I shared at the outset here today is a better citizen and a better public servant because of the values that their immigrant families brought with them from other places.

Kelly Razzouk fights harder for the freedom of political prisoners because she knows her father may well have been one of them, had he been unable to leave Lebanon. Kam Wong treats every single individual who walks through the doors of the U.S. Mission to the UN with decency – regardless of who they are or where they're from – in part because she remembers how much it meant to her Chinese-speaking mother when – shortly after arriving in Iowa – a neighbor knocked on her door and offered to teach the family English. Nik Steinberg is driven to work harder on behalf of refugees fleeing violence and persecution because he knows what would have happened to his relatives if no country had taken them in. And Mike Rauhut is an even better military leader because he carries with him the indelible lessons of his parents' experience – of being liberated by soldiers who treated them with dignity and compassion.

The same goes for me. The qualities I rely most on as a diplomat and in my most important job, as a mother of two small children, are ones I learned from my mother and father, both of whom are Irish immigrants. My father's sitting here with us today. [Applause.] All of this history is what makes our citizens and our nation so exceptional. Why would we ever want to give that up? So don't listen to those who say you have to choose between being a proud American and a proud immigrant. You can be both. You must be both.

Of course, even as you are careful not to give up a sense of where you've come from, you mustn't let that be the only thing that defines you. Of course you have your roots. Your family. Your faith. The parts of you that – no matter where you go – will always feel like home. But while those roots will always anchor you in the ground, they are also what allow you to reach to the sky – if only you let them. In this amazing city of ours, you have a unique opportunity to engage with people who are so different from you – just in your little cohort here today. Engage them. Get to know them. You'll be surprised how much you can learn from them – and, of course, they from you.

I believe that one of the reasons our nation feels so divided of late is because this mingling, this engagement isn't happening nearly enough – not just among immigrants, but all Americans. It's easier to fear others if we never have a chance to talk with them. When we get to know them, we're often surprised to discover that beneath all the parts on the outside that appear so different, there is so much on the inside that is the same. And the more we learn to see ourselves in our fellow citizens, and walk around in their shoes, the less it becomes us and them, and the more it becomes just us.

Now, you may also hear some people say that, because you haven't been here as long, you somehow deserve less of a say in shaping our nation. Nonsense. As of today, America is as much your county as it is any other citizen's country. That is your right. But that right – like all the others that are now yours – comes with a profound and enduring responsibility.

And on that responsibility, I would like to close with a brief story – a familiar story some of you may have even learned in studying American history for your citizenship exam, and a story that feels particularly relevant in these times. In 1787 – a long time ago – delegates from 12 of the United States' 13 colonies gathered in Philadelphia's State House with the aim of reforming their government. They spent more than four months wrangling over the document that would eventually become our nation's Constitution. When the news spread that they had finally reached an agreement, citizens rushed to the State House to learn what had happened. As one delegate, Benjamin Franklin, walked out of the building, a woman stopped him and asked, "Well, Doctor, what have we got – a republic or a monarchy?" Franklin quickly replied: "A republic, if you can keep it." A republic, if you can keep it.

Now, Franklin was a founding father. Few had done more to define the principles at the heart of our then-young nation – ones he felt the Constitution was "near to perfection" in reflecting. But even then – even a founding father, even Franklin – recognized that whether the United States lived up to those ideals and succeeded as a nation would not be determined by any document, or even any government, but rather rested in the hands of America's citizens. Not by words on a page, but by the actions of real people.

A republic, if you can keep it. A republic, if we can keep it. We, citizens.

In a moment, I'm going to be asking you to place your hand on your heart and pledge allegiance to our republic. As you do, remember where you came from, and draw strength from it. Don't let anyone tell you that because you are a new citizen, you are a second-class citizen. We only have one class of citizens here in America.

And remember that allegiance is about much more than just abiding by a system of laws. Today, you are sworn into what the great Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis once called the most important office in our land – that of private citizen. The office of private citizen carries with it an awesome responsibility and an unparalleled privilege of being one of the individuals empowered to keep our republic strong. The fate of our nation, your nation – and everything it stands for – has and always will depend on it. Depend on us. We trust that you are up to the task, and we welcome you to this country with open arms.

Now, as your first act as American citizens, I would ask that you please rise and join me in the Pledge of Allegiance.

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Thank you so much, and congratulations!

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Remarks on "As Long as She Is Competent": Confronting Gender Inequality at the UN and in the World, at the UN Foundation Global Leadership Dinner

Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
New York City
October 19, 2016

RELEASE IN FULL

AS DELIVERED

Thank you so much. It is a profound honor to have been asked by President Obama to accept this award on his behalf. He asked me to convey his deep gratitude for this recognition and for the critically important work of the UN Foundation, as well as his sincere regrets that he could not be here with you tonight. I cannot vouch for what he will be doing at 9 p.m. (Laughter.)

As some of you know, back in 2005, I went to work for then-Senator Obama as a foreign policy advisor – taking what, at the time, I thought would be a brief leave of absence from my job as an academic. A lot of our earliest conversations focused on the question of how America could lead differently in the world – not only through our national actions and policies, but also in the way that we engaged multilateral actors, and especially, the United Nations. Then-Senator Obama believed adamantly – to his core – that, to tackle the great challenges of our time, we have to be willing to exercise our unparalleled national capabilities, while simultaneously being able to build global coalitions to complement these efforts, to multiply the impact of our national capabilities.

And even as someone who has had the privilege of serving in President Obama's Administration since day one – in watching tonight's video tribute, I was struck by how consistently he has put that theory into practice over the last eight years. Whether that is by rallying the international community to stop the spread of a deadly virus like Ebola, or to defeat a deadly terrorist group like ISIL; whether that is by pressing countries to do their share in responding to the greatest refugee crisis since the Second World War, or by persuading governments to contribute more to the UN peacekeeping missions that can help curb the violence driving so much of this displacement; whether that is by leading by example in our commitments to cut greenhouse gas emissions – which will preserve our planet for our grandchildren, and our grandchildren's grandchildren – or by paying our dues, in full and on time, to the UN, which depends on our contributions to carry out its life-saving work; whether that is by putting his political capital on the line to seek a diplomatic solution to Iran's illicit nuclear weapons program, or by reforming our failed embargo policy on Cuba. Put simply, the President has walked the walk on international engagement.

I could go on at length about why I think the President's approach has not only been good for the United States, but also good for the world. I hope you could as well. But instead I want to focus the remainder of my remarks tonight on an issue that is at the forefront of many of our minds. We meet, as Kathy said earlier, at a very unique moment. For the first time in the seven-decade

history of the UN, a new UN Secretary-General and a new American President will take office at roughly the same time.

And as with all transitions of this magnitude, there is a great deal of uncertainty – as well as a sense of new possibility. While I cannot speak about the U.S. election, at this celebration of the UN Foundation and all of its wonderful and generous supporters, I thought I would share some reflections on the transition coming at the United Nations.

Many of us, including – I presume – some of you here tonight, had high hopes that the UN would select the first-ever woman Secretary-General. (Applause.) A few high hopes. Having had the privilege of serving as the U.S. Ambassador to the UN for the last three and a half years, I certainly understand why so many people wanted to see this happen. Just consider the numbers at the UN in 2016. Of the 193 UN Member States in the UN, only 37 have women as their permanent representatives. That is less than one in five. Or consider the fact that of the five countries that hold a permanent seat on the UN Security Council – China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States – only one of those five countries, the U.S., has ever appointed a woman permanent representative.

Now, these numbers matter. Because what people see when they look at who is sitting in the Security Council, or in the UN General Assembly, or behind the placard that says UN Secretary-General – helps set their expectations for what's possible. What people see matters. But the flipside is also true. When young women and girls drop by the Security Council today on their UN tours, they see a circle of men with a single outlier, who happens to be me, for now. And they start – potentially, anyway – to internalize that as normal. We don't want girls – or boys, for that matter – to see it as normal for women to not have a seat at that table, or any other table. (Applause.) We want them to see that horseshoe and any similar table for what it is: an imbalance that must be corrected. We want them to see it like the group of kids I played soccer with not that long ago in Mexico City – kids who were taking part in a program that builds the confidence and self-esteem of girls from neighborhoods ravaged by violence and domestic abuse. I asked those girls to guess how many of the 193 ambassadors at the UN were women. A hundred, one said. Eighty, another guessed. When I told them that there were just 37 women, they gasped collectively. One girl exclaimed, "That's crazy!" (Laughter.) She's right. That's crazy! We need more people to recognize that – and to change it. And this will come in national cultures and national systems, and then it will take form at the United Nations, which is a pretty decent reflection of where things stand around the world.

Of course, it's not just numbers that are the problem. It's also the hidden and, at times, overt discrimination. I want to just give you one example. The former Permanent Representative of Jordan to the UN, a dear friend of mine, Dina Kawar, recalled not that long ago that when she would discuss the Secretary-General race with her colleagues, they would say – many of them – that they really hoped to see a woman Secretary-General. But then they would add the caveat, almost inevitably, "but just make sure that she is competent." "As long as she is competent," they added. Now, what this is implicitly suggesting is that one has to be extra careful of all the incompetent women diplomats out there who had coasted to positions of authority without skills or know-how, and who somehow might slip through the cracks and become UN Secretary-General. (Laughter.) What are the odds of that? We wondered, Dina and I and a few others, why

our colleagues never felt the need to add this qualifier when talking about the male candidates in the race.

The UN is a thoroughly fascinating place to work – in part because, as I stressed, it often reflects the injustices and inequalities out in the real world – a world in which it is still acceptable in some places for parents to take their daughters out of middle school, and force them to marry men three or four times her age; a world where some countries continue to have laws that prevent women and girls from inheriting land or other property; and a world where women are almost always paid less than men for doing the same work.

Against this backdrop – a relatively bleak backdrop that I've offered – it is not hard to understand why some people feel let down that a woman was not chosen as the next UN Secretary-General.

Nevertheless, I think all of us need to step back and look at what has just taken place at the creaky institution of the United Nations. Some have been actually quick to conclude that the wrong choice to lead the UN was made – simply because among António Guterres' many extraordinary qualities, one of them is not that he is a woman. (Laughter.) Others have claimed that members of the UN Security Council made a cynical choice rooted in discrimination against the women candidates who were in the race.

The problem with these assumptions is that they risk replicating a similar bias to the ones that we are working very hard to eliminate – we cannot judge the suitability of a candidate based on his or her gender. (Applause.)

An important goal for us – and I know many of you out there – in this race was to do everything in our power to create for the first time in the long history of the UN a level playing field, where men and women could compete on equal footing – based on the qualities that are critical to being an effective Secretary-General operating in an increasingly complex, violent, and unstable world – qualities like impartiality, experience, judgment, management, skills, independence. And I think we made important strides this year in that direction. Seven of the 13 candidates for Secretary-General were women – that is more than double the number of women who had ever been considered for the position of Secretary-General in the previous 70 years put together. The selection process was more inclusive and more transparent than any that has come before, though there certainly remains significant room for improvement. And for the very first time, interestingly, the male candidates in the race – all candidates – felt compelled to set out concrete proposals for how they would promote women's rights and equality if they were elected.

Now – let's be real here – were some countries' votes influenced by gender bias? Almost certainly, yes. Would some of the candidates who were not chosen – including some of the women candidates – have made an excellent Secretary-General? Absolutely.

After all, the person chosen to become the world's next Secretary-General, though, brings a remarkable record. He is the first person ever chosen to have served as both a head of state and to have run a UN agency, which he did for 10 years. He is very unusual, António Guterres, in being equally comfortable hauling heads of state, summoning them to their better angels, and sitting on

the dirt floor of a tent in a refugee camp. I think the scorecard the Secretary-General-elect uses for himself is also refreshingly simple. If you hear him talk, he asks now about his past performance – and he will ask, I know, about his performance as Secretary-General – simply, have I used my position to improve the lives of real people, particularly the most vulnerable among us? That's a very important question.

And we know the Secretary-General is taking the helm at a time of virtually unprecedented challenge; whether it's the 65 million people displaced from their homes; monstrous terrorist groups like Boko Haram and ISIL spreading their hateful ideologies, targeting civilians; the rise in inequality. And, as we know here today in New York after the hottest September on record – we had the highest temperature in our city today, 83 degrees on October 19. And it just keeps happening.

We cannot solve the problems that I've just described, or any of the others that are on your mind, without empowering women – because, as President Obama has repeatedly pointed out, "You cannot leave half of your population behind and expect that you are going to succeed." This seems almost too obvious to point out, but we must keep repeating it. We must keep insisting on policies that reflect it, because in too many places women and girls are still being left behind. We know countries that do a better job of educating girls are, on average, wealthier, healthier, more democratic, and more stable. And yet more than 62 million girls are still out of school worldwide. We know when women are given opportunities to pursue careers and earn equal pay for equal work, entire societies are lifted up. And yet the UN's most recent Africa Development Report estimates that Sub-Saharan Africa continues to lose around $95 billion per year due to gender inequality. We know that when women are empowered to take place in peace processes, efforts to reach compromise and find solutions to deadly conflicts are more likely to succeed and the agreements reached are more likely to last. And yet show me a Syrian or a South Sudanese woman who is being given a real seat at the table in resolving her country's horrific civil war today. These are not problems that any Secretary-General – woman or man – can solve alone.

Let me conclude. In 1945, some 50 nations sent delegations to San Francisco to negotiate the drafting of the UN Charter. Only six countries of the 50 sent women delegates who – according to the United States' sole female representative – were mostly relegated to what were dubbed "suitably feminine fields," such as social and cultural rights. When two women delegates arrived in San Francisco from the United Kingdom, they were greeted by reporters who asked them how it felt to be women delegates. "We are not 'women delegates,'" one of them responded. "We are delegates of our country and ministers of our government."

Those women were among the delegates in San Francisco who drafted and adopted a UN Charter that, in its very second paragraph, affirms "the equal rights of men and women." Yet what is striking, for all the progress made since that time, is just how unequal many playing fields continue to be. We saw that in the Secretary-General's race, in which women candidates were asked similar questions as those British women delegates back in 1945; and we see it in the profound injustices, biases, and abuses that too many women and girls continue to endure simply because of their gender.

President Obama has made this cause his own. As the son of a remarkable single mother and the father of two amazing daughters, he speaks about this cause, this issue, in truly deep, personal terms. He said recently, "The idea that my daughters wouldn't have the same opportunities as somebody's sons – well, that's unacceptable. That is not acceptable," he said. He knows – we all know – how much work we have left to do. And as I close tonight, let me convey his deep and personal thanks to you all for all you have done and all you will continue to do to carry this essential cause forward.

I thank you.

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RELEASE IN FULL

Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations

"The Strangers' Case": The Power of Empathy in Art and Diplomacy

Remarks at the Lincoln Center Global Exchange
New York, New York
September 16, 2016

AS DELIVERED

AMBASSADOR POWER: Thank you, Renee. Thank you for that generous introduction. Good morning, all of you.

Four hundred and ninety-nine years ago, in April 1517, a local broker named John Lincoln posted a xenophobic manifesto on the door of St. Paul's Cathedral in London – blaming foreigners for many of the city's problems and calling for their mass expulsion. Days later, at Lincoln's urging, a vicar preached an Easter sermon to a large audience in an open field alongside the cathedral. He called on "Englishmen to cherish and defend themselves, and to hurt and grieve aliens for the common weal." It wasn't long before Englishmen were regularly attacking foreigners in London's streets. A rumor took hold that on May 1, all non-natives would be driven from the city. That day, a mob of at least a thousand men and boys took to the streets who, according to an account written at the time, were armed with "clubs and weapons, throwing stones, bricks, bats, hot water, shoes, and boots," and who set out "sacking the houses of many foreigners." As the rabble grew, a young deputy sheriff went out into the streets to try to talk them down. His name was Thomas More – one day to be knighted Sir Thomas More – lawyer, statesman, philosopher, and, for a time, lead counselor to King Henry VIII – until the king executed him, of course.

The riot, which would come to be known as Evil May Day, is one of the scenes of a play based on Thomas More's life, which was written around 80 years after the events I've just described. At least three playwrights were brought in to rewrite the play, in part or in full – including one whose hand would be recognized centuries later as that of William Shakespeare. Shakespeare's major contribution was in the part of the play where the young More tries to quell the mob, not through the threat of force, but rather through appealing to their sense of empathy. It is a remarkable monologue – not only for its elegance, but also from its persuasiveness.

We are extremely fortunate today to have a great American Shakespearean, Jay O. Sanders, here with us to perform the monologue. As many of you know, Jay has been a regular presence – the most regular presence, I think it's fair to say – at the Public Theater and Shakespeare in the Park since his debut there back in 1976.

Before Jay joins us to perform, let me set the scene. The young deputy More has just put himself in the way of a rampaging, rabid horde – one that could easily turn on him. They will hardly let

him or any other official speak, and cry out that all foreigners should be thrown out. Here is what More tells them:

SANDERS (READING FROM "SIR THOMAS MORE"):

Grant them removed, and grant that this your noise
Hath chid down all the majesty of England;
Imagine that you see the wretched strangers,
Their babies at their backs and their poor luggage,
Plodding tooth ports and costs for transportation,
And that you sit as kings in your desires,
Authority quite silent by your brawl,
And you in ruff of your opinions clothed;
What had you got? I'll tell you. You had taught
How insolence and strong hand should prevail,
How order should be quelled; and by this pattern
Not one of you should live an aged man,
For other ruffians, as their fancies wrought,
With self same hand, self reasons, and self right,
Would shark on you, and men like ravenous fishes
Would feed on one another...

Say now the king
Should so much come to short of your great trespass
As but to banish you, whether would you go?
What country, by the nature of your error,
Should give you harbor? Go you to France or Flanders,
To any German province, to Spain or Portugal,
Nay, any where that not adheres to England,—
Why, you must needs be strangers. Would you be pleased
To find a nation of such barbarous temper,
That, breaking out in hideous violence,
Would not afford you an abode on earth,
Whet their detested knives against your throats,
Spurn you like dogs, and like as if that God
Owed not nor made not you, nor that the claimants
Were not all appropriate to your comforts,
But chartered unto them, what would you think
To be thus used? This is the strangers' case;
And this your mountanish inhumanity.

[Applause.]

AMBASSADOR POWER: Jay O. Sanders – the man! [Applause.]

So, I wanted to reflect on Thomas More's address today for two reasons. The first is because of the enduring relevance of his message. More implores the members of the xenophobic mob to

ask themselves: How would you want to be treated if what he calls the "strangers' case" were to be your own? If the people with "babies at their backs, with their poor luggage, plodding into th' ports and coasts for transportation" were *your* loved ones, *your* community, how would you hope to be received? As More asks, "Whither would *you* go?"

As was so often the case, Shakespeare was writing not only about London in the time of Thomas More. He was also writing about the England in which he himself was living, at the turn of the seventeenth century – when again Londoners were blaming foreigners for all the country's problems and attacking them in the streets. Only in Shakespeare's time, the mobs' targets were not the "Lombards" of Italy, but the Huguenots, who were then fleeing to England in large numbers to escape persecution in France. Shakespeare knew that the words he put into Thomas More's mouth would be heard by audiences as speaking to the climate of xenophobia that they were experiencing in real time; he counted on it.

And More's speech is, of course, relevant to this day, as we are experiencing the greatest refugee crisis since the Second World War. More than 65 million people are currently displaced by war and persecution, half of them children. More than 21 million people are refugees who have crossed international borders looking for help. The displacement crisis that we are living has many, many causes, including a growing number of violent conflicts, which are lasting longer; a global crackdown on civil society activists like journalists, human rights defenders, and even artists; the rise of terrorist groups like ISIL and Boko Haram; and more and more natural disasters caused by climate change.

To Sir Thomas More's question to the mob – "What country, by the nature of your error, should give *you* harbor?" – the answer today is very few countries indeed. At the end of 2015, just 10 developing countries were hosting nearly 60 percent of the world's refugees. The average GDP per capita of those 10 countries: around $3,700; the United States', by comparison, is approximately $54,600. In Lebanon today, one in five people is a refugee. In Nigeria, where more than 2 million people have been driven from their homes by Boko Haram, some 90 percent of the displaced are being hosted by communities – by friends, by families, by neighbors. At a university I visited earlier this year in northern Nigeria, a single security guard had hosted more than 50 members of his extended family in his humble home.

And yet it is in wealthier countries – which have taken in far fewer refugees – that we are often seeing the most rampant xenophobia. Like the billboards that appeared in the run up to the United Kingdom's Brexit vote, which simply superimposed the words, "Breaking Point" over a photograph of long lines of non-white migrants waiting in an open field. Or the recent media campaign by Hungary's government, built on the slogan, "Did you know?" – which blames immigrants for many of the country's ills and stokes fears, often relying on inaccurate and misleading information. "Did you know that since the beginning of the immigration crisis the harassment of women has risen sharply in Europe?" one advertisement reads. We know here at home, the United States is no exception, sadly. More than 30 U.S. governors have said publicly that they do not want to resettle any Syrian refugees in their state.

We have seen the consequences of such xenophobic rhetoric and fearmongering. In the days after the Brexit vote, for example, a Muslim butcher shop in Birmingham was firebombed, and a

Polish neighborhood in London was blanketed with fliers that read, "Leave the EU – no more Polish vermin." After admitting more than a million asylum seekers in 2015, Germany was the site of more than 300 attacks on refugee shelters the first quarter of 2016 alone. That's around three attacks per day. Even the theatre has become a target. In April, at a performance in Vienna of a play about the hardships faced by Austrian asylum seekers, in which all of the actors were themselves refugees, members of a nativist group stormed the stage and threw fake blood onto the performers and the audience.

In this context, Thomas More's speech to the mob is as relevant as ever. The "wretched strangers" have changed, of course – from the "Lombards" targeted in 1517 in those riots, to the Huguenot refugees in Shakespeare's time, to the Syrians, Iraqis, Eritreans, South Sudanese, Afghans, and others fleeing deadly conflicts and repressive governments in our time. But the questions More puts to the mob are the same ones we must ask ourselves and our communities today. If, as More asks, "you must needs be strangers, would you be pleased to find a nation of such barbarous temper?"

To More and Shakespeare, the answer was obvious. They believed – as I suspect most of us do – that from behind that veil of ignorance regarding our own fate, we would never argue for sealing off our borders to people fleeing harrowing violence and abuse. If we didn't know whether we were the receiving country for refugees or a family ourselves fleeing violence, barrel bombs, chemical weapons attacks, what would we want the rules of the road to be? We would never, wearing that veil of ignorance, attack people whose only so-called crime was fleeing places where their lives or the lives of their loved ones were at risk. And if we share those beliefs – if that is what we would want for ourselves if similarly situated – then we have a responsibility to do more to help the tens of millions of people worldwide who find themselves in that situation.

That brings me to the second reason that I wanted to focus on Sir Thomas More's speech, beyond its relevance to the current refugee crisis and the isolationist backlash that that crisis has helped spark. And it is the way that art can help overcome what is often the greatest challenge to building more just and compassionate policies toward people in faraway places, and that obstacle is a lack of empathy. To Shakespeare, so much of people's "mountanish inhumanity" was rooted in their inability to see themselves in someone else's shoes. Art has the power – arguably, the unique power – to help us do this. It helps us imagine, if only fleetingly, what it would feel like to be the mother who is forced to load her children onto a packed rubber dinghy with a smuggler; or to be the young man who watches as his village is burned and his parents are killed simply because of the tribe to which they belong; or the young girl who is forced to choose between surrendering her body or surrendering her life.

We all know what it feels like when we experience genuine empathy. I've not only experienced it myself, but I've seen it happen to people in one of the most thick-skinned and cynical professions out there. I'm speaking, of course, of diplomats. [Laughter.] Let me give you just one example. Of the 193 Member States at the United Nations – where I have the privilege of representing the United States – only 37 of that 193 are represented by women. Last year, I invited the women ambassadors to come with me to see the play "Eclipsed." As many of you know, the play is set during Liberia's civil war, and it tells the story of a group of women and

girls forcibly taken as wives by a ruthless militia commander. Some 20 women ambassadors from different countries at the UN came along with me to see the show, then at the Public.

Now, these women ambassadors are used to dealing with weighty and at times gut-wrenching topics. They have sat through meetings at the UN on topics like sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers, mass atrocities, gender-based violence of an epidemic scale against young girls. Many of them pore over their daily briefs containing harrowing details of humanitarian and man-made catastrophes. But even for them, even with their day job and the work that causes them to confront these crises daily, there was something different and transformative about seeing even a sliver of these experiences portrayed up close through the stories of individuals. Giving these ambassadors a human face; showing them a human face and a voice peeled back the layer of abstraction that often prevents diplomats – and all of us, for that matter – from stopping to think about the individuals affected by the problems that we are working every day. So every one of the ambassadors in that audience – if only just fleetingly – imagined herself in the place of those Liberian women who were enslaved and subjected to sexual violence. That's not a place one tends to go in one's day job. You don't tend to put yourself in the shoes of those individuals. But up close and personal with all of the universalizable traits and instincts and forms of humor that we have in common, the divide was bridged.

The most striking reaction – just to prove this point – actually came from the Liberian ambassador, who is now her country's foreign minister. Now, keep in mind: she's Liberian; she knew people who had suffered horrors like the ones depicted so vividly on the stage. And yet she said to me after the performance, "I knew this was happening in my country; these are my people. But because I didn't experience it myself, I don't think I really understood what my people and my country went through before I saw this play." In her eyes, she was able to get closer to the war and the suffering it caused in that theater than she could from living it. And I'm convinced that – like the other women ambassadors there that night, myself included – she understands the searing impact of sexual violence differently, and is a more empathetic diplomat for having seen Liberia's story told in that way.

So what can we draw from this experience? Well, for one, if diplomats were to spend more time at the theater, and in museums and cinemas, we may well have a more just, peaceful, and humane world. Maybe. But it's really that if we – as diplomats, advocates, artists, and simply citizens – wish to persuade people to stand up for the basic dignity of others, even people in faraway places, we've just got to find fresh ways of getting them, getting us to see the "strangers' case" as our own.

And in that sense, the fate of the monologue that Shakespeare wrote for Sir Thomas More is both troubling and, in its own way, inspiring. In the same manuscript that led to the discovery of Shakespeare's contribution, there is a short, handwritten note in the margin. Although this note was not written by Shakespeare, but rather by Queen Elizabeth's Master of Revels, Edmund Tilney, whose job it was to review all plays before they were performed, and who had the power to censor work he deemed a threat to the crown. Next to More's speech to the mob, Tilney wrote in the margins: "Leave out the insurrection wholly." Instead, the censor Tilney instructed, the play should begin *after* the Evil May Day riot, and only mention the violence briefly. Now this edit would have cut from the play the monologue that Shakespeare wrote. Tilney warned in his

note that anyone who attempted to perform that part of the play did so, as he put it, "at [their] own peril."

According to historians, Tilney feared the scene itself would only add to unrest at a time of growing hatred of foreigners. But Tilney missed the point. He believed that most people would identify with the rabble, with the mob. But Shakespeare, like Thomas More, believed that if only people could be made to see the strangers' case as their own, their perspective would be changed. The mob could be quelled; xenophobia moderated; dignity defended. And so Shakespeare's monologue, which would have spoken to rising hatred of London's present as well as its past, was never performed in the playwright's lifetime. We will never know what impact it may have had in making people see the strangers, the refugees in his time with greater empathy.

But without a doubt, Shakespeare got the last word. The monologue he wrote for Sir Thomas More is now being displayed in its original handwritten form in the British Library, which is drawing thousands of visitors; and more importantly, it is being disseminated and performed around the world – as it was here today – as a response to xenophobia and isolationism that we are once again seeing rise up in so many parts of the globe. Let it be a challenge to us all to find new ways of using the power of art to push back against such "mountanish inhumanity" and help people see that the case of so many "wretched strangers" could just as easily be our own. Thank you.

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Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations

"The Global Refugee Crisis: Overcoming Fears and Spurring Action"

United States Institute of Peace
Washington, D.C.
June 29, 2016

RELEASE IN FULL

AS DELIVERED

Thank you, Nancy, for that generous introduction, and more importantly, for your leadership on this and other critical issues, both when you were inside the government and now in this incredibly important role you're in at the U.S. Institute of Peace.

Let me begin with a fact with which you are all familiar: We are in the midst of the greatest refugee crisis since the Second World War. Just like the people at the heart of it, this crisis crosses borders, oceans, and continents. And because it is global in scale, anything less than a global response will fall short of addressing it. Yet rather than spur a united front, a united effort, the challenge of mass displacement has divided the international community – and even individual nations – leaving the lion's share of the response to a small number of countries, stretching our humanitarian system to its breaking point, and putting millions of people in dire situations at even greater risk.

Today I will make the case for why we must do better. I will first describe the gap between the unprecedented scale of the crisis and the growing shortfalls in the international response. I will then take on some of the most common concerns one hears when it comes to admitting refugees, showing that, while there are, of course, genuine risks, these are often distorted; the actual threats can be mitigated. Our current approach of leaving a small number of nations to bear most of the costs, by contrast, carries hidden dangers, risking the lives of countless refugees, while also weakening our partners and strengthening violent extremists and organized crime. A global response is urgently needed, and the United States must help lead it.

At the end of 2015, more than 65 million people were displaced worldwide, over half of them children. That is the highest number on record since the UN's Refugee Agency started collecting statistics. To help put that number in perspective, that's the equivalent of one in every five Americans being displaced. Some 34,000 people will be displaced today alone. Think about that. Thirty-four thousand.

Many rightly point to the role that the turmoil in Syria has played in this crisis. Roughly half of Syria's pre-war population of 23 million has been uprooted since the conflict began in 2011 – some six-and-half million within Syria's borders, and five million to other countries. But the conflict in Syria is far from the only driver of this problem. The wars forcing people from their homes are multiplying – with at least 15 conflicts erupting or reigniting since 2010. And conflicts are lasting longer, meaning people have to wait longer before it is safe to return home.

Roughly one in three refugees today is caught in what is called a "protracted refugee situation." In 1993, the typical protracted refugee situation lasted nine years; today, the median duration is 26 years and counting.

People do not become refugees by choice, obviously; they flee because their lives are at risk – just as we would do if we found ourselves in such a situation. And most want to go home. So we recognize that the most effective way to curb the mass displacement of people is by addressing the conflicts, violence, and repression that they have fled in the first place, and that continues to make it unsafe for them to return home. Consider a survey of Syrian refugees carried out early this year in Gaziantep, along Turkey's southern border. It found that 95 percent of the Syrians polled said that they would return home if the fighting stopped. In May, a study of Nigerian refugees in Cameroon – most of whom had fled Boko Haram – found that more than three in four wanted to return home. I met with refugees in both of these places, and when I posed the question of who wanted to go home to groups of refugees, all hands shot up in the air. Many of you have had similar experiences.

Even as we recognize the need to work toward the solutions that will reduce the drivers of mass displacement, we also have to meet the vital needs of refugees in real time. And on that front we in the international community are coming up far short. For one, we are seeing record shortfalls in providing essential humanitarian assistance. In 2015, the UN requested approximately $20 billion to provide life-saving aid, only $11 billion of which was funded. This year, the $21 billion that the UN is seeking is less than one-quarter funded.

Often we find ourselves using bureaucratese – the language of "shortfalls," and "masses" of refugee "caseloads" – sterile language that makes it easy to lose sight of the human consequences of our collective action challenge. So we must constantly remind ourselves that these gaps mean more people are left without a roof or tarp to sleep under; more families are unable to afford gas to keep warm in sub-zero temperatures; more kids are forced to drink water that makes them sick – poor parents have to watch that happen. Last year, the World Food Program had to cut back significantly rations to some 1.6 million Syrian refugees, and half a million refugees from Somalia and South Sudan in Kenya. In Jordan, in July 2015, approximately 250,000 Syrian refugees received news – often on their phone – that the UN aid they were receiving would be halved to the equivalent of 50 cents' worth of aid a day. In Iraq, the shortfall forced the World Health Organization to shutter 184 health clinics in areas with high levels of displacement, resulting in three million people losing access to basic health care. The WHO's director for emergency assistance described the impact as follows: "There will be no access for trauma like shrapnel wounds, no access for children's health or reproductive health…A generation of children will be unvaccinated," he said. Imagine, for just one minute, being the official forced to decide whose rudimentary health care to cut off. Imagine being the patient or the parent who receives the news that the aid you've been receiving – which is already insufficient to feed your kids or to deal with health ailments – will be cut in half.

Not only are countries giving far too little support to meet refugees' critical needs, few countries – and in particular, few wealthy countries – are stepping up to resettle more refugees. As a result, a hugely disproportionate share of refugees are being housed by a small group of developing countries. At the end of 2015, 10 countries – with an average GDP per capita of around $3,700 –

were hosting some 45 percent of the world's refugees. The United States' GDP per capita, by comparison, is approximately $54,600. Add in the dramatic cuts in humanitarian assistance, and you start to get a sense of the direness of the situation.

To be fair, it can take time for governments to lay the groundwork for admitting more refugees. We are dealing with this challenge right now in the United States, as we make the adjustments necessary to take in 10,000 Syrian refugees this year, out of a total of 85,000 refugees, a goal we, of course, intend to meet. Yet even as a country with experience admitting and resettling more than three million refugees in the last four decades, it has not been easy.

But the work required to scale up admissions is not what is preventing many countries from taking in more refugees. Instead, even as the crisis continues to grow, many countries are making no effort at all to do their fair share. Worse, some countries are actually cutting back on the number of admitted refugees, or they've said that they won't take any refugees at all. Other governments have taken measures that cut against the core principles of the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, such as offering financial rewards for asylum seekers who withdraw their applications and return home, or confiscating the cash and valuables of those seeking refuge to offset the costs of hosting them. Meanwhile, with multiple countries – including our own – certain states, cities, and even towns have said that they don't want to take refugees admitted by their respective national governments.

Now, why are so many countries resisting taking in more refugees? Let me speak to the two concerns that we hear the most often.

The first is, of course, security. Now, it is reasonable to have concern that violent extremist groups might take advantage of the massive movement of migrants and refugees to try to sneak terrorists into countries that they want to attack. In Germany, for example, suspected terrorists have been arrested in recent months who entered the country traveling amidst groups of refugees. We must constantly evaluate whether the procedures that we and our partners have put in place can effectively identify terrorists posing as refugees, as our nation's law enforcement and intelligence agencies are doing.

At the same time, as with any threat, it is important that our policy response be commensurate with the risk. The comprehensive, rigorous review process implemented by the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program both protects our security and lives up to our long-standing commitment to give sanctuary to people whose lives are at risk. The program screens refugee applicants against multiple U.S. government databases – including the National Counterterrorism Center, the FBI, the Department of Defense, and the Department of Homeland Security – which incorporate information provided by partners all around the world. Refugees are interviewed, often several times, before ever being allowed to travel to the United States; and refugees from Syria are subjected to a thorough, additional layer of review. We do not rush; in all, the process usually takes more than a year. If your aim is to attack the United States, it is hard to imagine a more difficult way of trying to get here than by posing as a refugee.

While no system is foolproof, our record to date speaks to the system's efficacy. Of the approximately 800,000 refugees who have been admitted to the United States since September 11, *not one* has carried out an act of domestic terrorism. Zero. But that has not made us complacent; we are constantly assessing new threats, and we spare no effort to make the program stronger.

Being able to measure accurately the relative gravity of threats and where they come from is critical to making smart policy and is critical to keeping the American people safe. That is why the efforts to halt our refugee program in the aftermath of the horrific attacks in Paris, and more recently in Orlando, were so misguided.

It is appropriate, and indeed, essential, in the aftermath of terrorist attacks to ask whether and how our policies should be changed to keep our citizens safe. What is not appropriate – what is, in fact, counterproductive – is using inaccurate characterizations of threats to justify shifts in policy, such as failing to see the difference between a homegrown terrorist and a refugee; or drawing misguided and discriminatory conclusions about entire groups of people based on the countries from which their families immigrated or the faith that they observe. Ignorance and prejudice make for bad advisors.

Yet that is what is driving the ill-informed and biased reactions we have seen to these and other attacks from some in our country. After the Paris attack, 31 U.S. governors and their states did not want to host any Syrian refugees, and several officials filed lawsuits aimed at blocking the federal government from resettling Syrians in their states. In the aftermath of Orlando, House Republicans announced that they will put forward legislation to ban all refugees from our country. That is not all. As you know, some are calling for even broader bans, such as banning immigrants based on their religion, or suspending immigration from parts of the world with a history of terrorism.

Now, I take this personally. I'm an immigrant to this country. My mother brought me and my brother to the United States from Dublin in 1979. It was a time when Ireland was still being roiled by violence related to The Troubles. And that violence included attacks that killed civilians – some of which were carried out in the city where I lived. So it's not lost on me that were such a prejudiced and indiscriminate policy to have been applied when I was growing up – a policy that judges people collectively on the circumstances of their birth, rather than individually on the quality of their character – my family and millions of other Irish immigrants would never have been allowed to come to this country. That I, an Irish immigrant, now get to sit every day in front of a placard that says the United States of America, and to serve in the President's Cabinet, is just a reflection of what makes this country so exceptional. And it sends the world a powerful message about the inclusive society that we believe in. Why on Earth would we want to give that up?

If the first concern one hears around admitting refugees is the security risk, the second is economic. People fear that refugees will place an additional burden on states at a time of shrinking budgets and a contracting global economy.

The concerns tend to coalesce around two arguments in some tension with one another: either refugees will deplete government resources through a costly resettlement process, and through requiring public support for years; or they will find work quickly, taking jobs away from native-born citizens and driving down wages.

It is true that resettling refugees requires a substantial investment up front. Sufficient resources must be dedicated to ensuring that asylum seekers are properly vetted. And people who are admitted need support as they settle into a new, unfamiliar country and become self-sufficient – from finding places to live and work, to learning a new language. If we want to keep our citizens safe and give the refugees we take in a shot at becoming self-reliant, these up-front costs are unavoidable.

You might be surprised, though, to learn how little refugees actually receive from the U.S. government. Resettlement agencies are given a one-time amount to cover initial housing, food, and other essential expenses of $2,025 for each refugee. And while refugees can apply for additional federal assistance, such as funding for job training or special medical assistance – no supplementary support is guaranteed – and most lasts a maximum of eight months. Now imagine trying to survive on that amount in a new and unfamiliar place, with no job, no support system, and often without the ability to speak English. Refugees are also responsible for repaying the cost of their plane tickets to the U.S. within three and a half years.

Even in the short term, much of the assistance that goes toward supporting refugees ends up going back into our local economies, from the supermarkets where they buy groceries, to the apartments they rent. And a number of studies have found that refugees' short-term impact on their host countries' labor markets tends to be small, and is often positive, raising the wages of people in communities where they settle. And it is important to see these initial costs of taking in refugees for what they are: an investment in our shared future. You hear often about individual refugees who have made profound contributions to our nation – people like George Soros, Sergei Brin, and one of my predecessors as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the great Madeleine Albright. There is no question that America would be a lesser country today without these individuals. Yet it is not only extraordinary individuals like these, but entire refugee communities who have made a lasting contribution to American prosperity.

Take the example of Vietnamese-Americans. After the fall of Saigon in 1975, America resettled more than 175,000 Vietnamese refugees in just two years. In 1979, a second wave of hundreds of thousands more Vietnamese refugees began arriving. Initially, politicians from both parties warned of the dire economic impact that the Vietnamese refugees would have on the communities where they were settled, and they asked that they be sent elsewhere. The Democratic governor of California at the time proposed adding a provision to legislation on assisting refugees that would guarantee jobs for Americans first, saying, "We can't be looking 5,000 miles away and at the same time neglecting people who live here." Seattle's city council voted seven to one against a resolution welcoming them. Small towns where Vietnamese refugees were to be resettled, such as Niceville, Florida – [laughter] yes, Niceville – circulated petitions demanding they be sent elsewhere. A barber in Niceville told a reporter, "I don't see why I ought to work and pay taxes for those folks who wouldn't work over there." The fears and

reservations expressed in Niceville were hardly isolated; a 1979 poll found that 57 percent of Americans opposed taking in Vietnamese refugees.

And yet look at the 1.9 million Vietnamese-Americans living in our country today, many of whom either came to this country as refugees, or whose parents were refugees. They have a higher median household income than the national average, higher participation in the labor force, and lower unemployment. More, on average, attend college. Now this is not a success that has come at the expense of other Americans in a zero-sum economy; rather, the growth spurred by their success has benefitted both native born citizens and refugees, and repaid the costs of resettlement many, many times over.

Oftentimes, domestic debates about whether to do more for refugees are focused entirely on the question of what we risk by taking more people in. Is it safe? Will it help or hurt economically? These are important concerns to address, and I have tried to do so.

But there's another question – often overlooked – which is particularly relevant today: What do we risk by *not* doing more to help refugees? That's the question I would like to turn to now. And the answer is that, in the current crisis, not doing more puts global stability and our nation's security at heightened risk. While we often *over*state the security threats and economic costs of resettling more refugees, we routinely *under*state the likely consequences of failing to muster the global response that is needed.

For one, failing to mobilize a more robust and equitable global response will increase the pressure on the small group of countries already shouldering a disproportionate share of the crisis' costs, possibly leading to greater instability. The influx of refugees to these countries has overwhelmed public services and institutions that were often stretched to begin with. Look at Lebanon, which has taken in a million Syrian refugees, and where one in five people is now a Syrian refugee. To give you a sense of scale, that would be the equivalent, in our country – which of course is much wealthier and has a much more developed infrastructure – of taking in 64 *million* refugees. There are more Syrian refugee children of school age in Lebanon – approximately 360,000 in all – than there are Lebanese children in public school. Roughly half of the Syrian refugee kids in Lebanon are out of school.

