

A close-up, high-contrast photograph of a woman's face, focusing on her eyes which are closed. Her hair is dark and styled. The lighting is dramatic, with strong highlights and shadows. The background is dark and out of focus.

Bad ~~HARD~~ CHOICES

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
RESEARCH BRIEFING BOOK
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FAILED LEGACY AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT

CLINTON'S TENURE LACKS ANY "EYE-CATCHING ACHIEVEMENT," "SIGNATURE DOCTRINE," OR "STRATEGY"

The Washington Post's Nia-Malika Henderson: "What's [Clinton's] Biggest Accomplishment As Secretary Of State? We Don't Really Know That." NIA-MALIKA HENDERSON: "I think it does get to what Hillary Clinton actually did as Secretary of State, right. Does she have a sort of counter narrative? You know, what's her biggest accomplishment as Secretary of State? We don't really know that. And at this point, Benghazi is standing in for her term as Secretary of State." (NBC's *"Meet The Press,"* 1/19/14)

Politico Magazine's Susan Glasser: "[T]he Truth Is That Hillary Clinton Never Did Find A Way To Turn Foggy Bottom Into Her Ticket To History." "Timing, fate and the White House may have all conspired in it, but the truth is that Hillary Clinton never did find a way to turn Foggy Bottom into her ticket to history." (Susan B. Glasser, "Was Hillary Clinton A Good Secretary Of State?" *Politico Magazine*, 12/8/13)

- **Analysts Can't Identify An "Enduring Diplomatic Approach" That Would Add Clinton To The List Of The Greatest Secretaries Of State.** "Despite the star power and political savvy, however, analysts say four years later that they can't identify an enduring diplomatic approach that would add her to the list of the all-time greatest secretaries of state." (Hannah Allam, "Analysts: Hillary Clinton's Record As Top U.S. Diplomat Falls Far Short Of Greatness," *McClatchy*, 1/31/13)

Hillary Clinton's Tenure At The State Department "Lacks A Marquee, Eye-Catching Achievement." "There's an interesting dilemma that Hillary Clinton faces as she positions herself for a potential presidential run. The Democratic Party and its base are overwhelmingly focused on domestic issues — most of all, the economy and income inequality. Yet the main thing Clinton has done since 2008 is serve as Obama's Secretary of State, a foreign policy job. Even her tenure there lacks a marquee, eye-catching achievement — 'Hillary Clinton never did find a way to turn Foggy Bottom into her ticket to history,' Susan Glasser wrote in Politico Magazine." (Andrew Prokop, "Hillary Clinton Warns That Inequality Can Corrupt Societies," *Vox*, 5/19/14)

- **Clinton "Left Office Without A Signature Doctrine, Strategy, Or Diplomatic Triumph."** "But neither Obama's gratitude nor Clinton's graciousness should cloud history's judgment. By any standard measure of diplomacy, Clinton will be remembered as a highly competent secretary of state, but not a great one. Despite her considerable star power around the world, her popularity at home, and her reputation for being on the right side of most issues, she left office without a signature doctrine, strategy, or diplomatic triumph. It is a stretch to include Clinton in the company of John Quincy Adams, George Marshall, Dean Acheson, and Henry Kissinger -- some of the great secretaries of state who profoundly changed U.S. foreign policy." (Michael Hirsh, "The Clinton Legacy," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2013)

Clinton's State Department Record "Notched No Sweeping Peace Agreements Or Marquee Breakthroughs That Reshaped The International Stage." "Her State Department record reveals

she made progress on several fronts and sought to advance American economic interests, but notched no sweeping peace agreements or marquee breakthroughs that reshaped the international stage.” (Peter Nicholas, Adam Entous, and Carol E. Lee, “Hillary Clinton’s Legacy At State Dept.: A Hawk With Clipped Wings,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/30/14)

Boston University’s Andrew Bacevich: “In Terms Of Outcomes, The Grade [Clinton] Probably Deserves Is I For Incomplete...” “‘If she runs, the No. 1 item on her résumé is going to be her term as secretary of state,’ says Andrew Bacevich, a professor of international relations at Boston University. ‘But in terms of outcomes, the grade she probably deserves is I for incomplete, in the sense that it’s difficult to point to some specific achievements, or to some important initiatives, or to some creative idea that we would attribute to her.’” (Peter Nicholas, Adam Entous, and Carol E. Lee, “Hillary Clinton’s Legacy At State Dept.: A Hawk With Clipped Wings,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/30/14)

- **Bacevich: “[I]t’s Difficult To Point To Some Specific Achievements, Or To Some Important Initiatives, Or To Some Creative Idea That We Would Attribute To Her.”** “‘But in terms of outcomes, the grade she probably deserves is I for incomplete, in the sense that it’s difficult to point to some specific achievements, or to some important initiatives, or to some creative idea that we would attribute to her.’” (Peter Nicholas, Adam Entous, and Carol E. Lee, “Hillary Clinton’s Legacy At State Dept.: A Hawk With Clipped Wings,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/30/14)

There Are Few “Out There Still Willing To Make The Case For Her As An Enormously Consequential Figure In The History” Of State Department. “As Bill Clinton might have said, it depends on what the meaning of good is. Certainly, even many of her most ardent defenders recognize Hillary Clinton had no signal accomplishment at the State Department to her name, no indelible peace sealed with her handshake, no war averted, no nuclear crisis defused. There are few Eric Schmidts out there still willing to make the case for her as an enormously consequential figure in the history of Foggy Bottom.” (Susan B. Glasser, “Was Hillary Clinton A Good Secretary Of State?” *Politico Magazine*, 12/8/13)

Clinton “Shied Away” From “Serious Diplomacy”

Former State Department Official David Gordon: Clinton’s “Great Weakness Was Avoiding Serious Diplomacy.” “Not quite so harsh is David Gordon, who ran the State Department’s storied policy-planning shop under George W. Bush. He calls Clinton ‘good not great’ in the job, agrees that her ‘great weakness was avoiding serious diplomacy,’ gives her plaudits for outlining the strategic ‘pivot’ to Asia whose future is now uncertain, and attributes much to ‘her future political considerations:’” (Susan B. Glasser, “Was Hillary Clinton A Good Secretary Of State?” *Politico Magazine*, 12/8/13)

Clinton Steered Away From “Tougher Strategic Challenges.” “From the start, Kerry signaled that he would take a sharply different approach than his more politically calculating predecessor, with one adviser sniffing dismissively to Politico about her ‘odometer diplomacy’ and promising that Kerry would avoid the showy set-pieces and focus on the tougher strategic challenges, like the

stalled Israel-Palestine negotiations, that Clinton had steered away from in favor of grand public diplomacy tours and a sweepingly named but amorphous ‘pivot’ to Asia.” (Susan B. Glasser, “John Kerry Vs. The ‘Babble,’” *Politico Magazine*, 11/18/13)

- **Clinton “Shied Away From The Kind Of Hard Diplomacy” That Is Often Identified With “Foreign Policy Greatness.”** “Yet in the end, although Clinton excelled at soft diplomacy, she shied away from the kind of hard diplomacy that traditionalists identify with foreign policy greatness.” (Michael Hirsh, “The Clinton Legacy,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2013)

Bad News For Clinton: The Issues From Her Tenure At The State Department Have “Stayed Bad Or Gotten Worse”

MSNBC’S Chuck Todd: “Frankly, Many Of The Issues From Her Time At The Department Have Either Stayed Bad Or Gotten Worse.” (MSNBC’s “The Daily Rundown With Chuck Todd,” 5/12/14)

Claremont McKenna College’s John Pitney: “If Things Don’t Look So Good On The World Stage, She’ll Have To Take A Lot Of The Blame.” “‘She’s been at the heart of foreign policy for the past four years,’ John J. Pitney Jr., a professor of American politics at Claremont McKenna College, observes. ‘If 2016 is a time of international peace and prosperity, then she’ll be able to claim some credit. But current events in the Middle East suggest a darker future. If things don’t look so good on the world stage, she’ll have to take a lot of the blame,’ Pitney predicts.” (Kathryn Jean Lopez, “Don’t Get Carried Away About Hillary Clinton In 2016,” *Joplin Globe*, 12/11/12)

EVEN CLINTONWORLD KNOWS SHE LACKS A GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENT

“Yet Even Some Clinton Admirers Acknowledge The Absence Of A Breakthrough, Headline-Grabbing Accomplishment—No Marshall Plan, No Détente With The Soviets, No Dayton Accords.” (Jill Lawrence, “What If John Kerry Outperforms Hillary Clinton As America’s Top Diplomat?” *National Journal*, 8/1/13)

The Huffington Post’s Sam Stein: Clinton Insiders Are Worried That Nothing “Shines That Brightly” In Clinton’s State Department Record. “I’ve heard from other Democratic strategists including people close to the Clinton world that they’re worried about the State Department record. That they feel like that there’s nothing that’s going to shine that brightly. In a record filled with achievements, there isn’t anything that stands out that brightly to dominate her prospective campaign. So then you have, what is it, five or six years of basically no votes of not really —” (MSNBC’s “Ronan Daily,” 4/17/14)

- **Former Bill Clinton Advisor Douglas Schoen: Hillary Clinton “Can Point To No Significant Accomplishments As Secretary Of State.”** “Another major obstacle is Mrs. Clinton’s foreign-policy record: She can point to no significant accomplishments as secretary of state. Now that her successor, John Kerry, has forged an interim agreement with Iran, good or bad, to limit its nuclear

program, questions will inevitably be asked about why Mrs. Clinton failed to achieve anything on that front—or to strike a similar bargain with North Korea or make any progress with the Palestinians and Israelis.” (Douglas E. Schoen, “Mastering The Bill And Hillary Two-Step,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 12/12/13)

The New York Times’ Nick Confessore: “I Just See Flailing On This Question” Of State

Department Accomplishments And “Her Own Supporters” Don’t Have “Any Good Answers.”

CONFESORE: “I actually think, though, that the real thing they have to overcome, this question that everyone’s asking was ‘What was her biggest accomplishment as Secretary of State?’ And you know, I just see flailing on this question. From her own supporters I don’t see any good answers, or at least a solid, strong answer.” (MSNBC’s “Jansing & Co.,” 5/16/14)

“Certainly, Even Many Of Her Most Ardent Defenders Recognize Hillary Clinton Had No Signal Accomplishment At The State Department To Her Name, No Indelible Peace Sealed With Her Handshake, No War Averted, No Nuclear Crisis Defused.”

(Susan B. Glasser, “Was Hillary Clinton A Good Secretary Of State?” *Politico Magazine*, 12/8/13)

Clinton Even Had Difficulty Answering On Her Proudest Achievement As Secretary Of State

At A Recent Appearance, Clinton Became “Flustered” And Had Difficulty Answering What Was Her Proudest Achievement As Secretary.

