

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.

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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

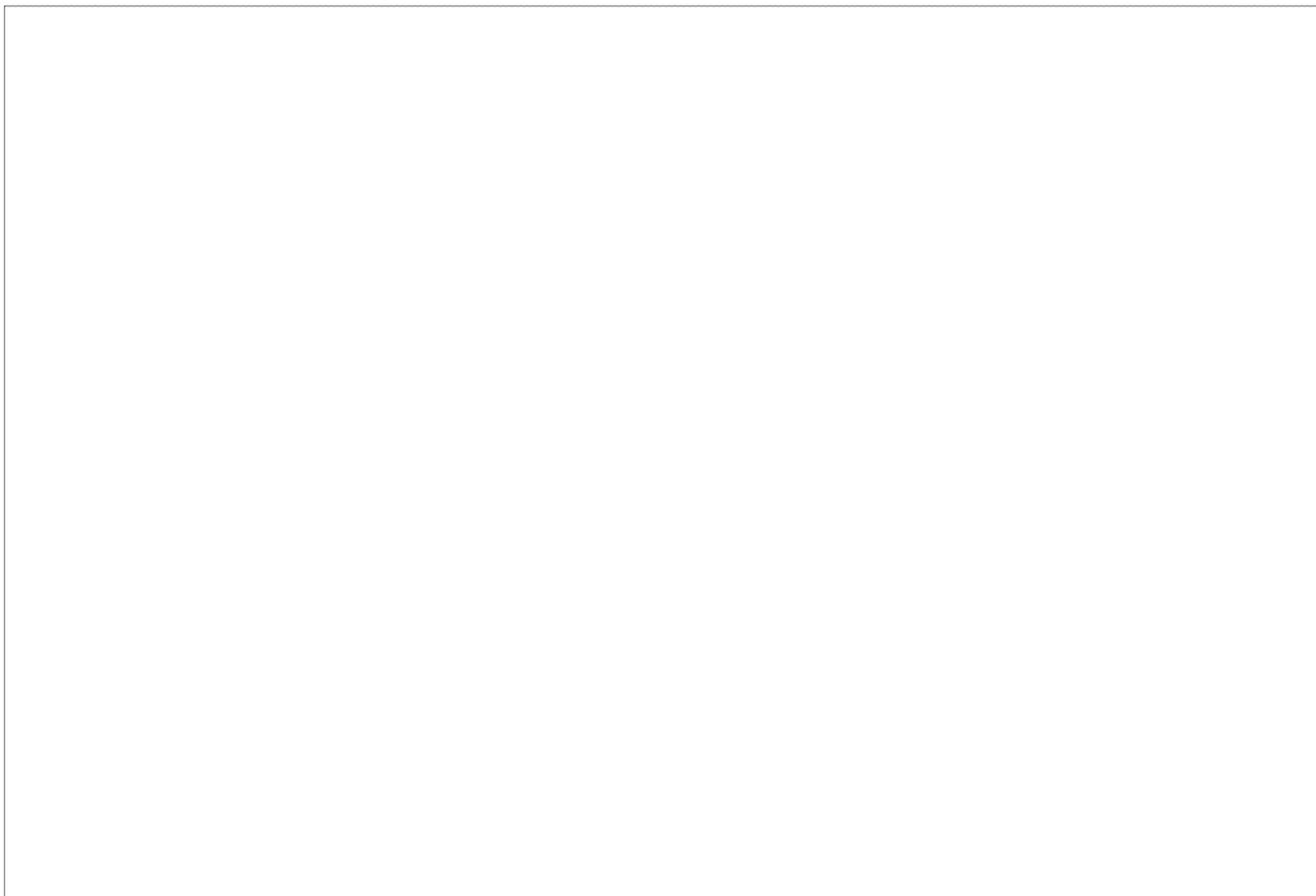
Oops was just editing and see they just did a refugee piece?

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

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Owens, Bill [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 15, 2016 12:16 PM
To: Power, Samantha <PowerS@state.gov>
Subject: RE: me again!

B6

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]
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.

From: Power, Samantha </O=SBUSTATE/OU=USUN AG/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

RELEASE IN PART
B6

[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 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 Yanukovich, finally won the presidency.

But Yanukovich'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 infiltrated its 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 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]
Cc: Dax Tejera [redacted]; Stacey Fox Hocheiser
[redacted]; Veronica.Bautista [redacted]; Cooper, Kurtis
A <CooperKA@state.gov>
Subject: Re: Jorge Ramos-interview

B6

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

<p style="text-align: center;">RELEASE IN PART B6</p>
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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]
Subject: FW: Vice / Applied pressure: Donald Trump isn't even president yet and he's already making waves at the U.N.

B6

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

Official

UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN PART
B6

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.

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



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 Dalglish)

((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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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]
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

B6

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

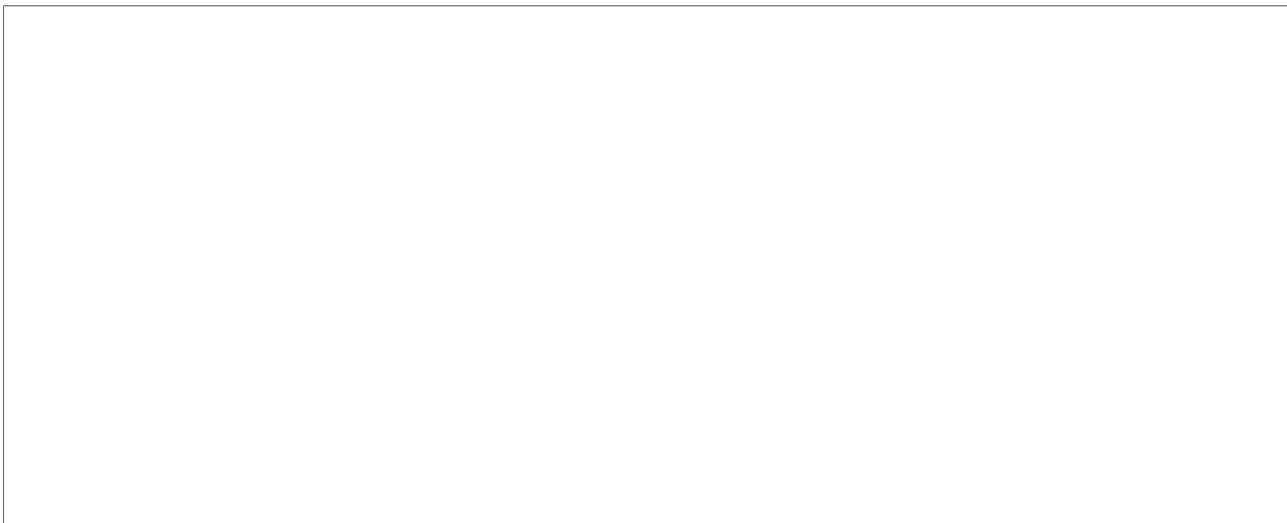
Back online here in Cuba. [redacted]

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



B5

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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 1:33 AM
To: Rhodes, Benjamin J. EOP/WHO [redacted]
Subject: Re: Russia speech 1am version

B6

[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

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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

B5

[redacted]

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Page Denied

January 17, 2017 | 12:50 am

Cleared:

S/P – MKimmagine (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 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.

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 it 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.

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