In the face of such demands, and absent greater help from the international community, it is not hard to see how the mounting pressure on these frontline countries could stoke sectarian tensions, fuel popular resentment of refugees, and even lead to the collapse of governments. It's also not hard to imagine how, in such circumstances, some of these countries might decide they cannot take in any more refugees and seal off their borders altogether.

Failing to mount a more effective international response will also strengthen the hand of organized crime and terrorist groups that pose a threat to our security and prosperity. If people fleeing wars, mass atrocities, and repression cannot find a safe, legal, and orderly way to get to places where they and their loved ones will be safe, and where they can fulfill their basic needs, they will seek another way to get to places of refuge. We've seen it. They will always find smugglers who promise to take them – for a price. INTERPOL estimates that, in 2015, organized crime networks made between five and six billion dollars smuggling people to the European

Union alone. These criminal networks have little concern for the lives of the people they transport – as they have demonstrated by abandoning their boats at sea, sometimes with hundreds of passengers locked in holds that they cannot escape – and whose members routinely rape, beat, and sell into slavery the people that they are paid to transport.

Of course, it is not only refugees who are threatened by these criminal networks. The same routes and transports used to smuggle people across oceans and borders are also used to move illicit arms, drugs, and victims of human trafficking. And the corruption that these groups fuel harms governments and citizens worldwide. The more refugees that are driven into the hands of these criminal networks, the stronger we make them.

Violent extremist groups like ISIL, al-Qa'ida, and Boko Haram also stand to benefit if we fail to respond adequately to the refugee crisis. A central part of the narrative of these groups is that the West is at war with Islam. So when we turn away the very people who are fleeing the atrocities and repression of these groups; and when we cast all displaced Muslims – regardless of whether they were uprooted by violent extremists, repressive governments, or natural disasters – as suspected terrorists; we play into that narrative. To violent extremists, simply belonging to a group is proof of guilt, and can be punishable by death – whether that group is defined by religion or ethnicity, by profession or sexual orientation. When we blame all Muslims, all Syrians, or all members of any other group because of the actions of individuals, when we fall into the trap of asserting collective guilt, we empower the narrow-minded ideology that we are trying to defeat.

On the contrary, when we and the parts of the Muslim world where people are suffering or have sought refuge, when we open our communities and our hearts to the people displaced by the atrocities committed by groups like ISIL, and repressive regimes like Assad's, we puncture the myth that the extremists paint of us. We show that our conflict is not with Islam, but with those who kill and enslave people simply for what they believe, where they are born, or who they love.

Now, I have spoken to how many of the concerns that people have about admitting more refugees are overblown, driven more by fear than by fact. And I've highlighted the risk we run if countries continue to shirk doing their fair share in addressing this crisis. So what can we do to try to fix this problem? For starters, countries must dramatically increase their humanitarian aid to close the growing gap between what governments and agencies are providing and what refugees need to survive. And we need countries to increase the number of refugees they are resettling so that the burden does not fall so heavily on a small number of frontline states.

Now, some have argued that, because it's more cost effective for wealthy countries like ours to provide humanitarian support for refugees in countries of first asylum, we should channel all the resources we allocate to this crisis into helping frontline states. Why take an additional 10,000 Syrian refugees in the U.S., some argue, when the resources that we would spend vetting and resettling these individuals could support 10 or even a hundred times as many refugees in places like Lebanon or Kenya?

Of course, we cannot resettle all 21 million refugees in the world, or even a majority of them. Nor do we need to. Many refugees are able to find sufficient opportunities to live with independence and dignity in the countries where they are given first refuge. And most prefer to stay close to the places to which they hope to return.

But there are some individuals and families who cannot stay in the countries where they have arrived first – because they are not safe there, because they have special vulnerabilities, or because their basic needs just are not being met. The UN estimates that around 1.2 million people fall into this category worldwide, and need to be resettled to other countries. The problem is the international community only resettled around 107,000 individuals last year – less than one-tenth of those who UNHCR judges need to be moved to a new host country. We need to bridge that gap.

By providing more opportunities for resettlement, we give experts the chance to review applicants through orderly, deliberate processes, rather than the large-scale, irregular flows that Europe faced last year, which brought more than a million people to Germany alone. These unstructured marches make it more difficult for countries to subject those who arrive to thorough and rigorous screening. And by practicing what we preach through resettling refugees, we stand a better chance of persuading others to do the same. How can we ask governments and citizens in other countries to take in refugees if we are not prepared to do the same in our own communities? How can we convince others that fear can be overcome and risk can be mitigated if we ourselves are ruled by fear?

In recognition of the urgent need for all countries to do more, President Obama is convening a refugee summit in September at the UN General Assembly. The purpose of this summit is to rally countries around three major lines of effort. First, we're asking governments to make a deeper commitment to funding UN and humanitarian organizations and appeals, increasing overall contributions by at least 30 percent. Second, we're asking governments to commit to welcoming more refugees into their countries, with the goal of doubling the number of refugee admission slots worldwide. Third, we are asking frontline countries – who already are hosting considerable numbers of refugees with awe-inspiring generosity – to do even more, allowing the refugees they host greater opportunities to become more self-reliant. Our aim is to put at least a million more refugee children in school, and grant a million more refugees access to legal work.

We recognize that the United States can and must do more as well. We are the leading donor of humanitarian aid, contributing more than $5.1 billion for the Syrian conflict alone, and we will continue to provide robust support. And not only are we scaling up our resettlement efforts to admit 15,000 additional refugees this year, but we will scale up by 15,000 more next year, to admit 100,000 refugees overall. That's a 40 percent increase in just two years – while maintaining our extremely rigorous security standards.

The summit is by no means a panacea; even if we hit every target, our response will still not match the scale of the crisis. But it would represent a step – an important step toward broadening the pool of countries that are part of the solution. We also recognize that governments cannot solve this problem alone. We need businesses, big and small, to do much more too; which is why tomorrow, the White House is launching a private sector call to action, which will rally

companies to do their part, from providing jobs to donating services to refugees. We need a humanitarian system that is more efficient and better at anticipating and preventing the crises that force people from their homes – which many countries committed to build at the recent World Humanitarian Summit. We need more civic institutions to help empower refugees, such as the growing number of American universities that are providing scholarships to refugees who were forced to abandon their studies – a cause that I urge the college students and faculty in the audience to take up. We need faith-based and civic institutions to adopt this cause as their own, as Pope Francis has done by constantly showing people the human face of this crisis, even welcoming refugees into his own home; and as the Southern Baptist Leadership Convention recently did, by adopting a resolution urging its members to "welcome and adopt refugees into their churches and homes." Only when all these efforts come together will we have a chance of rising to the challenge that we face.

Let me conclude. In a letter dated May 16, 1939, a British citizen named Nicholas Winton wrote to then-President Franklin D. Roosevelt. "Esteemed Sir," the letter began, "Perhaps people in America do not realize how little is being and has been done for refugee children in Czechoslovakia." Winton went on to describe how a small organization that he had started had identified more than 5,000 refugee children in Czechoslovakia, most of them Jews who had fled Nazi Germany who desperately needed to be evacuated. He wrote, "There are thousands of children, some homeless and starving, mostly without nationality, but they all have one thing in common: there is no future if they are forced to remain where they are. Their parents are forbidden to work and the children are forbidden schooling, and part from the physical discomforts, the moral degradation is immeasurable." Winton closed his letter with a direct request: "Is it possible for anything to be done to help us with this problem in America? It is hard to state our case forcibly in a letter, but we trust to your imagination to realize how desperately urgent the situation is."

Winton's letter reached the White House, which promptly referred the matter to the State Department. And the State Department, in turn, sent the letter to the U.S. Ambassador in London, with instructions to inform Winton that "the United States government is unable, in the absence of specific legislation, to permit immigration in excess of that provided by existing immigration laws."

Now Winton was undaunted, because he was undauntable. In the coming months, he bribed officials, forged documents, arranged secret transport through hostile territory, and persuaded families in the United Kingdom to take in foster children – anything to get those children out. Ultimately, he helped 669 children escape in less than a year. Almost all 669 kids were orphaned by the end of the war, their parents killed in the concentration camps.

"Perhaps people in America do not realize how little is being and has been done for refugee children." That was how Winton had opened his letter. Yet the unfortunate reality is that even those who were aware of the refugees' plight were reluctant to take them in. In January 1939, a few months after *Kristallnacht*, "the night of the broken glass," unleashed a savage wave of violence targeting Jewish homes, synagogues, and businesses, a Gallup poll asked Americans whether 10,000 Jewish refugee children from Germany should be taken into the United States. Sixty-one percent of Americans said no.

And this isn't an isolated case. Unfortunately, it was not only refugees fleeing the Nazis and Vietnam who the majority of Americans opposed admitting. In 1958, as Hungarians faced a vicious crackdown from the Soviet Union, Americans were asked whether they supported a plan to admit 65,000 refugees. Fifty-five percent said no.

In 1980, as tens of thousands of Cubans – Cuban refugees – took to boats to flee repression, 71 percent of Americans opposed admitting them. The list goes on. In nearly every instance, the majority of Americans have opposed taking in large numbers of refugees when asked in the abstract.

Listening to the rhetoric that is out there today, it can feel at times as though the same is true today. But look around the country – look deeply – and you will find so many people who not only support admitting more refugees, but who themselves are making tremendous efforts to welcome them. People like the owners of Wankel's Hardware Store in New York, where I live, which for decades has been employing recently resettled refugees, including 15 of their 20 current employees. Wankel's keeps a map on the wall of the store with pins marking the 36 countries from which their refugee employees have come. Many Americans are doing their part and wish to find a way to do more. When visiting the International Rescue Committee resettlement office – just a 10-minute walk from the UN – recently, I noticed that many of their individual offices seemed to be overflowing with boxes. When I asked whether the folks who worked at IRC were moving in or moving out of the space, I was told that after some U.S. politicians threatened to curb the flow of refugees, the IRC had received a huge, unprecedented surge in donations. And they simply had no other space to store all the clothes, toys, and home furnishings that had come flooding in, just from ordinary people. A similar outpouring occurred inside the U.S. government. When we announced our goal to admit an additional 15,000 refugees this year, many U.S. national security professionals volunteered to take extra trainings and work extra hours in their already long days to help us meet that goal.

These examples abound. The small Vermont town of Rutland has committed to taking in 100 Syrian refugees. The mayor, whose grandfather came to the U.S. after fleeing war in his native Greece, said of the decision, "As much as I want to say it's for compassionate reasons, I realize that there is not a vibrant, growing, successful community in the country right now that is not embracing new Americans." Local schools are preparing to support kids who cannot support English, and local businesses in Rutland have said that they will look to hire refugees. One of them is a regional medical center, whose director is the grandson of refugees from Nazi Germany. "I know there is a good-heartedness to this city," he said. "If you come here and want to make the community better, Rutlanders will welcome you with open arms." A poll some of you have seen that was released this month by the Brookings Institution suggests that most Americans feel the same way. Asked if they would support the U.S. taking in refugees from the Middle East after they were screened for security risks, 59 percent of Americans said yes. Yes.

Nicholas Winton passed away last June, at the age of 106. At the time, the 669 children he saved had some 6,000 descendants. Six thousand people who otherwise would not have enriched our world, but mostly for the efforts of one single individual. Imagine, for just a moment, what would have happened if the United States, or any other country, had shared his sense of urgency

in that instance, or in so many others. Imagine what we could do if we were to bring a similar urgency, a similar stubbornness, a similar resilience to the crisis today.

If we are proudest of the Wintons in our history – as I think we all are – we know what must be done. So that when his question comes to us – "Is it possible for anything to be done to help us with this problem?" – our answer must be yes, there is so much we can do. So much more we can do.

Thank you.

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Explanation of Vote at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East

Ambassador Samantha Power
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
New York City
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RELEASE IN FULL

AS DELIVERED

Thank you, Mr. President.

Let me begin with a quote: "The United States will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements during the transitional period. Indeed, the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, more than any other action, could create the confidence needed for wider participation in these talks. Further settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel and only diminishes the confidence of the Arabs that a final outcome can be freely and fairly negotiated."

This was said in 1982 by President Ronald Reagan. He was speaking about a new proposal that he was launching to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While ultimately, of course, President Reagan's proposal was not realized, his words are still illuminating in at least two respects.

First, because they underscore the United States' deep and long-standing commitment to achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. That has been the policy of every administration, Republican and Democrat, since before President Reagan and all the way through to the present day.

Second, because President Reagan's words highlight the United States' long-standing position that Israeli settlement activity in territories occupied in 1967 undermines Israel's security, harms the viability of a negotiated two-state outcome, and erodes prospects for peace and stability in the region. Today, the Security Council reaffirmed its established consensus that settlements have no legal validity. The United States has been sending the message that the settlements must stop – privately and publicly – for nearly five decades, through the administrations of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and now Barack Obama. Indeed, since 1967, the only president who had not had at least one Israeli-Palestinian-related Security Council resolution pass during his tenure is Barack Obama. So our vote today is fully in line with the bipartisan history of how American Presidents have approached both the issue – and the role of this body.

Given the consistency of this position across U.S. administrations, one would think that it would be a routine vote for the U.S. to allow the passage of a resolution with the elements in this one, reaffirming the long-standing U.S. position on settlements, condemning violence and incitement, and calling for the parties to start taking constructive steps to reverse current trends on the ground. These are familiar, well-articulated components of U.S. policy.

But in reality this vote for us was not straightforward, because of where it is taking place – at the United Nations. For the simple truth is that for as long as Israel has been a member of this institution, Israel has been treated differently from other nations at the United Nations. And not only in decades past – such as in the infamous resolution that the General Assembly adopted in 1975, with the support of the majority of Member States, officially determining that, "Zionism is a form of racism" – but also in 2016, this year. One need only look at the 18 resolutions against Israel adopted during the UN General Assembly in September; or the 12 Israel-specific resolutions adopted this year in the Human Rights Council – more than those focused on Syria, North Korea, Iran, and South Sudan put together – to see that in 2016 Israel continues to be treated differently from other Member States.

Like U.S. administrations before it, the Obama Administration has worked tirelessly to fight for Israel's right simply to be treated just like any other country – from advocating for Israel to finally be granted membership to a UN regional body, something no other UN Member State had been denied; to fighting to ensure that Israeli NGOs are not denied UN accreditation, simply because they are Israeli, to getting Yom Kippur finally recognized as a UN holiday; to pressing this Council to break its indefensible silence in response to terrorist attacks on Israelis. As the United States has said repeatedly, such unequal treatment not only hurts Israel, it undermines the legitimacy of the United Nations itself.

The practice of treating Israel differently at the UN matters for votes like this one. For even if one believes that the resolution proposed today is justified – or, even more, necessitated – by events on the ground, one cannot completely separate the vote from the venue.

And Member States that say they are for the two-state solution must ask themselves some difficult questions. For those states that are quick to promote resolutions condemning Israel, but refuse to recognize when innocent Israelis are the victims of terrorism – what steps will you take to stop treating Israel differently? For those states that passionately denounce the closures of crossings in Gaza as exacerbating the humanitarian situation, but saying nothing of the resources diverted from helping Gaza's residents to dig tunnels into Israeli territory so that terrorists can attack Israelis in their homes – what will you do to end the double-standard that undermines the legitimacy of this institution?

Member States should also ask themselves about the double standards when it comes to this Council taking action. Just this morning we came together, as a Council, and we were unable to muster the will to act to stop the flow of weapons going to killers in South Sudan, who are perpetrating mass atrocities that the UN has said could lead to genocide. We couldn't come together just to stem the flow of arms. Earlier this month, this Council could not muster the will to adopt the simplest of resolutions calling for a seven-day pause in the savage bombardment of innocent civilians, hospitals, and schools in Aleppo. Yet when a resolution on Israel comes before this Council, members suddenly summon the will to act.

It is because this forum too often continues to be biased against Israel; because there are important issues that are not sufficiently addressed in this resolution; and because the United States does not agree with every word in this text, that the United States did not vote in favor of the resolution. But it is because this resolution reflects the facts on the ground – and is consistent

with U.S. policy across Republican and Democratic administration throughout the history of the State of Israel – that the United States did not veto it.

The United States has consistently said we would block any resolution that we thought would undermine Israel's security or seek to impose a resolution to the conflict. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by the Palestinians such as terrorism and incitement to violence, which we've repeatedly condemned and repeatedly raised with the Palestinian leadership, and which, of course, must be stopped.

Unlike some on the UN Security Council, we do not believe that outside parties can impose a solution that has not been negotiated by the two parties. Nor can we unilaterally recognize a future Palestinian state. But it is precisely our commitment to Israel's security that makes the United States believe that we cannot stand in the way of this resolution as we seek to preserve a chance of attaining our long-standing objective: two states living side-by-side in peace and security. Let me briefly explain why.

The settlement problem has gotten so much worse that it is now putting at risk the very viability of that two-state solution. The number of settlers in the roughly 150 authorized Israeli settlements east of the 1967 lines has increased dramatically. Since the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords – which launched efforts that made a comprehensive and lasting peace possible – the number of settlers has increased by 355,000. The total settler population in the West Bank and East Jerusalem now exceeds 590,000. Nearly 90,000 settlers are living east of the separation barrier that was created by Israel itself. And just since July 2016 – when the Middle East Quartet issued a report highlighting international concern about a systematic process of land seizures, settlement expansions, and legalizations – Israel has advanced plans for more than 2,600 new settlement units. Yet rather than dismantling these and other settler outposts, which are illegal even under Israeli law, now there is new legislation advancing in the Israeli Knesset that would legalize most of the outposts – a factor that propelled the decision by this resolution's sponsors to bring it before the Council.

The Israeli Prime Minister recently described his government as "more committed to settlements than any in Israel's history," and one of his leading coalition partners recently declared that "the era of the two-state solution is over." At the same time, the Prime Minister has said that he is still committed to pursuing a two-state solution. But these statements are irreconcilable. One cannot simultaneously champion expanding Israeli settlements and champion a viable two-state solution that would end the conflict. One has to make a choice between settlements and separation.

In 2011, the United States vetoed a resolution that focused exclusively on settlements, as if settlements were they only factor harming the prospects of a two-state solution. The circumstances have changed dramatically. Since 2011, settlement growth has only accelerated. Since 2011, multiple efforts to pursue peace through negotiations have failed. And since 2011, President Obama and Secretary Kerry have repeatedly warned – publically and privately – that the absence of progress toward peace and continued settlement expansion was going to put the two-state solution at risk, and threaten Israel's stated objective to remain both a Jewish State and a democracy. Moreover, unlike in 2011, this resolution condemns violence, terrorism and incitement, which also poses an extremely grave risk to the two-state solution. This resolution

reflects trends that will permanently destroy the hope of a two-state solution if they continue on their current course.

The United States has not taken the step of voting in support of this resolution because the resolution is too narrowly focused on settlements, when we all know – or we all should know – that many other factors contribute significantly to the tensions that perpetuate this conflict. Let us be clear: even if every single settlement were to be dismantled tomorrow, peace still would not be attainable without both sides acknowledging uncomfortable truths and making difficult choices. That is an indisputable fact. Yet it is one that is too often overlooked by members of the United Nations and by members of this Council.

For Palestinian leaders, that means recognizing the obvious: that in addition to taking innocent lives – the incitement to violence, the glorification of terrorists, and the growth of violent extremism erodes prospects for peace, as this resolution makes crystal clear. The most recent wave of Palestinian violence has seen terrorists commit hundreds of attacks – including driving cars into crowds of innocent civilians and stabbing mothers in front of their children. Yet rather than condemn these attacks, Hamas, other radical factions, and even certain members of Fatah have held up the terrorists as heroes, and used social media to incite others to follow in their murderous footsteps. And while President Abbas and his party's leaders have made clear their opposition to violence, terrorism, and extremism, they have too often failed to condemn specific attacks or condemn the praised heaped upon the perpetrators.

Our vote today does not in any way diminish the United States' steadfast and unparalleled commitment to the security of Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by Palestinians. We have to recognize that Israel faces very serious threats in a very tough neighborhood. Israelis are rightfully concerned about making sure there is not a new terrorist haven next door. President Obama and this administration have shown an unprecedented commitment to Israel's security because that is what we believe in.

Our commitment to that security has never wavered, and it never will. Even with a financial crisis and budget deficits, we've repeatedly increased funding to support Israel's military. And in September, the Obama administration signed a Memorandum of Understanding to provide $38 billion in security assistance to Israel over the next 10 years – the largest single pledge of military assistance in U.S. history to any country. And as the Israeli Prime Minister himself has noted, our military and intelligence cooperation is unprecedented. We believe, though, that continued settlement building seriously undermines Israel's security.

Some may cast the U.S. vote as a sign that we have finally given up on a two-state solution. Nothing could be further from the truth. None of us can give up on a two-state solution. We continue to believe that that solution is the only viable path to provide peace and security for the state of Israel, and freedom and dignity for the Palestinian people. And we continue to believe that the parties can still pursue this path, if both sides are honest about the choices, and have the courage to take steps that will be politically difficult. While we can encourage them, it is ultimately up to the parties to choose this path, as it always has been. We sincerely hope that they will begin making these choices before it is too late.

I thank you.

###

Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 1:15 AM
To: Soifer, Halie S
Cc: Bitar, Maher B
Subject: Re: EJ - flagging

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Follow Up Flag: Follow up
Flag Status: Flagged

I think I'm supposed to send the eov to him direct

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Wednesday, January 4, 2017 8:43 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Bitar, Maher B
Subject: RE: EJ - flagging

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2017 4:55 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Bitar, Maher B
Subject: RE: EJ - flagging

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2017 4:30 PM
To: Soifer, Halie S
Subject: RE: EJ - flagging

Yes I saw this in the memo. It doesn't address the q of EJ specifically

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2017 4:09 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: EJ - flagging

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2017 5:28 PM
To: Soifer, Halie S
Cc: Bitar, Maher B
Subject: RE: EJ - flagging

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Tks.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2017 4:55 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Bitar, Maher B
Subject: RE: EJ - flagging

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2017 4:30 PM
To: Soifer, Halie S
Subject: RE: EJ - flagging

Yes I saw this in the memo. It doesn't address the q of EJ specifically

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Soifer, Halie S
Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2017 4:09 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: EJ - flagging

B5

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN FULL

Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Corker, Bob (Corker) <RPC@corker.senate.gov>
Sent: Saturday, December 24, 2016 8:41 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: follow up

Thank you for forwarding and for calling about the other issue.

Sent from my iPad

On Dec 23, 2016, at 5:45 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:

> Senator – here is the explanation for today. I think it is worth reading – but perhaps not tonight!
>
> United States Mission to the United Nations
>
> Office of Press and Public Diplomacy
>
> 799 United Nations Plaza
>
> New York, NY 10017
>
> (212) 415-4050
>
> http://usun.state.gov
>
> <image001.png> <image001.png> <image002.png> <image002.png>
> <image003.png> <image004.png> <image005.png>
>
> AS DELIVERED December 23, 2016
>
> ***Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East, December 23, 2016***
>
> Thank you, Mr. President.
>
> Let me begin with a quote: "The United States will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements during the transitional period. Indeed, the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, more than any other action, could create the confidence needed for

wider participation in these talks. Further settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel and only diminishes the confidence of the Arabs that a final outcome can be freely and fairly negotiated."

This was said in 1982 by President Ronald Reagan. He was speaking about a new proposal that he was launching to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While ultimately, of course, President Reagan's proposal was not realized, his words are still illuminating in at least two respects.

First, because they underscore the United States' deep and long-standing commitment to achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. That has been the policy of every administration, Republican and Democrat, since before President Reagan and all the way through to the present day.

Second, because President Reagan's words highlight the United States' long-standing position that Israeli settlement activity in territories occupied in 1967 undermines Israel's security, harms the viability of a negotiated two-state outcome, and erodes prospects for peace and stability in the region. Today, the Security Council reaffirmed its established consensus that settlements have no legal validity. The United States has been sending the message that the settlements must stop – privately and publicly – for nearly five decades, through the administrations of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and now Barack Obama. Indeed, since 1967, the only president who had not had at least one Israeli-Palestinian-related Security Council resolution pass during his tenure is Barack Obama. So our vote today is fully in line with the bipartisan history of how American Presidents have approached both the issue – and the role of this body.

Given the consistency of this position across U.S. administrations, one would think that it would be a routine vote for the U.S. to allow the passage of a resolution with the elements in this one, reaffirming the long-standing U.S. position on settlements, condemning violence and incitement, and calling for the parties to start taking constructive steps to reverse current trends on the ground. These are familiar, well-articulated components of U.S. policy.

But in reality this vote for us was not straightforward, because of where it is taking place – at the United Nations. For the simple truth is that for as long as Israel has been a member of this institution, Israel has been treated differently from other nations at the United Nations. And not only in decades past – such as in the infamous resolution that the General Assembly adopted in 1975, with the support of the majority of Member States, officially determining that, "Zionism is a form of racism" – but also in 2016, this year. One need only look at the 18 resolutions against Israel adopted during the UN General Assembly in September; or the 12 Israel-specific resolutions adopted this year in the Human Rights Council – more than those focused on Syria, North Korea, Iran, and South Sudan put together – to see that in 2016 Israel continues to be treated differently from other Member States.

Like U.S. administrations before it, the Obama Administration has worked tirelessly to fight for Israel's right simply to be treated just like any other country – from advocating for Israel to finally be granted membership to a UN regional body, something no other UN Member State had been denied; to fighting to ensure that Israeli NGOs are not denied UN accreditation, simply because they are Israeli, to getting Yom Kippur finally recognized as a UN holiday; to pressing this Council to break its indefensible silence in response to terrorist attacks on Israelis. As the United States has said repeatedly, such unequal treatment not only hurts Israel, it undermines the legitimacy of the United Nations itself.

The practice of treating Israel differently at the UN matters for votes like this one. For even if one believes that the resolution proposed today is justified – or, even more, necessitated – by events on the ground, one cannot completely separate the vote from the venue.

And Member States that say they are for the two-state solution must ask themselves some difficult questions. For those states that are quick to promote resolutions condemning Israel, but refuse to recognize when innocent Israelis are the victims of terrorism – what steps will you take to stop treating Israel differently? For those states that passionately denounce the closures of crossings in Gaza as exacerbating the humanitarian situation, but saying nothing of the resources diverted from helping Gaza's residents to dig tunnels into Israeli territory so that terrorists can attack Israelis in their homes – what will you do to end the double-standard that undermines the legitimacy of this institution?

Member States should also ask themselves about the double standards when it comes to this Council taking action. Just this morning we came together, as a Council, and we were unable to muster the will to act to stop the flow of weapons going to killers in South Sudan, who are perpetrating mass atrocities that the UN has said could lead to genocide. We couldn't come together just to stem the flow of arms. Earlier this month, this Council could not muster the will to adopt the simplest of resolutions calling for a seven-day pause in the savage bombardment of innocent civilians, hospitals, and schools in Aleppo. Yet when a resolution on Israel comes before this Council, members suddenly summon the will to act.

It is because this forum too often continues to be biased against Israel; because there are important issues that are not sufficiently addressed in this resolution; and because the United States does not agree with every word in this text, that the United States did not vote in favor of the resolution. But it is because this resolution reflects the facts on the ground – and is consistent with U.S. policy across Republican and Democratic administration throughout the history of the State of Israel – that the United States did not veto it.

The United States has consistently said we would block any resolution that we thought would undermine Israel's security or seek to impose a resolution to the conflict. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by the Palestinians such as terrorism and incitement to violence, which we've repeatedly condemned and repeatedly raised with the Palestinian leadership, and which, of course, must be stopped.

Unlike some on the UN Security Council, we do not believe that outside parties can impose a solution that has not been negotiated by the two parties. Nor can we unilaterally recognize a future Palestinian state. But it is precisely our commitment to Israel's security that makes the United States believe that we cannot stand in the way of this resolution as we seek to preserve a chance of attaining our long-standing objective: two states living side-by-side in peace and security. Let me briefly explain why.

The settlement problem has gotten so much worse that it is now putting at risk the very viability of that two-state solution. The number of settlers in the roughly 150 authorized Israeli settlements east of the 1967 lines has increased dramatically. Since the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords – which launched efforts that made a comprehensive and lasting peace possible – the number of settlers has increased by 355,000. The total settler population in the West Bank and East Jerusalem now exceeds 590,000. Nearly 90,000 settlers are living east of the separation barrier that was created by Israel itself. And just since July 2016 – when the Middle East Quartet issued a report highlighting international concern about a systematic process of land seizures, settlement expansions, and legalizations – Israel has advanced plans for more than 2,600 new settlement units. Yet rather than dismantling these and other settler outposts, which are illegal even under Israeli law, now there is new legislation advancing in the Israeli Knesset that would legalize most of the outposts – a factor that propelled the decision by this resolution's sponsors to bring it before the Council.

The Israeli Prime Minister recently described his government as "more committed to settlements than any in Israel's history," and one of his leading coalition partners recently declared that "the era of the two-state solution is over." At the same time, the Prime Minister has said that he is still committed to pursuing a two-state solution. But these statements are irreconcilable. One cannot simultaneously champion expanding Israeli settlements and champion a viable two-state solution that would end the conflict. One has to make a choice between settlements and separation.

In 2011, the United States vetoed a resolution that focused exclusively on settlements, as if settlements were they only factor harming the prospects of a two-state solution. The circumstances have changed dramatically. Since 2011, settlement growth has only accelerated. Since 2011, multiple efforts to pursue peace through negotiations have failed. And since 2011, President Obama and Secretary Kerry have repeatedly warned – publically and privately – that the absence of progress toward peace and continued settlement expansion was going to put the two-state solution at risk, and threaten Israel's stated objective to remain both a Jewish State and a democracy. Moreover, unlike in 2011, this resolution condemns violence, terrorism and incitement, which also poses an extremely grave risk to the two-state solution. This resolution

reflects trends that will permanently destroy the hope of a two-state solution if they continue on their current course.

The United States has not taken the step of voting in support of this resolution because the resolution is too narrowly focused on settlements, when we all know – or we all should know – that many other factors contribute significantly to the tensions that perpetuate this conflict. Let us be clear: even if every single settlement were to be dismantled tomorrow, peace still would not be attainable without both sides acknowledging uncomfortable truths and making difficult choices. That is an indisputable fact. Yet it is one that is too often overlooked by members of the United Nations and by members of this Council.

For Palestinian leaders, that means recognizing the obvious: that in addition to taking innocent lives – the incitement to violence, the glorification of terrorists, and the growth of violent extremism erodes prospects for peace, as this resolution makes crystal clear. The most recent wave of Palestinian violence has seen terrorists commit hundreds of attacks – including driving cars into crowds of innocent civilians and stabbing mothers in front of their children. Yet rather than condemn these attacks, Hamas, other radical factions, and even certain members of Fatah have held up the terrorists as heroes, and used social media to incite others to follow in their murderous footsteps. And while President Abbas and his party's leaders have made clear their opposition to violence, terrorism, and extremism, they have too often failed to condemn specific attacks or condemn the praised heaped upon the perpetrators.

Our vote today does not in any way diminish the United States' steadfast and unparalleled commitment to the security of Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by Palestinians. We have to recognize that Israel faces very serious threats in a very tough neighborhood. Israelis are rightfully concerned about making sure there is not a new terrorist haven next door. President Obama and this administration have shown an unprecedented commitment to Israel's security because that is what we believe in.

Our commitment to that security has never wavered, and it never will. Even with a financial crisis and budget deficits, we've repeatedly increased funding to support Israel's military. And in September, the Obama administration signed a Memorandum of Understanding to provide $38 billion in security assistance to Israel over the next 10 years – the largest single pledge of military assistance in U.S. history to any country. And as the Israeli Prime Minister himself has noted, our military and intelligence cooperation is unprecedented. We believe, though, that continued settlement building seriously undermines Israel's security.

Some may cast the U.S. vote as a sign that we have finally given up on a two-state solution. Nothing could be further from the truth. None of us can give up on a two-state solution. We continue to believe that that solution is the only viable path to provide peace and security for the

state of Israel, and freedom and dignity for the Palestinian people. And we continue to believe that the parties can still pursue this path, if both sides are honest about the choices, and have the courage to take steps that will be politically difficult. While we can encourage them, it is ultimately up to the parties to choose this path, as it always has been. We sincerely hope that they will begin making these choices before it is too late.

I thank you.

###

Official

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RELEASE IN FULL

Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, December 24, 2016 12:04 AM
To: David Harris
Subject: Re: today

Thoughtful response, as always. Thank you.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: David Harris
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 10:32 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: today

Dear Samantha - Believe me, we shall always remember what was achieved at the UN -- both the important steps towards Israel's fuller integration into the world body and the initiatives to focus attention on anti-Semitism --thanks to your indefatigable leadership and determination. Knowing something about how the UN works (and, at times, doesn't work), I can appreciate just how significant the progress has been in four short years. Today's US vote, of course, doesn't change any of these positive developments, but it does, alas, render the picture slightly more complex. Warm regards and Merry Christmas. - David

From: Power, Samantha [mailto:PowerS@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 05:52 PM
To: David Harris
Subject: FW: today

David –Here is the effort to explain today. I know it may be hard to remember all we achieved together, but I hope it can be built upon. xo Samantha

AS DELIVERED December 23, 2016

Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East, December 23, 2016

Thank you, Mr. President.

Let me begin with a quote: "The United States will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements during the transitional period. Indeed, the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, more than any other action, could create the confidence needed for wider participation in these talks. Further settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel and only diminishes the confidence of the Arabs that a final outcome can be freely and fairly negotiated."

This was said in 1982 by President Ronald Reagan. He was speaking about a new proposal that he was launching to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While ultimately, of course, President Reagan's proposal was not realized, his words are still illuminating in at least two respects.

First, because they underscore the United States' deep and long-standing commitment to achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. That has been the policy of every administration, Republican and Democrat, since before President Reagan and all the way through to the present day.

Second, because President Reagan's words highlight the United States' long-standing position that Israeli settlement activity in territories occupied in 1967 undermines Israel's security, harms the viability of a negotiated two-state outcome, and erodes prospects for peace and stability in the region. Today, the Security Council reaffirmed its established consensus that settlements have no legal validity. The United States has been sending the message that the settlements must stop – privately and publicly – for nearly five decades, through the administrations of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and now Barack Obama. Indeed, since 1967, the only president who had not had at least one Israeli-Palestinian-related Security Council resolution pass during his tenure is Barack Obama. So our vote today is fully in line with the bipartisan history of how American Presidents have approached both the issue – and the role of this body.

Given the consistency of this position across U.S. administrations, one would think that it would be a routine vote for the U.S. to allow the passage of a resolution with the elements in this one, reaffirming the long-standing U.S. position on settlements, condemning violence and incitement, and calling for the parties to start taking constructive steps to reverse current trends on the ground. These are familiar, well-articulated components of U.S. policy.

But in reality this vote for us was not straightforward, because of where it is taking place – at the United Nations. For the simple truth is that for as long as Israel has been a member of this institution, Israel has been treated differently from other nations at the United Nations. And not only in decades past – such as in the infamous resolution that the General Assembly adopted in 1975, with the support of the majority of Member States, officially determining that, "Zionism is a form of racism" – but also in 2016, this year. One need only look at the 18 resolutions against Israel adopted during the UN General Assembly in September; or the 12 Israel-specific resolutions adopted this year in the Human Rights Council – more than those focused on Syria, North Korea, Iran, and South Sudan put together – to see that in 2016 Israel continues to be treated differently from other Member States.

Like U.S. administrations before it, the Obama Administration has worked tirelessly to fight for Israel's right simply to be treated just like any other country – from advocating for Israel to finally be granted membership to a UN regional body, something no other UN Member State had been denied; to fighting to ensure that Israeli NGOs are not denied UN accreditation, simply because they are Israeli, to getting Yom Kippur finally recognized as a UN holiday; to pressing this Council to break its indefensible silence in response to terrorist attacks on Israelis. As the United States has said repeatedly, such unequal treatment not only hurts Israel, it undermines the legitimacy of the United Nations itself.

The practice of treating Israel differently at the UN matters for votes like this one. For even if one believes that the resolution proposed today is justified – or, even more, necessitated – by events on the ground, one cannot completely separate the vote from the venue.

And Member States that say they are for the two-state solution must ask themselves some difficult questions. For those states that are quick to promote resolutions condemning Israel, but refuse to recognize when innocent Israelis are the victims of terrorism – what steps will you take to stop treating Israel differently? For those states that passionately denounce the closures of crossings in Gaza as exacerbating the humanitarian situation, but saying nothing of the resources diverted from helping Gaza's residents to dig tunnels into Israeli territory so that

terrorists can attack Israelis in their homes – what will you do to end the double-standard that undermines the legitimacy of this institution?

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It is because this forum too often continues to be biased against Israel; because there are important issues that are not sufficiently addressed in this resolution; and because the United States does not agree with every word in this text, that the United States did not vote in favor of the resolution. But it is because this resolution reflects the facts on the ground – and is consistent with U.S. policy across Republican and Democratic administration throughout the history of the State of Israel – that the United States did not veto it.

The United States has consistently said we would block any resolution that we thought would undermine Israel's security or seek to impose a resolution to the conflict. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by the Palestinians such as terrorism and incitement to violence, which we've repeatedly condemned and repeatedly raised with the Palestinian leadership, and which, of course, must be stopped.

Unlike some on the UN Security Council, we do not believe that outside parties can impose a solution that has not been negotiated by the two parties. Nor can we unilaterally recognize a future Palestinian state. But it is precisely our commitment to Israel's security that makes the United States believe that we cannot stand in the way of this resolution as we seek to preserve a chance of attaining our long-standing objective: two states living side-by-side in peace and security. Let me briefly explain why.

The settlement problem has gotten so much worse that it is now putting at risk the very viability of that two-state solution. The number of settlers in the roughly 150 authorized Israeli settlements east of the 1967 lines has increased dramatically. Since the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords – which launched efforts that made a comprehensive and lasting peace possible – the number of settlers has increased by 355,000. The total settler population in the West Bank and East Jerusalem now exceeds 590,000. Nearly 90,000 settlers are living east of the separation barrier that was created by Israel itself. And just since July 2016 – when the Middle East Quartet issued a report highlighting international concern about a systematic process of land seizures, settlement expansions, and legalizations – Israel has advanced plans for more than 2,600 new settlement units. Yet rather than dismantling these and other settler outposts, which are illegal even under Israeli law, now there is new legislation advancing in the Israeli Knesset that would legalize most of the outposts – a factor that propelled the decision by this resolution's sponsors to bring it before the Council.

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negotiations have failed. And since 2011, President Obama and Secretary Kerry have repeatedly warned – publically and privately – that the absence of progress toward peace and continued settlement expansion was going to put the two-state solution at risk, and threaten Israel's stated objective to remain both a Jewish State and a democracy. Moreover, unlike in 2011, this resolution condemns violence, terrorism and incitement, which also poses an extremely grave risk to the two-state solution. This resolution reflects trends that will permanently destroy the hope of a two-state solution if they continue on their current course.

The United States has not taken the step of voting in support of this resolution because the resolution is too narrowly focused on settlements, when we all know – or we all should know – that many other factors contribute significantly to the tensions that perpetuate this conflict. Let us be clear: even if every single settlement were to be dismantled tomorrow, peace still would not be attainable without both sides acknowledging uncomfortable truths and making difficult choices. That is an indisputable fact. Yet it is one that is too often overlooked by members of the United Nations and by members of this Council.

For Palestinian leaders, that means recognizing the obvious: that in addition to taking innocent lives – the incitement to violence, the glorification of terrorists, and the growth of violent extremism erodes prospects for peace, as this resolution makes crystal clear. The most recent wave of Palestinian violence has seen terrorists commit hundreds of attacks – including driving cars into crowds of innocent civilians and stabbing mothers in front of their children. Yet rather than condemn these attacks, Hamas, other radical factions, and even certain members of Fatah have held up the terrorists as heroes, and used social media to incite others to follow in their murderous footsteps. And while President Abbas and his party's leaders have made clear their opposition to violence, terrorism, and extremism, they have too often failed to condemn specific attacks or condemn the praised heaped upon the perpetrators.

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Our commitment to that security has never wavered, and it never will. Even with a financial crisis and budget deficits, we've repeatedly increased funding to support Israel's military. And in September, the Obama administration signed a Memorandum of Understanding to provide $38 billion in security assistance to Israel over the next 10 years – the largest single pledge of military assistance in U.S. history to any country. And as the Israeli Prime Minister himself has noted, our military and intelligence cooperation is unprecedented. We believe, though, that continued settlement building seriously undermines Israel's security.

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I thank you.

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UNCLASSIFIED

Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 9:11 PM
To: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL
Subject: Fw: today

RELEASE IN FULL

?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Billy, Kelley <kelley.billy@mail.house.gov>
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 9:08 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: today

Ambassador Power,
I am no longer with congresswoman Grangers office. I've emailed your scheduler suggesting she email Johnnie Kaberle in her office to get in touch.

Kelley Billy
Office of Congressman David Rouzer (NC-07)
Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 23, 2016, at 6:13 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:

> Congresswoman Granger -- I know you disagree fervently with Obama's decision on this UNSCR, but I pass along our effort to explain today, FWIW. I hope you have a happy holiday and, even today, can remember all we have achieved with Israel at the UN. Warmly, Samantha

AS DELIVERED December 23, 2016

Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East, December 23, 2016

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Given the consistency of this position across U.S. administrations, one would think that it would be a routine vote for the U.S. to allow the passage of a resolution with the elements in this one, reaffirming the long-standing U.S. position on settlements, condemning violence and incitement, and calling for the parties to start taking constructive steps to reverse current trends on the ground. These are familiar, well-articulated components of U.S. policy.