“It was a simple question to someone accustomed to much tougher ones: What was her proudest achievement as secretary of state? But for a moment, Hillary Rodham Clinton, appearing recently before a friendly audience at a women’s forum in Manhattan, seemed flustered.” (Mark Landler and Amy Chozick, “Hillary Clinton Struggles To Define A Legacy In Progress,”

The New York Times, 4/16/14)

- **MSNBC’S Jonathan Capehart: Hillary Clinton’s Inability To Answer What Her State Department Legacy Was “Troubling.”** ANDREA MITCHELL: “So, Jonathan, she’s handed off the baton to John Kerry, who’s having his own challenges right now, what about her legacy, and ‘The New York Times’ was writing about that.” JONATHAN CAPEHART: “If you notice, she handed off the baton on that answer as well. She did not answer the question, she did not answer what her legacy would be. look, when she became secretary of state, as ‘The New York Times’ article points out, she used her star power to whip around the world to help repair the tattered relationship the united states had with many nations around the world because of the wars in Afghanistan, in Iraq and what a lot of countries thought was American overreach. ... The fact that Secretary Clinton couldn’t answer the question, especially when she should know that folks are going to ask her this question, should strike people as a bit troubling.” (MSNBC’s “Andrea Mitchell Reports,” 4/17/14)

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BENGHAZI

THE BENGHAZI ATTACK CONTINUES TO BE THE DEFINING MOMENT OF CLINTON'S TENURE AS SECRETARY OF STATE

“The Most Memorable Moment Of Her Tenure Was A Tragic One, The Killing Of U.S. Ambassador Chris Stevens And Three Other Americans In Benghazi.” “Yet even some Clinton admirers acknowledge the absence of a breakthrough, headline-grabbing accomplishment—no Marshall Plan, no détente with the Soviets, no Dayton Accords. The most memorable moment of her tenure was a tragic one, the killing of U.S. Ambassador Chris Stevens and three other Americans in Benghazi, Libya, on Sept. 11, 2012. Republicans intend to use the incident to attack Clinton if she runs for the White House in 2016, and there is no single achievement that would be a counterbalance.” (Jill Lawrence, “What If John Kerry Outperforms Hillary Clinton As America’s Top Diplomat?” *National Journal*, 8/1/13)

- **The Benghazi Attack “Was The Biggest Debacle” Of Her Term As Secretary Of State.** “Clinton accepted responsibility but not blame for the deaths of a U.S. ambassador and three other Americans in Libya last year. It was the biggest debacle of her term and became a white-hot political issue for Republicans.” (Anne Gearan, “What Is Clinton’s Legacy At State—And Her Future,” *The Washington Post*, 1/31/13)

Nearly Two Years Ago, Clinton Promised To Bring Those Responsible For The Benghazi Attack To Justice – A Promise That Remains Unfulfilled

Hillary Clinton: “We Will Not Turn Our Back On That, Nor Will We Rest Until Those Responsible For These Attacks Are Found And Brought To Justice.” “The friendship between our countries, borne out of shared struggle, will not be another casualty of this attack. A free and stable Libya is still in America’s interest and security, and we will not turn our back on that, nor will we rest until those responsible for these attacks are found and brought to justice. We are working closely with the Libyan authorities to move swiftly and surely. We are also working with partners around the world to safeguard other American embassies, consulates, and citizens.” (Hillary Clinton, *Remarks On The Deaths Of American Personnel In Benghazi, Libya*, Washington, D.C., 9/12/12)

U.S. Officials Say Efforts Have Stalled To Capture “About A Dozen People Secretly Charged In The 2012 Attack.” “U.S. officials say efforts have stalled to capture about a dozen people secretly charged in the 2012 attack on the American compound in Benghazi that claimed the lives of U.S. Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and three other Americans.” (Adam Goldman And Sari Horwitz, “U.S. Efforts Stall In Capturing Suspects In 2012 Benghazi Attacks, Officials Say,” *The Washington Post*, 12/5/13)

A Senate Intelligence Report Found The Benghazi Attack Was “Preventable”

***The New York Times* Headline: “Benghazi Attack Called Avoidable In Senate Report”**

(Mark Mazzetti, Eric Schmitt, And David D. Kirkpatrick, “Benghazi Attack Called Avoidable In Senate Report,” *The New York Times*, 1/15/14)

The Senate Intelligence Committee Released A “Scathing” Report, Which Found The Attack In Benghazi Could Have Been Prevented. “The Senate Intelligence Committee Wednesday released a scathing new report on the 2012 terrorist attack in Benghazi, Libya, charging the attack could have been prevented and that the Obama administration used inadequate intelligence in initially blaming it on spontaneous protests.” (John Stanton, “Senate Intelligence Committee: Benghazi Attack Was Preventable,” *BuzzFeed*, 1/15/14)

- **“The P-Word – ‘Preventable’ – Is What Stings Most For Clinton.”** (Aaron Blake, “For Clinton, Benghazi Report Has Some Good, Mostly Bad—But No Ugly,” *The Washington Post*, 1/15/14)

The Report Found That The State Department, Then Under Hillary Clinton, Refused Requests To Increase Security Despite Warnings. “The report was done by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and found that State, then under Hillary Clinton, refused requests to boost security despite warnings from the CIA and its own staff about the danger of militant attacks.” (Oren Dorell, “Democrats Join GOP To Blame State In Benghazi,” *USA Today*, 1/15/14)

- **“‘The State Department Should Have Increased Its Security Posture More Significantly In Benghazi Based On The Deteriorating Security Situation,’ The Report Argues.”** (John Stanton, “Senate Intelligence Committee: Benghazi Attack Was Preventable,” *BuzzFeed*, 1/15/14)

CLINTON CONTINUES TO DEFEND SUSAN RICE AND THE ROLE OF THE YOUTUBE VIDEO

Clinton Maintains A YouTube Video Was “Indeed A Factor” In Benghazi, Despite Other Officials Who Quickly “Dismissed” The Video

In Her New Book, Clinton Continues To Defend The Role Of The Anti-Islamic Video In Sparking The Protests – Arguing It Was “Indeed A Factor” In The Benghazi Attack. “Clinton defends the intelligence at the time preceding the attack on the American compound in Benghazi. An anti-Islamic video that had sparked a protest at an embassy in Cairo was proved in ‘later investigation and reporting,’ including by *The New York Times*, to have been ‘indeed a factor’ in what happened in Benghazi, Clinton writes. ‘That point is among those that has been debated during hearings into the attacks. ‘There were scores of attackers that night, almost certainly with differing motives,’ she writes. ‘It is inaccurate to state that every single one of them was influenced by this hateful video. It

is equally inaccurate to state that none of them were. Both assertions defy not only the evidence but logic as well.” (Maggie Haberman, “Exclusive: Hillary Clinton’s Benghazi Chapter,” *Politico*, 5/30/14)

Former Deputy Chief Of Mission Greg Hicks: “I Think Everybody In The Mission Thought It Was A Terrorist Attack From The Beginning.” “‘I think everybody in the mission thought it was a terrorist attack from the beginning,’ Greg Hicks, a 22-year foreign service diplomat who was the highest-ranking U.S. official in Libya after the strike, told investigators under authority of the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee. Hicks, the former U.S. Embassy Tripoli deputy chief of mission, was not in Benghazi at the time of the attack, which killed Chris Stevens - then the U.S. ambassador to Libya - and three other Americans.” (Lindsey Boerman, “Official: We Knew Benghazi Was Sa Terrorist Attack ‘From The Get-Go,’” *CBS News*, 5/5/13)

Senate Intelligence Chair Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) “Took Issue With The Notion That The Libya Strike Was Sparked By A U.S.-Made Anti-Islam Video Online.” “The chairwoman of the Senate Intelligence Committee said that key conclusions of a recent New York Times investigation into the 2012 Benghazi attack are wrong. Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) rejected the Times’s conclusion that al Qaeda wasn’t responsible for the attack that killed Ambassador Christopher Stevens and three other Americans. She also took issue with the notion that the Libya strike was sparked by a U.S.-made anti-Islam video online.” (Julian Pecquet, “Feinstein Rejects NYT On Benghazi,” *The Hill*, 1/14/14)

- **Feinstein, On The Idea Benghazi Evolved From A Protest Against The Video: “It Doesn’t Jibe With Me.”** “She also disputed the notion that the Sept. 11, 2012, assault evolved from a protest against the video, which was widely disseminated by Islamic clerics shortly before the attack. ‘It doesn’t jibe with me,’ she said.” (Julian Pecquet, “Feinstein Rejects NYT On Benghazi,” *The Hill*, 1/14/14)

Retired Africom General: I Dismissed The Idea That Benghazi Resulted From A YouTube Video. REP. ISSA: “And in the hours that ensued after the attack on our consulate compound in Benghazi, did you hear YouTube video?” GEN. LOVELL: “Briefly discussed, but not from any serious standpoint.” REP. ISSA: “What time did you first hear that there was a video, roughly?” GEN. LOVELL: “It would -- it was early on in the evening of September 11th.” REP. ISSA: “Before 3:15 in the morning.” GEN. LOVELL: “Yeah, absolutely. We were -- absolutely; I would have to say probably dismissed that notion by then, by working with other sources.” REP. ISSA: “OK. I just want to follow up with this one last thing. You heard about this early on, and you -- as the deputy and the highest-ranking person that moment, working these issues, you dismissed the idea that this attack was, in fact, a demonstration that went awry and was based on a YouTube video out of Los Angeles.” GEN. LOVELL: “Yes, sir; short answer.” (House Oversight And Government Reform Committee *Hearing*, Benghazi, Instability, And A New Government: Successes And Failures Of U.S. Intervention In Libya, 5/1/14)

While Clinton Continues To Defend Susan Rice, Newly Released Emails Show White House Involvement In The Sunday Show Talking Points

In Her New Book, Clinton Defends “Susan Rice For Describing The Benghazi Attack As A ‘Copycat’ Of The Video-Spurred Cairo Protests When She Appeared On Sunday TV Shows Days Later.” “She defends then-Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice for describing the Benghazi attack as a ‘copycat’ of the video-spurred Cairo protests when she appeared on Sunday TV shows days later.” (Maggie Haberman, “Exclusive: Hillary Clinton’s Benghazi Chapter,” *Politico*, 5/30/14)

- **Clinton: “Susan Stated What The Intelligence Community Believed, Rightly Or Wrongly, At The Time.”** “The talking points have been a focus of Republican critics, who insist they stemmed from the White House as an effort to control a politically sensitive issue — a terrorist attack on the eve of Obama’s reelection. ‘Susan stated what the intelligence community believed, rightly or wrongly, at the time,’ Clinton writes. ‘That was the best she or anyone could do. Every step of the way, whenever something new was learned, it was quickly shared with Congress and the American people. There is a difference between getting something wrong, and committing wrong. A big difference that some have blurred to the point of casting those who made a mistake as intentionally deceitful.’” (Maggie Haberman, “Exclusive: Hillary Clinton’s Benghazi Chapter,” *Politico*, 5/30/14)

The Washington Post Headline: “White House E-Mail Reinforces Benghazi Talking Points” (Colby Itkowitz, “White House E-Mail Reinforces Benghazi Talking Points,” *The Washington Post*, 4/29/14)

A September 14, 2012 Email From White House Advisor Ben Rhodes Shows An Attempt To Reinforce Obama’s “Strength And Steadiness” Following The Attack In Benghazi. “To reinforce the President and Administration’s strength and steadiness in dealing with difficult challenges.” (Ben Rhodes, *Email*, 9/14/12)

- **In The Email Sent To Fellow Administration Officials, Rhodes Said The Goal Was “To Underscore That These Protests Are Rooted In An Internet Video, And Not A Broader Failure Of Policy.”** (Ben Rhodes, *Email*, 9/14/12)

The Rhodes Email Was Sent To Top White House Advisors, Including David Plouffe, Dan Pfeiffer, Jay Carney, Jennifer Palmieri, And Josh Earnest. (Ben Rhodes, *Email*, 9/14/12)

Former Deputy CIA Director Mike Morell: “When [Rice] Talked About The Video, My Reaction Was, That’s Not Something That The Analysts Have Attributed This Attack To.” MORELL: “I did not see her on the Sunday shows. As I said, I was in a deputies’ meeting, and I--” MILLER: “You’ve never seen it since?” MORELL: “--it was probably days later that I read what she said on the shows.” MILLER: “And what was your reaction when you finally did?” MORELL: “My reaction was twofold. One was that what she said about the attacks evolving spontaneously from a protest was exactly what the talking points said, and it was exactly what the intelligence community analysts believed. When she talked about the video, my reaction was, that’s not something that the analysts have attributed this attack to.” (House Permanent Select Committee On Intelligence, Hearing, 4/2/14)

ACCOUNTABILITY REVIEW BOARD INVESTIGATION

State Department Spokesperson Patrick Ventrell Confirmed That The Accountability Review Board Did Not Interview Then-Secretary Of State Hillary Clinton For The Benghazi Report.

QUESTION: “It was five hours, and she did not. I checked the transcript this morning. She never discloses in there whether she talked to the ARB or Accountability Review Board. If you search it by text, it’s not in there. But they did not have access to her, correct?” VENTRELL: “Again, she spoke to this. I’d be happy after the briefing to get you the exact transcript.” QUESTION: “I’m asking you a very simple question, Patrick: Did they have access to her? Did they interview her?” VENTRELL: “Again, the ARB –” QUESTION: “They did not, correct?” VENTRELL: “Mr. Rosen.” QUESTION: “Correct?” VENTRELL: “Mr. Rosen, the ARB is an independent body. They can choose who they want to interview. We have two of the most respected people in Washington – chose who they wanted to interview and needed to interview for the information that they needed. I will get you –” QUESTION: “So they decided they didn’t need to talk to Secretary Clinton?” VENTRELL: “Let me finish. Let me finish. I will find you the quote where Secretary – former Secretary Clinton talks about this and her willingness, if the ARB needed to talk to her, to do so. They didn’t, and that was their decision.” (Patrick Ventrell, [State Department Press Briefing](#), Washington, DC, 5/6/13)

Following The Release Of The ARB Report, Four Mid-Level State Officials Were Placed On Leave And Continued Collecting Government Paychecks. “Following the ARB investigation into the incident, then-Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton placed Diplomatic Security Chief Eric Boswell, security officials Charlene Lamb and Scott Bultrowicz and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Maghreb Region Raymond Maxwell on administrative leave. They continued collecting their government paychecks during their leave, but have remained in employment limbo until this week.” (“Kerry Clears 4 State Staffers Put On Leave Over Benghazi Attack To Return To Work,” [CBS News](#), 8/20/13)

- **Foreign Policy Headline: “Mid-Level Officials Take The Fall For Benghazi”** (Josh Rogin, “Mid-Level Officials Take The Fall For Benghazi,” [Foreign Policy](#), 12/20/12)

“But Lawmakers And Experts Are Asking Why The Disciplinary Action Stops There.” “One State Department mid-level official has resigned over the security failures related to the Sept. 11 attack on the U.S. mission in Benghazi and three others have been placed on ‘administrative leave.’ But lawmakers and experts are asking why the disciplinary action stops there.” (Josh Rogin, “Mid-Level Officials Take The Fall For Benghazi,” [Foreign Policy](#), 12/20/12)

The Four State Department Officials Placed On Administrative Leave By Hillary Clinton Were Asked Back To Work By Secretary John Kerry. “Secretary of State John Kerry has determined that the four State Department officials placed on administrative leave by Hillary Clinton after the terrorist attack on the U.S. mission in Benghazi do not deserve any formal disciplinary action and has asked them to come back to work at the State Department starting Tuesday.” (Josh Rogin, “Kerry Reinstates Benghazi Officials Clinton Punished,” [The Daily Beast](#), 8/19/13)

- **In August, The State Department Confirmed That All Four Officials Placed On Leave Have Returned To Regular Duty And Would Not Face Any Formal Disciplinary Action.** “A senior State Department official confirmed to The Daily Beast Monday that all four officials placed on administrative leave were now returned to regular duty and would not face any formal disciplinary action. The administrative leave designation was not a formal punishment, but did prevent the officials from working while the Kerry team, which inherited the Benghazi issue from the Clinton team in February, reviewed their cases.” (Josh Rogin, “Kerry Reinstates Benghazi Officials Clinton Punished,” *The Daily Beast*, 8/19/13)

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RUSSIA

THE CLINTON-OBAMA “RESET” IS “NOT REALLY WORKING OUT WELL”

Five Years Ago, Then-Secretary Hillary Clinton Presented Her Russian Counterpart With A “Reset” Button Illustrating The Administration’s Desire To “Press The Reset Button” With Russia. “Russian media has been poking fun at US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton after she gave her Russian counterpart a ‘reset’ button with an ironic misspelling. Clinton’s gift to Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov at their meeting in Geneva on Friday evening was meant to underscore the Obama administration’s readiness to ‘to press the reset button’ in ties with Moscow. But instead of the Russian word for ‘reset’ (perezagruzka) it featured a slightly different word meaning ‘overload’ or ‘overcharged’ (peregruzka).” (“Russian Media Teases Clinton Over ‘Reset’ Button,” *Agence France-Presse*, 3/6/09)

- **Clinton, 2009: “We’re Going To Hit The Reset Button And Start Fresh Because Clearly The Obama Administration Believes That There Are A Number Of Important Areas To Discuss With The Russians.”** NPR’s MICHELE KELEMEN: “Madam Secretary, you’ve exchanged letters, you met briefly in Egypt this week already with Sergey Lavrov, but this is going to be your first lengthy meeting with the Russian foreign minister tonight. How do you set the tone, because as you know your predecessor had quite a testy relationship with him?” HILLARY CLINTON: “Well, we’re going to hit the reset button and start fresh because clearly the Obama administration believes that there are a number of important areas to discuss with the Russians. We’re just at the beginning of this discussion, but I’m looking forward to it.” (Michele Kelemen, “Clinton Says She’ll Hit ‘Reset Button’ With Russia,” *NPR*, 3/6/09)

CNN’s Gloria Borger: Obama And Hillary’s Russia Reset Is “Not Really Working Out Well.”

WOLF BLITZER: “And then President Obama took office in January 2009 and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, they wanted to reset relations with Russia and with Putin.” GLORIA BORGER: “How’d that go?” BLITZER: “How’s that working out?” BORGER: “Not really, not really working out well.”

(CNN’s “Wolf,” 3/3/14)

- **“Moscow-Washington Are Going To Be Stuck In Their Worst State In Decades, Putting At Risk The International Collaboration That’s Developed And That The Obama Administration Needs.”** (Edward-Isaac Dove, “Obama-Putin Relationship Hangs Over Ukrainian PM Visit,” *Politico*, 3/12/14)

Right Now, It Looks Like Putin Is “Winning An Awful Lot Of Battles” And “The Obama Administration Seems Hard-Pressed To Stop Him.” “Russian President Vladimir Putin may end up losing the current war, but right now, it sure looks like he’s winning an awful lot of battles. And with very few good options, the Obama administration seems hard-pressed to stop him.” (Aaron David Miller, “A

Poor Chapter In The History Books,” *Foreign Policy*, 5/22/14)

- **The Russia Reset “Has Failed.”** “Today that statement seems prescient. Obama’s reset has failed, and in a throwback to the 19th century, Russia has invaded another one of its neighbors—Ukraine—this time even annexing a chunk of its territory.” (Simon Shuster, “A Failed Russia ‘Reset’ Haunts Obama In Europe,” *Time*, 6/3/14)

Before Leaving The State Department, Clinton Even Admitted That Relations Were At A “Low Point” And The Reset “Was Over”

In Her Final Weeks As Secretary, Clinton Wrote A Memo To Obama Warning “That Relations With Russia Had Hit A Low Point And The Heralded ‘Reset’ In Relations Was Over.” “In her final weeks as secretary of state, Hillary Clinton wrote a private memo to President Barack Obama warning that relations with Russia had hit a low point and the heralded ‘reset’ in relations was over, according to people who saw the document.” (Peter Nicholas, Adam Entous, and Carol E. Lee, “Hillary Clinton’s Legacy At State Dept.: A Hawk With Clipped Wings,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/30/14)

- **The Memo Illustrates That During Her Tenure, She Was “At Some Key Moments Was Ineffectual At Swinging Policy Her Way.”** “Mrs. Clinton, if she runs for president, likely will lean heavily on her experience as the nation’s top diplomat. Her memo, written in January 2013, illustrates two striking features of her four years in the post: She was often more hawkish than the White House she served, and at some key moments was ineffectual at swinging policy her way.” (Peter Nicholas, Adam Entous, and Carol E. Lee, “Hillary Clinton’s Legacy At State Dept.: A Hawk With Clipped Wings,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/30/14)

And The Recent Crisis In Ukraine Has Revived Comparisons To “Cold War-Style Tensions”

Russia And The West Are Experiencing “The Most Serious Battle Since The End Of The Cold War For Influence Over Ukraine.” “Russia and the West are locked in the most serious battle since the end of the Cold War for influence in Ukraine, a former Soviet republic with historic ties to Moscow that is a major commodities exporter and strategic link between East and West.” (John Irish And Timothy Heritage, “Russia Rebuffs West On Crimea Amid Paris Talks,” *Reuters*, 3/5/14)

- **Russia’s Invasion Of Ukraine Has Revived “Cold War-Style Tensions” And Obama Is “At Risk Of Suffering A Blow To His Credibility.”** “With Russia’s incursion into Ukraine reviving Cold War-style tensions, President Barack Obama is at risk of suffering a blow to his credibility at a time when he can least afford it: as he tries to convince voters to stick with his fellow Democrats in congressional elections that will help shape his legacy.” (Steve Holland, “Obama’s Caution In Ukraine May Loom Over Midterm Election,” *Reuters*, 3/4/14)

- **“As Things Stand Now In Ukraine, Putin Has Succeeded To Divide His Enemies And Reclaim Soviet-Era Territory For Mother Russia.”** (Ron Fournier, “Putin Has Won On Ukraine: Is He Savvy Enough To Seize Victory,” *The National Journal*, 3/5/14)

Clinton’s Reset – And Association With Obama’s Foreign Policy – Is Already Haunting Her Potential 2016 Campaign

Politico Headline: “Hillary Clinton’s Ukraine—And 2016—Problem” (Maggie Haberman, “Hillary Clinton’s Ukraine—And 2016—Problem,” *Politico*, 3/3/14)

The Crisis In Ukraine Underscores Clinton’s Dilemma As She Looks Toward A 2016 Run: “Separating From The White House Is A Very Difficult Proposition, If It’s Possible At All.”

“Twelve years later, Clinton is inextricably tied to another administration over which she yielded only partial influence. And as President Barack Obama grapples to resolve the expanding crisis in Ukraine, the situation underscores Clinton’s dilemma as she looks toward a potential presidential run in 2016: Separating from the White House is a very difficult proposition, if it’s possible at all.”