But in reality this vote for us was not straightforward, because of where it is taking place – at the United Nations. For the simple truth is that for as long as Israel has been a member of this institution, Israel has been treated differently from other nations at the United Nations. And not only in decades past – such as in the infamous resolution that the General Assembly adopted in 1975, with the support of the majority of Member States, officially determining that, "Zionism is a form of racism" – but also in 2016, this year. One need only look at the 18 resolutions against Israel adopted during the UN General Assembly in September; or the 12 Israel-specific resolutions adopted this year in the Human Rights Council – more than those focused on Syria, North Korea, Iran, and South Sudan put together – to see that in 2016 Israel continues to be treated differently from other Member States.

Like U.S. administrations before it, the Obama Administration has worked tirelessly to fight for Israel's right simply to be treated just like any other country – from advocating for Israel to finally be granted membership to a UN regional body, something no other UN Member State had been denied; to fighting to ensure that Israeli NGOs are not denied UN accreditation, simply because they are Israeli, to getting Yom Kippur finally recognized as a UN holiday; to pressing this Council to break its indefensible silence in response to terrorist attacks on Israelis. As the United States has said repeatedly, such unequal treatment not only hurts Israel, it undermines the legitimacy of the United Nations itself.

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It is because this forum too often continues to be biased against Israel; because there are important issues that are not sufficiently addressed in this resolution; and because the United States does not agree with every word in this text, that the United States did not vote in favor of the resolution. But it is because this resolution reflects the facts on the ground – and is consistent with U.S. policy across Republican and Democratic administration throughout the history of the State of Israel – that the United States did not veto it.

The United States has consistently said we would block any resolution that we thought would undermine Israel's security or seek to impose a resolution to the conflict. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by the Palestinians such as terrorism and incitement to violence, which we've repeatedly condemned and repeatedly raised with the Palestinian leadership, and which, of course, must be stopped.

Unlike some on the UN Security Council, we do not believe that outside parties can impose a solution that has not been negotiated by the two parties. Nor can we unilaterally recognize a future Palestinian state. But it is precisely our commitment to Israel's security that makes the United States believe that we cannot stand in the way of this resolution as we seek to preserve a chance of attaining our long-standing objective: two states living side-by-side in peace and security. Let me briefly explain why.

The settlement problem has gotten so much worse that it is now putting at risk the very viability of that two-state solution. The number of settlers in the roughly 150 authorized Israeli settlements east of the 1967 lines has increased dramatically. Since the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords – which launched efforts that made a comprehensive and lasting peace possible – the number of settlers has increased by 355,000. The total settler population in the West Bank and East Jerusalem now exceeds 590,000. Nearly 90,000 settlers are living east of the separation barrier that was created by Israel itself. And just since July 2016 – when the Middle East Quartet issued a report highlighting international concern about a systematic process of land seizures, settlement expansions, and legalizations – Israel has advanced plans for more than 2,600 new settlement units. Yet rather than dismantling these and other settler outposts, which are illegal even under Israeli law, now there is new legislation advancing in the Israeli Knesset that would legalize most of the outposts – a factor that propelled the decision by this resolution's sponsors to bring it before the Council.

The Israeli Prime Minister recently described his government as "more committed to settlements than any in Israel's history," and one of his leading coalition partners recently declared that "the era of the two-state solution is over." At the same time, the Prime Minister has said that he is still

committed to pursuing a two-state solution. But these statements are irreconcilable. One cannot simultaneously champion expanding Israeli settlements and champion a viable two-state solution that would end the conflict. One has to make a choice between settlements and separation.

In 2011, the United States vetoed a resolution that focused exclusively on settlements, as if settlements were they only factor harming the prospects of a two-state solution. The circumstances have changed dramatically. Since 2011, settlement growth has only accelerated. Since 2011, multiple efforts to pursue peace through negotiations have failed. And since 2011, President Obama and Secretary Kerry have repeatedly warned – publically and privately – that the absence of progress toward peace and continued settlement expansion was going to put the two-state solution at risk, and threaten Israel's stated objective to remain both a Jewish State and a democracy. Moreover, unlike in 2011, this resolution condemns violence, terrorism and incitement, which also poses an extremely grave risk to the two-state solution. This resolution reflects trends that will permanently destroy the hope of a two-state solution if they continue on their current course.

The United States has not taken the step of voting in support of this resolution because the resolution is too narrowly focused on settlements, when we all know – or we all should know – that many other factors contribute significantly to the tensions that perpetuate this conflict. Let us be clear: even if every single settlement were to be dismantled tomorrow, peace still would not be attainable without both sides acknowledging uncomfortable truths and making difficult choices. That is an indisputable fact. Yet it is one that is too often overlooked by members of the United Nations and by members of this Council.

For Palestinian leaders, that means recognizing the obvious: that in addition to taking innocent lives – the incitement to violence, the glorification of terrorists, and the growth of violent extremism erodes prospects for peace, as this resolution makes crystal clear. The most recent wave of Palestinian violence has seen terrorists commit hundreds of attacks – including driving cars into crowds of innocent civilians and stabbing mothers in front of their children. Yet rather than condemn these attacks, Hamas, other radical factions, and even certain members of Fatah have held up the terrorists as heroes, and used social media to incite others to follow in their murderous footsteps. And while President Abbas and his party's leaders have made clear their opposition to violence, terrorism, and extremism, they have too often failed to condemn specific attacks or condemn the praised heaped upon the perpetrators.

Our vote today does not in any way diminish the United States' steadfast and unparalleled commitment to the security of Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by Palestinians. We have to recognize that Israel faces very serious threats in a very tough neighborhood. Israelis are rightfully concerned about making sure there is not a new terrorist haven next door. President Obama and this administration have shown an unprecedented commitment to Israel's security because that is what we believe in.

Our commitment to that security has never wavered, and it never will. Even with a financial crisis and budget deficits, we've repeatedly increased funding to support Israel's military. And in September, the Obama administration signed a Memorandum of Understanding to provide $38 billion in security assistance to Israel over the next 10 years – the largest single pledge of military assistance in U.S. history to any country. And as the Israeli Prime Minister himself has noted, our military and intelligence cooperation is unprecedented. We believe, though, that continued settlement building seriously undermines Israel's security.

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Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: David Miliband <David.Miliband@rescue.org>
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 7:47 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: today

Thanks Samantha. It was great to see you. And if it is any comfort amidst the mad reaction, you did the right thing and would not have forgiven yourself if you had vetoed.

See you when you resurface after January 20th.

David

Sent from my iPad

On Dec 23, 2016, at 6:19 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:

> David (&Louise) thank you for a lovely dinner last night. It was a lot more fun than today (see below). Have a wonderful holiday drive together. Warmest, Samantha

AS DELIVERED December 23, 2016

Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East, December 23, 2016

Thank you, Mr. President.

Let me begin with a quote: "The United States will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements during the transitional period. Indeed, the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, more than any other action, could create the confidence needed for wider participation in these talks. Further settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel and only diminishes the confidence of the Arabs that a final outcome can be freely and fairly negotiated."

This was said in 1982 by President Ronald Reagan. He was speaking about a new proposal that he was launching to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While ultimately, of course, President Reagan's proposal was not realized, his words are still illuminating in at least two respects.

First, because they underscore the United States' deep and long-standing commitment to achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. That has been the policy of every administration, Republican and Democrat, since before President Reagan and all the way through to the present day.

Second, because President Reagan's words highlight the United States' long-standing position that Israeli settlement activity in territories occupied in 1967 undermines Israel's security, harms the viability of a negotiated two-state outcome, and erodes prospects for peace and stability in the region. Today, the Security Council reaffirmed its established consensus that settlements have no legal validity. The United States has been sending the message that the settlements must stop – privately and publicly – for nearly five decades, through the administrations of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and now Barack Obama. Indeed, since 1967, the only president who had not had at least one Israeli-Palestinian-related Security Council resolution pass during his tenure is Barack Obama. So our vote today is fully in line with the bipartisan history of how American Presidents have approached both the issue – and the role of this body.

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Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Z113 Kennedy, Joe <MAKennedyJoe@mail.house.gov>
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 7:11 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Re: today

Thanks Ambassador. You're very kind to pass along and will definitely take a look.

Hope you get a bit of a break this weekend. Merry Christmas to you and yours.

Joe

District Headquarters
29 Crafts Street, Suite 375
Newton, MA 02458
617.332.3333

Washington Office
306 Cannon Building
Washington, DC 20515
202.225.5931
www.kennedy.house.gov

To sign up for my eNewsletter, please click here.

On Dec 23, 2016, at 4:45 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:

> Joe – I know this issue is super sensitive, and today's vote (believe me) was very tough. But I wanted to share the remarks below in the hopes that you might read them at some point. Thanks, and happy holidays! Samantha
>
> **Official**
> **UNCLASSIFIED**
>
> **From:** USUN, PRESS
>
> AS DELIVERED December 23, 2016
>
> ***Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East, December 23, 2016***

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The United States has not taken the step of voting in support of this resolution because the resolution is too narrowly focused on settlements, when we all know – or we all should know – that many other factors contribute significantly to the tensions that perpetuate this conflict. Let us be clear: even if every single settlement were to be dismantled tomorrow, peace still would not be attainable without both sides acknowledging uncomfortable truths and making difficult choices. That is an indisputable fact. Yet it is one that is too often overlooked by members of the United Nations and by members of this Council.

For Palestinian leaders, that means recognizing the obvious: that in addition to taking innocent lives – the incitement to violence, the glorification of terrorists, and the growth of violent extremism erodes prospects for peace, as this resolution makes crystal clear. The most recent wave of Palestinian violence has seen terrorists commit hundreds of attacks – including driving cars into crowds of innocent civilians and stabbing mothers in front of their children. Yet rather than condemn these attacks, Hamas, other radical factions, and even certain members of Fatah have held up the terrorists as heroes, and used social media to incite others to follow in their murderous footsteps. And while President Abbas and his party's leaders have made clear their opposition to violence, terrorism, and extremism, they have too often failed to condemn specific attacks or condemn the praised heaped upon the perpetrators.

Our vote today does not in any way diminish the United States' steadfast and unparalleled commitment to the security of Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by Palestinians. We have to recognize that Israel faces very serious threats in a very tough neighborhood. Israelis are rightfully concerned about making sure there is not a new terrorist haven next door. President Obama and this administration have shown an unprecedented commitment to Israel's security because that is what we believe in.

Our commitment to that security has never wavered, and it never will. Even with a financial crisis and budget deficits, we've repeatedly increased funding to support Israel's military. And in September, the Obama administration signed a Memorandum of Understanding to provide $38 billion in security assistance to Israel over the next 10 years – the largest single pledge of military assistance in U.S. history to any country. And as the Israeli Prime Minister himself has

noted, our military and intelligence cooperation is unprecedented. We believe, though, that continued settlement building seriously undermines Israel's security.

Some may cast the U.S. vote as a sign that we have finally given up on a two-state solution. Nothing could be further from the truth. None of us can give up on a two-state solution. We continue to believe that that solution is the only viable path to provide peace and security for the state of Israel, and freedom and dignity for the Palestinian people. And we continue to believe that the parties can still pursue this path, if both sides are honest about the choices, and have the courage to take steps that will be politically difficult. While we can encourage them, it is ultimately up to the parties to choose this path, as it always has been. We sincerely hope that they will begin making these choices before it is too late.

I thank you.

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Official

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RELEASE IN FULL

Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 6:45 PM
To: Sam
Subject: Fw: today

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 6:44 PM
To: Moshe Safdie; Michal Ronnen Safdie
Subject: Fw: today

Tough day. Xo Samantha

AS DELIVERED December 23, 2016

Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East, December 23, 2016

Thank you, Mr. President.

Let me begin with a quote: "The United States will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements during the transitional period. Indeed, the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, more than any other action, could create the confidence needed for wider participation in these talks. Further settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel and only diminishes the confidence of the Arabs that a final outcome can be freely and fairly negotiated."

This was said in 1982 by President Ronald Reagan. He was speaking about a new proposal that he was launching to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While ultimately, of course, President Reagan's proposal was not realized, his words are still illuminating in at least two respects.

First, because they underscore the United States' deep and long-standing commitment to achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. That has been the policy of every administration, Republican and Democrat, since before President Reagan and all the way through to the present day.

Second, because President Reagan's words highlight the United States' long-standing position that Israeli settlement activity in territories occupied in 1967 undermines Israel's security, harms the viability of a negotiated two-state outcome, and erodes prospects for peace and stability in the region. Today, the Security Council reaffirmed its established consensus that settlements have no legal validity. The United States has been sending the message that the settlements must stop – privately and publicly – for nearly five decades, through the administrations of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and now Barack Obama. Indeed, since 1967, the only president who had not had at least one Israeli-Palestinian-related Security Council resolution pass during his tenure is Barack Obama. So our vote today is fully in line with the bipartisan history of how American Presidents have approached both the issue – and the role of this body.

Given the consistency of this position across U.S. administrations, one would think that it would be a routine vote for the U.S. to allow the passage of a resolution with the elements in this one, reaffirming the long-standing U.S. position on settlements, condemning violence and incitement, and calling for the parties to start taking constructive steps to reverse current trends on the ground. These are familiar, well-articulated components of U.S. policy.

But in reality this vote for us was not straightforward, because of where it is taking place – at the United Nations. For the simple truth is that for as long as Israel has been a member of this institution, Israel has been treated differently from other nations at the United Nations. And not only in decades past – such as in the infamous resolution that the General Assembly adopted in 1975, with the support of the majority of Member States, officially determining that, "Zionism is a form of racism" – but also in 2016, this year. One need only look at the 18 resolutions against Israel adopted during the UN General Assembly in September; or the 12 Israel-specific resolutions adopted this year in the Human Rights Council – more than those focused on Syria, North Korea, Iran, and South Sudan put together – to see that in 2016 Israel continues to be treated differently from other Member States.

Like U.S. administrations before it, the Obama Administration has worked tirelessly to fight for Israel's right simply to be treated just like any other country – from advocating for Israel to finally be granted membership to a UN regional body, something no other UN Member State had been denied; to fighting to ensure that Israeli NGOs are not denied UN accreditation, simply because they are Israeli, to getting Yom Kippur finally recognized as a UN holiday; to pressing this Council to break its indefensible silence in response to terrorist attacks on Israelis. As the United States has said repeatedly, such unequal treatment not only hurts Israel, it undermines the legitimacy of the United Nations itself.

The practice of treating Israel differently at the UN matters for votes like this one. For even if one believes that the resolution proposed today is justified – or, even more, necessitated – by events on the ground, one cannot completely separate the vote from the venue.

And Member States that say they are for the two-state solution must ask themselves some difficult questions. For those states that are quick to promote resolutions condemning Israel, but refuse to recognize when innocent Israelis are the victims of terrorism – what steps will you take to stop treating Israel differently? For those states that passionately denounce the closures of crossings in Gaza as exacerbating the humanitarian situation, but saying nothing of the resources diverted from helping Gaza's residents to dig tunnels into Israeli territory so that terrorists can attack Israelis in their homes – what will you do to end the double-standard that undermines the legitimacy of this institution?

Member States should also ask themselves about the double standards when it comes to this Council taking action. Just this morning we came together, as a Council, and we were unable to muster the will to act to stop the flow of weapons going to killers in South Sudan, who are perpetrating mass atrocities that the UN has said could lead to genocide. We couldn't come together just to stem the flow of arms. Earlier this month, this Council could not muster the will to adopt the simplest of resolutions calling for a seven-day pause in the savage bombardment of innocent civilians, hospitals, and schools in Aleppo. Yet when a resolution on Israel comes before this Council, members suddenly summon the will to act.

It is because this forum too often continues to be biased against Israel; because there are important issues that are not sufficiently addressed in this resolution; and because the United States does not agree with every word in this text, that the United States did not vote in favor of the resolution. But it is because this resolution reflects the facts on the ground – and is consistent with U.S. policy across Republican and Democratic administration throughout the history of the State of Israel – that the United States did not veto it.

The United States has consistently said we would block any resolution that we thought would undermine Israel's security or seek to impose a resolution to the conflict. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by the Palestinians such as terrorism and incitement to violence, which we've repeatedly condemned and repeatedly raised with the Palestinian leadership, and which, of course, must be stopped.

Unlike some on the UN Security Council, we do not believe that outside parties can impose a solution that has not been negotiated by the two parties. Nor can we unilaterally recognize a future Palestinian state. But it is precisely our commitment to Israel's security that makes the United States believe that we cannot stand in the way of this resolution as we seek to preserve a chance of attaining our long-standing objective: two states living side-by-side in peace and security. Let me briefly explain why.

The settlement problem has gotten so much worse that it is now putting at risk the very viability of that two-state solution. The number of settlers in the roughly 150 authorized Israeli settlements east of the 1967 lines has increased dramatically. Since the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords – which launched efforts that made a comprehensive and lasting peace possible – the number of settlers has increased by 355,000. The total settler population in the West Bank and East Jerusalem now exceeds 590,000. Nearly 90,000 settlers are living east of the separation barrier that was created by Israel itself. And just since July 2016 – when the Middle East Quartet issued a report highlighting international concern about a systematic process of land seizures, settlement expansions, and legalizations – Israel has advanced plans for more than 2,600 new settlement units. Yet rather than dismantling these and other settler outposts, which are illegal even under Israeli law, now there is new legislation advancing in the Israeli Knesset that would legalize most of the outposts – a factor that propelled the decision by this resolution's sponsors to bring it before the Council.

The Israeli Prime Minister recently described his government as "more committed to settlements than any in Israel's history," and one of his leading coalition partners recently declared that "the era of the two-state solution is over." At the same time, the Prime Minister has said that he is still committed to pursuing a two-state solution. But these statements are irreconcilable. One cannot simultaneously champion expanding Israeli settlements and champion a viable two-state solution that would end the conflict. One has to make a choice between settlements and separation.

In 2011, the United States vetoed a resolution that focused exclusively on settlements, as if settlements were they only factor harming the prospects of a two-state solution. The circumstances have changed dramatically. Since 2011, settlement growth has only accelerated. Since 2011, multiple efforts to pursue peace through negotiations have failed. And since 2011, President Obama and Secretary Kerry have repeatedly warned – publically and privately – that the absence of progress toward peace and continued settlement expansion was going to put the two-state solution at risk, and threaten Israel's stated objective to remain both a Jewish State and a democracy. Moreover, unlike in 2011, this resolution condemns violence, terrorism and incitement, which also poses an extremely grave risk to the two-state solution. This resolution reflects trends that will permanently destroy the hope of a two-state solution if they continue on their current course.

The United States has not taken the step of voting in support of this resolution because the resolution is too narrowly focused on settlements, when we all know – or we all should know – that many other factors contribute significantly to the tensions that perpetuate this conflict. Let us be clear: even if every single settlement were to be dismantled tomorrow, peace still would not be attainable without both sides acknowledging uncomfortable truths and making difficult choices. That is an indisputable fact. Yet it is one that is too often overlooked by members of the United Nations and by members of this Council.

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RELEASE IN FULL

Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 6:21 PM
To: Jeffrey Feltman
Subject: FW: today

Assume you saw...

AS DELIVERED December 23, 2016

Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East, December 23, 2016

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Let me begin with a quote: "The United States will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements during the transitional period. Indeed, the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, more than any other action, could create the confidence needed for wider participation in these talks. Further settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel and only diminishes the confidence of the Arabs that a final outcome can be freely and fairly negotiated."

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the administrations of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and now Barack Obama. Indeed, since 1967, the only president who had not had at least one Israeli-Palestinian-related Security Council resolution pass during his tenure is Barack Obama. So our vote today is fully in line with the bipartisan history of how American Presidents have approached both the issue – and the role of this body.

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B6

Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 6:21 PM
To: Leon Wieseltier (lwieseltier@theatlantic.com)
Subject: FW: today

Leon – I try to explain our vote today. Very hard, but perhaps easier to explain this than Aleppo. I hope you have a very cozy holiday with Jen [redacted] Xo Samantha B6

AS DELIVERED December 23, 2016

Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East, December 23, 2016

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Unlike some on the UN Security Council, we do not believe that outside parties can impose a solution that has not been negotiated by the two parties. Nor can we unilaterally recognize a future Palestinian state. But it is precisely our commitment to Israel's security that makes the United States believe that we cannot stand in the way of this resolution as we seek to preserve a chance of attaining our long-standing objective: two states living side-by-side in peace and security. Let me briefly explain why.

The settlement problem has gotten so much worse that it is now putting at risk the very viability of that two-state solution. The number of settlers in the roughly 150 authorized Israeli settlements east of the 1967 lines has increased dramatically. Since the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords – which launched efforts that made a comprehensive and lasting peace possible – the number of settlers has increased by 355,000. The total settler population in the West Bank and East Jerusalem now exceeds 590,000. Nearly 90,000 settlers are living east of the separation barrier that was created by Israel itself. And just since July 2016 – when the Middle East Quartet issued a report highlighting international concern about a systematic process of land seizures, settlement expansions, and legalizations – Israel has advanced plans for more than 2,600 new settlement units. Yet rather than dismantling these and other settler outposts, which are illegal even under Israeli law, now there is new legislation advancing in the Israeli Knesset that would legalize most of the outposts – a factor that propelled the decision by this resolution's sponsors to bring it before the Council.

The Israeli Prime Minister recently described his government as "more committed to settlements than any in Israel's history," and one of his leading coalition partners recently declared that "the era of the two-state solution is over." At the same time, the Prime Minister has said that he is still committed to pursuing a two-state solution. But these statements are irreconcilable. One cannot simultaneously champion expanding Israeli settlements and champion a viable two-state solution that would end the conflict. One has to make a choice between settlements and separation.

In 2011, the United States vetoed a resolution that focused exclusively on settlements, as if settlements were they only factor harming the prospects of a two-state solution. The circumstances have changed dramatically. Since 2011, settlement growth has only accelerated. Since 2011, multiple efforts to pursue peace through negotiations have failed. And since 2011, President Obama and Secretary Kerry have repeatedly warned – publically and privately – that the absence of progress toward peace and continued settlement expansion was going to put the two-state solution at risk, and threaten Israel's stated objective to remain both a Jewish State and a democracy. Moreover, unlike in 2011, this resolution condemns violence, terrorism and incitement, which also poses an extremely grave risk to the two-state solution. This resolution reflects trends that will permanently destroy the hope of a two-state solution if they continue on their current course.

The United States has not taken the step of voting in support of this resolution because the resolution is too narrowly focused on settlements, when we all know – or we all should know – that many other factors contribute significantly to the tensions that perpetuate this conflict. Let us be clear: even if every single settlement were to be dismantled tomorrow, peace still would not be attainable without both sides acknowledging uncomfortable truths and making difficult choices. That is an indisputable fact. Yet it is one that is too often overlooked by members of the United Nations and by members of this Council.

For Palestinian leaders, that means recognizing the obvious: that in addition to taking innocent lives – the incitement to violence, the glorification of terrorists, and the growth of violent extremism erodes prospects for peace, as this resolution makes crystal clear. The most recent wave of Palestinian violence has seen terrorists commit hundreds of attacks – including driving cars into crowds of innocent civilians and stabbing mothers in front of their children. Yet rather than condemn these attacks, Hamas, other radical factions, and even certain members of Fatah have held up the terrorists as heroes, and used social media to incite others to follow in their murderous footsteps. And while President Abbas and his party's leaders have made clear their opposition to violence, terrorism, and extremism, they have too often failed to condemn specific attacks or condemn the praised heaped upon the perpetrators.

Our vote today does not in any way diminish the United States' steadfast and unparalleled commitment to the security of Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by Palestinians. We have to recognize that Israel faces very serious threats in a very tough neighborhood. Israelis are rightfully concerned about making sure there is not a new terrorist haven next door. President Obama and this administration have shown an unprecedented commitment to Israel's security because that is what we believe in.

Our commitment to that security has never wavered, and it never will. Even with a financial crisis and budget deficits, we've repeatedly increased funding to support Israel's military. And in September, the Obama administration signed a Memorandum of Understanding to provide $38 billion in security assistance to Israel over the next 10 years – the largest single pledge of military assistance in U.S. history to any country. And as the Israeli Prime Minister himself has noted, our military and intelligence cooperation is unprecedented. We believe, though, that continued settlement building seriously undermines Israel's security.

Some may cast the U.S. vote as a sign that we have finally given up on a two-state solution. Nothing could be further from the truth. None of us can give up on a two-state solution. We continue to believe that that solution is the only viable path to provide peace and security for the state of Israel, and freedom and dignity for the Palestinian people. And we continue to believe that the parties can still pursue this path, if both sides are honest about the choices, and have the courage to take steps that will be politically difficult. While we can encourage them, it is ultimately up to the parties to choose this path, as it always has been. We sincerely hope that they will begin making these choices before it is too late.

I thank you.

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Figueroa, Priscilla C

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B6

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2016 6:14 PM
To: Senator Chris Coons [redacted] B6
Subject: FW: today

Senator Coons -- I know you likely disagree fervently with Obama's decision on this UNSCR, but I pass along our effort to explain today, FWIW. I also hope you remember all we have achieved with Israel at the UN. I hope you have a warm holiday with your family despite all that lies ahead.
Warmly, Samantha

AS DELIVERED December 23, 2016

Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 on the Situation in the Middle East, December 23, 2016

Thank you, Mr. President.

Let me begin with a quote: "The United States will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements during the transitional period. Indeed, the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, more than any other action, could create the confidence needed for wider participation in these talks. Further settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel and only diminishes the confidence of the Arabs that a final outcome can be freely and fairly negotiated."

This was said in 1982 by President Ronald Reagan. He was speaking about a new proposal that he was launching to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While ultimately, of course, President Reagan's proposal was not realized, his words are still illuminating in at least two respects.

First, because they underscore the United States' deep and long-standing commitment to achieving a comprehensive and lasting peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. That has been the policy of every administration, Republican and Democrat, since before President Reagan and all the way through to the present day.

Second, because President Reagan's words highlight the United States' long-standing position that Israeli settlement activity in territories occupied in 1967 undermines Israel's security, harms the viability of a negotiated two-state outcome, and erodes prospects for peace and stability in the region. Today, the Security Council reaffirmed its established consensus that settlements have no legal validity. The United States has been sending the message that the settlements must stop – privately and publicly – for nearly five decades, through the administrations of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and now Barack Obama. Indeed, since 1967, the only president who had not had at least one Israeli-Palestinian-related Security Council resolution pass during his tenure is Barack Obama. So our vote today is fully in line with the bipartisan history of how American Presidents have approached both the issue – and the role of this body.

Given the consistency of this position across U.S. administrations, one would think that it would be a routine vote for the U.S. to allow the passage of a resolution with the elements in this one, reaffirming the long-standing U.S. position on settlements, condemning violence and incitement, and calling for the parties to start taking constructive steps to reverse current trends on the ground. These are familiar, well-articulated components of U.S. policy.

But in reality this vote for us was not straightforward, because of where it is taking place – at the United Nations. For the simple truth is that for as long as Israel has been a member of this institution, Israel has been treated differently from other nations at the United Nations. And not only in decades past – such as in the infamous resolution that the General Assembly adopted in 1975, with the support of the majority of Member States, officially determining that, "Zionism is a form of racism" – but also in 2016, this year. One need only look at the 18 resolutions against Israel adopted during the UN General Assembly in September; or the 12 Israel-specific resolutions adopted this year in the Human Rights Council – more than those focused on Syria, North Korea, Iran, and South Sudan put together – to see that in 2016 Israel continues to be treated differently from other Member States.

Like U.S. administrations before it, the Obama Administration has worked tirelessly to fight for Israel's right simply to be treated just like any other country – from advocating for Israel to finally be granted membership to a UN regional body, something no other UN Member State had been denied; to fighting to ensure that Israeli NGOs are not denied UN accreditation, simply because they are Israeli, to getting Yom Kippur finally recognized as a UN holiday; to pressing this Council to break its indefensible silence in response to terrorist attacks on Israelis. As the United States has said repeatedly, such unequal treatment not only hurts Israel, it undermines the legitimacy of the United Nations itself.

The practice of treating Israel differently at the UN matters for votes like this one. For even if one believes that the resolution proposed today is justified – or, even more, necessitated – by events on the ground, one cannot completely separate the vote from the venue.

And Member States that say they are for the two-state solution must ask themselves some difficult questions. For those states that are quick to promote resolutions condemning Israel, but refuse to recognize when innocent

Israelis are the victims of terrorism – what steps will you take to stop treating Israel differently? For those states that passionately denounce the closures of crossings in Gaza as exacerbating the humanitarian situation, but saying nothing of the resources diverted from helping Gaza's residents to dig tunnels into Israeli territory so that terrorists can attack Israelis in their homes – what will you do to end the double-standard that undermines the legitimacy of this institution?

Member States should also ask themselves about the double standards when it comes to this Council taking action. Just this morning we came together, as a Council, and we were unable to muster the will to act to stop the flow of weapons going to killers in South Sudan, who are perpetrating mass atrocities that the UN has said could lead to genocide. We couldn't come together just to stem the flow of arms. Earlier this month, this Council could not muster the will to adopt the simplest of resolutions calling for a seven-day pause in the savage bombardment of innocent civilians, hospitals, and schools in Aleppo. Yet when a resolution on Israel comes before this Council, members suddenly summon the will to act.

It is because this forum too often continues to be biased against Israel; because there are important issues that are not sufficiently addressed in this resolution; and because the United States does not agree with every word in this text, that the United States did not vote in favor of the resolution. But it is because this resolution reflects the facts on the ground – and is consistent with U.S. policy across Republican and Democratic administration throughout the history of the State of Israel – that the United States did not veto it.

The United States has consistently said we would block any resolution that we thought would undermine Israel's security or seek to impose a resolution to the conflict. We would not have let this resolution pass had it not also addressed counterproductive actions by the Palestinians such as terrorism and incitement to violence, which we've repeatedly condemned and repeatedly raised with the Palestinian leadership, and which, of course, must be stopped.

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legislation advancing in the Israeli Knesset that would legalize most of the outposts – a factor that propelled the decision by this resolution's sponsors to bring it before the Council.

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In 2011, the United States vetoed a resolution that focused exclusively on settlements, as if settlements were they only factor harming the prospects of a two-state solution. The circumstances have changed dramatically. Since 2011, settlement growth has only accelerated. Since 2011, multiple efforts to pursue peace through negotiations have failed. And since 2011, President Obama and Secretary Kerry have repeatedly warned – publically and privately – that the absence of progress toward peace and continued settlement expansion was going to put the two-state solution at risk, and threaten Israel's stated objective to remain both a Jewish State and a democracy. Moreover, unlike in 2011, this resolution condemns violence, terrorism and incitement, which also poses an extremely grave risk to the two-state solution. This resolution reflects trends that will permanently destroy the hope of a two-state solution if they continue on their current course.

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Figueroa, Priscilla C

From: White House Press Office <noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, December 13, 2016 7:41 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Press Briefing by Press Secretary Josh Earnest and Special Envoy for the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL, Brett McGurk , 12/13/16

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 13, 2016

PRESS BRIEFING
BY PRESS SECRETARY JOSH EARNEST
AND SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL ENVOY FOR
THE GLOBAL COALITION TO COUNTER ISIL, BRETT MCGURK

James S. Brady Press Briefing Room

1:00 P.M. EDT

MR. EARNEST: Good afternoon, everybody. Happy Tuesday. As advertised, I'm going to be joined today by Brett McGurk. Brett has been here a couple of times before. Brett just left a National Security Council meeting with the President. The President, as you know, convenes his National Security Council every few weeks to review the progress that we're making against ISIL. Brett participated in the meeting and is now here to provide an update to all of you on that progress.

Brett's title -- I was asking him just before we walked in -- is Special Presidential Envoy to the Global Coalition Against ISIL. He's got a presentation that he'll offer up and then he'll take some questions. He'll leave and then I can take your questions on non-ISIL-related topics from there.

So with that, Brett, do you want to take it away?

MR. MCGURK: So thanks for having me. I thought I would give an update on the counter-ISIL campaign. The last time I was here I think was about six months ago, and I have a lot of new information, which I'll convey.

The President just convened, as Josh mentioned, his National Security Council today to discuss the current status of the global campaign against ISIL. The meeting provided an in-depth overview of where we are in this campaign, and I want to provide just an update overall.

So as you know, we analyze ISIL and focus our policy on destroying it in really three dimensions -- its core in Iraq and Syria and shrinking its physical space; its network, so that's foreign fighters, finance and propaganda media networks; and then the so-called affiliates, made of affinities, affiliates around the world, of which Libya has been of particular concern to us.

The United States, we have an Integrated Campaign Plan that incorporates our entire government -- Defense, State, Treasury, Justice, Homeland Security, and the intelligence community -- around specific lines of effort. It's called the ICP, and it's an effort we review and refresh really each quarter to help identify opportunities, reinforce areas where we're having success and address areas that may have fallen behind. The President received a detailed update on this ICP this morning.

We also, of course, lead a global coalition of 68 members -- this is one of the largest coalitions of its kind in history -- to relentlessly combat ISIL across all lines of effort. So, militarily, on the ground in Iraq and Syria, we're supporting partners with training, equipping, advising and airstrikes. That's 17,455 airstrikes against ISIL terrorists as of this morning.

Through law enforcement cooperation, where we're sharing information to find and disrupt plots around the world. Through intelligence, homeland security and other channels to help combat the flow of foreign fighters across borders. Through treasury and finance to destroy ISIL's economic infrastructure. And through both governments and the private sector to combat ISIL's poisonous ideology and their propaganda online, their ability to recruit.

Our global coalition has also provided billions of dollars to support stabilization in areas cleared of ISIL, enabling citizens to return. And this is not only a U.S. effort; ISIL is an enemy that threatens the entire world, so we have leveraged resources from around the world, including more than $2 billion pledged for humanitarian, stabilization efforts in Iraq during coalition meetings in July.

But U.S. leadership matters on this. And that's why I want to thank the Congress for their close coordination in supporting a counter-ISIL budget amendment in the recently passed continuing resolution. These funds will be essential to help us accelerate the campaign and support efforts such as demining that allows people to return to their homes. And I'll be calling on coalition partners to make similar contributions here over the coming days.

Let me update you briefly on some of the update -- the campaigns we have ongoing now, particularly in Sirte, Libya; and Raqqa and Mosul.

In Sirte, about a year ago ISIL controlled approximately 150 kilometers of land on the Mediterranean coastline. It was using Libya as a haven from which to plan attacks in neighboring Tunisia, and ISIL

leaders were encouraging people to travel to Libya, instead of Syria, to join ISIL. They saw it as their growing safe haven.

Since that time, at the President's direction, we've eliminated the mastermind of the Tunisia attacks, Noureddine Chouchane; the leader of ISIL in Libya, Abu Nabil, who came from Syria to lead ISIL in Libya. And now we've just completed operations to liberate Sirte and its surrounding areas. So in Operation Odyssey Lightning, U.S. military forces conducted almost 500 airstrikes in support of units fighting under the authority of Libya's Government of National Accord. And while we've still got work to be done, this strategic location in the Mediterranean is no longer accessible to ISIL terrorists. We'll, of course, continue to support the Government of National Accord as it pursues ISIL throughout the country.

In Raqqa -- Raqqa remains ISIL administrative capital and it is under more pressure now than ever before. Forces partnered with our coalition have now entirely severed routes between Raqqa and ISIL locations in Iraq. And the Syrian Democratic Forces, a coalition of local Arabs and Kurds, are steadily advancing on Raqqa with the aim to isolate or really strangulate the city. Since this operation began about one month ago, the SDF has cleared 700 square kilometers north of Raqqa, and just on Saturday began a second phase of operations along the new access just to the west, and this is proceeding quite well.

The pressure in Raqqa is bearing fruit as ISIL leaders come out of hiding, which allows us to kill them. Today we confirm the deaths by precision coalition airstrikes of three terrorist leaders in Raqqa -- Salah Gourmat, Sammy Djedou, Walid Hamman.

Gourmat was a French Algerian, Djedou a Belgian. They were responsible for planning and facilitating the November 13th attacks in Paris last year. They were also actively plotting attacks when they were killed on December 4th in the streets of Raqqa. Hamman had been convicted by a Belgian court for a terrorist plot in 2015, and he was working with Gourmat and Djedou to plan new attacks.

So these three dead terrorists in Raqqa join a growing list from ISIL's what we call their external operations network that we have targeted and eliminated. Last month, coalition forces eliminated Abd al-Basit al-Iraqi. He was the ISIL emir for attacks throughout the Middle East region and a key facilitator for terrorist travel through Turkey. Coalition strikes also killed Boubaker al-Hakim, an ISIL leader planning attacks in France and throughout Europe. And a leader of all ISIL external operations, of course, Muhammad Adnani, was killed on August 30th as he traveled from Raqqa to Bab.

So the point is, even as operations continue to move towards Raqqa, our coalition is relentlessly reaching into Raqqa to eliminate ISIL leaders with a particular focus on those planning and plotting against our homeland and our partners.

For the operation to seize and hold Raqqa, which will be coming, we're in close consultation with our partners including Turkey. I was in Ankara last week for talks on this and other topics and these talks were quite fruitful. And the President's authorization over the weekend for an additional 200 Special Operations Forces in Syria will help further accelerate our campaign to eject ISIL from Raqqa. I visited these Special Operators several times and they are doing truly heroic work to protect our homeland and to eliminate this haven of ISIL in Syria.

And I'll briefly discussed the Mosul campaign. We're now in month two of what is really the most complex operation to date -- the liberation of Mosul -- and thus far we've seen a very steady and deliberate advance along all axes against ISIL terrorists, which are using the civilian population in Mosul as human shields.

I just visited the eastern axis, just in the outskirts of Mosul, last week. Secretary Carter was in Iraq, and he visited the Qayara airbase, south of Mosul, over the weekend. And General Votel, our CENTCOM commander, was in the same area just yesterday and gave a very detailed to the President this morning. And all of us witnessed this unprecedented cooperation between the Iraqi security forces and Kurdish Peshmerga, which has really been essential to this campaign.

Our coalition since the beginning of this campaign, about two years ago, we've trained over 65,000 Iraqi personnel who are now fighting professionally and performing heroically. So ISIL terrorists are now trapped in Mosul. They're unable to resupply or replenish their dwindling ranks. Throughout this campaign, which began just a couple months ago now, we've already conducted over 500 airstrikes, destroyed about 100 car bombs, 100 tunnels, 300 bunkers -- this is ongoing every single day.

We're often asked how long this is going to take, and the answer is, in Mosul, it will take as long as it takes. I think it's useful to remember other campaigns against ISIL. Kobani, Raqqa, Baiji oil refinery are very significant campaigns; each of them took about six months. Some have gone faster -- Fallujah went a little faster than anticipated. And the key thing is that, what ISIL does in these cities is they set up concentric rings of defenses, and once you break through the crust of that defense, you don't know what's going to come next. Eventually they reach a culmination point; they simply cannot resupply, they run out of suicide bombers, and they culminate. And in Mosul, we don't when that will come. It could come very soon; it could come a couple months from now. But our momentum will be sustained and we'll provide relentless pressure on the enemy throughout Mosul.

Every single operation in Iraq that we have supported has succeeded, and all the ground that has been retaken from ISIL in Iraq has been held, and Mosul will be no different.

Let me very briefly, in about five minutes, just go through some of the indicators that I discussed last time when I was here in June --

there's about eight of them, but I'll go them fairly quickly -- of how we track this overall campaign and how we measure how we're doing.

The first is territory. And we actually have a new map here which just came out this morning from our intelligence community, and the map demonstrates that ISIL continues to lose significant ground. And why is this important? Because what has made ISIL this global phenomenon, with all of these recruits from all around the world -- although that's rapidly diminishing -- is this notion of this homeland and caliphate. And all of their propaganda used to talk about this expanding homeland, this expanding movement, and they can no longer say that because their territory is now rapidly shrinking.

So in Iraq now, about 61 percent of territory that had been controlled by ISIL has now been reclaimed, and in Syria, about 28 percent. But what is most significant -- I think the last time I was here there was still a 98-kilometer strip of border with Turkey in which ISIL terrorists were still able to come in and out, and that is where the Paris attackers, the Brussels attackers transited through this route. So since then, over the last six months, we've worked very closely with the Syrian Democratic Forces, and also with Turkey and the moderate opposition to close off that route. It's at the number one in the map.

So ISIL now has no access to an international border, and this is significantly impacted the overall campaign because they are now a very isolated entity within Syria and Iraq, and, most importantly, it is much harder for them to come in and out, which is critical for them to project their terrorist acts outside of Iraq and Syria. So territory we're continuing to shrink as we speak, and that will continue.

Leadership. ISIL's leadership ranks are dwindling. I already mentioned some of the recent strikes against their leaders in Raqqa. But since the start of the campaign we've eliminated nearly all of Abu Bakr Baghdadi deputies and his trusted advisors. That includes his likely successor, Haji Imam; his ministers for war, finance, oil and gas, security, and external operations. And as these leaders are replaced, we target and kill their replacements. And we've seen a significant degradation in their overall capabilities and ranks.

Baghdadi himself -- he claims to be the caliph -- we have not seen his face in well over a year. He issued an audiotape about a month ago, but issuing audiotapes deep in hiding is not really a sign of a confident leader, particularly in today's media age. So eventually, we will find and eliminate him as well, but the leadership ranks continue to diminish.

Third indicator, their overall fighting capacity, their overall strength, overall fighters. The number of battle-ready fighters inside Iraq and Syria is now at its lowest point that it's ever been. We estimate about 12,000 to 15,000. And ISIL is unable to replenish its ranks.