(Maggie Haberman, “Hillary Clinton’s Ukraine—And 2016—Problem,” *Politico*, 3/3/14)

- **Today, Clinton Is “Inextricably Tied” To The Obama Administration.** “Twelve years later, Clinton is inextricably tied to another administration over which she yielded only partial influence. And as President Barack Obama grapples to resolve the expanding crisis in Ukraine, the situation underscores Clinton’s dilemma as she looks toward a potential presidential run in 2016: Separating from the White House is a very difficult proposition, if it’s possible at all.” (Maggie Haberman, “Hillary Clinton’s Ukraine—And 2016—Problem,” *Politico*, 3/3/14)

Politico’s Mike Allen: Clinton “Was The Face Of The ‘Reset.’” MIKE ALLEN: “Willie, it was Senator Clinton, Secretary Clinton, who was the face of the ‘reset.’ You guys will remember we saw this on ‘Morning Joe’ back in 2009, in her second month in office. She was in Moscow at one of her first trips and she presented the Russian Foreign Minister with an actual gift wrapped red ‘reset’ button.” (MSNBC’s “Morning Joe,” 3/4/14)

- **“The Conflict Is Another Instance In Which Clinton Is Tethered To The Administration’s Decisions Heading Into 2016.”** “Either way, the conflict is another instance in which Clinton is tethered to the administration’s decisions heading into 2016 — more so than any other Democrat, with the possible exception of Vice President Joe Biden, who would be a heavy underdog against Clinton.” (Maggie Haberman, “Hillary Clinton’s Ukraine—And 2016—Problem,” *Politico*, 3/3/14)

“‘I Think Russia Is The Single Most Substantive Issue That She Failed At From Conception To Implementation,’ Argued Political-Risk Expert Ian Bremmer, Of The Eurasia Group.” (Maggie Haberman, “Hillary Clinton’s Ukraine—And 2016—Problem,” *Politico*, 3/3/14)

Bad ~~HARD~~ CHOICES

THE ARAB SPRING

EGYPT

Clinton At The Onset Of Protests: “Our Assessment Is That The Egyptian Government Is Stable And Is Looking For Ways To Respond To The Legitimate Needs And Interests Of The Egyptian People.” “As much as the administration eventually pushed for Mr. Mubarak to step aside, many Egyptians remember more vividly Mrs. Clinton’s remarks on Jan. 25, as street protests boiled over into an uprising. ‘Our assessment is that the Egyptian government is stable and is looking for ways to respond to the legitimate needs and interests of the Egyptian people,’ she said then.” (Steven Lee Myers, “Clinton, In Cairo’s Tahrir Square, Embraces A Revolt She Once Discouraged,” *The New York Times*, 3/16/11)

Clinton: “I Really Consider President And Mrs. Mubarak To Be Friends Of My Family.”

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY CLINTON: “We look forward to President Mubarak coming as soon as his schedule would permit. I had a wonderful time with him this morning. I really consider President and Mrs. Mubarak to be friends of my family. So I hope to see him often here in Egypt and in the United States.” (Secretary Hillary Clinton, *Interview With Al Arabiya*, 3/2/09)

- **Clinton’s 20-Year Friendship With The Mubarak Family Was Key In Dealing With Egyptian Crisis.** “Confronted with the most acute foreign policy crisis of his administration, President Barack Obama is increasingly relying on Secretary of State Hillary Clinton for her advice and connections — including a 20-year friendship with the family of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak that has drawn fire from human rights advocates.” (Glenn Thrush, “Hillary Clinton Plays Key Role In Dance With Hosni Mubarak,” *Politico*, 2/2/11)

Clinton, At The Center Of The Crisis, Initially “Hesitated” When Then-Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak’s Rule Was Threatened

Clinton Was At The Center Of The Administration’s “Frantic Attempt To Keep Pace” And To Explain Their “Confused Response To The Crisis.” “But in the past week, Clinton has been at the center of Obama’s frantic attempt to keep pace with spiraling events — including a critical meeting in the Oval Office last Saturday when Obama deputized Clinton to clarify the administration’s confused response to the crisis.” (Glenn Thrush, “Hillary Clinton Plays Key Role In Dance With Hosni Mubarak,” *Politico*, 2/2/11)

At The Start Of The Arab Spring Uprisings, Clinton Was “Cautious” To Break With Egyptian President Mubarak. “Mrs. Clinton was in the other camp: She didn’t want the U.S. to look like it was holding on to an unpopular regime, but was more cautious about breaking with Mr. Mubarak. She cited concerns over what would come next and whether other Arab leaders would be unnerved by the U.S. forsaking a longtime ally.” (Peter Nicholas, Adam Entous, and Carol E. Lee, “Hillary Clinton’s Legacy At State Dept.: A Hawk With Clipped Wings,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/30/14)

- **Clinton Initially “Hesitated” When Mubarak’s Rule Was Threatened.** “Mrs. Clinton, like President Obama, hesitated at first when President Hosni Mubarak’s rule was threatened by the protests in

Tahrir Square, but she now fully embraces the transformation in Egypt. Mrs. Clinton used her two-day visit here to praise the changes, while avoiding taking sides in the internal debate over the pace of constitutional amendments and elections.” (Steven Lee Myers, “Clinton, In Cairo’s Tahrir Square, Embraces A Revolt She Once Discouraged,” *The New York Times*, 3/16/11)

- **Clinton Was Criticized For The Initial “Ambivalence” Surrounding The Egyptian Protests.** “Despite lavishing praise on Egyptians for the uprising that ended Mubarak’s 30-year rule, she encountered criticism of the United States’ long support for him and of what is widely seen as Washington’s initial ambivalence about the protests.” (Arshad Mohammed and Marwa Awad, “Clinton Backs Post-Mubarak Egypt, Hears Criticism,” *Reuters*, 3/15/11)

Clinton And The Rest Of The Administration Were “Caught By Surprise,” “Seemed Uncertain” On Their Feet, And Had A “Muddled Message” On Egypt

Distracted By Other Conflicts, Clinton And The Administration Had A Steep Learning Curve On Egypt. “The administration’s learning curve on Egypt was made steeper because the foreign policy team has been consumed with the war in Afghanistan and the risks of a nuclear Iran.” (Indira A.R. Lakshmanan and Hans Nichols, “Obama Administration Team Looked Unsteady in Response to Egypt Protesters,” *Bloomberg*, 2/14/11)

- **The Administration Was “Caught By Surprise” And Unprepared To Respond To The Egyptian Revolution.** “‘This is what happens when you get caught by surprise,’ said one American official, who would not speak on the record. ‘We’ve had endless strategy sessions for the past two years on Mideast peace, on containing Iran. And how many of them factored in the possibility that Egypt,’ and presumably whatever dominoes follow it, ‘moves from stability to turmoil? None.’” (David E. Sanger, “As Mubarak Digs In, U.S. Policy In Egypt Is Complicated,” *The New York Times*, 2/5/11)

The Administration Repeatedly “Seemed Uncertain On Its Feet” During the Crisis In Egypt. “It is hardly the first time the Obama administration has seemed uncertain on its feet during the Egyptian crisis, as it struggles to stay on the right side of history and to avoid accelerating a revolution that could spin out of control.” (David E. Sanger, “As Mubarak Digs In, U.S. Policy In Egypt Is Complicated,” *The New York Times*, 2/5/11)

The Administration Had A “Muddled” Message On Egypt. “Part of the muddled messaging over the last couple weeks in Egypt seems to have had to do with the fact that people in and around the State Department weren’t entirely clear on what the White House was trying to say.” (Ben Smith, “Obama’s Freedom Agenda?” *Politico*, 2/13/11)

- **An Unclear Message From The Administration “Ranging From Support For Mubarak To A Verbal Shove Toward The Door.”** “U.S. intelligence from Egypt once the protests began was strong, according to a senior Republican in Congress, who spoke on condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the issue. The administration’s response was less clear, ranging from support for

Mubarak to a verbal shove toward the door.” (Indira A.R. Lakshmanan and Hans Nichols, “Obama Administration Team Looked Unsteady in Response to Egypt Protesters,” *Bloomberg*, 2/14/11)

Georgetown University’s David Super: “[O]ur Response Has Been Remarkably Short-Sighted And Always A Step Behind.” (David A. Super, Op-Ed, “We Have Failed Egypt,” *The Baltimore Sun*, 2/23/14)

- **The Obama Administration’s “Mixed Approach” To Egypt Leaves It Betting On A Regime That Has Failed To Deliver.** “The United States seeks the stabilization of Egypt under ‘an inclusive, democratically elected civilian government based on the rule of law, fundamental freedoms and an open and competitive economy,’ the State Department said Wednesday in announcing the new aid policy. The problem is that its mixed approach leaves it still betting on a regime that is delivering none of those goods.” (Editorial Board, “Obama’s Mixed Messages On Egypt,” *The Washington Post*, 10/10/13)

A “Historic Opportunity” Was Missed, Betraying The Egyptian People

Harvard Professor Niall Ferguson: The Administration “Completely” Missed A “Historic Opportunity” In Egypt. “Last week, for the second time in his presidency, Barack Obama heard those footsteps, jumped up to grasp a historic opportunity ... and missed it completely.” (Niall Ferguson, “Wanted: A Grand Strategy For America,” *Newsweek*, 2/14/11)

The Egyptian Public Felt Betrayed By The U.S.’ Slow Response To The Revolution. “Hamid called Egypt ‘quite possibly the most anti-American country in the Arab world. There is already resentment just below the surface ready to come out,’ he says. ‘I know people in the U.S. think that Obama sided with the Egyptian revolution, but in Egypt, that is not the narrative you hear. There is a sense that the U.S. was late to the game and stood with [former President Hosni] Mubarak until the very end.’” (Scott Neuman, “An Ally Or Not? The White House Seeks To Nuance Obama’s Remarks On Egypt,” *NPR*, 9/14/12)

- **“There Is A Sense That The U.S. Was Late To The Game And Stood With [Former President Hosni] Mubarak Until The Very End.”** “Hamid called Egypt ‘quite possibly the most anti-American country in the Arab world. There is already resentment just below the surface ready to come out,’ he says. ‘I know people in the U.S. think that Obama sided with the Egyptian revolution, but in Egypt, that is not the narrative you hear. There is a sense that the U.S. was late to the game and stood with [former President Hosni] Mubarak until the very end.’” (Scott Neuman, “An Ally Or Not? The White House Seeks To Nuance Obama’s Remarks On Egypt,” *NPR*, 9/14/12)

SYRIA

Three Years Ago, Then-Secretary Of State Hillary Clinton Said Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad Was “A Reformer.” CLINTON: “There’s a different leader in Syria now. Many of the members of Congress of both parties who have gone to Syria in recent months have said they believe he’s a reformer.” (CBS’ “*Face The Nation*,” 3/27/11)

- **Clinton Said Assad Was A “Different Leader” From His Autocratic Father And Was A “Reformer.”** CBS’ BOB SCHIEFFER: “But I mean, how can that be worse than what has happened in Syria over the years, where Bashar Assad’s father killed 25,000 people at (inaudible). I mean, they opened fire with live ammunition on these civilians. Why is that different from Libya? This is the friend of Iran, an enemy of Israel?” CLINTON: “Well, if there were a coalition of the international community, if there were the passage of a security council resolution, if there were a call by the Arab League, if there was a condemnation that was universal. But that is not going to happen because I don’t think that it’s yet clear what will occur, what will unfold. There’s a different leader in Syria now. Many of the members of congress of both parties who have gone to Syria in recent months have said they believe he’s a reformer. What’s been happening there the last few weeks is deeply concerning. But there’s a difference between calling out aircraft and indiscriminately strafing and bombing your own cities than police actions which frankly have exceeded the use of force that any of us would want to see.” (CBS’ “[Face The Nation](#),” 3/27/11)

Hillary Clinton Earned Three Pinocchios From *The Washington Post*’s Fact Checker For Claiming Assad Was “A Reformer.” (Glenn Kessler, “Hillary Clinton’s Uncredible Statement On Syria,” [The Washington Post](#), 4/4/11)

- ***The Washington Post* Headline: “Hillary Clinton’s Uncredible Statement On Syria”** (Glenn Kessler, “Hillary Clinton’s Uncredible Statement On Syria,” [The Washington Post](#), 4/4/11)

***The Washington Post*’s Glenn Kessler: “[C]linton’s Remarks Gave A Highly Misleading Impression.”** “In fact, Clinton’s remarks gave a highly misleading impression — that there was general consensus by experts on Syria in both parties that Assad was a reformer, even though Clinton’s own State Department reports label him otherwise.” (Glenn Kessler, “Hillary Clinton’s Uncredible Statement On Syria,” [The Washington Post](#), 4/4/11)

The Administration Suffered From “Wishful Thinking” On The Situation In Syria

In Her Comments, Clinton Was Reflecting The “Wishful Thinking” To Which The Obama Administration Had “Tenaciously Clung.” “Ms. Clinton was only reflecting a piece of wishful thinking to which the Obama administration and its congressional allies have tenaciously clung: that Mr. Assad, despite his brutality, sponsorship of terrorism and close alliance with Iran, can somehow be turned into a Western ally.” (Editorial, “Can Syria’s Dictator Reform?” [The Washington Post](#), 3/29/11)

- **The Obama Administration Believed That Assad, “Despite His Brutality, Sponsorship Of Terrorism, And Close Alliance With Iran,” Could Somehow Become A Western Ally.** “Ms. Clinton was only reflecting a piece of wishful thinking to which the Obama administration and its congressional allies have tenaciously clung: that Mr. Assad, despite his brutality, sponsorship of terrorism and close alliance with Iran, can somehow be turned into a Western ally.” (Editorial, “Can Syria’s Dictator Reform?” [The Washington Post](#), 3/29/11)

In 2011, *The Washington Post* Editorial Board Criticized The “Shameful” Inaction Of The United States In Syria. “As a moral matter, the stance of the United States is shameful. To stand by passively while hundreds of people seeking freedom are gunned down by their government makes a mockery of the U.S. commitment to human rights. In recent months President Obama has pledged repeatedly that he would support the aspiration of Arabs for greater freedom. In Syria, he has not kept his word.” (Editorial, “Shameful U.S. Inaction On Syria’s Massacres,” *The Washington Post*, 4/22/11)

- **“A Former Obama Administration Official Who Attended White House Meetings On Syria Said Mrs. Clinton Didn’t Push Hard On Arming The Rebels.”** (Peter Nicholas, Adam Entous, and Carol E. Lee, “Hillary Clinton’s Legacy At State Dept.: A Hawk With Clipped Wings,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/30/14)

Over Several Years In Syria, There Has Been A Failed U.S. Policy “That Avoided Supporting Groups That Were More Western And Democratic-Leaning.” “But the rise of the Islamists is at least partially due to a failed U.S. policy over the last three years that avoided supporting groups that were more Western and democratic-leaning, said Andrew Tabler, senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.” (Josh Rogin, Obama’s Failed Islamist Outreach,” *The Daily Beast*, 12/30/13)

- **“All Of This Was Avoidable.”** “All of this was avoidable. Even after the Aug. 21 chemical attacks, there were still conspicuous rebels willing to cast their lot with the United States. Their logic was simple: Surely after psychopathically gassing hundreds of people in his own capital city, Assad had motivated even a reluctant and war-weary Barack Obama to hasten his removal. I met and interviewed dozens of such fighters in Antakya, Turkey, in that fateful week when the administration instead announced that it had brokered a deal with the Kremlin. There was now a sense of finality in the air; enough was enough.” (Michael Weiss, “The Unraveling,” *Politico*, 1/2/14)

As The Administration’s Syria Policy Fails, Assad’s Power Has Grown Stronger

“Analysts Say Syria Represents A Far More Egregious U.S. Policy Failure.” (Hannah Allam, “Analysts: Hillary Clinton’s Record As Top U.S. Diplomat Falls Far Short Of Greatness,” *McClatchy*, 1/31/13)

Director Of National Intelligence James Clapper Called The Syrian Crisis An “Apocalyptic Disaster.” “Director of National Intelligence James R. Clapper Jr., in testimony before Congress on Tuesday, called the war, which has killed more than 110,000 and displaced millions, an ‘apocalyptic disaster.’” (Anne Gearan, “Diplomacy Is Failing In Syria, Obama Acknowledges,” *The Washington Post*, 2/11/14)

- **“The Victims In This War Are Paying A Terrible Cost.”** (David Ignatius, Op-Ed, “On Syria, Reality-Check Time,” *The Washington Post*, 5/1/14)
- **According To Recent Estimates, Over 160,000, Including Over 8,000 Children, Have Been Killed In The Syrian Civil War.** “More than 160,000 people, including more than 8,000 children, have been killed in the three-year civil war in Syria, a human rights organization reported Monday — a total far higher than the last reliable count.” (Erin McClam, “Death Toll In Syrian Civil War Tops 160,000: Human Rights Group,” *NBC News*, 5/19/14)

- **Chief Of The U.N. Refugee Agency: Syria Has Become “The Worst Humanitarian Crisis At Least Since The Rwanda Genocide.”** “The result: Syria has become ‘the worst humanitarian crisis at least since the Rwanda genocide,’ António Guterres, chief of the U.N. refugee agency, told the conference.”

(Fred Hiatt, Editorial, *The Washington Post*, 2/3/14)

Clapper Said Assad’s Position Has Grown Stronger Over The Past Year. “One reason is that Mr. Assad’s position has grown stronger over the past year, as the United States’ top intelligence official, James R. Clapper Jr., told Congress recently. The opposition, in contrast, is somewhat fragmented.”

(Michael R. Gordon, “Kerry Blames Syrian Government For Deadlocked Talks,” *The New York Times*, 2/16/14)

- **That Bashar Al-Assad Is Holding An Election Three Years After The Uprising Began Is Testimony To “The Lukewarm Support” The West Have Given To The Opposition And The “Endurance” Of His Allies.** “That Assad is holding an election three years after the uprising against him began is testimony as much to the lukewarm support the West has given to the Syrian opposition as it is to the endurance of his allies, including Russia as well as Iran, analysts say.” (Liz Sly,

Iran Claims Victory With Assad’s Anticipated Win In Syrian Election,” *The Washington Post*, 6/3/14)

Michael McFaul, Former Ambassador To Russia, On Syria Crisis: “In Retrospect, We Did Spend Too Much Time Trying To Get The Russians To Come Along And Not Enough Time Developing Our Own Policy.” “In retrospect, we did spend too much time trying to get the Russians to come

along and not enough time developing our own policy’ on the Syrian conflict, says Mr. McFaul, the former ambassador to Russia. ‘She most certainly was in the camp of more action on Syria.’” (Peter

Nicholas, Adam Entous, and Carol E. Lee, “Hillary Clinton’s Legacy At State Dept.: A Hawk With Clipped Wings,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/30/14)

“The Country Has Fallen Apart. Matters Have Gone From Bad To Worse.” (Richard Cohen, Opinion,

“Obama’s Failure To Act On Syria,” *The Washington Post*, 2/17/14)

~~Bad~~ HARD CHOICES

ASIA

PIVOT TO ASIA

Hillary Clinton, In 2011: The Pivot To Asia Is “Among The Most Important Diplomatic Efforts Of Our Time.” “This kind of pivot is not easy, but we have paved the way for it over the past two-and-a-half years, and we are committed to seeing it through as among the most important diplomatic efforts of our time.” (Hillary Clinton, “America’s Pacific Century,” *Foreign Policy*, 10/11/11)

Pakistan Expert Christine Fair Said Clinton Made Some “Vexing And Appalling” Decisions In Her Central Asia Policy. “Christine Fair, a Pakistan expert and assistant professor at Georgetown University in Washington, gave kudos to Clinton for her role in the bin Laden raid and for being among the first U.S. officials to publicly call out Pakistan for supporting militant groups. However, Fair said, Clinton also made some ‘vexing and appalling’ decisions in her Central Asia policy, such as refusing to apologize for a U.S. airstrike that killed 24 Pakistani soldiers or ‘throwing Cameron Munter under the bus,’ a reference to the former U.S. ambassador to Pakistan who went into early retirement after a public fallout with Washington over the intensity of the administration’s drone program.” (Hannah Allam, “Analysts: Hillary Clinton’s Record As Top U.S. Diplomat Falls Far Short Of Greatness,” *McClatchy*, 1/31/13)

The “Much-Touted” Pivot Policy, Has Been “Bungled” And Continuously “Disappointed”

The Chicago Tribune Editorial: “What Happened To The Asia Pivot” (Editorial, “What Happened To The Asia Pivot,” *The Chicago Tribune*, 4/22/14)

The “Much-Touted” Pivot To Asia Has Languished “Amidst A Lack Of High-Level Direction.” “President Barack Obama’s much-touted pivot to Asia — a foreign policy drive which has languished recently amidst a lack of high-level direction — could be reinvigorated by Vice President Joe Biden, analysts said.” (Josh Gerstein, “Can Joe Biden Rescue The Asia Pivot?” *Politico*, 12/3/13)

- **Stephen Bosworth, Obama’s Former Coordinator For North Korea: The Asia Rebalancing Concept “Was Ill Conceived And Bungled In Its Implementation.”** “Stephen W. Bosworth, Mr. Obama’s coordinator for North Korea in his first term, agreed. The rebalancing concept, Mr. Bosworth argued, ‘was ill conceived and bungled in its implementation.’” (David E. Sanger and Mark Landler, “Obama’s Strategic Shift To Asia Is Hobbled By Pressure At Home And Crises Abroad,” *The New York Times*, 4/21/14)

The Administration Touted Its Pivot To Asia Policy, “But Has Repeatedly Disappointed.”

“Another is that the administration trumpeted its intent to make Asia a higher priority — the Asia pivot — but has repeatedly disappointed.” (Editorial, “What Happened To The Asia Pivot,” *The Chicago Tribune*, 4/22/14)

- **The Pivot To Asia Strategy “Has Failed To Meet The Lofty Expectations He Set Three Years Ago.”** “President Obama’s bid to focus U.S. attention on Asia has failed to meet the lofty expectations he set three years ago in a grand pronouncement that the new emphasis would become a pillar of his foreign policy.” (David Nakamura, “Obama Aims To Reinvigorate Asia Strategy,” *The Washington Post*, 4/16/14)

The Frictions With China Are “Destined To Be Commonplace”

Former Assistant Secretary Of State Kurt Campbell, Who Helped Form The Strategy: “Relations Have Gone From Being Generally Positive At The Strategic Level Among The Great Powers To Extremely Difficult.” “‘Relations have gone from being generally positive at the strategic level among the great powers to extremely difficult,’ said Kurt M. Campbell, a former assistant secretary of state who helped conceive the Asia strategy. ‘It’s a much more challenging strategic landscape.’” (David Nakamura, “Obama Aims To Reinvigorate Asia Strategy,” *The Washington Post*, 4/16/14)

Politico Headline: “U.S.-China Friction In Western Pacific May Be Here To Stay.” (Philip Ewing, ““U.S.-China Friction In Western Pacific May Be Here To Stay,” *Politico*, 12/5/13)

- **“Get Used To The Tensions In The Western Pacific. They May Become The New Normal.”** (Philip Ewing, ““U.S.-China Friction In Western Pacific May Be Here To Stay,” *Politico*, 12/5/13)

Disputes Among China And The U.S. “Are Destined To Be Commonplace.” “Territorial disputes among China, its neighbors and the U.S. are destined to be commonplace, international analysts say, as Chinese leaders continue a concerted push to extend their dominance of the Western Pacific.” (Philip Ewing, ““U.S.-China Friction In Western Pacific May Be Here To Stay,” *Politico*, 12/5/13)

MYANMAR

Foreign Policy Headline: “Hillary’s Burma Problem” (Catherine A. Traywick and John Hudson, “Hillary’s Burma Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, 3/27/14)

- **“It’s The Crowning Achievement Of Her Tenure As Secretary Of State, And It’s Unraveling At The Seams.”** (Catherine A. Traywick and John Hudson, “Hillary’s Burma Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, 3/27/14)

Myanmar, Also Known As Burma, Was Once Hailed As Her “Crowning Achievement” – That’s A Problem

The Talks Between Clinton And The Symbol Of Burma’s Democracy Movement Became A Powerful Symbol Of Progress. “The talks between the U.S. secretary of state and the leading icon of Myanmar’s embattled democracy movement became a powerful symbol of progress for a country trying to climb out from under decades of political and economic misrule.” (Catherine A. Traywick and John Hudson, “Hillary’s Burma Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, 3/27/14)

“But Today, The Promise Of A Free And Democratic Myanmar Is Rapidly Receding As Sectarian Violence Escalates And The Government Backslides On A Number Of Past Reforms.” (Catherine A. Traywick and John Hudson, “Hillary’s Burma Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, 3/27/14)

- **Tom Andrews, President Of United To End Genocide: “Things Have Gone From Bad To Worse.”** “‘Things have gone from bad to worse,’ said Tom Andrews, president of United to End Genocide, a group that monitors violence between Buddhists and Muslims in the country.” (Catherine A. Traywick and John Hudson, “Hillary’s Burma Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, 3/27/14)

The Recent Decline Of Myanmar Progress Has Lawmakers Of Both Parties Very Concerned.