Whereas we used to see about a thousand foreign fighters in the 2014 time frame flowing into Syria, coming from all around the world -- I've mentioned this before -- an unprecedented number of these foreign fighters, these jihadi fighters coming from all around the world, almost 40,000 -- it's now down to really what is quite a negligible amount, in our estimation.

And that's really thanks, again, to our efforts on the ground and our Special Operators that have done an incredible job to clear out that area of the border just south of Turkey, and now the intervention from Turkey to protect its border, make sure that these terrorists cannot get in and out.

We are also making sure that foreign fighters cannot transit across borders. So about 60 countries within the coalition have really strengthened their laws against the transit of foreign fighters. Plots have been disrupted in about 15 countries, and this continues. One of the unsung efforts of our coalition which has really strengthened is the information-sharing among different capitals. This is something that has now really accelerated, and it's increased our ability to stay well ahead of this enemy.

Fourth indicator, briefly, is revenue. We're destroying ISIL's economic base. Just last week -- it's only one example, but last week, our air coalition destroyed about 168 ISIL oil tankers, the largest strike of its kind. And we've continued to target their oil and gas infrastructure, their bulk cash storage sites and their financial facilitators. They cannot pay their fighters. The fighters come thinking they're going to have this lavish lifestyle -- that is not happening. Their fighters are not getting paid, and we have multiple indications of that. And we will continue to maintain this relentless pressure.

The fifth indicator is one I mentioned -- this was really critical when we started this -- was their access to borders. Again, they were flowing in and out by almost over 1,000 a month. That is no longer happening. So quite significant development to close off their entire access to international borders.

Sixth indicator, media propaganda. ISIL used to have this very slick, sophisticated media information apparatus, and it was led by two people. One was Muhammad Adnani, their chief spokesman and also their head of external operations; and, two, a very sophisticated media expert named Dr. Waeli. He was kind of the head of all those slick videos they used to produce. Both of them are no longer around.

We also have been working very closely with the private sector and within the coalition to get their content off the Internet, to make it far harder to access. Their overall output is down by about 75 percent. If you just measure -- we measure these things in 12-month increments -- from August of 2015 to August this year, decrease of 75 percent. Twitter -- just one example -- have taken down 400,000 pro-ISIL Twitter handles. And

the ratio of anti-ISIL information to pro-ISIL information has totally flipped from where it was two years ago. And we'll keep this going.

This is also a global effort. So ISIL tries to recruit with different messages around the world. So in the UK, we have the UK leading an effort to really target those who might be recruited in Europe. In the Gulf region, we're working very closely with the UAE. I met them -- really incredible young people who are working 24/7 to counter the toxic ideology and poisonous messages of ISIL. Saudi Arabia is helping quite a bit with that. And even in Southeast Asia, Malaysians and other critical partners within our coalition are helping to counter the message in that part of the world. Very different messages in different parts of the world, and we work to adapt to that.

Seventh indicator, briefly, is what we call global cohesion. ISIL had sought to be a global organization with direct links, financial fighters, leaders, between its core in Iraq and Syria to these so-called affiliates. So in response, we've strengthened a global coalition to find and sever all of those links. The result has been a weakening of their so-called affiliates across the board. I mentioned Libya, but also Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin, and Afghanistan -- all of these entities are being significantly degraded.

Importantly, our coalition also includes multinational organizations, such as INTERPOL and Europol, to help develop a global database of ISIL-affiliated fighters to stop, again, their transit across borders. My deputy, Lieutenant General Wolfe, was at the INTERPOL annual meeting last month to try to strengthen these relationships and make sure that we are sharing the information we need to stay ahead of this threat.

So as ISIL's global cohesion weakens, ours is strengthening with cooperation across the globe.

I would just say in conclusion -- and I mentioned this last time -- we are having tremendous success against this enemy. It is accelerating. We are now putting pressure on its two so-called capitals of Mosul and Raqqa -- simultaneous, relentless pressure. That will continue. We are killing their leaders. We're taking off their ability to finance and resource themselves. But this remains an unprecedented threat. The fight is not over. This will remain a multiyear effort. But we have developed a campaign that is global, and I hope I've demonstrated the overall breadth of the campaign.

I also just want to say, since we've been doing this for a couple of years, and I visit our guys in the field all the time, we've lost five Americans in this campaign. Five of our military personnel have been killed in this campaign. And it's important to keep in mind, because I saw with my own eyes the casualty collection points just outside Mosul of the Iraqis who are fighting. We are advising them to fight and retake their territory, similar to our Syrian partners. And their casualties are very high. An operation in Manbij, Syria, for example, which was really important to protect us -- Manbij is where the foreign fighters were

flowing through. It's where they were planning external operations. And the Syrian Democratic Forces in that operation had over a thousand casualties.

Similar in Mosul, the Iraqi security forces that we are training, advising and enabling are fighting heroically. They are taking casualties and continuing to advance. And I think we're all very proud to work with them and grateful. And it's also just a reminder of the different mode of operation we have here -- enabling, advising local partners to take back the ground that they have lost. And I think it is significant that all the ground we have taken as a coalition, working with locals, everything we've taken back from ISIL -- that's over 60 percent in Iraq, 28 percent in Syria -- none of it ISIL has been able to retake. And that is because before we do any of this we have a tremendous effort -- sometimes months long, sometimes shorter -- to prepare the ground politically, economically, to get the stabilization resources in place to help make sure people can return to their homes, and make sure that the defeat of ISIL is a lasting one.

So it is significant that to date ISIL has not retaken any of the ground it has lost in operations we have enabled. And we're going to make sure it continues that way.

That's quite a different approach, I will just say in closing, than the Russians. The Russians have really had one counter-ISIL mission -- they claim to be fighting ISIL -- they've had one counter-ISIL mission and that was Palmyra. And they made a big deal about that. They had a big concert and they invited members of the media to come see it. And ISIL has now retaken Palmyra. In our operations, ISIL has not retaken a speck of ground that we have taken from them. And I think it is fairly significant that the one operation the Russians touted as a counter-ISIL operation ISIL has now retaken.

We're not pleased about that. We want to wipe ISIL entirely off this map. The point of the map -- as I have explained before, everything that's in color on this map used to be controlled by ISIL. So the summer of 2014, everything there was part of the caliphate. Everything in green has been retaken, and everything in dark green is just what has been retaken in the last month. The dark red splotches in the southwest are areas that actually ISIL has gained over the last two years -- very small areas and areas that we primarily do not operate.

And I'll just say finally on the situation, of course, in Aleppo -- this was discussed briefly in the meeting this morning, and there is a very active effort going on to try to resolve this. The Security Council, of course, will be convening later today. But of course, we've said a lot what we think about the tactics the Russians, the regime are using -- tactics that are totally different than anything we do against ISIL in Mosul. We are cognizant of every single innocent life in Mosul. We're fighting an enemy that is using human shields, and we're acting with tremendous precision. And if you see what the Russians are doing with the regime in Aleppo, it could not be any different.

So the contrasts I think are quite stark.

With that, I will leave it there. And I think overall, the campaign here against ISIL has momentum. We're always looking for ways to accelerate it and we're always talking about that, and we will not stop until we destroy this enemy.

MR. EARNEST: Thanks, Brett.

Mark, do you want to start?

Q Sure. Can you say how you hand over an operation as complex as this to a new administration? And have you yet briefed any Trump transition personnel?

MR. MCGURK: It's a great question. We were just talking about this. So just in my own experience, I was here in -- I was senior director for Iraq and Afghanistan in the Bush administration. It was the first transition in wartime in 40 years. And we worked very hard with President Bush and the incoming President-elect, President Obama, to have a very seamless transition, given the importance of a transition in wartime.

So this is similar -- a transition in wartime. It's complex. And the direction very clearly from President Obama is to make sure were doing all we can to ensure it can be a seamless transition. There, of course, will be a lot of continuity on the military side, and so we're doing all we possibly can to support that effort. I'll leave it there.

Q Have you conferred with Trump officials?

MR. MCGURK: I think there's constant transition meetings going on, particularly in the State Department. I think those meetings are ongoing now.

Q Have you yet?

MR. MCGURK: I won't talk about the individual meetings were having. Those meetings are ongoing constantly.

MR. EARNEST: Justin.

Q On a few things. First was Libya, and I know you outlined a lot of progress. The estimates have been that there were between 5,000 and 8,000 ISIL fighters there. Obviously they weren't all killed, and so there's I think a kind of outstanding question about if those estimates were high, or if not, if they've escaped in a way that they could regroup and pose a problem later. And the other question was about oil revenues. You talked about that a lot the last time we saw you. And I'm wondering if the rise in oil prices globally could help ISIL in a way that sort of counteract some of the gains that you outlined here, or if you feel like they're cut off at this point from the global oil.

MR. MCGURK: Thanks. Two very good questions. So in Libya, it's hard to get a precise estimate of how many. We think most of them were probably killed in Libya -- or in Sirte in that campaign. But they really holed up -- I mentioned this is what they do -- this is their defense strategy. They have these kind of rings of defense and then they have a little citadel in the middle where they try to hole up. And in Sirte, they did that for some months in a little final area of the city.

Our Ambassador, Peter Bodde, our Ambassador to Libya, is in discussions with Prime Minister Sarraj about the next steps in this campaign and what support the Libyans might want. And of course, we'll be discussing that with him. We want to make sure, in our view, that ISIL and extremist groups cannot have safe haven and sanctuary anywhere in Libya.

On the oil trade, we have significantly reduced their ability to generate any serious revenue from oil. Of course, though, it does continue, but it's all self-generated. I mean, they cannot get any oil out of their little self-contained entity. There is definitely trade going on between different groups -- this is a very chaotic situation, particularly in Syria -- but their ability to replenish their resources is just significantly degraded. And whenever we find where they are extracting oil we make sure that we eliminate that.

Q The concern seems to be, though, that fighters were able to escape. And you're discounting that? You think sort of the -- our allies were able to sort of fully encapsulate the city?

MR. MCGURK: We don't get into numbers. We think we eliminated quite -- the vast majority there in Sirte. But if they try to regroup, I'm certain we'll find a way to deal with that.

MR. EARNEST: Mark.

Q The information-sharing with the Turks, it's been really strained on the diplomatic level -- obviously the whole question of cooperation with the coup and the allegations and the request for the return of the fellow that they think was involved in the coup. Has that been reflected at all in the cooperation you've seen in the counter-ISIL campaign?

MR. MCGURK: Obviously it's a complex relationship. I was in Ankara about four or five days ago, had very good, very detailed meetings in Ankara about the overall situation. And the Turks have done an awful lot here over the last year, very close cooperation with us in the counter-ISIL fight, and I felt very good coming out of those meetings about the way forward.

General Dunford is in regular contact. The day before I was in Ankara he was in Incirlik meeting his counterpart, General Akar. So our communications with Turkey is extremely close. They are doing an

operation now -- just south of that green splotch here, near Al-Bab -- and obviously we're looking for ways to try to help them defeat ISIL in that particularly sensitive area.

It's also a sensitive area of the country because you have a number of different forces converging. So a lot of what we do every single day is try to make sure that we deescalate any tension between non-ISIL affiliated forces that we have relationships with so everybody is focused on the same enemy. This is extremely hard.

And that's why I mentioned there's another model for doing this -- we can send in the 82nd Airborne to go in and do all this kind of stuff. We do not think that that would be a lasting, sustainable way to do it. We think what is sustainable, particularly in something as complex as Syria, is advising, assisting, enabling. And I think the record of what we've been able to clear out proves that. But it makes it complex, because we're trying to encourage our partners that were working with on the ground, you guys need to go that way, when sometimes they want to go a different way. So this is what the daily communication and constant discussions are with the Turks and different actors on the ground.

But I was very encouraged by my meetings in Ankara last week that we have a shared way forward, and it's going to continue.

Q They're fighting the ISIL forces as much as they want to fight the Kurds?

MR. MCGURK: Well, right now they are engaged in a hostile fight against ISIL, and Turkey soldiers have taken casualties. And I think we have to extend our condolences to them. I did that when I was there. They are engaged in a fight against ISIL on the ground, definitely.

MR. EARNEST: Michelle.

Q About a week ago, there were reports in Syria the ISIS leadership or what's left of it was meeting to try to pick a al-Baghdadi successor. What do you know about that? Do you think al-Baghdadi is wounded or incapacitated in some way? And even if he were taken out of the picture, how much of an effect would that have on their strength?

MR. MCGURK: So it's a great question. I saw those reports, which we can't confirm. I would say any ISIL leaders have a pretty good succession plan because we're removing them at a pretty fast clip. Baghdadi is unique because he's the guy that rose in the Grand Mosque in Mosul and declared a caliphate, which I think I mentioned this the last time I was here -- but I travel now all around the world to countries in which their young men, and in many cases, young women, have been attracted to this movement. And when you say what is it that has attracted your young people to this movement, there's a number of different answers, but there's a common denominator -- this notion of a homeland and a caliphate.

And Baghdadi claims to have a unique -- this phony unique claim to being a caliph. This is all a total fraud, but he claims to have this unique lineage that makes him a caliph. So I definitely think that when we do eliminate Baghdadi it will make a significant difference.

I also think it is significant that he tried to be a kind of new type of terrorist leader -- giving public speeches, going to the Grand Mosque and giving this sermon in the summer of 2014 -- and he is now in deep, deep hiding. And we have not heard from him until he issued this audiotape a couple months ago, and it was a very defensive message. It basically said, for all of the fighters in Mosul, stay and fight to the death. But all the indications we're getting is that many did not take that message well because where is Baghdadi? He is somewhere in hiding. And we also know he hides with slaves and all sorts of terrible things. This guy is one of the most despicable we've ever seen.

So we're doing all we can to find and eliminate him. As I mentioned, all of his deputies -- nearly all of his deputies have been eliminated. And it's a matter of time before we find him. I do think it will make a significant difference on ISIL as an organization, as a movement, once he's eliminated, but it will not eliminate this kind of global jihadi terrorist threat, obviously.

MR. EARNEST: Ron.

Q Given all the progress, does ISIS still have the ability to plot and orchestrate attacks against the United States and our allies from the territory that they have remaining? And will President Obama leave office with that ability apparently still intact?

And on Aleppo, you said it was discussed briefly. There are reports that there are scores of civilians being massacred by the advancing Syrian army. There are also reports of a ceasefire. Did those issues come up, and was there any response to that from the President?

MR. MCGURK: So in terms of plotting, this is what they want to do. ISIL wants to attack us, and they want to attack our partners. And they're very sophisticated -- the Paris attacks, the Brussels attacks, those were planned in Raqqa. They ran through some of these other towns I mentioned and they would deploy their operatives to carry out attacks. We think we significantly degraded their ability to do that. But they do have operatives in a number of places in which they are planning external attacks. This is something that is the primary focus of ours, to eliminate what I call that external operations network.

So the head of it was Mohammad Adnani. That's why targeting him was so significant. Most of this is also being done in Raqqa, but I think we have demonstrated these three I mentioned today that were eliminated just a few days ago were part of this very sophisticated terrorist plotting network.

So every single opportunity we get we are degrading this network, but it still exists. This is still a threat. They are trying to recruit -- not planned, sophisticated attacks -- they're trying to do that, but they're also trying to recruit deranged individuals from all over the world to act in their name. And that is something that is very hard to stop, which is why the information-sharing and everything we're doing kind of behind the scenes as a coalition is so critical.

I can't speak to what's happening in Aleppo right now. I will just say, as I think I mentioned at the outset, this is a horrific situation. I think it demonstrates once again the tactics that the Russians are using in support of the regime are something that is truly beyond the pale, could not be any different than the types of tactics that we utilize. And I've also seen these reports of the ceasefire and a potential agreement, but I can't confirm any of that because this is all fairly late-breaking. But I understand the Security Council will be convening later today to discuss it.

MR. EARNEST: Andrew.

Q I wanted to follow up on your trip to Ankar. What did you hear from the Turks that made you so confidant, vis-à-vis what they planned in Al-Bab and with regards to what you just said?

MR. MCGURK: Well, I'd just say this. Turkey is at war against ISIL. There's no question about that. They are fighting on the ground, they are taking casualties. And ISIL is a significant threat to Turkey, and that is something that they see very clearly, and so we're working through various ways in which we can help them.

We do have disagreements, of course, in terms of some things going on in Syria, which we also have very candid discussions about. When it comes to Raqqa, we want to get ISIL out of Raqqa as soon as possible, but this will be a sequence campaign. That's the only way to do it. So we're in the isolation, kind of the strangulation phase now. And then we have to identify the force to actually move in and seize and hold the city. There are a few options for that. One of the options, of course, is working very closely with Turkey, and we are having a detailed discussion with them about this.

But the most significant thing when I was in Turkey was just their threat perception of ISIL as a significant threat to Turkey, which it is. Turkey has suffered more casualties in ISIL attacks than almost any of our other coalition partners. And so while we've had some disagreements over the years, I thought we had a pretty good shared way forward. Not to say there isn't some tension, obviously.

Q I also wanted to ask, are U.S. forces embedding with the Popular Mobilization Forces?

MR. MCGURK: Embedding with popular -- I think you're talking about a report in which there was a photograph of some training of -- so Popular

Mobilization Forces are known as being primarily Shia militia forces, many of which operate outside the command and control of the Iraqi government, which is a significant problem, not only to us but also to the Iraqi government.

But under the umbrella of the Popular Mobilization Forces, there are local forces from these areas to hold the ground after operations conclude. Many of these are locals from Nineveh Province -- so Sunnis, Christians, all sorts of -- it's a very diverse province. I'll give you an example. In Anbar Province, under the umbrella of the Popular Mobilization Forces, about 15,000 local Anbari tribal fighters mobilized to fight Daesh. That is one reason why, from the four to the five, all of that is green. We cannot do that only with the Iraqi security forces. We needed the tribes to be mobilized. So those are all Sunnis from Anbar. They're being paid by the government to fight ISIL, and we're, of course, supporting them.

MR. EARNEST: Richard.

Q Could you tell us a little more about the coalition partners? Are they just as resolute as the U.S. in continuing further? And can you tell us -- the operation themselves, how -- what's the percentage of the operation being done by the U.S., and the coalition -- the percentage by the coalition partners? Besides Turkey?

MR. MCGURK: So a very good question. I've been at this from the beginning, the inception of the coalition, when we had about 15 countries, and there was always a question of what will this grow into.

In the last three weeks, we had all 68 -- ambassadors from all 68 members at the State Department, and we also held what's called kind of the small group of coalition countries, over 20 countries, in Berlin, just a couple weeks ago. And what is fairly extraordinary about this is the sense of international consensus about the need to basically destroy this enemy, and the sense of burden-sharing.

As I mentioned, the United States will not do this -- we cannot succeed in this alone. And the coalition remains extremely strong. So Secretary Carter will be seeing his counterparts in London here in a few days. And the overall cohesion of the coalition across all these multiple lines of effort -- the military gets a lot of the focus, but it is counter-finance, counter-propaganda, counter-foreign fighters, and everything kind of working together -- that we have coordinating mechanisms throughout the coalition. It is working extraordinarily well. And the international consensus behind this effort is something I think we have to continue to build upon, because it is something that's quite extraordinary.

In terms of overall effort, I mentioned there's been about -- over 17,000 airstrikes now. I think if you add them up, about 4,500 or so have been coalition airstrikes. So, definitely U.S. military forces are doing the bulk of the airstrikes. There's a reason for that -- we

have the best military in the world. But the number of coalition partners operating to support that effort is quite significant.

And, of course, we couldn't do this without flying out of Incirlik Airbase, flying out of some other areas within the region. And we're obviously very grateful for that. Without the coalition, we would not be able to defeat this enemy.

MR. EARNEST: We probably have time for two more and then we're going to let Brett go.

Kevin.

Q Thanks, Josh. I just want to sort of follow up, especially as it relates to the coalition and strikes. There's been some reporting, Brett, that the U.S. needed to use the Australians to conduct strikes against some of the Paris attackers, and I wonder if you can sort of help me unpack the complications as it relates to the chain of command that the United States might have in conducting airstrikes and having to utilize coalition partners like Australia and others?

And second, I wanted to ask you about Saudi Arabia. That story has come out today and I wondered if you could sort of help unpack this idea that the U.S. is limiting military support for the Saudis because of what's been happening vis-à-vis civilian casualties in Yemen.

MR. EARNEST: I can take the Yemen one, Brett.

MR. MCGURK: So let me -- I'll just say about the -- and I defer to my DOD colleagues who work this every single day -- this has been the most precise air campaign in history. I mean, I think it will be studied in the future and people will -- the most precise air campaign in history. And all of our airstrikes go through a common structure in terms of validating the targets. And it is really moving at an incredible clip.

I can't get into the details of sometimes who does a strike and everything. What I will say is, when I mentioned today -- and this was mentioned also by Secretary Carter earlier today -- eliminating these external plotters in the streets of Raqqa, painstaking, tireless work by coalition actors, our military forces, our folks on the ground, our intelligence apparatus -- all working as one team. And it doesn't always work that well, but it is working quite, quite well.

But I just can't get into in terms of who does what. But it is the most precise air campaign in history. We're very proud of it, and that will continue.

I'll just say about Saudi Arabia -- I was in Saudi Arabia a couple weeks ago to meet with Deputy Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman. I've seen him a number of times, including also with Muhammad bin Nayef. And Saudi Arabia also is in this fight. I mean, ISIL is a fundamental threat to Saudi Arabia. If you read ISIL's propaganda, if you read what Baghdadi

writes, he's obsessed with Saudi Arabia and striking in Saudi Arabia. So we are working very closely with the Saudis in a whole range of areas in order to help degrade ISIL, particularly on a lot of the counter-ideological fights. So they're very much in this as well.

And I'll let Josh address the Yemen question.

MR. EARNEST: Gardiner, I'll give you the last one.

Q John Brennan has suggested that the campaign on the ground and the campaign against ISIL globally are going in two opposite directions. He said this summer, we still have a ways to go before we're able to say that we've made some significant progress. And he warned that the trajectories for this ISIS religious state or caliphate and global violence point in opposite directions. "As the pressure mounts on ISIL," he said, "we judge that it will intensify its global terror campaign to maintain its domination of the global terrorism agenda."

You're sort of saying the opposite thing. You're saying that these two campaigns are going in exactly the same directions instead of opposite directions, and you're pointing to the three deaths recently of these external plotters as evidence of that.
Tell me why there's such a difference between what you're saying and what some other intelligence people in the administration are saying. Why are you so convinced these two things are going together while other say it's sort of like squeezing a balloon -- if you squeeze it here, they're going to show up someplace else?

MR. MCGURK: I don't think it's so much of a disagreement. In fact, all of our intelligence assessments inform the way we obviously discuss this and prosecute the campaign. I said this will be a multiyear effort. Be very clear about that. The number of foreign fighters, the number of people indoctrinated into this ideology is something that will not be overcome for a number of years. And while the notion of the caliphate is what kind of led to this explosive growth of ISIL -- that is why shrinking the caliphate is so important -- but their desire to inspire attacks around the world as they lose their territory is something that we expect will probably increase.

How do they want to stay relevant? They're trying to spark and inspire attacks around the world. That's why they used to say -- Muhammad Adnani's last statement was very interesting. If you read of Muhammad Adnani, the spokesman, all of his propaganda, again, it used to be about, come to the homeland, or retain and expand the caliphate. Most of their propaganda were these sundrenched scenes of children and families and a very optimistic message, actually.

His last message before his death was very different. It actually said, we might lose all of our territory, but we'll still be around, and, in fact, if you can't come -- because you can't because it's hard to get in here now -- stay home, pick up a knife, and attack someone down the street. It was a very different message. It's a message that does not

appeal to a broad segment of the population. It's a message that appeals to really deranged individuals. But they are trying to remain relevant as they lose their homeland -- what they call their homeland -- by trying to inspire these attacks.

And that is something that will continue. And that is why one thing we've done in the coalition, we talk about even as we degrade their ability to have territory in Iraq and Syria, we need to adapt as a coalition to increase our ability to share information, our hubs of sharing information, to be able to stay ahead of the threat. So that's something as a coalition I think will continue for some time.

So the military-focused coalition of taking back these cities, which we will do, will evolve into a coalition focused on the information-sharing, the patterns of interaction among capitals, among intelligence communities, among law enforcement communities. It's something we have to continue to expand upon and grow.

Q But, Brett, that's a much less optimistic, even frightening message for those of us in this part of the world, because it's suggesting that your success there only increases the dangers here, no?

MR. MCGURK: No, because what they can do inside of Iraq and Syria are these big spectacular attacks. Make no mistake, these are terrorists. It's an international terrorist organization that has the same ideology as Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda. The only difference between ISIL and al Qaeda is that ISIL said, let's do a caliphate now, whereas al Qaeda said, well, we'll do a caliphate down the road.

That's the key difference. But they aspire to do massive spectacular attacks around the world, and in order to do that, they need territory to plan and plot and resource. And so we're making sure that they are on their heels every single day, but I would never get up here and say this threat is something that is going to go away or something that we cannot remain absolutely vigilant on.

And which is why, as I mentioned, it's not just DOD and State; it's our entire government working as part of this integrated campaign plan to stay ahead of it because it's different tools. It's military, law enforcement, intel, and counter messaging. So we need to stay at it every single day and remain vigilant for a long time to come.

MR. EARNEST: Thank you, Brett. I appreciate it.

MR. MCGURK: Okay, thank you.

MR. EARNEST: Okay, we can go back to our regularly scheduled programming now. (Laughter.)

Kevin, do you want to start?

Q Sure. Josh, I did want to ask about laying the blame for Palmyra to Russia, but now that it has been retaken, or partially been retaken, what is the strategy going forward? Is the U.S. going to be involved in that operation? It would seem to be a ripe target now that you have these forces there that we know about. Or are we going to leave that to the Russians to deal with?

MR. EARNEST: Well, as Brett mentioned, this obviously is something that we're concerned about. I do think that it exposes the failed strategy, or at least calls into question the integrity of those who are describing their strategy.

Their strategy, as they stated, is to be focused on ISIL and to be focused on extremists and terrorists. But the truth is the real consequence of their strategy, which appears to be an intense focus on bombing innocent civilians into submission so that the Assad regime can enjoy some tactical gains, actually results in fueling the kind of extremism that we know extremists rely on to thrive.

It also is exhibit A when you consider this is an example of Russia taking their eye off the ball when it comes to terrorists. That they did have this one limited successful operation against Palmyra -- one that the United States was not involved in but one that we were obviously pleased, and we said so at the time, that this was territory that had been taken away from ISIL -- but the strategy that Russia has employed has caused them to take their eye off the ball, allow ISIL to make some gains, but it also continues to fuel the kind of extremism that only makes Syria a haven for terrorist organizations that plot violence not just in the region but around the world.

Q You've left that particular battle to Russia, and I guess the question now going forward, is that strategy going to change? Will the U.S. get involved in the fight for this?

MR. EARNEST: Well, I don't have any operational updates at this point, so I can't tell you sort of where this will fall in terms of any planned military operations on the part of our coalition. But it's obviously a situation that we're watching closely.

Ayesha.

Q Iran today ordered its scientists to start developing nuclear-powered marine vessels for what it said as a response to a U.S. violation of the atomic deal. So I was wondering, how much of a concern is this, this kind of maybe tit for tat, the idea that Iran is now saying that it's responding to actions taken by Congress by building these nuclear-powered vessels? Is there a concern that this is going to be an ongoing thing and that there's going to be kind of back and forth now?

MR. EARNEST: Well, I would agree with your assessment that the timing of this announcement to coincide with the President's signing of the Iran Sanctions Act is not likely a coincidence, but we've been clear

even through much of the congressional debate in Congress about the Iran Sanctions Act that the President would not sign into law a piece of legislation that undermined the international agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

The extension of the Iran Sanctions Act does not undermine the international agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. And we've -- that's been our position from the beginning. We've explained that quite clearly in public and we've explained that in private to the Iranians.

At the same time, the announcement from the Iranians today does not run counter to the international agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. We continue to be able to watch closely Iran's nuclear program, starting in the uranium mills and throughout the nuclear supply chain. That is an unprecedented insight into any country's nuclear program, and allows us to verify their ongoing compliance with that program. And our expectation is that as they undertake these kinds of research-and-development efforts, that they will do so consistent with their international obligations.

And we have the ability, because of the cooperation with the Iranians under the agreement, to verify their ongoing compliance with the agreement.

Q But does this kind of -- going forward, should this be something of a warning to Congress or to the next administration that there could be repercussions for pursuing more sanctions, or anything like that?

MR. EARNEST: No, I wouldn't be particularly concerned about that. There are a range of Iranian activities that are a source of concern to the international community and to President Obama outside the scope of the international agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. The reason that we pursued that international agreement is because Iran's ability to get access to and potentially use a nuclear weapon was the number-one concern of the United States and the international community with regard to Iran.

So we've taken that top concern off the table without firing a single shot. And this is something that even the harshest critics of the deal acknowledge has been accomplished. It didn't eliminate all of our concerns with Iran, but it did eliminate our number-one concern about Iran, and that's ultimately the point.

There are other concerns that we have about Iran's behavior that include their support for terrorist organizations and other destabilizing elements in the Middle East, like Hezbollah. We are concerned about the way that Iran continues to menace Israel, and we continue to be concerned about the Iranian regime's lack of respect for basic universal human rights. And we have a variety of ways of countering all of that activity -- some of that involves additional financial sanctions. Some of that involves close cooperation with our partners in the region.

But the number-one objective of the international agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons was to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. And that objective has been achieved. And because of our ability to monitor Iran's nuclear program, we can verify the ongoing success of that effort. And it certainly is something that makes the world a safer place. It enhances the national security of our closest ally in the Middle East, Israel. It enhances the national security of our NATO partners in -- NATO allies in Europe. And it enhances the national security of the American people, and it will be an important part of President Obama's foreign policy legacy.

Justin.

Q The Energy Department said today that it wasn't going to be turning over names of individual employees involved in the President's climate change efforts to the transition team, the Trump transition team, and said that the request left employees unsettled. I'm wondering if you can explain if that was the only reason that that was made, and why this doesn't sort of -- if it was information that the Trump transition team wanted -- violate the President's sort of edict for helping them as much as they can to smooth over the transition.

MR. EARNEST: Well, we do continue to work closely with the transition team to ensure a smooth and effective transition. And that is work that is going on across a variety of federal agencies, including at the Department of Energy. But there were reports about what certainly could have been an attempt to target civil servants, career, federal government employees.

The kinds of people that we're talking about at the Department of Energy are scientists and lawyers and other experts who are critical to the success of the federal government's ability to make policy. And their work transcends the term of any one President. That's by design. That's to ensure the continuity of the federal government and to ensure that effective decision-making and policy planning is undertaken regardless of which political party is in charge of the Oval Office. If we had to replace the entire Department of Energy every time a new President was elected, that is certainly going to undermine the ability of those at the most senior levels to implement a coherent and effective energy policy.

Our principle -- and this is a principle that Presidents in both parties have long abided by -- is that we should observe the protections that are in place that ensure that career civil servants are evaluated based on merit and not on politics. And I'm sure that the President-elect used the same kind of criteria when choosing his new Department of Energy Secretary as well. Don't you think? (Laughter.)

Q Well, I'll let you interpret that one.

MR. EARNEST: Okay. (Laughter.)

Q But the President mentioned in his "Daily Show" interview last night that he planned to do some speeches after leaving office, and seemed to purposefully delineate those from political speeches that he might give if Donald Trump and his administration did something politically that he disagreed with. So assuming that these are paid speeches -- I mean, this is something that maybe is on your mind, as well -- I'm wondering if the President is going to be putting any sort of self-imposed restrictions on who -- you know, this was a big campaign issue in Wall Street. Education, foreign governments, that sort of thing -- if those sort of things are being set out already.

MR. EARNEST: I would anticipate that there will be significant interest in hearing from former President Obama once he's left office. So he'll have an opportunity to be choosy about which invitations he accepts. And I don't have any criteria to lay out for you at this point about how he will choose which invitations to accept, but I'm confident that there will be a high standard that he'll observe.

Kevin.

Q Thanks. Can I circle back on Yemen?

MR. EARNEST: Yes.

Q The United States' support for the Saudis, at least bringing it back, I'm understanding, because in part of the civilian casualties in Yemen. Can you give me sort of an update on why that decision was made and what that means moving forward?

MR. EARNEST: Kevin, we have long expressed some pretty significant concerns about the high rate of civilian casualties in Yemen. And many of those casualties have been as a result of operations carried out by the Saudi-led coalition in the region. Not all of them -- there have also been civilian casualties as a result of operations carried out by their adversaries, as well.

But of course, the United States is playing a role in supporting the Saudi-led coalition. And in light of the high rate of civilian casualties, there was -- the President ordered a review of the kind of assistance that the United States provides to the Saudis as they undertake this effort. That review is ongoing, but there are a couple of steps that the United States is prepared to take to change some of the assistance that we provide.

That includes refocusing our efforts to support the Saudis when it comes to enhancing their border security and their territorial integrity. The concerns that the Saudis have expressed, which is entirely legitimate, is that you have an organization that has overthrown the government of Yemen and has menaced Saudi Arabia, on a number of occasions even breaching their borders.

So Saudi Arabia's concerns about this I think are entirely legitimate. And so we are going to focus our efforts on helping the Saudis protect their border. We also are going to undertake steps to refocus our information-sharing and the responsibilities of our personnel in Saudi Arabia to be focused on this effort.

In addition, we've also decided to -- well, I think that covers it. And I think this is reflective of the fact that we have these longstanding concerns. This review has been ordered. And these are some changes that we've made, but this review is ongoing. And as this process moves forward, I wouldn't rule out additional steps that we may take to address the concerns that have been raised.

Q Just a couple more, really quickly. A number of electors, you were told yesterday, were requesting an intelligence briefing, and you said you hadn't had a chance to sort of look over that letter. Have you had a chance to look that over? And what's your reaction to that?

MR. EARNEST: I've seen some more of the published reports. Look, when it comes to the Electoral College, we're talking about some of the more esoteric aspects of the functioning of our democracy.

Q Yeah, we are.

MR. EARNEST: But it certainly is important that individuals who are entrusted with that responsibility do so with a seriousness of purpose. So at this point, I don't have a formal response to the letter to put forward.

Q But would you support that idea of having the report sent to electors prior to them casting their votes?

MR. EARNEST: Well, look, I know that some of the request was for classified information, and it's not clear that all of the electors -- and I'm sure most of them don't -- they don't have security clearances.

So this is an unusual request, maybe even unprecedented. I'm not a historian, but it's hard to imagine a scenario where a similar question arose. So we'll let you know if we have more of a response.

Q Last one. Is the White House aware of post-election intelligence that actually shows anything to do with the hackers' intent? We've talked a bit about that, because there have been widely differing assessments. I'm just wondering if the White House remains confident that the intelligence has not in fact been politicized.

MR. EARNEST: The President is certainly confident. And he insists that the intelligence that he is provided as the Commander-in-Chief by our intelligence agencies is not clouded by political politics or partisan politics. He insists that that material, that that intelligence that he is provided is not clouded by the pursuit of an agenda, a political agenda or otherwise.

The President can only make good decisions -- the Commander-in-Chief, any Commander-in-Chief can only make good decisions when they have information that is accurate, that is timely, and that is reliable. And that's what the President insists on. And that also means that the President wants to hear the unvarnished truth. He doesn't want anything shaded. He doesn't want any intelligence professional to fear retribution for presenting bad news to the President of the United States. In some ways, that's actually the basic job description of an intelligence professional who's briefing a principal, and that is to be able to give an unvarnished assessment, even if it's bad news, without fear of any retribution.

And the President has confidence that that's the kind of guidance and information that he's been provided by the intelligence community.

Q Any intelligence as to the intent of the hackers?

MR. EARNEST: I don't have any updated assessment to share at this point, but there certainly seem to be a not insignificant number of intelligence professionals who appear to be sharing their opinion with all of you on an anonymous basis. I obviously don't have the luxury of doing that, but when there is a formal assessment to share from the intelligence community, and if that's something that can be shared publicly, that's something that we'll try to do.

The President does believe that we should -- particularly when it relates to something as central to our democracy as the conduct of a national election, the President does believe that we should share as much information as possible with the public. And that is why the intelligence community, on October 7th -- more than a month before the election -- issued a statement that represented the unanimous assessment and conclusion of all 17 national security agencies that have an intelligence arm. And they concluded that Russia was engaged in malicious activity in cyberspace that was aimed at destabilizing our elections.

And we made -- the President made clear, we made clear that a proportional response to that was appropriate. But the President's first concern and the first steps that were undertaken by the U.S. government were to ensure that the equipment and systems that were used to register voters, allow voters to cast ballots and to ensure that those ballots were counted were protected. And the intelligence community has assessed -- and this is something that they've also said publicly -- that they did not observe an increase in malicious cyber activity from the Russians on Election Day that could have disrupted the casting and accurate counting of ballots.

But for a more detailed assessment about what Russia's motives are, or what else Russia may have been engaged in in the context of the election, are a series of questions that will be considered in this review that President Obama has ordered. Our expectation is that this is a review from the intelligence community that will be completed in advance

of January 20th. And we're going to make public as much of that review as possible.

Michelle.

Q Will the President talk a little bit about the hacks, since he announced the review last night? And he said that it was nothing fancy; that we saw -- it's been happening, coming from Russia, seeming to put it into a bigger perspective. And he also talked about how he felt that the emails were the things that became the obsession, not the fact that this was coming from Russia, even though he just said that was really nothing new in the same breath.

But it seems like what we should be identifying there is the poor state of cybersecurity in this country. The fact that we're even sitting here talking about this being a possibility, and the strong possibility that the election could have been influenced by this, doesn't that really point to the fact that our defenses -- whether they're government systems or campaign systems -- the strength of them pales in comparison to the ability of a state actor like Russia to affect things here?

MR. EARNEST: Well, let me start by acknowledging at least one aspect of your premise that I think we can agree on, which is that cybersecurity should be, and is, a critical national security priority of the United States. And President Obama has spent a significant portion of his presidency trying to strengthen the defenses of the United States. And we've made important progress in doing so.

Some of his proposals for doing so -- increasing our investments in cybersecurity -- have unfortunately fallen on deaf ears in Congress. And you'll recall that there was a substantial increase that was included in the President's budget for cybersecurity that Republicans in Congress refused to even consider. They wouldn't even hold a hearing. This was the first time in 40 years that Republicans in the Congress wouldn't even hold a hearing on the President's budget. And there wasn't the kind of robust consideration in Congress, let alone a vote, on the substantial increase in cybersecurity resources that President Obama had identified.

So when it comes to ensuring that the U.S. government is focused on cybersecurity, that is a message that apparently has not been received by Republicans in Congress, and, yes, that makes the United States of America more vulnerable to a wide range of threats. And that is something that the President continues to be deeply concerned about.

The other thing that the President has done is ordered this review by a bipartisan Blue Ribbon Panel to help the incoming administration formulate and take additional steps to implement an enhanced cybersecurity strategy. And that's a report that the President received just last week. And that's one that we'll be passing on to the next administration, and should position them for success.

But it's going to require the Republican White House being more persuasive with Republicans in Congress to actually pay attention to this issue. Because there's been a tendency on the part of Republicans in Congress to ignore or reject every proposal that we've put forward, even when it comes to something as apolitical and central to our national security as cybersecurity.

So that all being said, I don't think anybody envisions a scenario in which the federal government of the United States steps in to assume responsibility for the cybersecurity of a national political party or of an individual political operative. I don't think there's anybody that thinks that that would be appropriate or even effective.

Is this a lesson for all of us to try to be more conscientious about our cyber hygiene? Yes. But state actors have substantial capabilities. Russia has substantial capabilities. They're not as significant as the capabilities that are wielded by the United States, but they are substantial. And establishing rules for the road -- rules of the road for effective and acceptable conduct in cyberspace is an important challenge, and one that we've made some progress on.

For example, the President last fall, a little over a year ago now, worked with the Chinese to reach an agreement about at least one norm that should be observed, which is that state actors should not be engaged in cyber-enabled theft for commercial purposes or for commercial benefit. That had been a previous activity on the part of the Chinese government that had attracted significant concerns, not just by the U.S. government but also by U.S. businesses, I think for obvious reasons. And that is one norm that we have made a lot of progress in establishing in cyberspace.

But we clearly have more work to do. But I don't think there's anybody who thinks that the answer to this situation is for the federal government of the United States to be responsible for the cybersecurity of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Q But by the same token, it seems like we're seeing that the weakness of individuals' email systems collectively, in the sense that a foreign state could come in and try or succeed in affecting an election, is almost a threat to national security, or at least a threat to the functioning of democracy in this country. So has the weakest link kind of become an individual's email account?

MR. EARNEST: No, I don't think so, because I don't think that's what the President has identified.

This is going to be a challenge for our democracy as the American people consume information in the modern age. The fact that this information that was leaked from a variety of places, including John Podesta's Gmail account, that was the source of intense media interest, primarily because of the gossip that may or may not be contained in those emails -- not because of the fact that Russia was releasing that

information as a transparent effort to, at a minimum, erode confidence in our democracy.

And I think that there are obvious questions about cybersecurity that I covered in response to your first question. I think what the President is raising is the need for careful evaluation about our public debate, about the way that these views are communicated -- or the way this news is communicated and the way that it is consumed by people all across the country. And if we lose the ability as a democracy to acknowledge generally accepted facts, basic facts, or if we lose the ability -- or at least norms are eroded, such that you have Republicans cheering for Russians to hack their political opponents.