“But today, the promise of a free and democratic Myanmar is rapidly receding as sectarian violence escalates and the government backslides on a number of past reforms. That’s causing genuine alarm on Capitol Hill among lawmakers from both parties.” (Catherine A. Traywick and John Hudson, “Hillary’s Burma Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, 3/27/14)

- **Rep. Eliot Engel (D-NY): “As The Government Of Burma Transitions From Decades-Long Military Rule To A Civilian Government, It Is Important To Hold Them Accountable For Persistent Human Rights Abuses.”** “‘As the government of Burma transitions from decades-long military rule to a civilian government, it is important to hold them accountable for persistent human rights abuses,’ New York Congressman Eliot Engel, the most senior Democrat on the House panel, said Tuesday.” (Catherine A. Traywick and John Hudson, “Hillary’s Burma Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, 3/27/14)

As Myanmar Crumbles, Clinton Is Left With Little Successes To Tout

“Until Now, The Myanmar Portfolio Has Been Widely Viewed As The ‘One Clear-Cut Triumph’ Of Her Tenure As Secretary Of State...” “Until now, the Myanmar portfolio has been widely viewed as the ‘one clear-cut triumph’ of her tenure as secretary of state -- a tenure in danger of being viewed as underwhelming and overly cautious when compared to that of her successor, John Kerry, who has taken on the Gordian knot of the Mideast peace process.” (Catherine A. Traywick and John Hudson, “Hillary’s Burma Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, 3/27/14)

- ***Foreign Policy*: “[T]he Jewel In The Crown Of Clinton’s Tenure Risks Vanishing Into Thin Air.”** “Now, as the civilian regime that replaced Myanmar’s military junta embraces increasingly brutal tactics against Muslim minority populations, the jewel in the crown of Clinton’s tenure risks vanishing into thin air.” (Catherine A. Traywick and John Hudson, “Hillary’s Burma Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, 3/27/14)

“Critics View The Notion That Burma Was Hillary’s Tour De Force As Evidence That She Had An Unremarkable Tenure As Secretary Of State.” “While Hillary loyalists see the victory there as a validation of her theories on foreign policy and as a model for how she would approach democracy building if she were president, critics view the notion that Burma was Hillary’s tour de force as evidence that she had an unremarkable tenure as secretary of state.” (Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes, *HRC: State Secrets And The Rebirth Of Hillary Clinton*, 2014)

- **“Without Myanmar, There’s A Paucity Of Foreign-Policy Achievements To Tout.”** “What Myanmar’s regression means for Hillary is unclear. Without Myanmar, there’s a paucity of foreign-policy achievements to tout -- marking a stark contrast with her successor John Kerry’s potential

diplomatic breakthroughs on Iran's nuclear program and Syria's chemical weapons arsenal, as well as his willingness to wager his tenure on a long-shot effort to bring about an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal." (Catherine A. Traywick and John Hudson, "Hillary's Burma Problem," *Foreign Policy*, 3/27/14)

CHINA

As Secretary, Clinton's China Comments "Infuriated" Human Rights Organizations

In 2009, Secretary Clinton Said Human Rights "Can't Interfere" With More Pressing Issues That Needed Chinese Cooperation. SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY CLINTON: "But successive administrations and Chinese governments have been poised back and forth on these issues, and we have to continue to press them. But our pressing on those issues can't interfere with the global economic crisis, the global climate change crisis, and the security crisis. We have to have a dialogue that leads to an understanding and cooperation on each of those." (Secretary Of State Hillary Clinton, [Roundtable With Traveling Press, Seoul, South Korea, 2/20/09](#))

- **Clinton "Infuriated" Human Rights Organizations When She Claimed "That Human Rights Concerns 'Can't Interfere' With Pressing China For Greater Cooperation."** "Clinton, who on Sunday will complete a one-week tour of Asia, infuriated human rights organizations when she told reporters Friday that human rights concerns 'can't interfere' with pressing China for greater cooperation on the economic front, the environment and the impasse over North Korea's nuclear program. Many advocates were especially upset because Clinton, as first lady, achieved renown in 1995 for making a tough speech in Beijing about China's human rights record." (Glenn Kessler, "U.S., China to Focus On Slump, Climate," *The Washington Post*, 2/22/09)

Secretary Of State Hillary Clinton Has Maintained That "Vital Economic And Strategic Dealings With China Cannot Become Captive To The Human Rights Cases." "Mrs. Clinton has mentioned Mr. Chen's bravery in public as one of the most startling among China's human rights dissidents. But she has also made clear during her tenure as secretary of state that the vital economic and strategic dealings with China cannot become captive to the human rights cases." (Jane Perlez and Sharon Lafraniere, "Chinese Dissident Is Released From Embassy, Causing Turmoil For U.S.," *The New York Times*, 5/3/12)

NORTH KOREA

In 2011, Clinton Touted The "Importance Of Promoting Nuclear Nonproliferation On The Korean Peninsula" And The Commitment To See That North Korea Take Steps To Denuclearize. "Let me begin with my meetings with the president and foreign minister. The alliance between the United States and the Republic of Korea is a lynchpin of security, stability, and prosperity in the Asia Pacific. This alliance has never been stronger. President Lee, Foreign Minister Kim, and I discussed issues of global and regional importance, as we always do when

we have the opportunity to exchange views. And we particularly focused on the importance of promoting nuclear nonproliferation on the Korean Peninsula. I know we recently passed the one-year anniversary of the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island. Let me reaffirm that the United States stands with our ally, and we look to North Korea to take concrete steps that promote peace and stability and denuclearization.” (Secretary Hillary Clinton, [Press Availability Remarks](#), Busan, South Korea, 11/30/11)

North Korea Made Major Advancements In Nuclear Weapons Under Clinton’s Watch

Then-Defense Secretary Leon Panetta On North Korea, 2012: “We’re Within An Inch Of War Almost Every Day In That Part Of The World.” “The United States is prepared for ‘any contingency’ when it comes to dealing with North Korea, Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta told CNN. ‘We’re within an inch of war almost every day in that part of the world, and we just have to be very careful about what we say and what we do,’ Panetta said Wednesday on ‘The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer.’” (“Panetta: ‘We’re Within An Inch Of War Almost Every Day,’” [CNN](#), 4/19/12)

In April 2009, North Korea Launched A Multistage Rocket. “Defying weeks of international pressure, North Korea launched a multistage rocket today, a move that the U.S. and its allies fear masked a test of its ability to deliver nuclear weapons.” (John M. Glionna, “North Korea Launches Rocket,” [The Los Angeles Times](#), 4/5/09)

- **The North Korean Government Claimed It Was For A Satellite Launch, But Some Analysts Said Their Rocket Could Deliver A Warhead To The Western U.S.** “Pyongyang had said it planned to put a communications satellite into space. But many analysts predicted that the launch would be a test of the regime’s ability to deliver a warhead with the three-stage Taepodong 2, which is estimated to have a range of more than 4,000 miles. Some analysts say that with a light payload, it could reach the western U.S.” (John M. Glionna, “North Korea Launches Rocket,” [The Los Angeles Times](#), 4/5/09)

In May 2009, North Korea Announced It “Successfully Conducted” A Second Nuclear Test, “Defying International Warnings.” “North Korea announced on Monday that it had successfully conducted its second nuclear test, defying international warnings and dramatically raising the stakes in a global effort to get the recalcitrant Communist state to give up its nuclear weapons program.” (Choe Sang-Hun, “North Korea Claims To Conduct Second Nuclear Test,” [The New York Times](#), 5/24/09)

North Korea’s Failed April 2012 Rocket Launch Marked “The End Of The Obama Administration’s Year-Long Effort” To Engage The Rogue State. “North Korea’s apparently unsuccessful launch of an Unha-3 rocket with a ‘satellite’ attached marks not only the 100th birthday of the country’s founder Kim Il Sung, but also the end of the Obama administration’s year-long effort to open up a new path for negotiations with the Hermit Kingdom. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton

warned earlier Thursday that the promised launch by North Korea would scuttle the deal the Obama administration negotiated with Pyongyang and announced on Leap Day Feb. 29, which would have provided North Korea with 240,000 tons of U.S. food assistance over the next year. She lamented that the North Koreans had thrown away the progress made.” (Josh Rogin, “North Korean Missile Launch Torpedoes Obama’s Engagement Strategy,” *Foreign Policy*, 4/12/12)

Bad ~~HARD~~ CHOICES

ISRAEL

WITH ISRAEL, CLINTON'S TENURE INCLUDED PUBLIC FEUDS, "STINGING" CRITICISM, AND "POORLY EXECUTED" POLICIES

"One Of The More Striking Results" From The Administration's First Term Were The Worsened Relations With Israel. "One of the more striking results of the Obama administration's first six months is that only one country has worse relations with the United States than it did in January: Israel." (Editorial, "Tough On Israel," *The Washington Post*, 7/30/09)

- **And As Clinton Neared The End Of Her Time In The Administration, She Expressed An "Increased Frankness," Including Criticism Of Israel.** "Secretary of State Hillary Clinton criticized Iranian and Palestinian leaders, and didn't spare Israel, either, in her address at the Saban Forum, continuing her trend of increased frankness as her time in the Obama administration winds down." (Sarah Parnass, "Hillary Clinton Criticizes Iran, Palestine, And Israel, Too," *ABC News*, 12/1/12)

The Early Efforts On The Israeli-Palestinian Issue Were "Stalled" And "Poorly Executed"

The Administration's Efforts On The Israel-Palestinian Issue Had "Been Stalled And Sometimes Poorly Executed." "Even the most sympathetic observer of the administration's efforts on the Israel-Palestinian issue would have to concede the diplomacy has been stalled and sometimes poorly executed." (Glenn Kessler, "Obama and Israel: Stalled Diplomacy Or 'Suspicion And Distrust'?" *The Washington Post*, 7/11/11)

- ***The Washington Post*: "The Administration Has Few, If Any, Achievements To Brag About Despite Having Invested Significant Diplomatic Capital In The Israeli-Palestinian Issue."** "After 2 ½ years, the administration has few, if any, achievements to brag about despite having invested significant diplomatic capital in the Israeli-Palestinian issue. If anything, one could make a case that the two sides are further apart because of the administration's actions, though, to be fair, ultimately it is up to the Israelis and Palestinians to make peace, not the United States." (Glenn Kessler, "Obama and Israel: Stalled Diplomacy Or 'Suspicion And Distrust'?" *The Washington Post*, 7/11/11)
- **"Even Some Of The President's Closest Foreign Policy Allies Concede There Is Little, If Anything, To Show For The Administration's Intense Early Efforts To Broker Peace."** (Josh Gerstein, "Obama Shifts Mideast Message," *Politico*, 5/18/11)

The Administration Had "Gotten Tough With Israel," In A "Clear Break" With Traditional Policy

The Administration Had "Gotten Tough With Israel" In A "Clear Break" With Traditional U.S. Policy. "President Barack Obama has gotten tough with Israel and chosen Cairo -- where President Hosni Mubarak rules with a firm hand -- for his much-awaited overture to the Islamic world in what

appears to be a clear break from decades of U.S. policy.” (Stephen R. Hurst, “Analysis: Obama Gets Tough With Israel,” *Associated Press*, 6/2/09)

- **They Offered Countries Like Cuba “Olive Branches” While Publically Confronting Strong Ally Israel.** “The new administration has pushed a reset button with Russia and sent new ambassadors to Syria and Venezuela; it has offered olive branches to Cuba and Burma. But for nearly three months it has been locked in a public confrontation with Israel over Jewish housing construction in Jerusalem and the West Bank. To a less visible extent, the two governments also have differed over policy toward Iran.” (Editorial, “Tough On Israel,” *The Washington Post*, 7/30/09)

Clinton’s Time As Secretary Saw “One Of The Worst U.S.-Israeli Feuds In Memory”

Israeli Ambassador To The U.S. Michael Oren Called The “Public Fight” Over Settlement Construction The Lowest Point In U.S.-Israeli Relations Since The Mid-1970’s. “Ambassador Michael Oren told Israeli consuls in the US during a conference that a nearly week-old public fight that broke out during Vice President Joe Biden’s visit marks a low point in diplomatic relations since the mid-1970s when the Ford administration reassessed ties with Israel over a disengagement agreement with Egypt and froze arms shipments.” (Joshua Mitnick, “US Israel Settlements Fight Marks Lowest Point Since 1970s: Ambassador,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 3/15/10)

- **It Was “One Of The Worst U.S.-Israeli Feuds In Memory.”** “A U.S. envoy’s postponement of his Mideast trip appeared Tuesday to deepen one of the worst U.S.-Israeli feuds in memory - even as Israel’s foreign minister signaled his government had no intention of curtailing the contentious construction at the heart of the row.” (“U.S.-Israel Feud Deepens; Envoy Nixes Trip,” *CBS News*, 3/16/10)

And Clinton Offered A “Stinging Rebuke” To Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

“Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton on Friday delivered a stinging rebuke to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for his government’s announcement this week of new Jewish housing in east Jerusalem, calling it “a deeply negative signal” for the Mideast peace process and ties with the U.S.” (Matthew Lee, “Clinton Slams Israel’s Settlement Plans: ‘Deeply Negative Signal,’” *Associated Press*, 3/12/10)

- **Clinton Condemned Israel’s Actions On A Nearly 45-Minute Phone Call With Netanyahu.** “The State Department said Clinton spoke to Netanyahu by phone for 43 minutes to vent U.S. frustration with Tuesday’s announcement that cast a pall over a visit to Israel by Vice President Joe Biden and endangered indirect peace talks with the Palestinians that the Obama administration had announced just a day earlier.” (Matthew Lee, “Clinton Slams Israel’s Settlement Plans: ‘Deeply Negative Signal,’” *Associated Press*, 3/12/10)

- **Clinton's Lengthy Call Had An "Unusually Blunt Tone."** "The length and unusually blunt tone of Clinton's call underscored the administration's concern about prospects for the negotiations it has been trying to organize for more than a year and its anger over Israel's refusal to heed U.S. appeals not to make provocative gesture." (Matthew Lee, "Clinton Slams Israel's Settlement Plans: 'Deeply Negative Signal,'" *Associated Press*, 3/12/10)

Clinton's State Department Spokesperson Refused To Call Jerusalem The Capital Of Israel

In 2012, State Department Press Secretary Victoria Nuland Refused To Call Jerusalem The Capital Of Israel. QUESTION: "You've spoken to the issue but didn't answer the question. And I think there's a lot of people out there who are interested in hearing a real answer and not saying – and not trying to duck and say that this has got to be resolved by negotiations between the two sides." STATE DEPARTMENT PRESS SECRETARY VICTORIA NULAND: "That is our –" QUESTION: "What is the capital of Israel?" NULAND: "Our policy with regard to Jerusalem is that it has to be solved through negotiations. That's all I have to say on this issue." (Victoria Nuland, State Department *Daily Press Briefing*, 3/28/12)

Bad ~~HARD~~ CHOICES

IRAN

CLINTON ATTEMPTS TO TAKE CREDIT FOR THE IRAN SANCTIONS THAT HER STATE DEPARTMENT FOUGHT TO STOP

***The Daily Beast* Headline: “Hillary Clinton Celebrates The Iran Sanctions That Her State Department Tried To Stop”** (Josh Rogin, “Hillary Clinton Celebrates The Iran Sanctions That Her State Department Tried To Stop,” *The Daily Beast*, 5/15/14)

- **While Speaking At The American Jewish Committee In May, Clinton “Portrayed The Multi-Year Effort To Impose Several Increasingly Tough Sanctions Measures Against Iran As Largely Led By The Administration.”** “Speaking at the American Jewish Committee Wednesday, Clinton said that she and Obama faced a ‘hard choice’ when deciding to both reach out to Iran and increase the pressure on the Iranian government and economy, a not so subtle pitch for her upcoming memoir ‘Hard Choices,’ which hits bookstores next month. She portrayed the multi-year effort to impose several increasingly tough sanctions measures against Iran as largely led by the administration.” (Josh Rogin, “Hillary Clinton Celebrates The Iran Sanctions That Her State Department Tried To Stop,” *The Daily Beast*, 5/15/14)

Clinton’s Own State Department “Worked Hard Against” Sanctions Legislation

What Clinton Didn’t Mention Was That Her Own State Department “Often Worked Hard Against Many Of The Measures She’s Now Championing.” “What Clinton didn’t mention was that top officials from her own State Department—in conjunction with the rest of the Obama administration—often worked hard against many of the measures she’s now championing.” (Josh Rogin, “Hillary Clinton Celebrates The Iran Sanctions That Her State Department Tried To Stop,” *The Daily Beast*, 5/15/14)

- **Some Sanctions Legislation Was Slowed Down By The State Department, Some Lobbied To Be Made Softer, And Others “Opposed Outright By Clinton’s Deputies.”** “Some bills Foggy Bottom slowed down; others, the State Department lobbied to be made less strict; still others were opposed outright by Clinton’s deputies, only to be overruled by large majorities in the House and the Senate.” (Josh Rogin, “Hillary Clinton Celebrates The Iran Sanctions That Her State Department Tried To Stop,” *The Daily Beast*, 5/15/14)

Clinton’s Comments “Were An Attempt To Rewrite The Events Without Acknowledging The Administration’s Actions At The Time.” “For the senators who worked against the administration to pass the sanctions, Clinton’s comments Wednesday were an attempt to rewrite the events without acknowledging the administration’s actions at the time.” (Josh Rogin, “Hillary Clinton Celebrates The Iran Sanctions That Her State Department Tried To Stop,” *The Daily Beast*, 5/15/14)

In 2011, Clinton’s Top Deputies Fought A Bipartisan Amendment “At Every Step Of The Legislative Process” That Sought To Sanction The Central Bank Of Iran. “The most egregious example of the administration’s effort to slow down the sanctions drive came in late 2011, when Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Robert Menendez openly chastised top

administration officials for opposing an amendment to sanction the Central Bank of Iran that he had co-authored with Sen. Mark Kirk. Leading administration officials including Undersecretary of State Wendy Sherman publicly expressed ‘strong opposition’ (PDF) to the amendment, arguing that it would anger allies by opening them up for punishment if they did not significantly reduce their imports of Iranian oil. Clinton’s top deputies fought the amendment at every step of the legislative process. Clinton’s #2 at the State Department, Bill Burns, even joined an emergency meeting with top senators to urge them to drop the amendment. They refused. The amendment later passed the Senate 100-0.” (Josh Rogin, “Hillary Clinton Celebrates The Iran Sanctions That Her State Department Tried To Stop,” *The Daily Beast*, 5/15/14)

Even Democrats Agreed The Administration “Was Not Moving Aggressively Enough” On Iran

“In A Rare Outpouring Of Bipartisan Criticism,” Democrats And Republicans Charged That The Administration “Was Not Moving Aggressively Enough To Stop Iran From Building A Nuclear Weapon.” “Democrats and Republicans said the White House is not moving aggressively enough to stop Iran from building a nuclear weapon. In a rare outpouring of bipartisan criticism, lawmakers Thursday charged that the White House is not moving aggressively enough to stop Iran from building a nuclear weapon. Republicans and Democrats in the Senate hammered administration officials for what they said is a lack of urgency about Tehran’s nuclear work.” (John Bennett, “Lawmakers Hit The White House On Iran, Say Urgency Is Lacking,” *The Hill*, 12/1/11)

- **Senator Bob Casey Jr. (D-PA): “There Is A ... Sense Of Urgency In Our Country, But There Doesn’t Seem To Be An Administration Policy That Is Commensurate With That Urgency.”** (John Bennett, “Lawmakers Hit The White House On Iran, Say Urgency Is Lacking,” *The Hill*, 12/1/11)

WHILE SECRETARY, THE ADMINISTRATION’S RESPONSE TO THE 2009 “GREEN REVOLUTION” PROTESTS WAS “STRAINED” AND PASSIVE

The Administration’s Response To The “Green Revolution” Protests In Iran Was “Strained” In An Attempt To Maintain A Dialogue With The Iranian Government. “The result has been a gradually evolving message that at times has seemed strained, drawing some of the harshest criticism, especially from conservatives, since he took office. . . . Understanding clearly why Mr. Obama is still taking such pains to keep the door open to the Iranian government requires rewinding back to July 23, 2007, and Charleston, S.C. During a Democratic presidential debate at the Citadel, Mr. Obama and the other candidates were asked if, during their first year as president, they would be willing to meet without preconditions with the leaders of Iran, Syria, Venezuela, Cuba and North Korea. ‘I would,’ Mr. Obama replied.” (Helene Cooper, “Bit By Careful Bit, Obama Toughens Stance On Iran,” *The New York Times*, 6/24/09)

- ***The Washington Post's* Charles Krauthammer Described The Administration's Reaction To Iran's 2009 "Green Revolution" As "Shocking Passivity."** "And it surely is an accurate description, from President Obama's shocking passivity during Iran's 2009 Green Revolution to his dithering on Libya, acting at the very last moment, then handing off to a bickering coalition, yielding the current bloody stalemate." (Charles Krauthammer, Op-Ed, "Obama's Doctrine: Lead From Behind," *The Washington Post*, 5/2/11)
- **The Administration "Carefully Calibrated" Their Comments "To The Iranian Government's Increasing Repression."** "You hear the greatest letdown on Iran. Reform-minded Muslims are disappointed that Obama has been reluctant to lead an international campaign against the Iranian regime... Obama has carefully calibrated his comments to the Iranian government's increasing repression." (William Schneider, "A Too-Careful Approach On Iran?" *National Journal*, 7/18/09)

The Wall Street Journal: In Iran, The Administration Was "Behind The Democratic Curve."