And what's troubling about this situation is it wasn't just any old Republican who was doing that, it was the Republican nominee for President who was doing that. That's problematic. That doesn't have anything to do with cybersecurity. It has something to do very basically, though, with the kind of political debate and political discourse and democracy that we want to have.

Q And we're hearing some pushback, strong pushback today from some Democrats on the President-elect's picks for Secretary of State and Deputy Secretary of State -- ties to Russia, deals with Russia, views on sanctions, among other things. Do you have anything to add, even in a general sense, on those choices?

MR. EARNEST: I think what I would say generally is that throughout his campaign, the President-elect indicated his intent, if elected President, to pursue warmer relations with Russia. So what better way to do that than to choose somebody who has been awarded the Order of Friendship by Vladimir Putin to be your Secretary of State?

So this is not a particularly surprising or even unexpected development. I suspect that there will be many members of Congress in both parties that have some questions about that. I've previously stated the principle that President Obama believes that any President should have some latitude in assembling his team, but there is a process for members of the Senate to consider the nomination of people who will serve in the Cabinet.

And, look, Mr. Tillerson is a seasoned business executive and he's got some skills in answering tough questions in public, and I suspect he'll have to put them to use in the spring.

Chris, go ahead.

Q Thanks. It was only until President Obama signed an executive order in 2014 barring federal contractors from discriminating against federal workers that ExxonMobil adopted a policy to prohibit discrimination against their employees who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. And the shareholders of that company, prior to that annual meetings had rejected such a policy 17 consecutive times.

Given the practices of that company, does that raise concerns about, first of all, whether the President's adaption of LGBT human rights as part of foreign policy will be in jeopardy in the next administration, as well as the non-discrimination policy that he's put in place for federal contractors?

MR. EARNEST: Well, let me start by making an observation, Chris, which is that we have often talked about how disappointed we've been that at various stages Congress has not made progress on a range of issues that the President has prioritized, including ensuring that we treat LGBT Americans fairly and not discriminate against them. And we haven't seen as much legislation passed by Congress as we would like to see that would ensure that those protections are in place. So the President has turned to using the executive powers at his disposal to try to advance those policies.

And we have acknowledged at every turn that those executive actions are not a substitute for legislative action. And there's been a skepticism expressed by some, most of them Democrats, who say that, well, an executive action isn't as forceful or as broad as legislation. They're right about that of course. But you have highlighted, actually, a good example where the President taking executive action hasn't just had an impact in the government, but it's also had an impact in the private sector as well.

So I think this is just one example of how the President's judicious use of executive authority has been effective in changing minds and practices not just inside the federal government, but in the private sector as well.

More broadly, I think it's hard to tell exactly what this particular personnel announcement says about the kinds of policies that President Trump will pursue once he is in office with regard to ensuring that Americans are not discriminated against because of their sexuality. And I think, to put it generously, we've gotten some mixed signals publicly about what the President-elect's intent is. So as with so many other issues that are important, we'll have to wait and see what policy he intends to pursue.

Ellen.

Q My question is, how is the President planning on integrating the fact that -- into this security report -- the fact that Julian Assange from WikiLeaks and the former British ambassador to Uzbekistan says it wasn't Russia at all, that they met with the person that leaked this, it was an inside job, et cetera?

MR. EARNEST: Well, I have not seen reports citing the British ambassador to Uzbekistan, so I compliment you on the breadth of your reading. What I will just say is the view that Russia was actively involved in cyber activity that was aimed at eroding public confidence in

our political system is the unanimous, high-confidence conclusion of all 17 intelligence agencies in the United States. That is not a recently known fact. That is not a recently disclosed conclusion. That is a conclusion and a finding and an assessment that was released a month before the election.

So I know that the President-elect himself has raised doubts about that assessment. Apparently, the British ambassador to Uzbekistan has made common cause with the President-elect to raise those doubts. But the American people will have to judge for themselves whether they have more confidence in the ability of the United States intelligence community to unanimously reach the same conclusion on this matter, or if they trust the conclusion of the British ambassador to Uzbekistan.

Maggie.

Q Circling back, back to the Department of Energy, is this the first time that the administration has flat-out denied a request made by the Trump transition team?

MR. EARNEST: Look, I think it's an entirely legitimate question. I don't think I can get into all of the conversations that are taking place at federal agencies all across this town and all across the country to ensure a smooth and effective transition.

I can tell you that, in general, the administration has worked hard to diligently provide as much information as possible to the incoming team. And that is not the kind of work that you can do just at a moment's notice. This is a lot of work that requires months and months of planning, and this administration has planning since the beginning of the year to compile and prepare materials for the review of the incoming administration.

And obviously we envisioned a different kind of process and a different kind of transition, but we remain no less committed to ensuring that the incoming administration can hit the ground running. And that means providing extensive information to the incoming administration, and that effort will continue through Inauguration Day.

Q Since you brought it up earlier, care to elaborate on your thoughts on President-elect's pick for Energy Secretary?

MR. EARNEST: I think I've said enough about that. (Laughter.)

Andrew.

Q Thanks, Josh. I wanted to ask what the President's thoughts are today regarding Aleppo and what the fall of the city means for his legacy?

MR. EARNEST: Listen, Andrew, as Brett alluded to, the situation in Aleppo remains deeply troubling, and the innocent loss of life there that has persisted for years at the hands of the Assad regime, enabled by the

Russians and Iranians, is deplorable. And the United States has played a leading role in the international community to try to facilitate a diplomatic resolution to the situation there, at least to just try to reduce the violence and increase the consistent flow of humanitarian relief.

And I understand that at some point later today, and maybe even right now, the United Nations Security Council is meeting to consider such a proposal. Obviously, if this ends up being a proposal that will result in a reduction in the violence and an increase in the provision of humanitarian assistance, then it's something that the United States will not just enthusiastically support but we're going to be actively encouraging all parties to support it, and actively encouraging all sides to implement it effectively so that the people in Aleppo who have been suffering in unthinkable circumstances can finally get some measure of relief.

Q You talk about the Syrians, and the Russians, and the Iranians and what they've done, but a lot of the anger over what's happened in Aleppo is directed at this White House and this presidency. Do you think that's fair? Why do you think that is?

MR. EARNEST: Well, first of all, I think I'm going to refrain from criticizing people who are having an emotional reaction to the terrible violence that they have faced. And their feelings of anger and frustration I think are entirely understandable given what they've been through. And I think it would be inappropriate and maybe even immoral for me to stand here and criticize them.

What I will say is something that you've heard me say before, which is that President Obama has -- and Secretary Kerry -- have been at the leading edge of a tireless effort to try to bring that violence to an end, or at least reduce it enough that humanitarian assistance can get to those people that need it the most. And this administration and this President certainly makes no apologies for that tenacious pursuit of the kind of solution that would bring relief to the suffering people of Aleppo.

And it's not particularly surprising to me, given this long-running, bloody conflict, that the people of Aleppo are angry that this hasn't been solved more quickly.

Q Related to the rest of the world -- I mean, I guess the question is, why do you think that U.S. military action in Iraq can bring out millions of people onto the streets around the world, but Russian and Iranian actions in Aleppo don't have the same response?

MR. EARNEST: Well, look, I think it's hard to paint with a broad brush about how the international community is responding to this situation. I think that you have seen many moral consciences aroused by the violence in this part of the world, and it shows itself in a variety of ways. Sometimes it is the photograph of a small boy in the back of an

ambulance who has barely escaped a Syrian government bomb. There was a pronounced public reaction to that photograph.

These kinds of images do tug at the conscience of people around the world. It certainly tugs at the conscience of everybody in the Obama administration, and that's why the Obama administration has pursued so tirelessly the kind of diplomatic solution that would bring that violence to an end. And that's what we're seeking, and hopefully we'll be able to make some more progress on that at the U.N. Security Council today.

Yes, ma'am, I'll give you the last one.

Q Hi, Rosslyn Jordan with Al Jazeera, following up on his point on Aleppo.

MR. EARNEST: Nice to see you, Rosslyn.

Q Hi, nice to see you. The civil war in Syria has been going on for almost six years.

MR. EARNEST: It has.

Q The estimates between the U.N. and various human rights groups is that at least 400,000 to 470,000 Syrians have been killed. At least 32,000 of those people have been killed in Aleppo. Some of those people have been on social media. They've been able to go on TV today. They fear they are living the last days or hours of their lives. And they are asking: Where is the world? In particular, where is the United States?

And the question is -- and I understand that the President did not want to launch a regional war -- but if ever there were an argument -- say, human rights advocates -- to act on the responsibility to protect, Syria is that situation. Why did not the administration intervene militarily in the Syrian civil war?

MR. EARNEST: Rosslyn, the answer is simple, and it's one that we've said on a number of occasions: There's no military solution to the civil war in Syria.

Q But how can (inaudible) the job?

MR. EARNEST: But, Rosslyn, what is the military proposal that has been tabled that would effectively prevent those deaths? Is the suggestion that somehow the United States should just occupy the nation of Syria? Do we really think that's going to reduce the violence in Syria? I don't think there's any evidence to substantiate that claim, even if that's one that is being made. I haven't heard any other sort of suggestion. The only solution is a diplomatic one, and no country in the world has expended more of an effort to pursue that diplomatic solution than the United States of America.

The United States has a special responsibility because we have the most influential, strongest country in the world. And we readily accept the responsibility, certainly under President Obama's leadership -- we've readily accepted responsibility for working through the international community and using that influence to try to bring that violence to an end.

The United States is the largest bilateral donor of humanitarian assistance. We've provided substantial resources to try to meet the basic humanitarian needs of Syrians who are fleeing violence, and there has been a substantial U.S.-military commitment to organizing the international community to try to address some of the consequences of the chaos in Syria, and that is the extremism that has fueled so much terrorism in that region of the world.

But when it comes to addressing and solving the underlying violence and chaos, that is ultimately a political question and a political that's needed. It's the failed political leadership of Bashar al-Assad that has brought us to this point. And it's resolving that political problem that will be necessary to definitively end the violence and ensure that the people of Aleppo, who have been under siege for years, can get some relief.

Q But the question has to be raised: Given how often Secretary Kerry has personally lobbied the Russian government, has personally lobbied the Foreign Minister, Mr. Lavrov, as recently as this weekend, and yet, oh, this isn't the right time to have a ceasefire, the United States is simply protecting the rebels who are holed up in Aleppo -- at some point, shouldn't this administration be calling Moscow's bluff and actually forcing them to do what they have promised to do, which is to call back the Syrian military and prevent them from committing what some are now alleging are human rights violations?

MR. EARNEST: Well, as we've indicated before, the United States strongly supports and would support an effort to ensure that the Assad regime, and those who are culpable for the Assad regime's actions, accountable for the tactics that have been used inside of Syria. Far too many innocent lives have been lost, women and children included, and we believe in some accountability. And hopefully that is something that the next administration will continue.

But when it comes to Russia, they've spent significant amounts of credibility in trying to describe to the international community their response to this situation. And as we discussed earlier, as Brett referenced, the Russians regularly like to say that they are focused on taking ISIL fighters off the battlefield in Syria, but the truth is they've taken their eye off that ball, and the one measurable gain that they've previously been able to point to against ISIL has now been rolled back.

So I think it is very difficult not just to justify, but even to explain what sort of strategy Russia is trying to pursue inside of

Syria. Well, maybe I should say it this way: It's hard to reconcile their explanations about what they're doing inside of Syria with the truth.

The truth of the matter is, they're focused on propping up the Assad regime, and the Assad regime is trying to bomb civilians into submission so that he can try to get control over his country again. He's lost control over his country, he's lost legitimacy to lead. And the concern from the United States isn't just about the humanitarian situation there, it's about how that chaos has fueled extremism and given life to terrorist organizations that threaten the United States and our interests around the world.

So this is a complicated problem, but we're attacking it from every angle. And you heard from Brett the efforts that we're undertaking and that are making significant progress against ISIL. But the role for diplomacy and the leading role that the United States has played in pursuing that diplomacy to address the political situation in Syria is something that we've been pursuing for years and continues to this day.

Q Is this administration considering in its final weeks any punitive actions against Vladimir Putin's government because of its ongoing support -- militarily, financial, diplomatic -- for Bashar al-Assad's government?

MR. EARNEST: Well, there are a range of steps that we have been considering. And the truth is, because of some of Russia's actions in Ukraine, violating the territorial integrity of that country, they're already facing significant isolation that has eroded their status diplomatically and has hurt their economy.

So Russia is already suffering the consequences of the kind of international behavior that has been repudiated by the international community, but I wouldn't rule out potentially applying additional steps because of the way that they have behaved in Syria, as well.

Thanks, everybody. We'll see you tomorrow.

END 2:33 P.M. EST

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

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, January 4, 2017 4:34 PM
To: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-AMB-DL <USUN-AMB-DL@state.gov>; Klein, Christopher C <KleinCC@state.gov>
Subject: Security Council Breakfast, January 3, 2016

Sweden and its presidency Long 35 min windup to table wide discussion 1.4(D) B1

The Sweden presidency event on the 10th seems likely to draw a lot of mins and dep mins – UK dep min. Senegal formin, Italy formin, Ukr formin, Eth formin, France trade min etc..
Sweden wants to cut down size of lunch w SG for more informal discussions.

UK PR said

Senegal PR 1.4(B) 1.4(D) B1

Italy PR discussed

French PR

Eth PR

Bolivian PR joined other new members in expressing gratitude to be on the Council,

Russia PR didn't speak and left early,

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

Classified by Director A/GIS/IPS, DoS on 04/11/2018 ~ Class: UNCLASSIFIED ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 01/04/2037

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Monday, January 2, 2017 3:25 PM
To: Maltz, Gideon <MaltzG@state.gov>; Nick Zimmerman [redacted] B6
Cc: Samantha [redacted] Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>; Chriqui, Jacob <ChriquiJ@state.gov>; Wexler, Rebecca <WexlerR@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Update on Guterres Memo (this is Nick Z's personal email account)

I sent you guys a text at midnight w a single image. Weird terrible bb

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Maltz, Gideon
Sent: Monday, January 2, 2017 2:40 PM
To: Power, Samantha; Nick Zimmerman
Cc: Samantha; Aguirre, Sergio; Chriqui, Jacob; Wexler, Rebecca
Subject: Re: Update on Guterres Memo (this is Nick Z's personal email account)

Ambassador, I didn't see anything from you last night, but we have your hand-written output on the memo now and will take it from there.

Original Message
From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Monday, January 2, 2017 2:13 PM
To: Nick Zimmerman
Cc: Samantha; Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon; Chriqui, Jacob
Subject: Re: Update on Guterres Memo (this is Nick Z's personal email account)

I sent to gideon and becca last night by text what needed to be farmed out

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Nick Zimmerman
Sent: Monday, January 2, 2017 2:08 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Samantha; Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon; Chriqui, Jacob
Subject: Re: Update on Guterres Memo (this is Nick Z's personal email account)

Believe Elisa has or will pick up all of your output today, including Haley.

> On Jan 2, 2017, at 2:01 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:
>
> Thank you! And everyone got haley edits etc?
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> From: Nick Zimmerman
> Sent: Monday, January 2, 2017 1:40 PM

> To: Samantha
> Cc: Power, Samantha; Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon; Chriqui, Jacob
> Subject: Re: Update on Guterres Memo (this is Nick Z's personal email account)
>
>
> Hi Ambassador,
>
> Ok, this is ready for your review. Your requested additions are reflected in yellow highlight and comment bubbles (which have the name Elizabeth because I'm using my mom's computer, hope that doesn't confuse you).
>
> The rest of the document is clean, but it does incorporate all your line edits from yesterday.
>
> Nick
>
> On Mon, Jan 2, 2017 at 11:57 AM, Samantha [redacted] B6
> I think I will go back into this memo when I have the whole thing - pls let me know when we have that. Thanks! Nearly there...
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> On Jan 2, 2017, at 11:54 AM, Nick Zimmerman [redacted] > wrote: B6
>
> Ambassador,
> [redacted] B5
>
> Nick
>
> ---------- [redacted] B5
>
> On Sun, Jan 1, 2017 at 10:03 PM, Power, Samantha

<PowerS@state.gov<mailto:PowerS@state.gov>> wrote:

[redacted] B5

>
> Other answers below. And sorry for my writing!
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> From: Nick Zimmerman
> Sent: Sunday, January 1, 2017 9:27 PM
> To: [redacted] Power, Samantha B6
> Cc: Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon; Chriqui, Jacob
> Subject: Update on Guterres Memo (this is Nick Z's personal email account)
>
>
> Ambassador,
>
> My work account hit capacity erarlier and I therefore cannot send any emails from it, but wanted to provide you an update on the Guterres memo edits.
>

[redacted] B5

> Thank you,
> Nick

>
>
>
>
> <Guterres Transition Memo_January 2.docx>
>

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:32 PM
To:	Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Cc:	Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject:	Re: Trump line / Hatch

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Ok

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:30 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: RE: Trump line / Hatch

[redacted] B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:30 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Trump line / Hatch

So ridic. Ok

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:20 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: RE: Trump line / Hatch

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 5:58 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Trump line / Hatch

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, January 2, 2017 11:50 PM
To: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>; Zimmerman, Nicholas F. <ZimmermanNF@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: guterres
Attach: Guterres Transition Memo_January 2.docx

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Samantha Power [redacted] B6
Sent: Monday, January 2, 2017 11:47 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: guterres

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, November 16, 2016 4:57 PM
To: Green, Mackenzie L <GreenML@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia <USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia@state.gov>
Subject: RE: For Approval: Tweet on POTUS Athens speech

RELEASE IN PART B5

Edited below as we are a bit repetitive on exceptionalism today

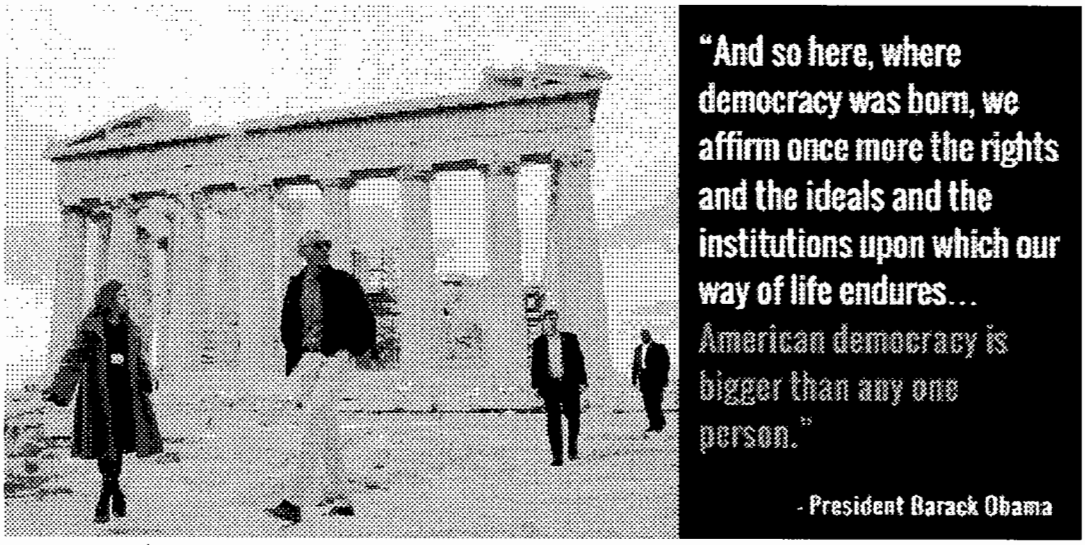
SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Green, Mackenzie L
Sent: Wednesday, November 16, 2016 4:46 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia
Subject: RE: For Approval: Tweet on POTUS Athens speech

Ambassador,

Kurtis suggested we give more context for the "American democracy is bigger than any one person" quote to avoid seeming overly pointed. We highlighted the quote in the graphic so that it still remains the focus. On another note, the first graphic you approved is getting great pickup so far. Hopefully this one will be a winner too! Thanks!

@AmbassadorPower
On his last overseas trip as @POTUS -- to the birthplace of democracy -- President Obama offered a stirring reminder of its many virtues:



SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, November 16, 2016 4:01 PM
To: Green, Mackenzie L
Cc: USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia
Subject: RE: For Approval: Tweet on POTUS Athens speech

Ok. looking forward to the other one. And you are tweeting naturalization round 2 soon too right?

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

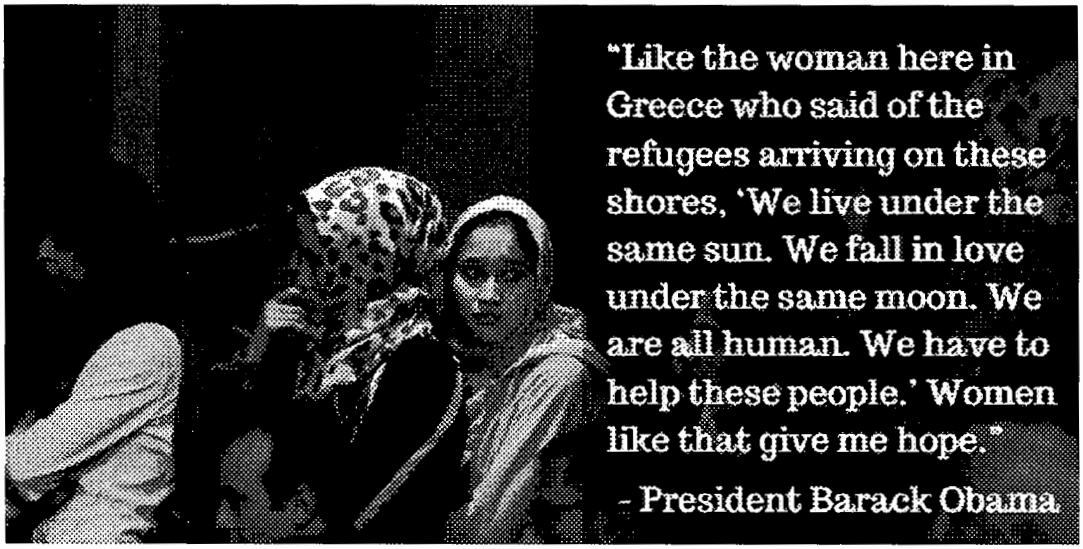
From: Green, Mackenzie L
Sent: Wednesday, November 16, 2016 3:59 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia
Subject: RE: For Approval: Tweet on POTUS Athens speech

Ambassador,

Bumping this to see if our updated quote graphic is ok to post. Thanks!

@AmbassadorPower
From #Greece, birthplace of democracy, @POTUS reflects on our shared humanity: [LINK to remarks] #RefugeesWelcome

https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/11/16/remarks-president-obama-stavros-niarchos-foundation-cultural-center



SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Green, Mackenzie L
Sent: Wednesday, November 16, 2016 2:45 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia

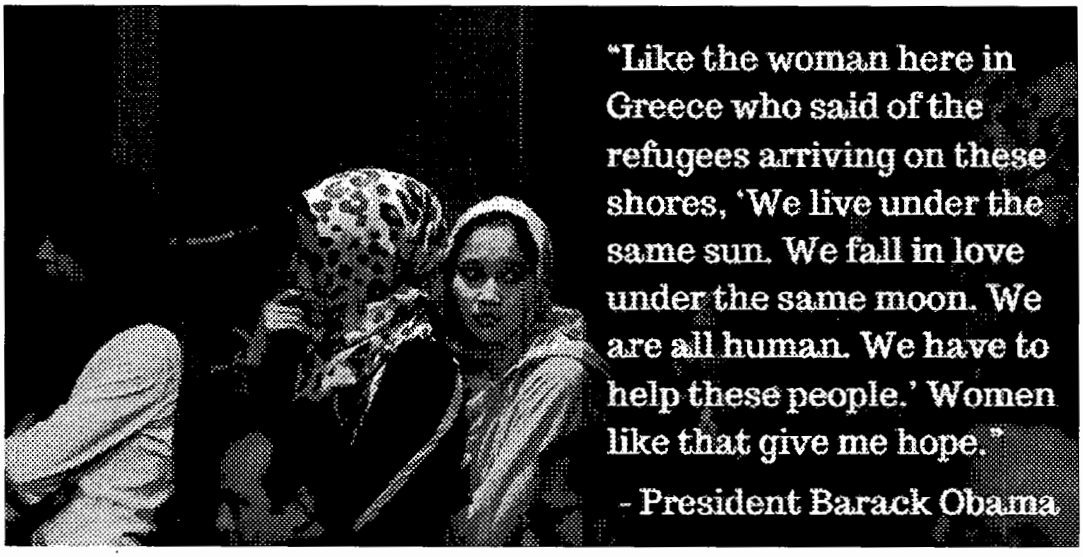
Subject: RE: For Approval: Tweet on POTUS Athens speech

Apologies for the mixup on the graphic. We've created a new graphic for the refugee quote using a photo of women refugees in the audience at POTUS' speech. We are working on adding the democracy quote with the original photo graphic.

Is the below ok to push out now? I'll follow up with a new tweet and graphic as requested shortly. Thank you!

@AmbassadorPower
From #Greece, birthplace of democracy, @POTUS reflects on our shared humanity: [LINK to remarks] #RefugeesWelcome

https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/11/16/remarks-president-obama-stavros-niarchos-foundation-cultural-center



SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, November 16, 2016 12:47 PM
To: Green, Mackenzie L
Cc: USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia
Subject: RE: For Approval: Tweet on POTUS Athens speech

[redacted] B5

[redacted] Thank you! B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Green, Mackenzie L
Sent: Wednesday, November 16, 2016 12:37 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-PRESS-SocialMedia
Subject: For Approval: Tweet on POTUS Athens speech

Ambassador,

Per your request, we've prepared the below tweet and graphic. I think the topic fits in very nicely with the sentiment of your naturalization ceremony tweets, to come later in the day. Thanks to Aoife for creating the graphic.

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Wednesday, November 16, 2016 10:36 AM
To: USUN-COMMS-DL
Subject: FW: Athens speech

Pls amp this quote with this photo

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Pyatt, Geoffrey R (Athens)
Sent: Wednesday, November 16, 2016 10:34 AM
To: Richard, Anne; Power, Samantha
Subject: Athens speech

NYT nicely picks up this wonderful line on migrants in today's inspiring speech "Like the woman here in Greece who said of the refugees arriving on these shores, 'We live under the same sun. We fall in love under the same moon. We are all human. We have to help these people,' " Mr. Obama said to sustained applause. "Women like that give me hope."

'American Democracy Is Bigger Than Any One Person,' Obama Says

By GARDINER HARRISNOV. 16, 2016

President Obama toured the Acropolis of Athens on Wednesday for the first time.Credit Pablo Martinez Monsivais/Associated Press

ATHENS — Having warned of the risks of a Trump presidency, President Obama returned on Wednesday to a more optimistic vision of the future of the United States, as part of his final international tour while in office.

"American democracy is bigger than any one person," Mr. Obama told an audience in Athens, before he departed for Berlin. "That is why we have a tradition of the outgoing president welcoming the new one — as I did last week."

But he also acknowledged that such transfers of power were not always easy, and he noted that the diversity of American society made governance a challenge.

"As you may have noticed, the next American president and I could not be more different," Mr. Obama said to a ripple of laughter.

Mr. Obama had not visited the Parthenon. As he toured the ruins and a nearby museum, he was probably reminded that great powers, even democratic ones with remarkable cultures, can fall.

Mr. Obama has largely spoken positively about the coming presidency of Donald J. Trump, saying in a Monday news conference that the president-elect had reassured him that he would remain committed to NATO and that he would keep portions of Mr. Obama's health care law.

On Tuesday, Mr. Obama seemed to change tack, warning against what he said were dangerous divisions of race, religion and ethnicity. "We are going to have to guard against a rise in a crude sort of nationalism or ethnic identity or tribalism that is built around an 'us' and a 'them,' " he said.

On Wednesday, he said that "even if progress follows a winding path — sometimes forward, sometimes back — democracy is still the most effective form of government ever devised by man."

He did, however, acknowledge that democracy could be especially challenging.

"And in multiethnic, multiracial, multicultural societies, like the United States, it can be especially complicated," he said. "Believe me, I know."

But he said that globalization and automation, which have created the most prosperous and advanced society in history, were also creating extraordinary anxiety.

"Technology and automation mean that goods can be produced with fewer workers," he said. "It means jobs and manufacturing can move across borders where wages are lower and rights are less protected."

Those trends have also created a global elite that seems to live by a different set of rules, such as being able to avoid taxes, Mr. Obama said. That kind of inequality breeds resentment, he said, and is among the greatest challenges to modern democracies and to the economic formula that has yielded such benefits.

"It fuels a feeling that globalization only benefits those at the top," he said, adding: "And if people feel that they are losing control of their future, they will push back. We've seen it here in Greece and across Europe. We saw it in the vote in Britain to leave the E.U. And now, we've seen it in the United States."

Mr. Obama said that remaining a connected world was still crucial but that the "current path of globalization demands a course correction" to ensure that the fruits of those trends were more broadly shared.

Standing in the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Center, which was bedecked with Greek, American and European Union flags, Mr. Obama made a fervent pitch for the European Union, which some Greeks have advocated leaving in recent years because of the costs of remaining tied to the euro.

"European integration — the European Union — remains one of the great political and economic achievements of human history," Mr. Obama said. "Today, more than ever, the world needs a Europe that is strong, prosperous and democratic." And he praised Greece for its efforts to shelter thousands of Syrian refugees.

"Like the woman here in Greece who said of the refugees arriving on these shores, 'We live under the same sun. We fall in love under the same moon. We are all human. We have to help these people,' " Mr. Obama said to sustained applause. "Women like that give me hope."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:33 PM
To:	Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Cc:	Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject:	Re: Trump line / Hatch

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Yes

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:31 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: RE: Trump line / Hatch

I can get you a draft by then. Just taking another pass through now.
Separately, would you like to see the intro from the Yale students who will introduce you?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:31 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Trump line / Hatch

Meaning, fine to cut. How's the rest coming? Was going to head back to printer house which is around 20 mins away.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: PowerS@state.gov
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:29 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Trump line / Hatch

So ridic. Ok

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 6:20 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: RE: Trump line / Hatch

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 5:58 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Trump line / Hatch

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From:	Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent:	Sunday, December 4, 2016 9:06 AM
To:	Gareth Evans <ge@gevans.org>; Yoshioka, Elisa <YoshiokaE@state.gov>
Subject:	Re: Responsibility to Protect Roundtable: Vancouver 22-24 March 2017/ Personal/Meeting 8 Dec?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

Great to hear from you Gareth. I wld do anything for you and for old time's sake, but I'm afraid to say I'm in Paris on the 8th (will look to see when I'm back) and can't go to vancouver in the spring bc I have [redacted] B6 making up for lost time. Will get back to you if I'm back from France late on 8th. Xos

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Gareth Evans
Sent: Sunday, December 4, 2016 4:10 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Yoshioka, Elisa
Reply To: ge@gevans.org
Subject: Responsibility to Protect Roundtable: Vancouver 22-24 March 2017/ Personal/Meeting 8 Dec?

Samantha

As your old ICG buddy - and deeply into the stages of grief you must be experiencing post Trump - can I please make one more bid to get you engaged in the high-level international roundtable I am convening and chairing, under the auspices of Jennifer Simons's foundation, in Vancouver on 22-24 March next. It's a really good small group, wrestling with the future of genocide response -- focusing on how best to re-energise the key actors in the present very difficult environment - which I know is dear to your heart.

I will be in New York this coming week with some windows on Thurs 8 Dec - any chance of a quick catchup ? I know you are mercilessly harassed on multiple fronts, but for old times's sake....

As ever

Gareth

Professor the Hon Gareth Evans AC QC

Chancellor, Australian National University

ANU House, Level 11

52 Collins St, Melbourne 3000

Victoria 3000 Australia

Tel: +61 3 9639 8197

Mob: [redacted] B6

Email: ge@gevans.org

Website Personal: www.gevans.org

Website ANU: www.anu.edu

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: Gareth Evans <ge@gevans.org>
Date: 24 November 2016 at 19:43:39 +11:00
Subject: Re: Samantha Power -The Responsibility to Protect: Re-Energizing the Key Players Conference Invitation
To: Jennifer Simons [redacted] B6
Cc: Elaine Hynes <elaine_hynes@sfu.ca>, 'Simon Adams' <sadams@globalr2p.org>, 'Ramesh Thakur' <ramesh.thakur@anu.edu.au>

Worth a try - I'll have another go shortly
Best
Gareth

Professor the Hon Gareth Evans AC QC

Chancellor, Australian National University

ANU House, Level 11

52 Collins St, Melbourne 3000

Victoria 3000 Australia

Tel: +61 3 9639 8197

Fax: +61 3 9639 8203

Email: ge@gevans.org

Website Personal: [redacted]

Website ANU: www.anu.edu

On 22 November 2016 at 05:02:52 +11:00, Jennifer Simons <[redacted] wrote: B6

> Gareth,
>
> I am not pushing to have Samantha Power re-invited! I imagined that she may have believed there would

be a Clinton win and she may be in the same position but with the Trump presidency, there is no doubt that she will be replaced.

So you decide if you want her!

Warm wet wishes from Vancouver (it has rained practically non-stop for 7 weeks!)

Jennifer

Jennifer Allen Simons, C.M., Ph.D., LL.D.
Founder and President
The Simons Foundation
PO Box 2163 Station Terminal
Vancouver, BC
V6B 3V3
Tel: [redacted] B6
Fax: [redacted] B6
www.thesimonsfoundation.ca

From: elaine <elaine_hynes@sfu.ca>
Date: Monday, November 21, 2016 at 9:59 AM
To: Gareth Evans <ge@gevans.org>, Jennifer Simons [redacted] B6
Cc: 'Simon Adams' <sadams@globalr2p.org>, 'Ramesh Thakur' <ramesh.thakur@anu.edu.au>
Subject: FW: The Responsibility to Protect: Re-Energizing the Key Players Conference Invitation

Good day,

As requested, the reply received from Samantha Power's office is shown below.

Elaine

Elaine Hynes

Assistant to the President and Programme Manager

The Simons Foundation

From: Yoshioka, Elisa [mailto:YoshiokaE@state.gov]
Sent: July-15-16 2:45 PM
To: elaine_hynes@sfu.ca
Cc: ehynes@thesimonsfoundation.ca; Koilparampil, Megan S.
Subject: RE: The Responsibility to Protect: Re-Energizing the Key Players Conference Invitation

Dear Elaine,

Due to scheduling conflicts, Ambassador Power is unable to attend this conference in Canada. We wish you a successful event!

Kind regards,

Elisa

Elisa Yoshioka

Office of Ambassador Samantha Power

U.S. Mission to the United Nations

YoshiokaE@state.gov

212.415.4186

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Elaine Hynes [mailto:elaine_hynes@sfu.ca]
Sent: Thursday, June 30, 2016 7:54 PM
To: Koilparampil, Megan S.
Cc: ehynes@thesimonsfoundation.ca
Subject: The Responsibility to Protect: Re-Energizing the Key Players Conference Invitation

PLEASE FORWARD THIS MESSAGE TO AMBASSADOR SAMANTHA POWER.

Dear Ambassador Power,

On behalf of Professor the Hon. Gareth Evans and Dr. Jennifer Allen Simons, I am writing to provide the attached invitation to participate in ***The Responsibility to Protect: Re-Energizing the Key Players Conference*** to be held at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada on 22-24 March 2017.

Your contribution to this event will be particularly valuable and we hope that you will be able to attend. If possible, we would appreciate receiving your reply by 31 July 2016.

With best regards,

Elaine Hynes

Assistant to the President and Programme Manager

The Simons Foundation

PO Box 2163 Station Terminal

Vancouver, BC

V6B 3V3

Tel: 778-782-7779

Fax: 778-782-7781

Email: ehynes@thesimonsfoundation.ca

www.thesimonsfoundation.ca

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, December 2, 2016 2:49 PM
To: Koilparampil, Megan S. <KoilparampilM@state.gov>; Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL <USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL@state.gov>; USUN-COMMS-DL <USUN-COMMS-DL@state.gov>; Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>; Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>; Maltz, Gideon <MaltzG@state.gov>
Subject: Re: ACTION: CFR Moderator Decision

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Koilparampil, Megan S.
Sent: Friday, December 2, 2016 2:44 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-Scheduling-DL; USUN-COMMS-DL; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon
Subject: ACTION: CFR Moderator Decision

Ambassador,

Thank you for your output on the CFR Moderator for your moderated discussion at their Sons and Daughters Meeting on December 19th. [redacted]

To jog your memory, the three choices are below.

[redacted] B5 B6

[redacted]

ACTION: Who would you like us to choose to moderate?

Thank you,
Megan

Megan Koilparampil | Director of Scheduling and Advance
Office of Ambassador Samantha Power | U.S. Mission to the United Nations
(212) 415-4287 | KoilparampilM@state.gov

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 5:17 PM
To: nik steinberg <nik.steinberg@gmail.com>
Cc: [redacted]; Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov> B6
Subject: Re: Round 2 nits

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: PowerS@state.gov
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 5:00 PM
To: nik steinberg
Cc: Samantha; Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Round 1

Last nits I hope:

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: nik steinberg
Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 3:58 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Samantha; Steinberg, Nikolaus
Subject: Re: Yale, 3:45 pm

Yes. Safety Dance was the monumental party that Yale held every year -- or Rolling Stone fame -- that was canceled for safety reasons. Everyone on campus went.

Red wedding is from Game of Thrones and got laughs from folks at office who had seen (remember that Penn graduation opened with a whole Game of Thrones mock-video, so it's certainly in the zeitgeist.)

On Sat, May 21, 2016 at 3:55 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:

> Feel uncomfy w safety dance and red wedding bc have never given speech before where I have no idea what's being referenced. Trusting that it is 100 percent ppl will understand and it will be funnyish?
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> From: nik steinberg
> Sent: Saturday, May 21, 2016 3:46 PM
> To: Samantha; Power, Samantha
> Cc: Steinberg, Nikolaus
> Subject: Yale, 3:45 pm

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Monday, May 16, 2016 11:57 AM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Subject: latest
Attach: SP revision yale may 16 2016.docx

RELEASE IN FULL

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, October 12, 2016 10:25 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

ROK govt officials quoting you in meetings with Amb. King. See below.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Allen, Booyeon L
Sent: Tuesday, October 11, 2016 7:52 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus; Black, Joshua J. EOP/NSC [redacted] Cooper, Kurtis A; Wexler, Rebecca; Koilparampil, Megan S. B6
Cc: Sagurton Jr, Edwin C
Subject: FW: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

ROK government officials studied Amb Power's remarks and are now quoting her in meetings. The exchange below from Amb Robert King's meeting with MOFA Director General for International Organizations.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Choi, Sung W
Sent: Wednesday, October 12, 2016 8:50 AM
To: Allen, Booyeon L
Subject: RE: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

This is the line that that IO DG Lee Jang-keun quoted and said was brilliant:

"This is a government that would rather grow its weapons programs than grow its own children."

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Allen, Booyeon L
Sent: Wednesday, October 12, 2016 8:46 AM
To: Choi, Sung W

Subject: FW: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Monday, October 10, 2016 9:57 AM
To: Allen, Booyeon L
Subject: Fw: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

From: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, October 10, 2016 7:41 AM
To: Turnbull, Daniel
Subject: FW: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: USUN, PRESS
Sent: Sunday, October 09, 2016 6:21 PM
Subject: Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

United States Mission to the United Nations
Office of Press and Public Diplomacy
799 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
(212) 415-4050
http://www.usun.state.gov

AS DELIVERED October 9, 2016

Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Press Availability in Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 9, 2016

AMBASSADOR POWER: Good afternoon, everybody. Thank you for being here. As you may know,

I just came from my meeting with the prime minister of the Republic of Korea. I had the chance to underscore the critical importance of the alliance between the United States and the Republic of Korea for the security of both countries, and as a foundation for peace and security throughout the region. I was also able to share some impressions from my visits today at the DMZ and to the Hanawon resettlement center. This was my first visit to the DMZ. It is one thing to read about or to see pictures of the DMZ, as so many of us have. It is another thing entirely to go right up to the line dividing what was once a single nation, and to see with your own eyes the stark contrast between freedom and repression, openness and isolation. Being there also brings into sharp focus the proximity of the threat that people here feel every time the DPRK carries out another nuclear test or yet another illicit ballistic missile launch.

We saw this dangerous behavior most recently exactly one month ago today, on September 9, when the DPRK conducted its second nuclear weapons test of the year; a year in which it also carried out an unprecedented number of ballistic missile launches. Following this most recent test, as you all know, the United States and our allies renewed our efforts at the UN Security Council to raise the cost on the DPRK for pursuing this dangerous course.

To be clear, this is why I have traveled to the region at this time. To consult directly with our close partners in the Republic of Korea and Japan on how we can effectively change the calculus of the DPRK regime. A major part of that is shaping a new UN Security Council resolution that will seek to impose new sanctions and tighten enforcement of those sanctions already in place.

While I am here meeting with senior officials in the government of the Republic of Korea, U.S. experts in New York – technical experts – are working in lockstep with our counterparts to find new ways to make it harder for the DPRK to obtain the materials and the hard currency that they have used to fuel the illicit nuclear weapons program.

While Security Council resolutions are one tool in our tool box, and a very important instrument of pressure, we are committed to using all the tools in our toolkit to address this serious threat including the diplomatic pressure that we are mobilizing around the world to convince other nations to isolate the regime. You see the impact of this diplomatic pressure in the growing number of governments expelling DPRK officials – officials who have abused their diplomatic privileges to advance the regime's weapons program. Our tools also include the deterrence offered by the U.S. military, which I saw firsthand today at the DMZ in the American soldiers stationed side by side with ROK soldiers.