"Throughout this turbulent year in Iran, the White House has been behind the democratic curve. When the demonstrations started, Mr. Obama abdicated his moral authority by refusing to take sides, while pushing ahead with plans to negotiate a grand diplomatic bargain with Mr. Ahmadinejad that trades recognition for suspending the nuclear program." (Editorial, "The Peoples' Revolt In Iran," *The Wall Street Journal*, 12/22/09)

Bad ~~HARD~~ CHOICES

BOKO HARAM

CLINTON'S STATE DEPARTMENT REFUSED TO NAME BOKO HARAM A TERRORIST GROUP

In May, Hillary Clinton Condemned The Kidnappings Of Nigerian Schoolgirls By Boko Haram, Calling It “An Act Of Terrorism.” ““The seizure of these young women by this radical extremist group, Boko Haram, is abominable, it’s criminal, it’s an act of terrorism and it really merits the fullest response possible, first and foremost by the government of Nigeria,’ Clinton said in an interview with ABC News’ Robin Roberts at Philanthropy New York.” (Ken Thomas, “Clinton: Kidnapping In Nigeria ‘Act Of Terrorism,’” *Associated Press*, 5/7/14)

But Clinton’s State Department “Fought Hard” Against Listing Boko Haram As A Terrorist Organization

CNN Headline: “Clinton’s Handling Of Boko Haram Questioned” (Tom Cohen, “Clinton’s Handling Of Boko Haram Questioned,” *CNN*, 5/8/14)

- **“Another Flash Point Has Been Her Department’s Decision—Later Reversed—Not To Put Boko Haram, The Nigerian Group Behind The Mass Kidnapping Of Schoolgirls, On A List Of Foreign Terror Groups.”** (Peter Nicholas, Adam Entous, and Carol E. Lee, “Hillary Clinton’s Legacy At State Dept.: A Hawk With Clipped Wings,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/30/14)

“The State Department Under Hillary Clinton Fought Hard Against Placing The Al Qaeda-Linked Militant Group Boko Haram On Its Official List Of Foreign Terrorist Organizations For Two Years.” (Josh Rogin, “Hillary’s State Department Refused To Brand Boko Haram As Terrorists,” *The Daily Beast*, 5/7/14)

- **Former Officials Say That Decision “May Have Hampered” The U.S.’ Ability To Confront The Group.** “And now, lawmakers and former U.S. officials are saying that the decision may have hampered the American government’s ability to confront the Nigerian group that shocked the world by abducting hundreds of innocent girls.” (Josh Rogin, “Hillary’s State Department Refused To Brand Boko Haram As Terrorists,” *The Daily Beast*, 5/7/14)

Clinton’s 2011 Refusal To Place Boko Haram On The Terrorist Organization List “Came Despite The Urging Of The Justice Department, The FBI, The CIA, And Over A Dozen Senators And Congressmen.” “What Clinton didn’t mention was that her own State Department refused to place Boko Haram on the list of foreign terrorist organizations in 2011, after the group bombed the U.N. headquarters in Abuja. The refusal came despite the urging of the Justice Department, the FBI, the CIA, and over a dozen senators and congressmen.” (Josh Rogin, “Hillary’s State Department Refused To Brand Boko Haram As Terrorists,” *The Daily Beast*, 5/7/14)

Former U.S. Senior Official: “The One Thing She [Clinton] Could Have Done, The One Tool She Had At Her Disposal, She Didn’t Use. And Nobody Can Say She Wasn’t Urged To Do It. It’s Gross Hypocrisy.” ““The one thing she could have done, the one tool she had at her disposal, she didn’t use.

And nobody can say she wasn't urged to do it. It's gross hypocrisy,' said a former senior U.S. official who was involved in the debate. 'The FBI, the CIA, and the Justice Department really wanted Boko Haram designated, they wanted the authorities that would provide to go after them, and they voiced that repeatedly to elected officials.'" (Josh Rogin, "Hillary's State Department Refused To Brand Boko Haram As Terrorists,"

The Daily Beast, 5/7/14)

A State Department Official Said The U.S. Could Have Acted Sooner On Boko Haram

CNN Headline: "U.S. Could Have Acted Sooner On Boko Haram, Official Says" (Laura Koran, "U.S. Could Have Acted Sooner On Boko Haram, Official Says," [CNN](#), 5/15/14)

A State Department Official Told Lawmakers That The U.S. Could Have Acted Sooner On Naming Boko Haram A Terrorist Group. "The United States could have acted sooner to designate Boko Haram a foreign terrorist organization, a State Department official told Congress on Thursday, adding that 'resolving this crisis is now one of the highest priorities of the U.S. government.'" (Laura Koran, "U.S. Could Have Acted Sooner On Boko Haram, Official Says," [CNN](#), 5/15/14)

Bad ~~HARD~~ CHOICES

STATE DEPARTMENT MISMANAGEMENT

A LEAKED MEMO SUGGESTED THAT, UNDER CLINTON, SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS INTERFERED IN INVESTIGATIONS OF STAFF MISCONDUCT

Last Year, Allegations Surfaced That “Senior State Department And Diplomatic Security Officials May Have Covered Up Or Stopped Investigations Of Inappropriate Or Even Criminal Misconduct By Staff” During Clinton’s Tenure. “Senior State Department and Diplomatic Security officials may have covered up or stopped investigations of inappropriate or even criminal misconduct by staff, according to an internal memo from the department’s Office of the Inspector General. The timeline surrounding the allegations places the incidents during former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s tenure, opening the possibility that a widening scandal might taint both her record and her possible political aspirations. Clinton has also taken heat for the department’s response to the September 2012 attack on the U.S. diplomatic mission in Benghazi, Libya.” (Ashley Fantz and Jill Dougherty, “Prostitution, Drugs Alleged In State Department Memo,” [CNN](#), 6/12/13)

- **CBS News: “Uncovered Documents That Show The State Department May Have Covered Up Allegations Of Illegal And Inappropriate Behavior Within Their Ranks.”** “CBS News has uncovered documents that show the State Department may have covered up allegations of illegal and inappropriate behavior within their ranks.” (“State Department Memo Reveals Possible Cover-Ups, Halted Investigations,” [CBS News](#), 6/10/13)
- **Aurelia Fedenisn, A Former Investigator With The State Department’s Internal Watchdog Agency, Noted That The IG “Uncovered Several Allegations Of Criminal Wrongdoing In Cases, Some Of Which Never Became Cases.”** “Aurelia Fedenisn, a former investigator with the State Department’s internal watchdog agency, the Inspector General, told Miller, ‘We also uncovered several allegations of criminal wrongdoing in cases, some of which never became cases.’” (“State Department Memo Reveals Possible Cover-Ups, Halted Investigations,” [CBS News](#), 6/10/13)
- **“In Such Cases, DSS Agents Told The Inspector General’s Investigators That Senior State Department Officials Told Them To Back Off, A Charge That Fedenisn Says Is ‘Very’ Upsetting.”** (“State Department Memo Reveals Possible Cover-Ups, Halted Investigations,” [CBS News](#), 6/10/13)
- **“‘We Were Very Upset. We Expect To See Influence, But The Degree To Which That Influence Existed And How High Up It Went, Was Very Disturbing,’ She Said.”** (“State Department Memo Reveals Possible Cover-Ups, Halted Investigations,” [CBS News](#), 6/10/13)

Diplomatic Security Service Agent Mike Pohelitz Said He Was Told To Stop Investigating A Case And That The Order “Likely Came From The Upper Ranks Of The DSS.” “John Miller spoke with Mike Pohelitz, a retired Senior Agent at the DSS who was involved in one of the cases listed in the Inspector General’s memo. Pohelitz said he was told to stop investigating one of the cases and that the order likely came from the upper ranks of the DSS.” (“State Department Memo Reveals Possible Cover-Ups, Halted Investigations,” [CBS News](#), 6/10/13)

- **Pohelitz: My Orders Had To Have “Come From Somebody Higher Than DS, I’m Sure.”** “‘I got the information through my DS channel,’ he told Miller. ‘But it had to come from somebody higher than DS, I’m sure.’” (“State Department Memo Reveals Possible Cover-Ups, Halted Investigations,” [CBS News](#), 6/10/13)
- **The Diplomatic Security Service Is Charged With Investigation Any Cases Of Misconduct Within The State Department.** “The Diplomatic Security Service, or the DSS, is the State Department’s security force, charged with protecting the secretary of state and U.S. ambassadors overseas and with investigating any cases of misconduct on the part of the 70,000 State Department employees worldwide.” (“State Department Memo Reveals Possible Cover-Ups, Halted Investigations,” [CBS News](#), 6/10/13)

The Internal State Department IG Memo Cited Eight Specific Examples Of Investigations That “Were Influenced, Manipulated, Or Simply Called Off.” “CBS News’ John Miller reports that according to an internal State Department Inspector General’s memo, several recent investigations were influenced, manipulated, or simply called off. The memo obtained by CBS News cited eight specific examples.” (“State Department Memo Reveals Possible Cover-Ups, Halted Investigations,” [CBS News](#), 6/10/13)

- **The Memo Included Allegations Of “Sexual Assaults” By State Department Officials And An “Endemic” Problem Of Members Of Clinton’s Security Staff Engaging In Prostitution.** “Among them: allegations that a State Department security official in Beirut ‘engaged in sexual assaults’ on foreign nationals hired as embassy guards and the charge and that members of former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s security detail ‘engaged prostitutes while on official trips in foreign countries’ -- a problem the report says was ‘endemic.’” (“State Department Memo Reveals Possible Cover-Ups, Halted Investigations,” [CBS News](#), 6/10/13)
- **The Memo Revealed Details Of An “Underground Drug Ring” Operating Near A U.S. Embassy That “Supplied State Department Security Contractors With Drugs.”** “‘The memo also reveals details about an ‘underground drug ring’ was operating near the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad and supplied State Department security contractors with drugs.” (“State Department Memo Reveals Possible Cover-Ups, Halted Investigations,” [CBS News](#), 6/10/13)

State Department Staffers Implicated In The Memo “Were Given Cushy Jobs” Or “Little More Than Wrist-Slaps”

Months After Whistleblowers Accused The State Department Of Covering Up Sex Scandals, Records Indicated That Staffers “Were Given Cushy Jobs Or Allowed To Retire” And “The Feds Have Hardly Bothered To Investigate.” “Months after whistleblowers accused the State Department of covering up employee sex scandals, most of the cases have been ignored or swept under the rug, critics charge. Records show that staffers were given cushy jobs or allowed to retire, and watchdogs say the feds have hardly bothered to investigate since the shenanigans came to light this past summer.” (Kate Briquenet, “State Department Swept Sex Scandals Under The Rug,” [New York Post](#), 10/20/13)

Fedenisn's Memo Leak Indicated That "Former Ambassador To Belgium Howard Gutman And Members Of Clinton's Security Detail Hired Prostitutes But Were Given Little More Than Wrist-Slaps." "The bombshell memo detailed accusations that former Ambassador to Belgium Howard Gutman and members of Clinton's security detail hired prostitutes, but were given little more than wrist-slaps." (Kate Briquetelet, "State Department Swept Sex Scandals Under The Rug," *New York Post*, 10/20/13)

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