The message that we bring to the government and to the people of the Republic of Korea is clear: While the United States may be further away geographically from the Republic of Korea than you are, we take the threat that the DPRK poses just as seriously. We understand that this is not only a threat to the United States and the Republic of Korea, but to the very foundation of our international order, and we are determined to stand with you in addressing this threat. Our resolve is unwavering, our commitment is ironclad, and we are by your side.

Today I also had the opportunity to visit a place that shows a different kind of threat posed by the DPRK. Together with Republic of Korea government officials, I traveled to the Hanawon resettlement center where people who have managed to escape the DPRK learn to prepare for their new lives in the Republic of Korea. During my visit I met with a few of the recently arrived defectors and the experiences they shared were completely heartbreaking.

One young woman described how she had told nobody – not a soul, not even her parents – about her intention to flee North Korea. Yet even though her parents knew absolutely nothing of her plans for defection, local officials blamed them for her leaving and they have harassed her family until they, too,

fled their village.

This young woman's case is not an isolated one. Instead it reflects a pattern of widespread and systematic abuses perpetrated by the regime in the DPRK against its own people. Abuses that, as the comprehensive UN Commission of Inquiry report concluded, "does not have any parallel in the contemporary world." These abuses include holding an estimated 80,000 to120,000 people in political prison camps where they are subjected to systematic torture, starvation, slave labor, rape, and forced abortions.

Now it may seem like these two issues – the way the DPRK threatens people beyond its borders with weapons of mass destruction and the way the regime terrorizes and abuses its own people – it may seem that these are unrelated. But they are rooted in a similar contempt for international standards and they are linked in a practical sense. Consider this: According to the World Health Organization, 25 percent of children in the DPRK suffer from stunted growth, owing to chronic malnutrition. One in four kids. And yet, the DPRK continues to pour all of its resources into its illicit weapons programs. This is a government that would rather grow its weapons programs than grow its own children.

When the UN Security Council held its first ever session on the issue of human rights in the DPRK in December 2014, the Republic of Korea's UN representative, Ambassador Oh Joon, a dear friend of mine, said the following: "For South Koreans, the people of North Korea are not just anyone. Millions of South Koreans still have family members living in the north, even though we never hear from them. Even though by now, the pain of separation has become a cold fact of life, we know that they are there, just a few hundred kilometers away from where we live. We cannot listen to the stories of defectors without sharing their tears, without feeling we are there with them experiencing their tragedies." That is what Ambassador Joon told the Council.

We Americans may not have millions of family members living in the DPRK as you do, but like you, we cannot hear their testimonies without feeling their suffering and believing that the abuses against them must stop. We believe that regardless of which side of the DMZ they live on, Koreans are entitled to live with dignity, with the same human rights, the same freedoms, and the same opportunities.

That is why we stand side by side with our South Korean allies. We stand side by side here in Seoul, we stand side by side at the DMZ, we stand side by side at the United Nations in New York, and we stand side by side wherever our shared security is on the line. And that is why we will continue to work with you toward the day when all Koreans will be able to live united in peace and prosperity. I thank you.

QUESTION: Two questions. First, Minister Yun mentioned the possibility of expelling North Korea from the United Nations but they say that realistically this is an impossible option and I was curious to know what your opinion is on this issue. Second question, as Ambassador Oh Joon mentioned, North Korean human rights issue is indeed an important one, but as you know, North Korea is currently suffering from a severe flood in the northern part of the country and yet the South Korean government is not considering the provision of any type of aid at all. What do you think?

AMBASSADOR POWER: Thank you for both questions. On your first, I think it is very understandable what is motivating the kind of proposal that you described. The UN Charter enshrines the principle of fundamental freedoms and the principle and the commitment of UN Member States to uphold and preserve international peace and security. This is why, as one form of the pressure that we apply against the regime in the DPRK, we consistently invoke their obligations as Member States of the United Nations. We believe, as the United States, that being a Member State of the United Nations is a tremendous privilege for us. But we also believe that every Member State of the United Nations has a set of responsibilities and the DPRK regime is not living up to those responsibilities.

On the specific proposal, I would refer you to the government of the Republic of Korea. With regard to the flooding that has befallen some in North Korea, first of all, our hearts go out to those families that have been affected, those that have been displaced. I think, as you well know, the challenge of providing assistance to the DPRK is well known. International donors – whether Member States or organizations – have no confidence that money and assistance that is meant to help ordinary people who are suffering terribly – whether now of flooding or of grave malnutrition – that the assistance that is provided actually reaches those people. As you know, the United Nations has a number of programs within North Korea and I know they are doing what they can to be responsive to the needs of the people while also doing what they can to ensure the money that is given to actually reach the people is not simply used like most resources in the country to fuel the government's nefarious weapons programs.

QUESTION: I'm wondering if you could you speak to why or what parts of 2270 specifically aren't working to achieve the desired result that you all sought in this resolution.

AMBASSADOR POWER: First, let me say that, as you know, Resolution 2270 is the toughest and most robust sanctions resolution that the UN Security Council has passed in more than a generation. The resolution includes a requirement for the first time to inspect cargo going into North Korea. It shuts down banking channels. It bans all conventional weapons sales to the DPRK. And it bans outright or severely limits the export of minerals that we know – and the whole world knows – have been used to generate hard currency and resources that are then pumped into the illicit ballistic and nuclear weapons programs.

We always knew that a resolution this robust was going to take some time to be properly enforced across the board, and that, even once fully implemented, was going to take time to have its desired effects. I actually think the picture on implementation is mixed. We have seen some countries create new mechanisms to inspect cargo going into or coming from the DPRK. We have seen countries completely ending, terminating, engagement with the DPRK related to the export of coal. And we have seen countries in a wholly new way expelling DPRK diplomats that are using their diplomatic privileges basically to cover up for the work they are doing illicitly to advance the nuclear weapons program.

But the resolution contains some exemptions that were put in place because of our deep concern about the welfare of the citizens of the DPRK. And some of those exemptions, it appears, have been exploited to not bring about the kind of enforcement and implementation that is going to be necessary going forward. In the negotiation that we are currently in the midst on in the new resolution, we are hoping to address some of the shortcomings that we have seen. But fundamentally, no matter any resolution says, it is going to be up to the Member States of the United Nations, and particularly those Member States that have dealings with the DPRK, to fully enforce the resolution in letter and spirit. And one of the things we have deep cooperation with the Republic of Korea on is exerting diplomatic pressure on those countries that we think need to more to enforce 2270, and will inevitably have to do more once we have a new resolution on the books.

QUESTION: Since the fifth nuclear test was conducted, I know that a new resolution has been crafted. What is your greatest challenge in coming up with this new resolution and how are you trying to overcome that challenge?

AMBASSADOR POWER: My greatest challenge in any negotiation in the UN Security Council is that there are 14 other countries on the UN Security Council. So we need to bring about a resolution that is tough, that makes a material difference to the DPRK's to ability to gain access to hard currency, to know-how, to technology. And we need to secure a resolution that has the support of other Council members including countries like China and the Russian Federation.

The Council is united already in condemning unanimously the test. And we are united already for a very long time in agreeing that the Korean Peninsula needs to be denuclearized. And the way that we overcome the challenge of what can be slightly different perspectives on how one achieves that goal is sustained technical discussions and outreach as well as very high-level political engagement to all the relevant stakeholders.

This is why President Obama telephoned President Park in the immediate wake of the latest nuclear test. It is also one of the topics that President Obama and President Xi discussed on the margins of the G-20. And it was a centerpiece of President Obama's discussion with Premier Li just a couple of weeks ago at the UN General Assembly.

QUESTION: You were supposed to have a press availability up in the DMZ, but you moved it to this venue this afternoon. Was the reason to not provoke North Korea? And was there any change in the statement you announced here and were going to announce at the DMZ?

AMBASSADOR POWER: I am unaware of venue issues, so maybe that is something you want to follow up with my team on. I think our schedule was in flux because we are cramming a huge amount into just three days on the ground here.

QUESTION: You mentioned that the last resolution was just the toughest, most robust, that has happened, but since it has passed, North Koreas has arguably become stronger. And with the clock ticking on the Obama Administration, and with some of the candidates, Mr. Trump in particular, talking about lowering the commitment to the Koreasan how much leverage do you have now, and how do you overcome the challenges of passing a stronger resolution and implementing it, considering China's opposition also to more binding measures?

AMBASSADOR POWER: First, I would say North Korea has not become stronger. A government lashing out, staging provocations, violating international law – doing that with increased frequency is not a sign of strength. That said, of course, with every test they do, they are refining their capabilities and we take that threat extremely seriously and it's one of the reasons I have flown all this way to Japan and the Republic of Korea.

In terms of the timing and how it relates to presidential transition in the United States, I sense as of now, no abatement in other countries' enthusiasm for engaging with the United States, with the Obama Administration. If anything we see a flurry of enthusiasm by a lot of different countries on a lot of different issues to see what we can get done together between now and January 20. We have worked for nearly eight years to build and to deepen a whole set of relationships and we are drawing on those relationships in our final months, both to try to close out progress on a range of issues, to mitigate suffering on a number of humanitarian crises and to ensure that the world that we hand over – or the world that greets the next President – is more stable and has within it the framework needed for progress. And we feel confident that we can get a strong resolution that responds to the recent nuclear test and see significant progress on designations and on implementation of that resolution in the coming weeks and months.

QUESTION: Two questions. These are very local questions. First, you mentioned how the technical experts in Iran are currently discussing ways to limit technology transfer to North Korea. As you know, North Korea used to receive its technology from Russia or the Syrian experts. I was wondering if there are any concrete discussions on ways to impose sanctions on that front?

The second question relates to human rights as well as nuclear tests. We are hearing information that

people who live around the area of the nuclear site have been contaminated because of the nuclear tests. Do you or does the UN have any information with respect to this issue?

AMBASSADOR POWER: With respect to your first question, I am not going to get into the details of what we are pursuing or what we are pursuing, or what we are discussing, in the negotiations.

With respect to your second question, I don't have any information, nor have I received any information from the United Nations. But when a country carries out a nuclear test, that is an extreme and very, very dangerous act. And it is a further reflection of a total lack of curiosity and lack of regard as to whether such effects would in fact ensue. So that is not surprising in light of the regime's actions toward its own people on a daily basis, but it is nonetheless an additional feature of the nuclear test.

I thank you all very much.

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This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 9:40 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>; Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO [redacted] Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC [redacted] Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC [redacted] SESTravel1, User <SESTravel1@state.gov>; DMCOS [redacted] Celeste A. Wallander [redacted] Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov>
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Russia speech 1am version

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

Sam, many thanks for the revisions. I am ok with this.

Many thanks

-----Original Message-----
From: Power, Samantha [mailto:PowerS@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:34 AM
To: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO [redacted] Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC [redacted] Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC [redacted] Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC [redacted] SES Travel <SESTravel1@state.gov>; DMCOS [redacted] Wallander, Celeste A. EOP/NSC [redacted] Blinken, Antony J <BlinkenAJ@state.gov> B6
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

Ok can reinsert. Cut only for length but 36 mins not so bad

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:30 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; SESTravel1, User; DMCOS; Celeste A. Wallander; Blinken, Antony J
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

Back online here in Cuba. [redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone on the Verizon Wireless 4G LTE network.
Original Message
From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:25 AM
To: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; SES Travel; DMCOS; Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO; Wallander, Celeste A. EOP/NSC; Blinken, Antony J
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio

Subject: Russia speech 1am version

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:28 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

Got it, love - get some sleep!

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jan 17, 2017, at 1:25 AM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:
>
> Over to you, my dear. Thank you!
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> From: PowerS@state.gov
> Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2017 1:25 AM
> To: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC; Curtis Ried; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; Secretary John Kerry; Denis McDonough; Ben Rhodes; Celeste Wallander; Tony Blinken
> Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
> Subject: Russia speech 1am version
>

[redacted] B5

> Official
> UNCLASSIFIED
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>
> <Power_redux_v42_clean.docx>

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC [redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 7:07 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: SESTravel1, User <SESTravel1@state.gov>; Finer, Jonathan J <FinerJJ@state.gov>; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC [redacted]
Subject: Re: FYI: Graham And Cruz Introduce Bill To Cut Off Funding To UN For Treatment Of Israel !

[redacted] B5

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jan 12, 2017, at 8:02 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:
>
[redacted] B5

> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> Original Message
> From: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC
> Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 6:57 PM
> To: Power, Samantha
> Cc: SESTravel1, User; Finer, Jonathan J; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC
> Subject: Re: FYI: Graham And Cruz Introduce Bill To Cut Off Funding To UN For Treatment Of Israel !
>
>
[redacted] B5

> Sent from my iPhone
>
>> On Jan 12, 2017, at 7:49 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:
>>
[redacted] B5

>>
>> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>> Original Message
>> From: Power, Samantha
>> Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 6:47 PM
>> To: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC
>> Cc: SESTravel1, User; Finer, Jonathan J; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC
>> Subject: Re: FYI: Graham And Cruz Introduce Bill To Cut Off Funding To UN For Treatment Of Israel !
>>
>>

[redacted] B5

>> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>> Original Message
>> From: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC
>> Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 6:34 PM
>> To: Power, Samantha
>> Cc: SESTravel1, User; Finer, Jonathan J; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC
>> Subject: Re: FYI: Graham And Cruz Introduce Bill To Cut Off Funding To UN For Treatment Of Israel !
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>>
>> What is it that you think we can and should do?
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>> Sent from my iPhone
>>
>>> On Jan 12, 2017, at 7:26 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:
>>>
>>> [redacted] B5
>>>
>>> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>>> From: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC
>>> Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 5:58 PM
>>> To: SESTravel1, User; Finer, Jonathan J; Power, Samantha; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC
>>> Subject: Fwd: FYI: Graham And Cruz Introduce Bill To Cut Off Funding To UN For Treatment Of Israel !
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>>>
>>> Our view from Leg perspective
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>>> Sent from my iPhone
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>>> Begin forwarded message:
>>>
>>> From: "Tess, Caroline A. EOP/NSC"
[redacted] B6
>>> Date: January 12, 2017 at 6:48:02 PM AST
>>> To: "Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC" [redacted]
"Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC" [redacted]
>>> Cc: "Rettig, Max L. EOP/NSC"
[redacted] Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC"
[redacted] "Lempert, Yael EOP/NSC"
[redacted] Le Mon, Christopher J. EOP/WHO" [redacted]
"Malley, Robert EOP/NSC" [redacted]
>>> Subject: FW: FYI: Graham And Cruz Introduce Bill To Cut Off Funding To UN For Treatment Of Israel !
>>>
>>> The below email was forwarded to me by USUN, so I wanted to provide my two cents. For the

B5

[redacted]

>>>
>>> Thank you - Caroline
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>>> From: Power, Samantha
>>> Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 3:45 PM
>>> To: Susan Rice; Finer, Jonathan J; Curtis Ried; SESTravel1, User; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; Denis McDonough
>>> Cc: Aguirre, Sergio
>>> Subject: Fw: FYI: Graham And Cruz Introduce Bill To Cut Off Funding To UN For Treatment Of Israel !
>>>
>>>

B5

[redacted]

>>>
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>>> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>>>
>>> From: Soifer, Halie S <SoiferHS@state.gov<mailto:SoiferHS@state.gov> <mailto:SoiferHS@state.gov> >
>>>
>>> Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 3:41 PM
>>>
>>> To: Power, Samantha; USUN-SP-COS-DL
>>>
>>> Subject: Fw: FYI: Graham And Cruz Introduce Bill To Cut Off Funding To UN For Treatment Of Israel !
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>>> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
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>>> From: Johnson, Hilary R <JohnsonHR@state.gov<mailto:JohnsonHR@state.gov>
<mailto:JohnsonHR@state.gov> >
>>>
>>> Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 3:35 PM
>>>
>>> To: Soifer, Halie S
>>>
>>> Subject: Fw: FYI: Graham And Cruz Introduce Bill To Cut Off Funding To UN For Treatment Of Israel !
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>>> From: JohnsonHR@state.gov<mailto:JohnsonHR@state.gov> <mailto:JohnsonHR@state.gov>
>>>
>>> Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2017 12:35 PM
>>>
>>> To: NEA-IPA-DL; Sutton, Samantha
>>>
>>> Subject: FYI: Graham And Cruz Introduce Bill To Cut Off Funding To UN For Treatment Of Israel !
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>>> FYI
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>>> FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: Contact: Taylor Reidy <mailto:taylor_reidy@lgraham.senate.gov>
or Kevin Bishop <mailto:kevin_bishop@lgraham.senate.gov>
>>>
>>> January 12, 2017 (202) 224-5972 / (864) 250-1417
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>>> GRAHAM AND CRUZ INTRODUCE BILL TO CUT OFF FUNDING TO UN FOR TREATMENT OF ISRAEL
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>>> WASHINGTON - U.S. Senator Lindsey Graham (R-South Carolina) and Ted Cruz (R-Texas) appeared on Morning Joe and Fox and Friends today to announce they introduced the Safeguard Israel Act <http://www.cruz.senate.gov/files/documents/Bills/20170112_DefundUN.pdf> , which will cut off funding to the United Nations until the President certifies to Congress that the United Nations Security

Council (UNSC) Resolution 2334 has been repealed. The resolution passed last month undermines and delegitimizes our ally, Israel.
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>>> CLICK TO WATCH MORNING JOE <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OhObfSu16Yc> AND FOX AND FRIENDS <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XQdB9EOgE-0>
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>>> "Twenty-two percent of the money to fund the UN comes from the American taxpayer," Graham said. "I don't think it's a good investment for the American taxpayer to give money to an organization that condemns the only democracy in the Mideast, and takes the settlement issue and says that's the most important and only issue in terms of an impediment to peace. I begged the UN months before, don't put me in this box. This was John Kerry and Obama taking a slap at Israel. We're going to push back. I think most Americans believe that the United Nations has become more anti-Semitic, more anti-Israeli. And I'm a big internationalist, but we're going to stop the money until we get this fixed. I appreciate Ted's leadership on this."
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>>> "I'm proud to be working with Lindsey on this important legislation," Sen. Cruz said. "President Obama betrayed decades of robust bipartisan American support for Israel at the United Nations by permitting the passage of a biased resolution that condemns our close friend and ally. The Security Council's resolution is only the latest example of the UN's long history of obsessive hostility towards Israel and we must not let this shameful action stand. Congress must hold the UN accountable and use our leverage as its largest contributor to push for the repeal of this resolution, making it clear to the world that Congress stands unequivocally against efforts to undermine Israel."
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>>> In their legislation, Senators Graham and Cruz outline numerous reasons why UNSC Resolution 2334 should be repealed, including:
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>>> * It attempts to pre-judge the basis for negotiations, predetermine the outcome of negotiations, and dictate terms and conditions, which is an abandonment of long-standing policy of the United States and previous commitments made to Israel.
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>>> * It falsely claims that Israel's sovereignty over the eastern part of Jerusalem and Jewish communities in the West Bank are illegal under international law, and that the Old City of Jerusalem, along with the Temple Mount, the holiest site for the Jewish people, and the Western Wall are "occupied Palestinian territory".
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>>> * It encourages the International Criminal Court to open an illegitimate formal investigation against Israel.

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>>> * It will help to strengthen the Palestinian diplomatic, economic, and legal warfare campaign against Israel and encourages boycotts, divestments, and sanctions against Israel
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>>> The United States is the largest contributor of funding to the United Nations, providing 22 percent of the U.N. regular budget, the highest of any member state, which gives the U.S. considerable influence over the United Nations. The United States must use this influence to help our allies, in this case Israel, which is crucial to our own national security interests.
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>>> Full text of the Safeguard Israel Act may be found here <http://cruz.senate.gov/files/documents/Bills/20170112_DefundUN.pdf> .
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B6

From: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO [redacted] B6
Sent: Wednesday, January 11, 2017 3:59 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>; Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC [redacted] Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC [redacted] Price, Edward [redacted]
Subject: Re: The New Yorker

I'll call him tomorrow

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone on the Verizon Wireless 4G LTE network.
Original Message
From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, January 10, 2017 10:57 PM
To: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC; Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC; Price, Ned C. EOP/NSC
Subject: Fw: The New Yorker

Sounds serious - can you follow up, Ben?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
From: Dexter Filkins [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, January 10, 2017 7:10 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: The New Yorker

Dear Ambassador Power:

I am a staff writer at The New Yorker magazine. We are writing a story about communications between President-Elect Trump and the Russian state. It's specific. My understanding is that the President has been briefed on at least one of the issues that we are planning on writing about.

We are trying to go press soon and wanted to give the White House a chance to respond. My number is [redacted]

Thank you so much.

Dexter Filkins

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, December 27, 2016 6:26 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Re: NYT Piece

I just talked to [redacted] B6

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone on the Verizon Wireless 4G LTE network.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, December 27, 2016 4:46 PM
To: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO
Subject: FW: NYT Piece

[redacted] B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, December 27, 2016 4:41 PM
To: McCarthy, Aoife
Cc: USUN-COMMS-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.; Ordeman, Leslie T; Tachco, Amy N; Simonoff, Mark A
Subject: RE: NYT Piece

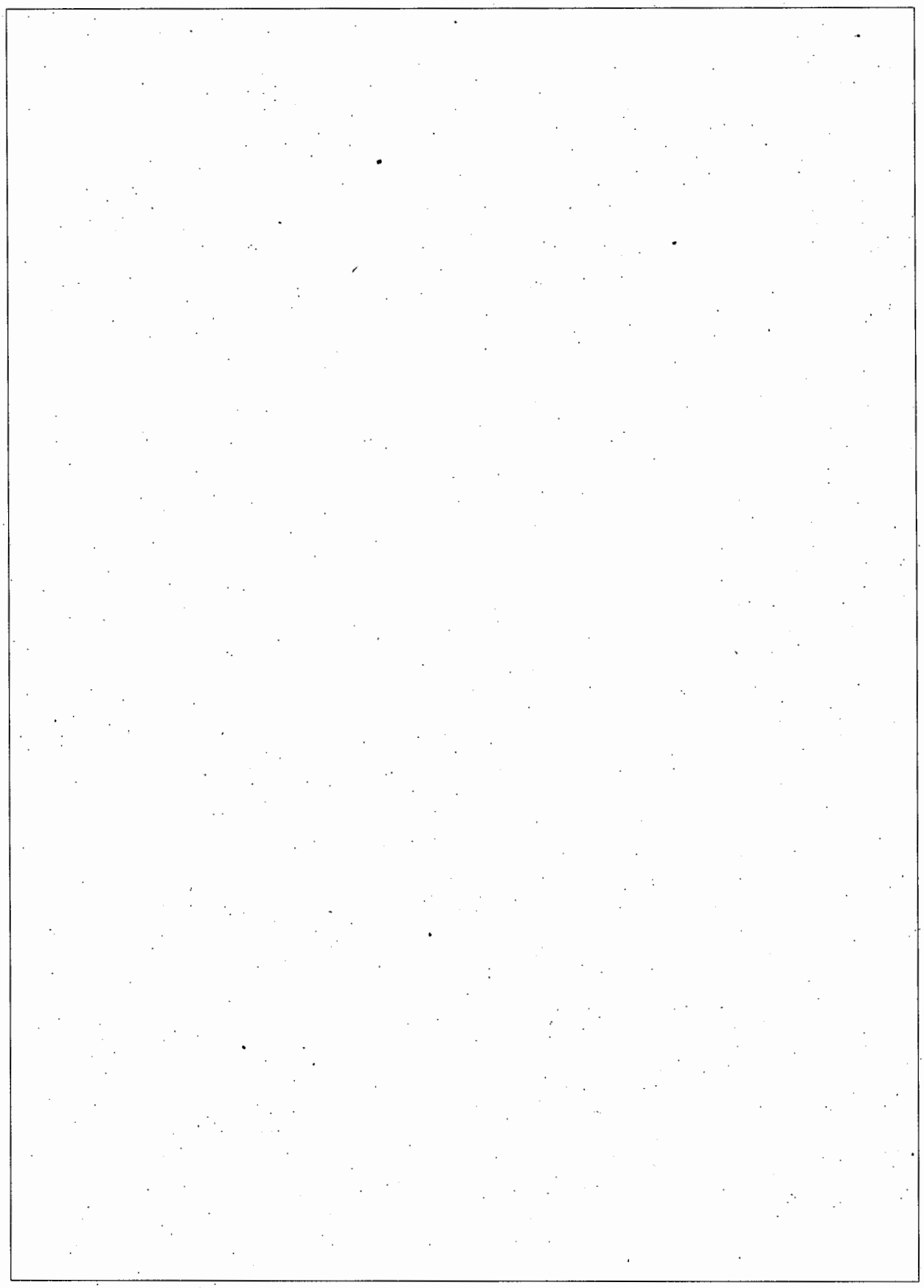
[redacted] B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: McCarthy, Aoife
Sent: Tuesday, December 27, 2016 3:33 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-COMMS-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.; Ordeman, Leslie T; Tachco, Amy N; Simonoff, Mark A
Subject: RE: NYT Piece

[redacted] B5

B5



[redacted] B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, December 27, 2016 11:34 AM
To: McCarthy, Aoife
Cc: USUN-COMMS-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.
Subject: RE: NYT Piece

[redacted] B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: McCarthy, Aoife
Sent: Tuesday, December 27, 2016 11:32 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-COMMS-DL; USUN-SP-COS-DL; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.
Subject: NYT Piece

Ambassador,
In response to the NYT piece you mentioned, NSC is pointing to this question and answer from the press call on Friday. The question was asked by Andrea Mitchell. Let us know if you need anything additional.
Best,
Aoife

Q Thanks very much. Thanks to all of you. To Ben or Rob or whoever, Frank -- Donald Trump just tweeted, "As to the U.N., things will be different after Jan. 20." And a senior Israeli official told NBC News today -- said, "President Obama and Secretary Kerry are behind this shameful move against Israel at the U.N. The U.S. administration secretly cooked up with the Palestinians an extreme anti-Israeli resolution behind Israel's back, which would be a tailwind for terror and boycotts, and effectively make the Western Wall occupied Palestinian territory." So I wanted to see if you could react to Trump's tweet, the very strong language out of Israel, and whether you think it is confusing to have the President-elect getting this directly involved with Egypt, Israel and the U.N., as well as Russia, and the other things that have happened before he is sworn in.

MR. RHODES: So thanks, Andrea, for the question. On the President-elect, the first thing I'd just say is that there's one President at a time. President Obama is the President of the United States until January 20th, and we are taking this action, of course, as U.S. policy. And as I also said, this has been longstanding bipartisan U.S. policy to oppose this type of settlement activity going forward.

With respect to the quote you read, it's full of inaccuracies and falsehoods. Let me just step back and put this in context for a moment. President Obama has done more for Israel and its security than any previous U.S. President. We just recently signed with Israel the single largest U.S. military assistance package in history -- $38 billion over the coming decade. That comes after an administration in which

we provided lifesaving assistance for the Iron Dome Missile Defense System. We've achieved what Prime Minister Netanyahu himself has described as unprecedented security cooperation between our military and intelligence officials. We have repeatedly stood up for Israel in international fora in a variety of different ways, whether it was opposing efforts to address final status issues through the United Nations, or supporting greater Israeli integration into international fora.

So I believe that despite what has at times been very strident Israeli government criticism of U.S. policies that President Obama has always made Israel and its security sacrosanct in his approach to these issues. In fact, we've always said that our pursuit of a two-state solution is guided in part by our belief that that is the only way to preserve and strengthen Israel's security in the long run, and to achieve the goal that we share with the Israeli people of having a state of Israel that is both Jewish and democratic in nature.

All of that said, with this criticism it seems like the Israeli government wants the conversation to be about anything other than the settlement activity. And the fact of the matter is, as you heard Samantha say, since 2009, the number of Israeli settlers in the West Bank has increased by more than 100,000 to nearly 400,000. There's been an increase of more than 15,000 in the last year alone. Since 2009, construction has begun on over 12,700 new settlement units in the West Bank. There are now nearly 900,000 -- I'm sorry, 90,000 settlers living east of the separation barrier that was created by Israel itself. And the population of these distant settlements has grown by 20,000 since 2009.

So this is not simply a matter of construction within the so-called blocks, within what has long been considered the likely borders of a future -- within a future peace agreement. We have acknowledged publicly that there will have to be an acknowledgement of the growth since the 1967 lines were established as a part of any future peace agreement. But in fact, what we've seen is much more accelerated settlement construction. And now the total settler population in the West Bank and East Jerusalem exceeds 590,000.

Prime Minister Netanyahu recently described his own government as "more committed to settlements than any in Israel's history." Those are his words. And we're concerned about these trends. We were concerned after our election, when one of his leading coalition partners, Naftali Bennett, declared that "the era of the two-state solution is over."

So, for us, the question here has always been about what is the best way to pursue the security that the Israeli people deserve. And we cannot simply have a two-state solution be a slogan while the trend lines on the ground are such that a two-state solution is becoming less and less viable.

I would add that we've repeatedly condemned incitement to violence by Palestinians. We've repeatedly condemned Palestinian terrorism. We have stood up for Israel's right to defend itself against rocket fire from Gaza, even when we were one of the only countries in the world that was taking that position. So we've been willing time and again to support Israel in international fora, just as we've supported Israel's right to defend itself, by itself, and just as we've ensured through our assistance that Israel will maintain its qualitative military edge for the enduring future.

So, again, President Obama's track record on Israel's security is clear. Anybody can review it. But, in fact, I'd take umbrage at language that suggests that this was our preferred course of action and that we initiated it. The fact of the matter is, we'd been warning -- President Obama and Secretary Kerry publicly and privately for years -- that the trend line of settlement construction and settlement activity was just increasing Israel's international isolation. This is not a new position for us; we've been saying that for many, many, many years. Secretary Kerry, as Frank can attest to, has had hundreds of conversations with Prime Minister Netanyahu. We've made precisely this point.

And with respect to this resolution, we did not draft this resolution; we did not introduce this resolution. The Egyptians, in partnership with the Palestinians, are the ones who began circulating an earlier draft of the resolution. The Egyptians are the ones who moved it forward yesterday. And we took the position that we did when it was put to a vote.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: DMCOS [redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, November 10, 2016 4:55 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: Rice, Susan E. EOP/NSC [redacted]
Subject: RE: 2 questions

Thanks, Sam. It was very nice to see you and Cass last night.

In December, the President is going to go away. That is not public so please hold close. My own view is that you should go away. B5

[redacted]

All best -
DM

-----Original Message-----
From: Power, Samantha [mailto:PowerS@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, November 10, 2016 3:51 PM
To: DMCOS [redacted] B6
Subject: 2 questions

Hi Denis - great to see you last night. Thank you for being such a great leader for us. Two quick questions: 1) do you happen to know what the December plans of you and the President and the senior staff are? I'm wondering if we will be going strong through the tape including the holiday, or whether people there plan to take some time away despite the short time left for us? I wasn't planning on going anywhere given the fleeting calendar, but the UN kind of shuts down, so I was wondering if I was making a bad call. 2) anything you can share about POTUS' sense of Trump the person? Looking for rays of light here amid the clouds. Warmest, Samantha

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B5

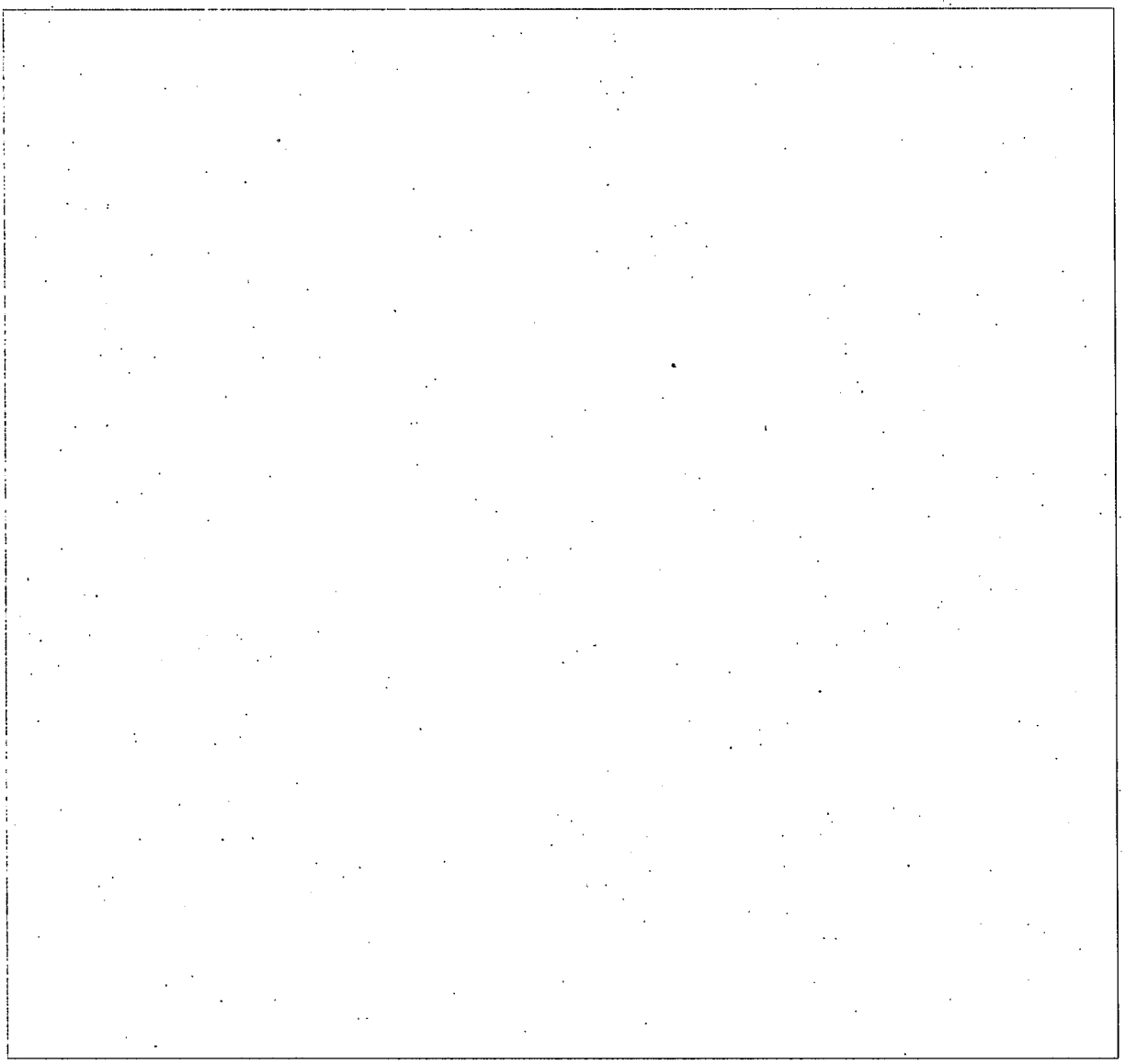
From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, August 15, 2016 6:22 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Cc: Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject: FOR REVIEW: rough outline of themes for P memo / UNGA

Ambassador:
Have made an attempt at a rough outline for some of the themes we might try to tackle in the POTUS UNGA memo – framed around the themes of engagement vs. rising isolationism/obstructionism. If possible, would be great to have a few minutes to discuss with you; this has been a tough one.
Thanks.

*****

B5

B5



SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, July 22, 2016 12:14 AM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: Re: FOR REVIEW: draft note [redacted] on Mexico B5

Thank you so much for writing about this.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, July 21, 2016 11:15 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Aguirre, Sergio; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.; Brower, Julia H; Wexler, Rebecca
Subject: Re: FOR REVIEW: draft note [redacted] on Mexico

Done. Tks so much

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Thursday, July 21, 2016 10:42 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Aguirre, Sergio; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.; Brower, Julia H; Wexler, Rebecca
Subject: Re: FOR REVIEW: draft note [redacted] on Mexico

Edited on BlackBerry, so hopefully that has not thrown off the formatting.

A small grammatical note: in graph 2, I believe it is [redacted] -- but wasn't certain.

*****

[redacted] B5

B5

[redacted]

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Thursday, July 21, 2016 10:02 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Aguirre, Sergio; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.; Brower, Julia H; Wexler, Rebecca
Subject: Re: FOR REVIEW: draft note [redacted] on Mexico

[redacted]

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, July 21, 2016 9:58 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus; Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Aguirre, Sergio; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.; Brower, Julia H; Wexler, Rebecca
Subject: Re: FOR REVIEW: draft note [redacted] on Mexico

[redacted]

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Thursday, July 21, 2016 9:57 PM
To: Power, Samantha; Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Aguirre, Sergio; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.; Brower, Julia H; Wexler, Rebecca
Subject: Re: FOR REVIEW: draft note [redacted] on Mexico

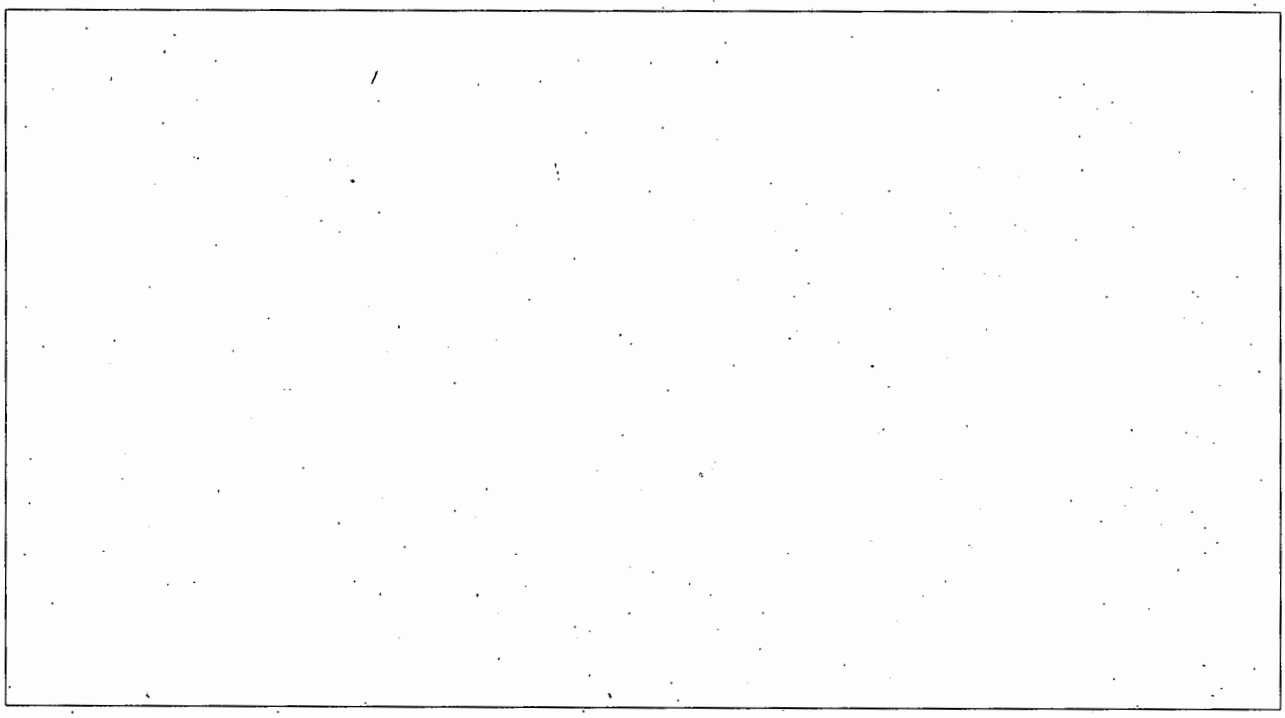
[redacted]

B5

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, July 21, 2016 9:34 PM
To: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Aguirre, Sergio; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.; Brower, Julia H; Wexler, Rebecca
Subject: Re: FOR REVIEW: draft note on Mexico

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus
Sent: Thursday, July 21, 2016 4:42 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Aguirre, Sergio; Zimmerman, Nicholas F.; Brower, Julia H; Wexler, Rebecca
Subject: FOR REVIEW: draft note on Mexico



B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC [redacted] B6
Sent: Tuesday, May 31, 2016 8:03 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: RE: NYT/ U.S Struggles with Goal of Admitting 10,000 Syrians

Hi!!! [redacted] B5

-----Original Message-----
From: Power, Samantha [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:PowerS@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, May 31, 2016 6:19 PM
To: Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC [redacted] B6
Subject: FW: NYT/ U.S Struggles with Goal of Admitting 10,000 Syrians

Do you think there's any chance we can get to 10k?

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Hillyer, Madeleine
Sent: Tuesday, May 31, 2016 12:50 PM
To: USUN-SyriaNews-DL; USUN-REFUGEES-DL
Subject: NYT/ U.S Struggles with Goal of Admitting 10,000 Syrians

U.S Struggles with Goal of Admitting 10,000 Syrians

May 30, 2016

The New York Times

By Julie Hirschfeld Davis

WASHINGTON - President Obama <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/o/barack_obama/index.html?inline=nyt-per&version=meter+at+10&module=meter-Links&pgtype=article&contentId=&mediaId=&referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&priority=true&action=click&contentCollection=meter-links-click> invited a Syrian refugee to this year's State of the Union address <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/s/state_of_the_union_message_us/index.html?inline=nyt-classifier&version=meter+at+10&module=meter-Links&pgtype=article&contentId=&mediaId=&referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&priority=true&action=click&contentCollection=meter-links-click> , and he has spoken passionately about embracing refugees as a core American value.

But nearly eight months into an effort <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/11/world/middleeast/obama-directs-administration-to-accept-10000-syrian-refugees.html?version=meter+at+10&module=meter-Links&pgtype=article&contentId=&mediaId=&referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&priority=true&action=click&contentCollection=meter-links-click> to resettle 10,000 Syrian refugees in the United States, Mr. Obama's administration has admitted just over 2,500. And as his administration prepares for a new round of deportations of Central Americans, including many women and children pleading for humanitarian protection, the president is facing intense criticism from allies in Congress and advocacy groups about his administration's treatment of migrants.

They say Mr. Obama's lofty message about the need to welcome those who come to the United States seeking protection has not been matched by action. And they warn that the president, who will host a summit meeting <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/22/world/middleeast/obama-plans-summit-on-migrant-crisis.html?version=meter+at+10&module=meter-Links&pgtype=article&contentId=&mediaId=&referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&priority=true&action=click&contentCollection=meter-links-click> on refugees in September during the United Nations General Assembly session, risks undercutting his influence on the issue at a time when American leadership is needed to counteract a backlash against refugees.

"Given that we've resettled so few refugees and we're employing a deterrence strategy to refugees on our Southern border, I wouldn't think we'd be giving advice to any other nations about doing better," said Kevin Appleby, the senior director of international migration policy at the Center for Migration Studies of New York <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://cmsny.org/?version=meter+at+10&module=meter-Links&pgtype=article&contentId=&mediaId=&referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&priority=true&action=click&contentCollection=meter-links-click> .

"The world notices when we talk a good game but then we don't follow through in our own backyard," Mr. Appleby said.

The delay is frustrating for Mr. Obama, who has made a point of speaking out against anti-immigrant sentiment both in the United States and abroad, arguing that Republicans, particularly the party's presumptive presidential nominee, Donald J. Trump, are playing on misplaced fears about terrorism.

"We've got to push back against anti-immigrant sentiment in all of its forms, especially by those who are trying to stoke it just to seek political gain," Mr. Obama told a gathering this month of Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders in Washington.

At the White House, he has instructed his top advisers that they must not fall short of meeting his goal to admit 10,000 Syrian refugees to the United States by the fall. But an onerous and complex web of security checks and vetting procedures, shared among several government agencies, has made the target difficult to reach.

At the same time, White House officials concede that the challenging election-year politics surrounding the issue - 47 House Democrats joined Republicans in November in voting for legislation <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/20/us/politics/house-refugees-syria-iraq.html?version=meter+at+10&module=meter-Links&pgtype=article&contentId=&mediaId=&referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&priority=true&action=click&contentCollection=meter-links-click> to further tighten the screening process - make it impossible to quickly take in substantially more Syrians by removing any of the tough vetting procedures.

Mr. Obama "has been very clear that he expects us to find a way to make this happen consistent with our security standards," Amy Pope, a deputy homeland security adviser, said of reaching the target of 10,000 refugees. "The dynamics within Congress have certainly made it difficult to lean far forward in terms of refugee processing, but our obligation is to leave the refugee process in better shape than we found it."

The Central American migrants pouring across the Southern border pose a different but no less challenging problem. Individuals who enter the United States illegally do not necessarily qualify as refugees, although a growing proportion of Central Americans are arriving with claims of asylum, asserting that they are seeking refuge from violence and mortal threats in their home countries.

While administration officials say they are working to address the root causes of the migration and to set up new programs to extend humanitarian protection to those who need it, their primary response has been to try to deter Central Americans from making the dangerous journey to the United States. One method has been to deport those whose asylum claims have been rejected.

"We have to control the border, that's our job, and we have to honor our humanitarian obligation," Cecilia Muñoz, the director of Mr. Obama's Domestic Policy Council, said in an interview. "The situation in Central America, as terrible as it is, the legal standard may not be fully up to addressing why people are leaving."

Humanitarian groups have denounced the administration's approach, arguing that the president must recognize the Central American migrants as refugees.

"The administration's entire foreign policy has been built upon enforcement, not protection," said Anna Greene, the director of policy and advocacy, United States programs, for the International Rescue Committee <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.rescue.org/?version=meter+at+10&module=meter-Links&pgtype=article&contentId=&mediaId=&referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&priority=true&action=click&contentCollection=meter-links-click> . "If this situation was playing out far from our borders, our government would be funding a humanitarian response and demanding that other countries abide by their international obligations."

The criticism comes as some of Mr. Obama's allies on Capitol Hill are arguing that he has not done enough to respond to the Syrian refugee crisis. Twenty-seven Democrats led by Senator Richard J. Durbin of Illinois, who was Mr. Obama's partner in the Senate and maintains close ties with the president, told him in a letter <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.durbin.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/durbin-klobuchar-senators-call-on-president-to-fulfill-commitment-to-resettle-10000-syrian-refugees-in-america?version=meter+at+10&module=meter-Links&pgtype=article&contentId=&mediaId=&referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&priority=true&action=click&contentCollection=meter-links-click> this month that the administration "can and should do much more" to accept Syrian refugees.

"The Syrian situation is the most pressing humanitarian crisis of our time," Mr. Durbin said in an interview, "and if we do not respond in a positive and proactive way, we're going to have future generations asking, 'Where were you?'"

The administration has scrambled to pick up the pace of resettling Syrian refugees, officials say. The Departments of State and Homeland Security sent a surge of personnel to Jordan this year to interview about 12,000 refugee applicants referred by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees <http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.unhcr.org/?version=meter+at+10&module=meter-Links&pgtype=article&contentId=&mediaId=&referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F&priority=true&action=click&contentCollection=meter-links-click> , and officials have begun processing cases in Beirut, Lebanon, and Erbil, Iraq. But the numbers remain stubbornly low.

Germany has not said how many refugees it might accept. In 2015, it registered 447,336 new applicants for asylum, about 25 percent of them Syrians.

A program begun by the United States in 2014 to allow Central American children with a relative in the country to qualify as refugees has approved only 300, an administration official said. Secretary of State John Kerry announced in January that he would create another initiative to admit as many as 9,000 refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras after processing outside the United States, but the program has not begun.

Administration officials argue that Mr. Obama is doing more than most - the United States admits more refugees over all than any other country and is the largest contributor to humanitarian relief.

"When you step back and look at the longer-term picture in terms of the United States' record on the U.N. refugee program," Josh Earnest, Mr. Obama's press secretary, said this month, "it's hard for other countries to criticize."

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Friday, September 30, 2016 1:09 PM
To: Aguirre, Sergio <AguirreS@state.gov>
Subject: FW: south sudan memo draft section/s
Attach: s sudan Memo 09 30 2016.docx

RELEASE IN PART
B5

Could you confirm all being done. tks

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, September 30, 2016 12:49 PM
To: Patel, Bindi K
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, September 30, 2016 12:25 PM
To: Patel, Bindi K
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

[redacted] B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Patel, Bindi K.
Sent: Friday, September 30, 2016 11:42 AM

To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

Will consult with Tasha and revert.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Friday, September 30, 2016 11:40 AM
To: Patel, Bindi K
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Patel, Bindi K
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2016 6:28 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

Please see edits below. The 200,000 figure is correct.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Patel, Bindi K
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2016 6:05 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David
Subject: RE: south sudan memo draft section/s

Editing now.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2016 6:01 PM
To: Patel, Bindi K
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; Pressman, David
Subject: south sudan memo draft section/s

Bindi can you fill in the gaps and make corrections to this first section at your earliest convenience (ie today if possible)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

[redacted] B5

From: Ambassador Samantha Power
Re: South Sudan

[redacted] B5

B5

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, July 21, 2016 11:05 PM
To: [redacted] B6
Subject: Tomorrow

[redacted] B5

Samantha

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 12:02 PM
To: Bass, John R <BassJR@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

fysa

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 12:01 PM
To: Malley, Robert; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Alzayat, Wa'el N; Finer, Jonathan J
Subject: RE: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

[redacted] B5

-----Original Message-----
From: Malley, Robert EOP/NSC [redacted] B6
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 11:38 AM
To: Power, Samantha; Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC; Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC
Cc: Bitar, Maher B; Alzayat, Wa'el N; Finer, Jonathan J
Subject: RE: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

[redacted] B5

-----Original Message-----
From: Power, Samantha [mailto:PowerS@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2017 11:27 AM
To: Malley, Robert EOP/NSC [redacted] Haines, Avril D. EOP/NSC [redacted] B6
Ried, Curtis R. EOP/NSC [redacted]
Cc: Bitar, Maher B <bitarmb@state.gov>; Alzayat, Wa'el N <alzayatwn@state.gov>; Finer, Jonathan J <FinerJJ@state.gov>
Subject: FW: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

[redacted] B5

Official

UNCLASSIFIED

From: OpsSubscriptions
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2017 11:13 AM
Subject: Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

News Tickers

January 05, 2017 1113 EST

Turkey questions U.S.-led coalition presence at Incirlik air base (Reuters)

ANKARA (Reuters) - Turkish officials are questioning the presence of U.S.-led coalition forces at an air base in southern Turkey over what they see as insufficient support for Turkey's military operations against Islamic State in Syria.

President Tayyip Erdogan's spokesman Ibrahim Kalin said on Thursday there was no need for a "rushed evaluation" on Incirlik, a base used by NATO allies to launch air strikes against Islamic State in neighbouring Syria.

But he questioned why the United States, which backs some Kurdish groups against Islamic State in northern Syria, had not lent support to NATO ally Turkey's latest push to take the Syrian town of al-Bab back from the jihadists.

"In the past month-and-a-half, we have seen and understood that this support was not given at the sufficient level and effectiveness," Kalin told broadcaster Kanal 24, calling for full support and saying "excuses are not acceptable".

Turkey has been angered by U.S. policy in Syria, not least by Washington's support for Kurdish militia fighters it sees as an extension of PKK militants fighting within Turkey, a group the U.S. and Ankara both classify as a terrorist organisation.

Kalin said he hoped the administration of U.S. President-elect Donald Trump, who will be sworn in on Jan. 20, would be more attuned to Turkey's sensitivities.

Deputy Prime Minister Veysi Kaynak said the U.S.-led coalition had only infrequently used Incirlik to join operations by the Turkish military and the Syrian rebels it backs, raising questions among the Turkish population.

"Their presence (in Incirlik) is being questioned by our people and nation, and this issue is on the agenda of the government," he told broadcaster A Haber.

Turkey launched an incursion into Syria in August to push Islamic State from its borders and prevent Kurdish militia fighters taking ground in their wake.

A U.S. military spokesman said on Wednesday that Washington was in talks with Ankara about future support around al-Bab, the current focus of the Turkish operations.

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Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, June 29, 2016 9:19 AM
To: Ben Rhodes [redacted] B6
Subject: Fw: Interview of the President by Steve Inskeep, NPR

Sooooo good

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, June 29, 2016 8:59 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL; McCarthy, Aoife; Degory, John A; Dinkel, Alessia A; Tomaselli, Elizabeth
Subject: FW: Interview of the President by Steve Inskeep, NPR

[redacted] B5

Q You mentioned people fearful of change. The way that voters expressed that, when we talked with them, is they're concerned about changing the traditions, values or institutions of this country that have made the country great over time. Immigrants do bring new ideas, new cultures, different religions, other things. Does it matter particularly if they do change the country?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think that there's some bedrock values that shouldn't change and, in fact, haven't changed. It's the immigrants that change, not the values themselves. The values of our Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The values of free speech. The values of religious tolerance. The values of pluralism. The values of us being a nation of immigrants that can absorb people from every corner of the world and yet, at the end of the day, because we all pledge allegiance to a flag, and a creed, we become one. Those traditions should not change.

I think, ironically, that if you look at the values that immigrants bring when they come here -- whether they're coming from Poland or Italy or now Vietnam or South Korea or India -- the values they bring are quintessentially American values. They're strivers' values. They're the values that say, we're going to make something of ourselves, regardless of the station in which we were born.

When you look at second-generation immigrants or third-generation immigrants, they are as American as any kid here, and that's been our strength. That's part of what separates us from the United Kingdom or Europe, is we've had that tradition of being a nation of immigrants. And so when people are concerned about some of the changes that immigrants may bring, they need to go back and read what people were saying about their grandparents or great-grandparents when they came.

You read about the description of Irish who arrived, and the language that is being used is identical to the language that Mr. Trump uses about Mexicans. When Southern Europeans were coming instead of Northern Europeans, there was absolute certainty that America was going down the tubes because these swarthy folks were coming here and they had different attitudes. And Catholics were coming, which meant that the Pope was going to control us. And this kind of xenophobia is part of the American tradition and the good news is, is that after these spasms of it, it typically fades away because the immigrants who come here, in fact, are coming here precisely to embrace the opportunities of being American.

Q A couple of follow-ups, one on each side of the Atlantic. Is there a danger that Europe, after this Brexit vote, will turn inward, focus increasingly on its own problems and its own turmoil, and be less active in the world?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think that the best way to think about this is a pause button has been pressed on the project of full European integration. I would not overstate it -- there's been a little bit of hysteria post-Brexit vote, as if NATO is gone and the transatlantic alliance is dissolving and every country is rushing off to its own corner. That's not what's happening.

What's happening is that you had a European project that was probably moving faster, and without as much consensus as it should have. You have a monetary union -- although England wasn't a part of that -- that was always going to be difficult to manage because the economy in Germany is very different than the economy in Italy or Greece. And you have a European Union government in Brussels that, because it needs consensus from more than a couple dozen countries, oftentimes seems overly bureaucratic and deadlocked.

And I think this will be a moment in which all of Europe says, all right, let's take a breath and let's figure out, how do we maintain some of our national identities; how do we preserve the benefits of integration; and how do we deal with some of the frustrations that our own voters are feeling.

But the basic core values or tenets of liberal, market-based democracies -- those aren't changing. The interests that we have in common with Europe remain the same. And our concerns internationally are the same, so Europe can't afford to turn inward. They're going to have to worry about working with us on the Middle East. They're going to have to worry about us working together to deal with an aggressive Russia. They're going to have to deal with us with respect to how do we continue to uphold international rules and norms around the world that have served both the U.S. and Europe very well.

And so I don't anticipate that there's going to be major cataclysmic changes as a consequence of this. Keep in mind that Norway is not a member of the European Union. But Norway is one of our closest allies. They align themselves on almost every issue with Europe and us. They are a place that is continually supporting the kinds of initiatives internationally that we support. And if, over the course of what is going to be at least a two-year negotiation between England and Europe, Great Britain ends up being affiliated to Europe like Norway is, the average person is not going to notice a big change.

Q Should Britain vote again, as some are suggesting?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that's entirely up to them.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript June 27, 2016

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY STEVE INSKEEP, NPR

State Dining Room

2:24 P.M. EDT

Q You've been told, I think, that we are doing a documentary. We went across a good part of the country to places where you'd given speeches over the years to just talk with people about how their lives have changed.

THE PRESIDENT: That sounds great. I'm going to listen to this one.

Q I appreciate that. (Laughter.) And that's the beginning of our discussion here, although we'll range a little bit farther. This caused me to go back and look at some of your speeches, and there was one in St. Charles, Missouri in 2010 in which you said, let's face it, people have lost faith in government; that it started before you were President and it's getting worse. Do the events of this year suggest that it's getting even worse?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure if it is getting even worse. I think that there has been a steady growth in people's cynicism about institutions generally, and government in particular. And some of it is justified, because we've got a Congress that's been dysfunctional now for quite some time and can't seem to organize itself to solve problems. You now have a Republican Congress -- they control both chambers, and they can't even pass their own agenda, much less pass something that has bipartisan support. And at a time when there are a lot of big issues out there, people feel as if things aren't working the way they should.

Having said that, not all of the cynicism is justified. Even without Congress cooperating, we've been able to make big progress on a whole range of issues. And I think people are seeing that when government makes smart decisions, it actually has a significant impact. And part of my hope during the course of this election is that it's clarifying that people say, all right, here's what each party stands for, here's what each presidential candidate and various congressional candidates stand for. If we're going to move forward in a democracy, then the ultimate arbiter of making things work is the voter and putting people in charge who are serious about America's business as opposed to just playing to various narrow constituency groups.

Q If some of the cynicism is not justified, are you concerned that voters this year will go too far in overturning things?

THE PRESIDENT: Ultimately, I have confidence in our voters. If you look at American history, there have been times where we've taken some tough turns -- primarily fed by fear and disruptions and dislocations. But with a very substantial exception of the Civil War, generally speaking, the democratic process muddled through and we emerged better and stronger than we were before. And I have no doubt that the same thing will happen this time.

But I do think that part of what has changed -- during the course of my presidency I've seen it -- is the splintering of media, the power of social media and the Internet has turbocharged what previously might have been marginal views or marginal groups, has made it harder to generate consensus because people aren't looking at the same set of facts. I've said this before: If you're watching Fox News, you have a different set of facts than if you're reading The New York Times editorial page. And that, I think, has led or increased the polarization. And that makes it harder for people to sort through who is telling the truth and how we actually get stuff done.

Q Let me ask, though, Mr. President, you've still got the biggest megaphone -- people can even see you on Fox News. If you've been President for almost seven and a half years and people have still no faith in government, are you accountable for that?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, look, as a general proposition, I don't spend a lot of time looking at polls. But I will -- what's interesting is, is right now --

Q There's a poll you'd like to look at?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, right now, I think the majority of the American people think that I'm doing a good job. That does not necessarily give me a lot of comfort if I can't move this Congress forward. And the question then becomes -- and I've heard some people in the Republican Party suggest that, in some fashion, I'm responsible for what's happened to them, and the rise of Trump, and the dysfunction that you see in their party generally.

What I would say is that I came into office wanting to work on a bipartisan basis, and if you've looked at my old speeches, you would see that. They made a determination that it was good politics to oppose everything that I did. The problem is that, by opposing everything I did, even things that previously they had been for, it pushed their party further and further to the right.

And, look, at the risk of sounding partisan -- but I believe if you look at the facts that this is a pretty accurate description -- when we talk about dysfunction in government, it's not as if both parties are equally dysfunctional. The Democrats have a pretty well-thought-through agenda. When we were governing in the first two years of my administration, we got a lot done. We were probably as productive as any Congress in 20, 30, 40 years. You have a particular problem in the Republican Party right now that needs to get sorted through. Now, that's not unique in the annals of American history -- there have been times where the Democrats were wrapped around the axle and extreme wings were setting the agenda, and I think the Republicans will get out of this. I don't think that it is something that will last the next 10, 15, 20 years.

But right now, at least, partly in reaction to my presidency and the political decisions that they made, they find themselves having created an atmosphere in which even somebody like Paul Ryan is viewed as not sufficiently conservative. Or if he does just some of the basic work of governance, that somehow he's betrayed the base and is decried as a Republican in name only. And when you have that kind of environment, it's very hard to get the kind of cooperation that is necessary for us to solve problems that people are concerned about and that I'm assuming, during the course of your conversations, they've raised repeatedly.

Q Let me ask about one of those concerns. In Kansas, we spoke with a woman named Heather Gray (ph) who said, "16 years ago, I was making $10 an hour. Today," she said, "I make $10 an hour." The problem of stagnant wages, of course, did not start with your presidency, but it hasn't improved much. Why not?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we've got some long-term trends that we have to battle. And when I came into office, we were in the midst of the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. We have successfully dug ourselves out of that hole.

Q The country has, but wages have not improved.

THE PRESIDENT: I understand -- I'm going to answer your question. Just giving a little context here. So we had unemployment at 10 percent; it's now below 5 percent. We had a housing market that had completely collapsed; it's now normalized. We had a situation in which people had lost trillions of dollars in wealth in their 401(k)s and they've recovered. In fact, Americans have gotten back about $30 trillion worth of wealth since I came into office.

So by every measure, the economy has improved. But the long-term trends that had occurred before I took office and have continued is a combination of globalization and automation leading to more downward pressure on wages because you need fewer workers to make a certain amount of stuff, and entire job sectors being shrunk or eliminated. More and more people are going into the service sector, and in the service sector, historically wages have been lower.

And that's all been compounded by some very specific policies, both at the federal and the state level, that's made it harder for workers to organize and get more leverage to get higher wages. This is why we've fought for higher minimum wages, this is why we've fought for making it easier to collectively bargain. This is why I think it is so important that, as we move forward, if we are going to benefit from all the huge productivity increases and efficiencies that arise out of the global supply chain and automated everything, then we're going to have to redesign that social compact to make sure that everybody is getting a decent wage.

And that is possible to do. It's not as if we need any radical restructuring of the economy. If we had a minimum wage that required everybody to get -- to be above poverty if they're working full-time, that would go a long way towards alleviating some of the trends that you've talked about. And, in fact, we've seen wage growth now begin to occur

over the last couple of years, but it's not happening as fast as it should.

Q There is a writer for the Financial Times, Philip Stephens, who wrote something interesting after Britain voted to leave the European Union last week. He wrote in a column, globalization is not working -- that it may make countries richer, but the majority of people are not benefitting. He was writing about Britain, but you mentioned globalization in the context of the United States. Is he right? Globalization isn't working?

THE PRESIDENT: I think he's right that what you're seeing across the advanced economies is that when you have globalization and suddenly there's competition from everywhere, that empowers people who have a lot of skills, who can use the Internet, suddenly they have access to all the markets. And what that means is if you're very good at something -- if you are LeBron James, or you are Seinfeld, or you are Steve Jobs -- then suddenly you can leverage your skills in ways that you could never do before.

If you are a manual worker and are doing work that can be replaced not just by a lower-wage worker somewhere else but more frequently by a machine, then you're in a tougher spot because you now are competing against the entire world instead of just the people who live around you. And that's why it's so important for us to think about, how do we make sure that everybody is participating in that global economy?

If you continue on the current trends, then what you're going to see is a continuing increase in inequality and that is not going to be economically sustainable because it turns out that the economy works best when everybody has a stake in it, and workers have money in their pockets and are spending it and that's good for business.

But it's also not politically sustainable, because people start getting frustrated and they start getting resentful -- and I think you see that somewhat in the Brexit vote. You see some of it in both the Sanders campaign and the Trump campaign -- people feeling as if we are potentially being left behind. Now, the question then is, what's the prognosis -- or what's the cure to this whole thing? And the notion is that, from my perspective, we're not going to suddenly eliminate the global supply chain.

We're not going to disentangle the world economy -- it's just too integrated now by virtue of technology and the Internet. And so what we have to do is to make sure that wages around the world are beginning to rise; that environmental standards around the world are beginning to rise; that, within our own countries, we are providing the education that people need to compete in this global economy with new skills for the new industries that are out there; that we invest more in things like infrastructure that make us competitive and also, by the way, can't be shipped away.

The issue is not that the world is shrinking and globalization is inherently a bad thing. I actually think that, over time, it can raise everybody's living standards and create a more peaceful world. But if you do it in a way where the benefits of globalization are only for the elites who are flying around from capital to capital and looking at their investment portfolios on a laptop or a computer screen; and they're not worrying -- they feel disengaged from their national economies and their national works and their national communities, then you're going to see a reaction to it.

Q Donald Trump talked about global elites after the vote in Britain. Is Trump right, then, that there are big parallels between what motivated the British vote and what people are feeling and thinking about in the election this year in the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I think it's important to remember that Mr. Trump embodies global elites and has taken full advantage of it his entire life. And so he's hardly a spokesperson for -- a legitimate spokesperson for a populist surge from working-class people on either side of the Atlantic.

I think that some of the concerns around immigration, some of the concerns around a loss of control or a loss of national identity -- those are similar. I think there's a xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment that is flashing up not just in Great Britain but throughout Europe that has some parallels with what Mr. Trump has been trying to stir up here.

Having said all that, the U.S. economy has not only recovered but we're about 10 percent larger than we were pre-crisis, when I came into office. And Europe is just now beginning to get back to where it was, pre-crisis. You've had a decade of stagnation there, partly because of austerity measures that we did not duplicate. The Republicans attempted to impose those kinds of strategies here and I resisted them, and I would argue that that's part of the reason why we did a lot better. We reformed our banking system a lot faster.

And so overall, I think that the differences are greater than the similarities. But what is absolutely true is that the ability to tap into a fear that people may have about losing control and to offer some sort of vague nostalgic feelings about how we'll make Britain great again or we'll make American great again, and the subtext for that is somehow that a bunch of foreigners and funny-looking people are coming in here and changing the basic character of the nation -- I think that some of that is out there, both in Europe and in the United States. And, again, that's not unique to England. You've seen it in the Le Pen Party in France. You see it in some of the far-right parties in other parts of Europe as well.

Q You mentioned people fearful of change. The way that voters expressed that, when we talked with them, is they're concerned about changing the traditions, values or institutions of this country that have made the country great over time. Immigrants do bring new ideas, new cultures, different religions, other things. Does it matter particularly if they do change the country?

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Q Should Britain vote again, as some are suggesting?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that's entirely up to them.

Q On this side of the Atlantic, we heard from a number of people about immigration when we traveled across the country. One of them was a man named Jose Luis Valdez (ph). He's a business owner, a restaurant owner in Kansas City, Kansas. He's a new citizen, so he's getting ready to vote for the first time but he's followed politics for a long time. He knows that you won the Latino vote very heavily in both your elections. And speaking about the failure to pass immigration reform, he said of you, "He used us. He used our votes." Felt you should have done it when you had a chance, when you had a Democratic Congress, you should have done more. What would you say to him?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what I'd say to him is his restaurant might not be doing so well if I hadn't focused my first two years on saving the economy. So it's not as if I didn't have anything else to do. And I think it would be pretty hard to argue that I haven't put everything I've had into getting this done.

But one of the things that I have learned in this presidency is that until you get something done, people are going to be frustrated. You think of the incredible progress that we've made during the course of my presidency with respect to LGBT rights -- the rights of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender. The historic speed with which we've consolidated equal treatment for that population has been amazing.

And these days, if I go before an LGBT crowd, people are cheering and saying I have been one of their greatest champions, but it was only about three or four years ago when I'd get heckled in some LGBT events because marriage equality hadn't gotten done yet or before that, don't ask, don't tell hadn't gotten done yet. And it didn't matter how many times I told them, look, it's going to get done -- it's just it turns out that the wheels in democracy don't always move as quickly as you'd hope, and I can't just do these things with the stroke of the pen.

That's sort of the nature of all social change here. And so if you were interviewing one of the DREAM Act kids who, over the last several years, have been able to get a driver's license, a permit to work, are going to school, have joined our military, they wouldn't say that they'd been used; they would say thank you. And I think that's the reason the vast majority of Latino voters continue to support me, because they see the effort that's been put in.

Now, one last point I'll make because I -- right after this most recent Supreme ruling, or lack of ruling, came down because it was a 4-4 tie, I said to them, look, everything is teed up. And instead of despairing, you just need to understand, we've got four months, five months, and you've got a very clear choice between two candidates, one of whom not only supports all the initiatives that I put forward but is going to be in a position if I don't get a ninth Supreme Court justice to break that tie. And one way or another, by next year, we're going to have either my administrative solution to immigration reform done -- it will be entrain because it will have been decided on and will no longer be blocked, or alternatively, Mr. Trump will win, in which case we'll have a whole bunch of other problems on our hands with respect to immigration.

So in some ways, this is how the democratic process works and I'm constantly reminding young people who are full of passion that I want them to keep their passion but they've got to gird for the fact that it takes a long time to get stuff done in this democracy. It's not as convenient as people would always like, but this is a big country with a lot of diverse views.

Q Let me ask about a passionate young person that we met along the way. His name is Kwame Rose (ph). He is an activist now in Baltimore. He was active in the protests after the death of Freddie Gray, who was in a police van and died later, as you know. And he was unhappy with the statement that you made at the time, when you were supportive of peaceful protests but also criticized what you called "criminals and thugs" who had looted stores. He felt that you were being too harsh, and went on to say in our interview that you were speaking from a position of privilege -- his suggestion being that maybe you didn't quite get what was going on in the streets. What would you say to him?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, obviously I don't know him personally so we'd have to have a longer conversation. What I would say is that the Black Lives Matter movement has been hugely important in getting all of America to see the challenges in the criminal justice system differently. And I could not be prouder of the activism that has been involved. And it's making a difference -- you're seeing it at state and local levels, and the taskforce that we pulled together in the wake of Ferguson has put forward recommendations that were shaped both by the people organized the Ferguson protests as well as police officers. And it turns out that there's common ground there in terms of how we can be smart about crime, smart about policing, respectful to all communities, and try to wring some of the racial bias that exists in the criminal justice system out of it.

What I would also say, though, is that if somebody is looting, they're looting. And the notion that they're making a political statement is not always the case, because these are businesses oftentimes owned by African Americans. You have situations in which suddenly friends of mine in Baltimore, their mothers, who are elderly, have to now travel across town to get their medicines because the local drugstore got torn up. And making excuses for them I think is a mistake.

There are ways of bringing about social change that are powerful and that have the ability to pull the country together and maintain the moral high ground. And there are approaches where I may understand the frustrations, but they're counterproductive. And tearing up your own neighborhood and stealing is counterproductive.

Q If I were to summarize what else this young man said, I might say that he feels that he is trying to overturn what he sees as a racist or corrupt system, and that you've become part of it.

THE PRESIDENT: Look, Steve, I think that you can always find folks who are going to feel as if change hasn't happened fast enough. That's the nature of these issues. And by virtue of being President of the United States, if there's a problem out there, then I'm the ultimate public official that people know. And if it hasn't gotten fixed in a couple of weeks then people are going to say, why didn't you fix it?

I think people would be pretty hard-pressed to not see the efforts that we've put in around criminal justice reform, where we're supporting it fully. The initiatives that we've made with local mayors and state officials around the country to reform the criminal justice system, the fact that, as President, I've been the first ever to even visit a federal prison; that the positions I've taken on criminal justice issues are unprecedented by any President. The work we're doing with commutations is unprecedented, and I've now commuted more sentences for nonviolent drug offenses than the last seven or eight Presidents combined. But if you're interviewing an 18- or 20-year-old or 22-year-old kid on the streets of Baltimore who is still feeling frustrated, then I'm not going to be surprised if that frustration is expressed.

Q As part of this project, we also had a look at your 2008 campaign speech in Philadelphia about race in which you talked, in one passage, about anger in the black community, which you said is sometimes counterproductive but it's real and there are reasons for it. There's another passage, which I hadn't even noticed before, in which

you say there is a similar anger among some in the white community, who don't feel particularly privileged by their race and do feel frustrated that they're losing jobs, losing pensions, feel like they're losing ground. Looking back, were you describing there the same force that is driving much of our election discussion here in 2016?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, not only the election discussion driving 2016 -- this has been an ongoing theme in American history. You can go back during Jim Crow and segregation and you've got black sharecroppers who have nothing and, alongside them, poor white farmers who don't have that much more except for the fact that they're white. And the degree to which a lot of politics in the South were specifically designed to make sure that that sharecropper and that white farmer didn't get together to question how the economy was structured and how they both could benefit -- that's one of the oldest stories in American politics. So it's not surprising that what I said in 2008 still holds true today. It was true for a long time.

The nature of racial bias in this country is unique. And the challenges that African Americans have faced are incomparable. Native Americans in this country were burdened by extraordinary bias and cruelty as well, and it's probably not useful to sort of catalogue every possible group's grievances. What is true, though, is that as I travel around the country, what a black working-class person has in common with a white working-class person is significant. And what prevents them from voting along the same lines or working together on the same projects have to do with a whole range of cultural and identity issues, which they obviously feel are important and valid.

But what I've tried to do throughout my presidency is try to get people to recognize themselves and each other. That's probably partly related to my own upbringing -- I was raised by a white mom and white grandparents who never suffered the kind of discrimination that their black cohorts might have experienced but who had their own struggles, who went through a Great Depression, a grandmother who had to work her way up without ever -- a college education, starting in the steno pool or as a secretary, and experienced her own discrimination because of being a woman.

And so I've seen the degree to which their struggles are not that different from Michelle's parents' struggles -- at least in terms of how they think about it, and the similar values of hoping that their kids are going to do better, and that education is the key, and that everybody has got to work hard and take responsibility, but that they'd like a government that was more responsive to clear out some of the barriers for their advancement.

And I believe that our politics, when our politics are at our best, is not based on identity politics, but it's based on a sense that everybody should have a fair shot and everybody should get a fair shake. Everybody should be responsible for doing their fair share. And that theme you'll see in every speech that I've given since I was running for the state senate. And it hasn't changed much now that I'm nearing the end of my political career.

Q Somebody following this year's election might say, well, that debate is worse -- it's gotten worse. Do you see any sign that that debate is any better? That it's moved in some direction?

THE PRESIDENT: You see it in the younger generation. If you look at the 18 to 30 cohort, or the 18 to 40 cohort, they have a very different set of attitudes about all these issues. It's true, by the way, around the world. We were talking about Brexit -- the younger voter wasn't fearful of global interdependence. They embrace it. They see themselves as being able to navigate through all these different worlds.

You see it when I visit Vietnam or countries in Africa or Latin America -- the new generation is much more comfortable with diversity, with connectivity, with the fact that change is constant, that they're not going to be working at one job for 30 years. They want to make sure that they can get the skills, they can get the access, but they see a bright future for themselves. That's where the hope is.

Here in the United States, you talk to young people -- it doesn't matter whether they're black, white, Latino -- they're not afraid of the future. And so when you look at the frustrations and the fear that a Trump are tapping into, that's an earlier generation that feels unsettled. And I think we can be sympathetic and understanding of the fact that they feel unsettled, but also recognize that if we get the decisions that need to be made right, then 10 years from now, 20 years from now, we may look back at something like the Trump campaign as the last vestige of a kind of politics of "us versus them" that really doesn't apply to today.

One last thing I'd say about this, because you'll hear sometimes people suggest that, well, if Democrats and Republicans had been paying attention to white working-class voters then something like Trump would not have happened. Well, the fact is, is that my administration, for example, when we promote a higher minimum wage or stronger union laws or health care, for that matter, that's helping that cohort. That is designed to make sure that they get a better deal in this economy.

And one of the things that you've seen during the course of my presidency is the ability, the power of a certain slice of the media to emphasize to white working-class voters somehow that these things are not good for you, that this is Obama and his socialist friends who are trying to take money from you to give to an undeserving Mexican immigrant or black welfare mom, and tapping into sort of an identity politics that is powerful and oftentimes can work. But it is actually counterproductive and it certainly does not reflect what we've been trying to do.

What is true and what's been interesting to see during this election cycle is that the Republican Party that has opposed minimum wages or union laws or what have you, they have a populist insurgency on their hands. And Mr. Trump I think has at times exploited this gap between what the Republican business community has promoted and what their constituencies are actually looking for.

Q We ran across a statement of yours from 2008 about changing the trajectory of the country. You said that Ronald Reagan had changed the trajectory of the country, partly because the country was ready for it, it was his moment. That John F. Kennedy had done the same thing because it was the right moment, the country was going in a certain direction. You wanted to see such a moment. You believed there was such a moment for you in 2008. Is there a risk that Donald Trump could say the same thing in 2016, that he could be the man to change the trajectory of the country now?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, if he won he could say that.

Q I mean to say, you think the country might be ready for that?

THE PRESIDENT: No. And I think that will be tested over the next four months. But I think it's pretty hard to argue that somebody who almost three-quarters of the country think is unqualified to be President and has a negative opinion about is tapping into the zeitgeist of the country or is speaking for a broad base of the country. But we'll find out. Look, that's what elections are for.

And I think it's important for Democrats, progressives, moderates, people who care about our traditions, who care about facts, who think climate change is real, who think that we have to reform our immigration system in an intelligent way, who believe in women's equality and equality for the LGBT community -- I think it's important for those of us not to be complacent, not to be smug.

And the one thing I've tried to do during the course of my presidency is to take seriously the objections and the criticisms and the concerns of people who didn't vote for me. I said on Election Night, back in Grant Park, I'm President of everybody. I've got a particular point of view, I don't make any apologies for it. I believe that if you go back and read my speeches, dating back to 2004, where I first came to national prominence, that there's been a consistency there: That I have done or tried to do exactly what I said. And the core of that message is "E pluribus unum" -- out of many, one. That we are better when we are together. That I do not believe in tribalism. I do not believe in stoking divisions and scapegoating.

I think that people have common hopes and common dreams, and I think that America is at its best when we are unified and working together. And during the course of my presidency, you've seen polarization and division and all kinds of consternation and frustration. But what you've also seen, quietly, is a country that yanked itself out of a Great Recession and recovered as well as any country ever has from such a massive financial breakdown.
You've seen 20 million people have health insurance that didn't have it before, and health care inflation actually going down so that we've saved trillions of dollars in cost, relative to what we were expected to be paying over the course of programs like Medicare and Medicaid. What we've seen is a financial system that is a lot sounder. We see an LGBT community that is recognized as equal in ways that they weren't before. You've seen an entire generation grow up I think feeling as if the old divisions don't make

sense.

And I feel pretty confident that as long as we do the work over the next several months and then continue that work over the next several years that we will have emerged from this era stronger, more prosperous, more secure and adhering more closely to the values and ideals that make America exceptional.

Q Last question, Mr. President. We've gone across the country -- we've gone across the country asking people how their lives have changed in the last eight years -- that was the basic question. How has your life changed in the last eight years?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, everybody has teased me about how gray I am, and that's okay. My daughters have grown --

Q That picture of you and Derek Jeter -- that was something. (Laughter.) That was some gray. But go on, go on, I'm sorry.

THE PRESIDENT: My daughters have grown up. And I think for any father out there, seeing your kids come into office -- when I came into office, they were so much younger than I realized at the time I think. And for them to be these amazing young women now -- that changes your life more than just about anything.

It's interesting, though, that my fundamental belief in public service, my fundamental belief in the capacity of politics to solve problems, my belief in this country is stronger, not weaker. I'm less cynical now than I was. I've been frustrated by some things that I did not complete, that I couldn't wrap and mail and ship before I got out of here -- immigration reform being a good example. Getting infrastructure done -- we've got $2 trillion worth of infrastructure -- if we got working on that now, we'd be growing a lot faster, the unemployment rate would be even lower, wages would be higher.

So there are things that we haven't gotten done. Obviously there are areas internationally where I've been enormously frustrated. You look at Syria being the most prominent example, where you've got a heartbreaking situation and not a lot of good choices.

Having said all that, if you had told me at the beginning of my presidency that we could begin the process of making sure everybody has health insurance in this country; that we could recover fully from a terrible economic crisis; that we could make sure that Iran doesn't have a nuclear weapon without have to launch a war; that we could restore diplomatic relations with Cuba in a way that didn't just transform our relationship with Cuba but has put our relationship with all of Latin America on its strongest footing maybe in history; if you told that we could extend democracy to a place like Burma, one of the worst military dictatorships in the world and that I could visit there and you'd see millions of people lining the streets; if you told me that you could have gay and lesbian men and women proudly serving in our military without having to hide who they were, or that you could have a bipartisan effort to actually reduce sentences for nonviolent drug offenses have a credible chance of getting through Congress -- you'd tally it up and you'd say, it's not bad for seven and a half years' worth of work.

And the stuff that has not gotten done, it's teed up to get done. Climate change with the Paris agreement -- 200 countries signed on -- is a classic example of how I think about my work, but also the possibilities of government and politics. We haven't solved climate change because of that agreement, but we've now built an architecture that allows us -- gives us a chance to, over time, collectively, in an unprecedented way, curb the pollution that contributes to climate change. And have we gotten it all done yet? No. But have we now given the next President, the next Congress, the next generation a chance to solve it? Absolutely.

And I've said this before -- I think of myself as a relay runner. I take the baton -- sometimes you take the baton and you're behind in the race and you've got to run a little bit harder to catch up. Hopefully by the time you pass on the baton, you're a little bit better positioned in the race.

And I think there's a humility that comes out of this office because you feel that no matter how much you've done, there's more work to do. But I think that there's a confidence that well-meaning people working together can change the country for the better. I've seen it happen.

Q Mr. President, thanks very much.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I enjoyed it.

END 3:18 P.M. EDT

RELEASE IN PART B5

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, June 29, 2016 9:19 AM
To: Cooper, Kurtis A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>; McCarthy, Aoife <McCarthyA@state.gov>; Degory, John A <DegoryJA@state.gov>; Dinkel, Alessia A <DinkelAA@state.gov>; Tomaselli, Elizabeth <TomaselliE@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Interview of the President by Steve Inskeep, NPR

This is tremendous. Pls print

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Cooper, Kurtis A
Sent: Wednesday, June 29, 2016 8:59 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL; McCarthy, Aoife; Degory, John A; Dinkel, Alessia A; Tomaselli, Elizabeth
Subject: FW: Interview of the President by Steve Inskeep, NPR

B5

Q You mentioned people fearful of change. The way that voters expressed that, when we talked with them, is they're concerned about changing the traditions, values or institutions of this country that have made the country great over time. Immigrants do bring new ideas, new cultures, different religions, other things. Does it matter particularly if they do change the country?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think that there's some bedrock values that shouldn't change and, in fact, haven't changed. It's the immigrants that change, not the values themselves. The values of our Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The values of free speech. The values of religious tolerance. The values of pluralism. The values of us being a nation of immigrants that can absorb people from every corner of the world and yet, at the end of the day, because we all pledge allegiance to a flag, and a creed, we become one. Those traditions should not change.

I think, ironically, that if you look at the values that immigrants bring when they come here -- whether they're coming from Poland or Italy or now Vietnam or South Korea or India -- the values they bring are quintessentially American values. They're strivers' values. They're the values that say, we're going to make something of ourselves, regardless of the station in which we were born.

When you look at second-generation immigrants or third-generation immigrants, they are as American as any kid here, and that's been our strength. That's part of what separates us from the United Kingdom or Europe, is we've had that tradition of being a nation of immigrants. And so when people are concerned about some of the changes that immigrants may bring, they need to go back and read what people were saying about their grandparents or great-grandparents when they came.

You read about the description of Irish who arrived, and the language that is being used is identical to the language that Mr. Trump uses about Mexicans. When Southern Europeans were coming instead of Northern Europeans, there was absolute certainty that America was going down the tubes because these swarthy folks were coming here and they had different attitudes. And Catholics were coming, which meant that the Pope was going to control us. And this kind of xenophobia is part of the American tradition and the good news is, is that after these spasms of it, it typically fades away because the immigrants who come here, in fact, are coming here precisely to embrace the opportunities of being American.

Q A couple of follow-ups, one on each side of the Atlantic. Is there a danger that Europe, after this Brexit vote, will turn inward, focus increasingly on its own problems and its own turmoil, and be less active in the world?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think that the best way to think about this is a pause button has been pressed on the project of full European integration. I would not overstate it -- there's been a little bit of hysteria post-Brexit vote, as if NATO is gone and the transatlantic alliance is dissolving and every country is rushing off to its own corner. That's not what's happening.

What's happening is that you had a European project that was probably moving faster, and without as much consensus as it should have. You have a monetary union -- although England wasn't a part of that -- that was always going to be difficult to manage because the economy in Germany is very different than the economy in Italy or Greece. And you have a European Union government in Brussels that, because it needs consensus from more than a couple dozen countries, oftentimes seems overly bureaucratic and deadlocked.

And I think this will be a moment in which all of Europe says, all right, let's take a breath and let's figure out, how do we maintain some of our national identities; how do we preserve the benefits of integration; and how do we deal with some of the frustrations that our own voters are feeling.

But the basic core values or tenets of liberal, market-based democracies -- those aren't changing. The interests that we have in common with Europe remain the same. And our concerns internationally are the same, so Europe can't afford to turn inward. They're going to have to worry about working with us on the Middle East. They're going to have to worry about us working together to deal with an aggressive Russia. They're going to have to deal with us with respect to how do we continue to uphold international rules and norms around the world that have served both the U.S. and Europe very well.

And so I don't anticipate that there's going to be major cataclysmic changes as a consequence of this. Keep in mind that Norway is not a member of the European Union. But Norway is one of our closest allies. They align themselves on almost every issue with Europe and us. They are a place that is continually supporting the kinds of initiatives internationally that we support. And if, over the course of what is going to be at least a two-year negotiation between England and Europe, Great Britain ends up being affiliated to Europe like Norway is, the average person is not going to notice a big change.

Q Should Britain vote again, as some are suggesting?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that's entirely up to them.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript June 27, 2016

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT

BY STEVE INSKEEP, NPR

State Dining Room

2:24 P.M. EDT

Q You've been told, I think, that we are doing a documentary. We went across a good part of the country to places where you'd given speeches over the years to just talk with people about how their lives have changed.

THE PRESIDENT: That sounds great. I'm going to listen to this one.

Q I appreciate that. (Laughter.) And that's the beginning of our discussion here, although we'll range a little bit farther. This caused me to go back and look at some of your speeches, and there was one in St. Charles, Missouri in 2010 in which you said, let's face it, people have lost faith in government; that it started before you were President and it's getting worse. Do the events of this year suggest that it's getting even worse?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure if it is getting even worse. I think that there has been a steady growth in people's cynicism about institutions generally, and government in particular. And some of it is justified, because we've got a Congress that's been dysfunctional now for quite some time and can't seem to organize itself to solve problems. You now have a Republican Congress -- they control both chambers, and they can't even pass their own agenda, much less pass something that has bipartisan support. And at a time when there are a lot of big issues out there, people feel as if things aren't working the way they should.

Having said that, not all of the cynicism is justified. Even without Congress cooperating, we've been able to make big progress on a whole range of issues. And I think people are seeing that when government makes smart decisions, it actually has a significant impact. And part of my hope during the course of this election is that it's clarifying that people say, all right, here's what each party stands for, here's what each presidential candidate and various congressional candidates stand for. If we're going to move forward in a democracy, then the ultimate arbiter of making things work is the voter and putting people in charge who are serious about America's business as opposed to just playing to various narrow constituency groups.

Q If some of the cynicism is not justified, are you concerned that voters this year will go too far in overturning things?

THE PRESIDENT: Ultimately, I have confidence in our voters. If you look at American history, there have been times where we've taken some tough turns -- primarily fed by fear and disruptions and dislocations. But with a very substantial exception of the Civil War, generally speaking, the democratic process muddled through and we emerged better and stronger than we were before. And I have no doubt that the same thing will happen this time.

But I do think that part of what has changed -- during the course of my presidency I've seen it -- is the splintering of media, the power of social media and the Internet has turbocharged what previously might have been marginal views or marginal groups, has made it harder to generate consensus because people aren't looking at the same set of facts. I've said this before: If you're watching Fox News, you have a different set of facts than if you're reading The New York Times editorial page. And that, I think, has led or increased the polarization. And that makes it harder for people to sort through who is telling the truth and how we actually get stuff done.

Q Let me ask, though, Mr. President, you've still got the biggest megaphone -- people can even see you on Fox News. If you've been President for almost seven and a half years and people have still no faith in government, are you accountable for that?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, look, as a general proposition, I don't spend a lot of time looking at polls. But I will -- what's interesting is, is right now --

Q There's a poll you'd like to look at?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, right now, I think the majority of the American people think that I'm doing a good job. That does not necessarily give me a lot of comfort if I can't move this Congress forward. And the question then becomes -- and I've heard some people in the Republican Party suggest that, in some fashion, I'm responsible for what's happened to them, and the rise of Trump, and the dysfunction that you see in their party generally.

What I would say is that I came into office wanting to work on a bipartisan basis, and if you've looked at my old speeches, you would see that. They made a determination that it was good politics to oppose everything that I did. The problem is that, by opposing everything I did, even things that previously they had been for, it pushed their party further and further to the right.

And, look, at the risk of sounding partisan -- but I believe if you look at the facts that this is a pretty accurate description -- when we talk about dysfunction in government, it's not as if both parties are equally dysfunctional. The Democrats have a pretty well-thought-through agenda. When we were governing in the first two years of my administration, we got a lot done. We were probably as productive as any Congress in 20, 30, 40 years. You have a particular problem in the Republican Party right now that needs to get sorted through. Now, that's not unique in the annals of American history -- there have been times where the Democrats were wrapped around the axle and extreme wings were setting the agenda, and I think the Republicans will get out of this. I don't think that it is something that will last the next 10, 15, 20 years.

But right now, at least, partly in reaction to my presidency and the political decisions that they made, they find themselves having created an atmosphere in which even somebody like Paul Ryan is viewed as not sufficiently conservative. Or if he does just some of the basic work of governance, that somehow he's betrayed the base and is decried as a Republican in name only. And when you have that kind of environment, it's very hard to get the kind of cooperation that is necessary for us to solve problems that people are concerned about and that I'm assuming, during the course of your conversations, they've raised repeatedly.

Q Let me ask about one of those concerns. In Kansas, we spoke with a woman named Heather Gray (ph) who said, "16 years ago, I was making $10 an hour. Today," she said, "I make $10 an hour." The problem of stagnant wages, of course, did not start with your presidency, but it hasn't improved much. Why not?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we've got some long-term trends that we have to battle. And when I came into office, we were in the midst of the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. We have successfully dug ourselves out of that hole.

Q The country has, but wages have not improved.

THE PRESIDENT: I understand -- I'm going to answer your question. Just giving a little context here. So we had unemployment at 10 percent; it's now below 5 percent. We had a housing market that had completely collapsed; it's now normalized. We had a situation in which people had lost trillions of dollars in wealth in their 401(k)s and they've recovered. In fact, Americans have gotten back about $30 trillion worth of wealth since I came into office.

So by every measure, the economy has improved. But the long-term trends that had occurred before I took office and have continued is a combination of globalization and automation leading to more downward pressure on wages because you need fewer workers to make a certain amount of stuff, and entire job sectors being shrunk or eliminated. More and more people are going into the service sector, and in the service sector, historically wages have been lower.

And that's all been compounded by some very specific policies, both at the federal and the state level, that's made it harder for workers to organize and get more leverage to get higher wages. This is why we've fought for higher minimum wages, this is why we've fought for making it easier to collectively bargain. This is why I think it is so important that, as we move forward, if we are going to benefit from all the huge productivity increases and efficiencies that arise out of the global supply chain and automated everything, then we're going to have to redesign that social compact to make sure that everybody is getting a decent wage.

And that is possible to do. It's not as if we need any radical restructuring of the economy. If we had a minimum wage that required everybody to get -- to be above poverty if they're working full-time, that would go a long way towards alleviating some of the trends that you've talked about. And, in fact, we've seen wage growth now begin to occur over the last couple of years, but it's not happening as fast as it should.

Q There is a writer for the Financial Times, Philip Stephens, who wrote something interesting after Britain voted to leave the European Union last week. He wrote in a column, globalization is not working -- that it may make countries richer, but the majority of people are not benefitting. He was writing about Britain, but you mentioned globalization in the context of the United States. Is he right? Globalization isn't working?

THE PRESIDENT: I think he's right that what you're seeing across the advanced economies is that when you have globalization and suddenly there's competition from everywhere, that empowers people who have a lot of skills, who can use the Internet, suddenly they have access to all the markets. And what that means is if you're very good at something -- if you are LeBron James, or you are Seinfeld, or you are Steve Jobs -- then suddenly you can leverage your skills in ways that you could never do before.

If you are a manual worker and are doing work that can be replaced not just by a lower-wage worker somewhere else but more frequently by a machine, then you're in a tougher spot because you now are competing against the entire world instead of just the people who live around you. And that's why it's so important for us to think about, how do we make sure that everybody is participating in that global economy?

If you continue on the current trends, then what you're going to see is a continuing increase in inequality and that is not going to be economically sustainable because it turns out that the economy works best when everyhody has a stake in it, and workers have money in their pockets and are spending it and that's good for business.

But it's also not politically sustainable, because people start getting frustrated and they start getting resentful -- and I think you see that somewhat in the Brexit vote. You see some of it in both the Sanders campaign and the Trump campaign -- people feeling as if we are potentially being left behind. Now, the question then is, what's the prognosis -- or what's the cure to this whole thing? And the notion is that, from my perspective, we're not going to suddenly eliminate the global supply chain.

We're not going to disentangle the world economy -- it's just too integrated now by virtue of technology and the Internet. And so what we have to do is to make sure that wages around the world are beginning to rise; that environmental standards around the world are beginning to rise; that, within our own countries, we are providing the education that people need to compete in this global economy with new skills for the new industries that are out there; that we invest more in things like infrastructure that make us competitive and also, by the way, can't be shipped away.

The issue is not that the world is shrinking and globalization is inherently a bad thing. I actually think that, over time, it can raise everybody's living standards and create a more peaceful world. But if you do it in a way where the benefits of globalization are only for the elites who are flying around from capital to capital and looking at their investment portfolios on a laptop or a computer screen, and they're not worrying -- they feel disengaged from their national economics and their national works and their national communities, then you're going to see a reaction to it.

Q Donald Trump talked about global elites after the vote in Britain. Is Trump right, then, that there are big parallels between what motivated the British vote and what people are feeling and thinking about in the election this year in the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I think it's important to remember that Mr. Trump embodies global elites and has taken full advantage of it his entire life. And so he's hardly a spokesperson for -- a legitimate spokesperson for a populist surge from working-class people on either side of the Atlantic.

I think that some of the concerns around immigration, some of the concerns around a loss of control or a loss of national identity -- those are similar. I think there's a xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment that is flashing up not just in Great Britain but throughout Europe that has some parallels with what Mr. Trump has been trying to stir up here.

Having said all that, the U.S. economy has not only recovered but we're about 10 percent larger than we were pre-crisis, when I came into office. And Europe is just now beginning to get back to where it was, pre-crisis. You've had a decade of stagnation there, partly because of austerity measures that we did not duplicate. The Republicans attempted to impose those kinds of strategies here and I resisted them, and I would argue that that's part of the reason why we did a lot better. We reformed our banking system a lot faster.

And so overall, I think that the differences are greater than the similarities. But what is absolutely true is that the ability to tap into a fear that people may have about losing control and to offer some sort of vague nostalgic feelings about how we'll make Britain great again or we'll make American great again, and the subtext for that is somehow that a bunch of foreigners and funny-looking people are coming in here and changing the basic character of the nation -- I think that some of that is out there, both in Europe and in the United States. And, again, that's not unique to England. You've seen it in the Le Pen Party in France. You see it in some of the far-right parties in other parts of Europe as well.

Q You mentioned people fearful of change. The way that voters expressed that, when we talked with them, is they're concerned about changing the traditions, values or institutions of this country that have made the country great over time. Immigrants do bring new ideas, new cultures, different religions, other things. Does it matter particularly if they do change the country?

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When you look at second-generation immigrants or third-generation immigrants, they are as American as any kid here, and that's been our strength. That's part of what separates us from the United Kingdom or Europe, is we've had that tradition of being a nation of immigrants. And so when people are concerned about some of the changes that immigrants may bring, they need to go back and read what people were saying about their grandparents or great-grandparents when they came.

You read about the description of Irish who arrived, and the language that is being used is identical to the language that Mr. Trump uses about Mexicans. When Southern Europeans were coming instead of Northern Europeans, there was absolute certainty that America was going down the tubes because these swarthy folks were coming here and they had different attitudes. And Catholics were coming, which meant that the Pope was going to control us. And this kind of xenophobia is part of the American tradition and the good news is, is that after these spasms of it, it typically fades away because the immigrants who come here, in fact, are coming here precisely to embrace the opportunities of being American.

Q A couple of follow-ups, one on each side of the Atlantic. Is there a danger that Europe, after this Brexit vote, will turn inward, focus increasingly on its own problems and its own turmoil, and be less active in the world?

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Q Should Britain vote again, as some are suggesting?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that's entirely up to them.

Q On this side of the Atlantic, we heard from a number of people about immigration when we traveled across the country. One of them was a man named Jose Luis Valdez (ph). He's a business owner, a restaurant owner in Kansas City, Kansas. He's a new citizen, so he's getting ready to vote for the first time but he's followed politics for a long time. He knows that you won the Latino vote very heavily in both your elections. And speaking about the failure to pass immigration reform, he said of you, "He used us. He used our votes." Felt you should have done it when you had a chance, when you had a Democratic Congress, you should have done more. What would you say to him?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what I'd say to him is his restaurant might not be doing so well if I hadn't focused my first two years on saving the economy. So it's not as if I didn't have anything else to do. And I think it would be pretty hard to argue that I haven't put everything I've had into getting this done.

But one of the things that I have learned in this presidency is that until you get something done, people are going to be frustrated. You think of the incredible progress that we've made during the course of my presidency with respect to LGBT rights -- the rights of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender. The historic speed with which we've consolidated equal treatment for that population has been amazing.

And these days, if I go before an LGBT crowd, people are cheering and saying I have been one of their greatest champions, but it was only about three or four years ago when I'd get heckled in some LGBT events because marriage equality hadn't gotten done yet or before that, don't ask, don't tell hadn't gotten done yet. And it didn't matter how many times I told them, look, it's going to get done -- it's just it turns out that the wheels in democracy don't always move as quickly as you'd hope, and I can't just do these things with the stroke of the pen.

That's sort of the nature of all social change here. And so if you were interviewing one of the DREAM Act kids who, over the last several years, have been able to get a driver's license, a permit to work, are going to school, have joined our military, they wouldn't say that they'd been used; they would say thank you. And I think that's the reason the vast majority of Latino voters continue to support me, because they see the effort that's been put in.

Now, one last point I'll make because I -- right after this most recent Supreme ruling, or lack of ruling, came down because it was a 4-4 tie, I said to them, look, everything is teed up. And instead of despairing, you just need to understand, we've got four months, five months, and you've got a very clear choice between two candidates, one of whom not only supports all the initiatives that I put forward but is going to be in a position if I don't get a ninth Supreme Court justice to break that tie. And one way or another, by next year, we're going to have either my administrative solution to immigration reform done -- it will be entrain because it will have been decided on and will no longer be blocked, or alternatively, Mr. Trump will win, in which case we'll have a whole bunch of other problems on our hands with respect to immigration.

So in some ways, this is how the democratic process works and I'm constantly reminding young people who are full of passion that I want them to keep their passion but they've got to gird for the fact that it takes a long time to get stuff done in this democracy. It's not as convenient as people would always like, but this is a big country with a lot of diverse views.

Q Let me ask about a passionate young person that we met along the way. His name is Kwame Rose (ph). He is an activist now in Baltimore. He was active in the protests after the death of Freddie Gray, who was in a police van and died later, as you know. And he was unhappy with the statement that you made at the time, when you were supportive of peaceful protests but also criticized what you called "criminals and thugs" who had looted stores. He felt that you were being too harsh, and went on to say in our interview that you were speaking from a position of privilege -- his suggestion being that maybe you didn't quite get what was going on in the streets. What would you say to him?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, obviously I don't know him personally so we'd have to have a longer conversation. What I would say is that the Black Lives Matter movement has been hugely important in getting all of America to see the challenges in the criminal justice system differently. And I could not be prouder of the activism that has been involved. And it's making a difference -- you're seeing it at state and local levels, and the taskforce that we pulled together in the wake of Ferguson has put forward recommendations that were shaped both by the people organized the Ferguson protests as well as police officers. And it turns out that there's common ground there in terms of how we can be smart about crime, smart about policing, respectful to all communities, and try to wring some of the racial bias that exists in the criminal justice system out of it.

What I would also say, though, is that if somebody is looting, they're looting. And the notion that they're making a political statement is not always the case, because these are businesses oftentimes owned by African Americans. You have situations in which suddenly friends of mine in Baltimore, their mothers, who are elderly, have to now travel across town to get their medicines because the local drugstore got torn up. And making excuses for them I think is a mistake.

There are ways of bringing about social change that are powerful and that have the ability to pull the country together and maintain the moral high ground. And there are approaches where I may understand the frustrations, but they're counterproductive. And tearing up your own neighborhood and stealing is counterproductive.

Q If I were to summarize what else this young man said, I might say that he feels that he is trying to overturn what he sees as a racist or corrupt system, and that you've become part of it.

THE PRESIDENT: Look, Steve, I think that you can always find folks who are going to feel as if change hasn't happened fast enough. That's the nature of these issues. And by virtue of being President of the United States, if there's a problem out there, then I'm the ultimate public official that people know. And if it hasn't gotten fixed in a couple of weeks then people are going to say, why didn't you fix it?

I think people would be pretty hard-pressed to not see the efforts that we've put in around criminal justice reform, where we're supporting it fully. The initiatives that we've made with local mayors and state officials around the country to reform the criminal justice system, the fact that, as President, I've been the first ever to even visit a federal prison; that the positions I've taken on criminal justice issues are unprecedented by any President. The work we're doing with commutations is unprecedented, and I've now commuted more sentences for nonviolent drug offenses than the last seven or eight Presidents combined. But if you're interviewing an 18- or 20-year-old or 22-year-old kid on the streets of Baltimore who is still feeling frustrated, then I'm not going to be surprised if that frustration is expressed.

Q As part of this project, we also had a look at your 2008 campaign speech in Philadelphia about race in which you talked, in one passage, about anger in the black community, which you said is sometimes counterproductive but it's real and there are reasons for it. There's another passage, which I hadn't even noticed before, in which you say there is a similar anger among some in the white community, who don't feel particularly privileged by their race and do feel frustrated that they're losing jobs, losing pensions, feel like they're losing ground. Looking back, were you describing there the same force that is driving much of our election discussion here in 2016?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, not only the election discussion driving 2016 -- this has been an ongoing theme in American history. You can go back during Jim Crow and segregation and you've got black sharecroppers who have nothing and, alongside them, poor white farmers who don't have that much more except for the fact that they're white. And the degree to which a lot of politics in the South were specifically designed to make sure that that sharecropper and that white farmer didn't get together to question how the economy was structured and how they both could benefit -- that's one of the oldest stories in American politics. So it's not surprising that what I said in 2008 still holds true today. It was true for a long time.

The nature of racial bias in this country is unique. And the challenges that African Americans have faced are incomparable. Native Americans in this country were burdened by extraordinary bias and cruelty as well, and it's probably not useful to sort of catalogue every possible group's grievances. What is true, though, is that as I travel around the country, what a black working-class person has in common with a white working-class person is significant. And what prevents them from voting along the same lines or working together on the same projects have to do with a whole range of cultural and identity issues, which they obviously feel are important and valid.

But what I've tried to do throughout my presidency is try to get people to recognize themselves and each other. That's probably partly related to my own upbringing -- I was raised by a white mom and white grandparents who never suffered the kind of discrimination that their black cohorts might have experienced but who had their own struggles, who went through a Great Depression, a grandmother who had to work her way up without ever -- a college education, starting in the steno pool or as a secretary, and experienced her own discrimination because of being a woman.

And so I've seen the degree to which their struggles are not that different from Michelle's parents' struggles -- at least in terms of how they think about it, and the similar values of hoping that their kids are going to do better, and that education is the key, and that everybody has got to work hard and take responsibility, but that they'd like a government that was more responsive to clear out some of the barriers for their advancement.

And I believe that our politics, when our politics are at our best, is not based on identity politics, but it's based on a sense that everybody should have a fair shot and everybody should get a fair shake. Everybody should be responsible for doing their fair share. And that theme you'll see in every speech that I've given since I was running for the state senate. And it hasn't changed much now that I'm nearing the end of my political career.

Q Somebody following this year's election might say, well, that debate is worse -- it's gotten worse. Do you see any sign that that debate is any better? That it's moved in some direction?

THE PRESIDENT: You see it in the younger generation. If you look at the 18 to 30 cohort, or the 18 to 40 cohort, they have a very different set of attitudes about all these issues. It's true, by the way, around the world. We were talking about Brexit -- the younger voter wasn't fearful of global interdependence. They embrace it. They see themselves as being able to navigate through all these different worlds.

You see it when I visit Vietnam or countries in Africa or Latin America -- the new generation is much more comfortable with diversity, with connectivity, with the fact that change is constant, that they're not going to be working at one job for 30 years. They want to make sure that they can get the skills, they can get the access, but they see a bright future for themselves. That's where the hope is.

Here in the United States, you talk to young people -- it doesn't matter whether they're black, white, Latino -- they're not afraid of the future. And so when you look at the frustrations and the fear that a Trump are tapping into, that's an earlier generation that feels unsettled. And I think we can be sympathetic and understanding of the fact that they feel unsettled, but also recognize that if we get the decisions that need to be made right, then 10 years from now, 20 years from now, we may look back at something like the Trump campaign as the last vestige of a kind of politics of "us versus them" that really doesn't apply to today.

One last thing I'd say about this, because you'll hear sometimes people suggest that, well, if Democrats and Republicans had been paying attention to white working-class voters then something like Trump would not have happened. Well, the fact is, is that my administration, for example, when we promote a higher minimum wage or stronger union laws or health care, for that matter, that's helping that cohort. That is designed to make sure that they get a better deal in this economy.

And one of the things that you've seen during the course of my presidency is the ability, the power of a certain slice of the media to emphasize to white working-class voters somehow that these things are not good for you, that this is Obama and his socialist friends who are trying to take money from you to give to an undeserving Mexican immigrant or black welfare mom, and tapping into sort of an identity politics that is powerful and oftentimes can work. But it is actually counterproductive and it certainly does not reflect what we've been trying to do.

What is true and what's been interesting to see during this election cycle is that the Republican Party that has opposed minimum wages or union laws or what have you, they have a populist insurgency on their hands. And Mr. Trump I think has at times exploited this gap between what the Republican business community has promoted and what their constituencies are actually looking for.

Q We ran across a statement of yours from 2008 about changing the trajectory of the country. You said that Ronald Reagan had changed the trajectory of the country, partly because the country was ready for it, it was his moment. That John F. Kennedy had done the same thing because it was the right moment, the country was going in a certain direction. You wanted to see such a moment. You believed there was such a moment for you in 2008. Is there a risk that Donald Trump could say the same thing in 2016, that he could be the man to change the trajectory of the country now?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, if he won he could say that.

Q I mean to say, you think the country might be ready for that?

THE PRESIDENT: No. And I think that will be tested over the next four months. But I think it's pretty hard to argue that somebody who almost three-quarters of the country think is unqualified to be President and has a negative opinion about is tapping into the zeitgeist of the country or is speaking for a broad base of the country. But we'll find out. Look, that's what elections are for.

And I think it's important for Democrats, progressives, moderates, people who care about our traditions, who care about facts, who think climate change is real, who think that we have to reform our immigration system in an intelligent way, who believe in women's equality and equality for the LGBT community -- I think it's important for those of us not to be complacent, not to be smug.

And the one thing I've tried to do during the course of my presidency is to take seriously the objections and the criticisms and the concerns of people who didn't vote for me. I said on Election Night, back in Grant Park, I'm President of everybody. I've got a particular point of view, I don't make any apologies for it. I believe that if you go back and read my speeches, dating back to 2004, where I first came to national prominence, that there's been a consistency there. That I have done or tried to do exactly what I said. And the core of that message is "E pluribus unum" -- out of many, one. That we are better when we are together. That I do not believe in tribalism. I do not believe in stoking divisions and scapegoating.

I think that people have common hopes and common dreams, and I think that America is at its best when we are unified and working together. And during the course of my presidency, you've seen polarization and division and all kinds of consternation and frustration. But what you've also seen, quietly, is a country that yanked itself out of a Great Recession and recovered as well as any country ever has from such a massive financial breakdown.

You've seen 20 million people have health insurance that didn't have it before, and health care inflation actually going down so that we've saved trillions of dollars in cost, relative to what we were expected to be paying over the course of programs like Medicare and Medicaid. What we've seen is a financial system that is a lot sounder. We see an LGBT community that is recognized as equal in ways that they weren't before. You've seen an entire generation grow up I think feeling as if the old divisions don't make sense.

And I feel pretty confident that as long as we do the work over the next several months and then continue that work over the next several years that we will have emerged from this era stronger, more prosperous, more secure and adhering more closely to the values and ideals that make America exceptional.

Q Last question, Mr. President. We've gone across the country -- we've gone across the country asking people how their lives have changed in the last eight years -- that was the basic question. How has your life changed in the last eight years?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, everybody has teased me about how gray I am, and that's okay. My daughters have grown --

Q That picture of you and Derek Jeter -- that was something. (Laughter.) That was some gray. But go on, go on, I'm sorry.

THE PRESIDENT: My daughters have grown up. And I think for any father out there, seeing your kids come into office -- when I came into office, they were so much younger than I realized at the time I think. And for them to be these amazing young women now -- that changes your life more than just about anything.

It's interesting, though, that my fundamental belief in public service, my fundamental belief in the capacity of politics to solve problems, my belief in this country is stronger, not weaker. I'm less cynical now than I was. I've been frustrated by some things that I did not complete, that I couldn't wrap and mail and ship before I got out of here -- immigration reform being a good example. Getting infrastructure done -- we've got $2 trillion worth of infrastructure -- if we got working on that now, we'd be growing a lot faster, the unemployment rate would be even lower, wages would be higher.

So there are things that we haven't gotten done. Obviously there are areas internationally where I've been enormously frustrated. You look at Syria being the most prominent example, where you've got a heartbreaking situation and not a lot of good choices.

Having said all that, if you had told me at the beginning of my presidency that we could begin the process of making sure everybody has health insurance in this country; that we could recover fully from a terrible economic crisis; that we could make sure that Iran doesn't have a nuclear weapon without have to launch a war; that we could restore diplomatic relations with Cuba in a way that didn't just transform our relationship with Cuba but has put our relationship with all of Latin America on its strongest footing maybe in history; if you told that we could extend democracy to a place like Burma, one of the worst military dictatorships in the world and that I could visit there and you'd see millions of people lining the streets; if you told me that you could have gay and lesbian men and women proudly serving in our military without having to hide who they were, or that you could have a bipartisan effort to actually reduce sentences for nonviolent drug offenses have a credible chance of getting through Congress -- you'd tally it up and you'd say, it's not bad for seven and a half years' worth of work.

And the stuff that has not gotten done, it's teed up to get done. Climate change with the Paris agreement -- 200 countries signed on -- is a classic example of how I think about my work, but also the possibilities of government and politics. We haven't solved climate change because of that agreement, but we've now built an architecture that allows us -- gives us a chance to, over time, collectively, in an unprecedented way, curb the pollution that contributes to climate change. And have we gotten it all done yet? No. But have we now given the next President, the next Congress, the next generation a chance to solve it? Absolutely.

And I've said this before -- I think of myself as a relay runner. I take the baton -- sometimes you take the baton and you're behind in the race and you've got to run a little bit harder to catch up. Hopefully by the time you pass on the baton, you're a little bit better positioned in the race.

And I think there's a humility that comes out of this office because you feel that no matter how much you've done, there's more work to do. But I think that there's a confidence that well-meaning people working together can change the country for the better. I've seen it happen.

Q Mr. President, thanks very much.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I enjoyed it.

END 3:18 P.M. EDT

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUNAG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 6:48 PM
To: DMCOS [redacted] B6
Subject: Fw: Reuters: Trump discussed Mideast peace in call with Egypt's Sisi

Wow

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Steinberg, Nikolaus <SteinbergN@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 6:46 PM
To: Ordeman, Leslie T; Degory, John A; Bitar, Maher B; Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon; Tachco, Amy N; DiCarlo, Diana; Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-COMMS-DL
Subject: RE: Reuters: Trump discussed Mideast peace in call with Egypt's Sisi

+SP. So much for one President at a time.

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Ordeman, Leslie T
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 5:53 PM
To: Degory, John A; Bitar, Maher B; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon; Tachco, Amy N; DiCarlo, Diana
Cc: USUN-COMMS-DL
Subject: Reuters: Trump discussed Mideast peace in call with Egypt's Sisi

From Reuters:

WORLD NEWS | Thu Dec 22, 2016 | 10:15pm GMT

Trump discussed Mideast peace in call with Egypt's Sisi

U.S. President-elect Donald Trump discussed laying the groundwork for peace in the Middle East in a phone call on Thursday with Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, a Trump transition official said.

The official did not know whether Trump and Sisi talked specifically about Egypt's decision to postpone a vote set for Thursday in the U.N. Security Council on a resolution demanding that Israel end settlement building.

(Reporting by Emily Stephenson in Hawaii; Writing by Eric Beech; Editing by Chris Reese)

Official

UNCLASSIFIED

From: Degory, John A
Sent: Thursday, December 22, 2016 5:41 PM
To: Bitar, Maher B; Steinberg, Nikolaus; Aguirre, Sergio; Maltz, Gideon; Ordeman, Leslie T; Tachco, Amy N; DiCarlo, Diana
Cc: USUN-COMMS-DL
Subject: FW: Obama administration intended to abstain from UN vote on settlements -Western officials - RTRS | News Wires

FYI – written by Reuters' State Department correspondents.

John Degory | Deputy Spokesperson | U.S. Mission to the United Nations
799 United Nations Plaza | New York, NY 10017
T. (212) 415-4153 | M [redacted]

B6

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EIKON™

Alerts History

- 22-Dec-2016 05:27:22 PM - OBAMA ADMINISTRATION INTENDED TO ABSTAIN FROM U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE ON RESOLUTION CRITICAL OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENT BUILDING, WESTERN OFFICIALS SAY

Obama administration intended to abstain from UN vote on settlements -Western officials - Reuters News

22-Dec-2016 05:35:17 PM

WASHINGTON, Dec 22 (Reuters) - The Obama administration intended to abstain from a U.N. Security Council vote on a draft resolution critical of Israel settlement-building, Western officials told Reuters on Thursday.

Egypt earlier postponed the vote and diplomats said Cairo had acted under pressure from Israel and to avoid alienating U.S. President-elect Donald Trump. (Full Story)

(Reporting by Lesley Wroughton and Arshad Mohammed; Writing by Yara Bayoumy; Editing by James Dalgleish)

((arshad.mohammed@thomsonreuters.com ; +1 202 898 8300; Reuters Messaging: arshad.mohammed.thomsonreuters.com@reuters.net))

Keywords: ISRAEL-PALESTINIANS/UN-ABSTAIN (URGENT)

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Official
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RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 8, 2016 3:43 AM
To: Spiegel, Julia <SpiegelJ@state.gov>
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-SP-Specials-DL <USUN-SP-Specials-DL@state.gov>
Subject: Re: ACTION: Direct Message

Edited

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Spiegel, Julia
Sent: Thursday, December 8, 2016 9:32 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL; USUN-SP-Specials-DL
Subject: Re: ACTION: Direct Message

Thanks Ambassador. We've tightened. OK to send?

Direct Message to the President

B5

Original Message
From: Power, Samantha
Sent: Thursday, December 8, 2016 8:30 AM

To: Spiegel, Julia
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: Re: ACTION: Direct Message

Edited below. Tks [redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
From: Spiegel, Julia
Sent: Thursday, December 8, 2016 1:17 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: USUN-SP-COS-DL
Subject: ACTION: Direct Message

Ambassador,

Apologies for the late hour, but I wanted to get you the direct message for your review as soon as possible. Gideon and Nik have cleared.

We'll meet the submission deadlines so long as we finalize before we board the flight.

Thank you,
Julia

*****

Direct Message to the President

[redacted] B5

B5

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Sunday, November 27, 2016 10:54 AM
To: Deese, Brian C. EOP/WHO [redacted] B6
Subject: Re: emergency growing -- Gloria Steinem

[redacted] B5

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: Deese, Brian C. EOP/WHO
Sent: Sunday, November 27, 2016 10:51 AM
To: Power, Samantha
Cc: DMCOS
Subject: Re: emergency growing -- Gloria Steinem

[redacted] B5

> On Nov 26, 2016, at 3:34 PM, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:
>
> Wld be great. Tks
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> Original Message
> From: DMCOS
> Sent: Saturday, November 26, 2016 3:33 PM
> To: Power, Samantha
> Cc: Deese, Brian C. EOP/WHO
> Subject: Re: emergency growing -- Gloria Steinem
>
> Sam,
>

[redacted] B5

>
> Thanks,
> DM
>
>> On Nov 26, 2016, at 12:41, Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov> wrote:
>>
>> Hi Denis - I'm getting a lot of these. Anything more to be done? [redacted] B5
Thanks Samantha
>>
>> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>> From: [redacted]@aol.com B6
>> Sent: Saturday, November 26, 2016 12:38 PM
>> To: Power, Samantha

>> Subject: emergency growing -- Gloria Steinem
>>
>>
>> Dear Samantha,
>>
>> The new December 5th deadline for all the water protectors to leave is so dangerous.
>>
>> Also the fact that Sunoco, the same company that is doing Standing Rock, has a spill of 55,000 gallons of gasoline direct into the drinking water supply in Pennsylvania.
>>
>> I hear secondhand from Jodi Gillette, President Obama's former Special Assistant for Native American Affairs and who is on the ground at Standing Rock, that calls to Obama from influential, Non-Indians could make a difference. Will try.
>>
>> Research says that, by law and precedent, the President has the authority, and the Constitutional responsibility, to intervene in disputes between states, private entities, and sovereign Tribes. Obama should use this power to nationalize the North Dakota National Guard to protect protesters from the attack dogs, tear gas, and rubber bullets unleashed by out-of-control state, federal, and private security forces.
>>
>> Also I think he can deny oil companies permission to build the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) on Army Corps of Engineers land, and to enforce the Sioux interpretation of the 1851 treaty that granted much of the land in dispute to the tribe. In the face of an oil-friendly Trump Administration hostile to both Native American and environmental issues, such a move can set a strong precedent for the Federal protection of Native lands and honoring of U.S. Treaties.
>>
>> The situation at Standing Rock is the Bull Connor stand-off of our day -- with attack dogs and water cannons used against nonviolent people. This is environmental racism at its most obvious, given the pipeline relocation.
>>
>> I so hope the President can take action to honor his pledge to the people of Standing Rock and not have his legacy perpetuate our shameful treatment of Native people in a commercial deal poised to enrich President-Elect Trump and North Dakota Governor Jack Dalrymple.
>>
>> with so much gratitude.....
>> Gloria
>>
>>
>>

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

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, February 10, 2016 11:19 AM
To: USUN-SP-COS-DL <USUN-SP-COS-DL@state.gov>; USUN-AMB-DL <USUN-AMB-DL@state.gov>; DiCarlo, Diana <DiCarloD@state.gov>; Spiegel, Julia <SpiegelJ@state.gov>
Subject: Ambassador Power's Courtesy Call with Ambassador Odo Tevi, PR, Vanuatu: governance, climate, disarmament, women

---

On Tuesday, February 09, 2016, Ambassador Power met with Ambassador Odo Tevi, PR, Vanuatu for 30 minutes. A lifelong economist and former Vanuatu central bank governor, [redacted] B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

They discussed the following topics:

History and Demographics of Vanuatu
277k people. 83 islands. 100 native languages. All islands want development; PR said it is very hard to apportion scarce resources across them. Still, he said, "our advantage (over other Pacific island states) is we are near NZ and Aus." He said Vanuatu had cruise ships visiting almost every day and thus have robust tourism. He said that, because V had been colonized by both UK and Fr, it uses both official languages. Vanuatu was used as US military base in WWII. He grew up near mil base with his father who was Anglican priest and later became bishop.

[redacted]

LDC
V is postponing graduation by 3 years. [redacted]

Disarmament
SP raise the disarmament points (see BCL) requesting that the agenda item be added. PR seemed amenable [ACTION: team, need follow up].

Climate
Out of Paris – a lot of good will, social capital. [redacted]

SYG

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/26/2018 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 02/09/2041

[redacted] B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

Women's Issues

[redacted] B1 1.4(B) 1.4(D)

[ACTION: Please send PR info for Bryant Park kids club and please send to Panama and UAE mission word that [redacted] along w all his contact info]. B6

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=POWERS>
Sent: Wednesday, February 3, 2016 2:33 PM
To: DMCOS [redacted] B6
Subject: FW: CNN Breaking News

Amazing. Thank you for this

From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 03, 2016 2:28 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Fwd: CNN Breaking News

RELEASE IN PART
B6

-----Original Message-----
From: John Prendergast [redacted]
To: Sia Sanneh [redacted]; Samantha Power [redacted] Cass at Harvard [redacted]
Sent: Wed, Feb 3, 2016 2:26 pm
Subject: Fwd: CNN Breaking News

so important!!!

--------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **CNN Breaking News** <BreakingNews@mail.cnn.com>
Date: Wed, Feb 3, 2016 at 1:55 PM
Subject: CNN Breaking News
To: BreakingNews@mail.cnn.com

"An attack on one religion is an attack on all religions," President Barack Obama says while visiting a U.S. mosque for the first time as president.

Seeking to rebut what he views as perilous election-year bombast about Muslims, Obama spoke at the Islamic Society of Baltimore on Wednesday.

"Muslim Americans keep us safe," he told the audience, crediting the contributions Muslims have made to communities across the country. "They are our police. They are our firefighters. They're in (the Department of) Homeland Security."

Obama heralded the contributions of Muslims to American society while issuing a forceful counterpoint to the language favored by some Republican presidential candidates like Donald Trump, according to White House officials.

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Figueroa, Priscilla C

B6

From: DMCOS [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2017 1:17 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: RE: Remarks by the President with Combatant Commanders and Joint Chiefs of Staff

I had the same reaction.
Happy New Year.

-----Original Message-----
From: Power, Samantha [mailto:PowerS@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, January 4, 2017 12:43 PM
To: DMCOS [redacted]
Subject: FW: Remarks by the President with Combatant Commanders and Joint Chiefs of Staff

Even something as simple as this is so very moving

Official

UNCLASSIFIED

From: White House Press Office [mailto:noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, January 04, 2017 12:37 PM
To: Power, Samantha
Subject: Remarks by the President with Combatant Commanders and Joint Chiefs of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 4, 2017

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

WITH COMBATANT COMMANDERS AND JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

Cabinet Room

11:31 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Happy New Year, everybody. I want to begin by thanking Ash Carter, our Secretary of Defense; General Joe Dunford and Vice Chair Paul Selva, and all of our commanders here.

The purpose of this meeting -- something I do on a regular basis -- is to allow me to hear directly from those who are charged with the most solemn responsibility of maintaining the finest fighting force that the world has ever known, and keeping the American people safe. It is in these meetings that we have been able to set broad strategy, identify areas where we have to improve, address the health of the force. And I can say to the American people that they are extraordinarily lucky and I am extraordinarily lucky to be served by such extraordinary patriots.

This will be my last meeting with them. And so part of my goal here is just to say thank you to them and let them know how much I appreciate the counsel, the advice, the leadership that they have consistently shown throughout my time in office.

But in addition to saying thank you, I will get their views on the fact that we still have a lot of active threats around the world and we still have men and women in harm's way around the world who are busy protecting our homeland and our vital interests and our allies. And we've got to make sure that during this transition period that there is a seamless passing of the baton, that there's continuity, and that any issues that still remain -- and obviously we still have major fights against ISIS in Mosul and in Syria; Afghanistan is still active -- that in all of these areas we are doing everything we can to make sure that the next President will benefit from the same kinds of outstanding advice and service that these people around the table have provided me.

So it has been, as I've said repeatedly, one of the greatest honors and privileges of being President serving as Commander-in-Chief to such outstanding people. And I couldn't have done it without all of you. And I know that my optimism about America going forward is in part because we have such an amazing military -- not only one that knows how to fight, but also knows how to uphold the values of rule of law and professionalism and integrity, and recognizes our constitutional structure and maintains strict adherence and respect for civilian authority and democratic practices in determining how we use the awesome force of the American military.

So I just want to say thank you to all of you.

And with that, we've got to do some work. All right? Thank you so much. I appreciate it.

END 11:35 A.M. EST

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