

RELEASE IN  
PART B5,B6

**From:** Posner, Michael H <PosnerMH@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 5, 2011 3:34 PM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** McHale, Judith A; Baer, Daniel B; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** RE: [REDACTED]

B5

Madame Secretary,

I have not worked on anything since I arrived here where the gap between the value of what we are doing and the public perception of it is more out of sync. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] we have been on the receiving end of a series of negative stories about this program and are now fighting to retain our funding on the Hill. [REDACTED]

In fact on the merits, since I arrived in September 2009, I've watched the program grow from just two grants awarded in the last days of the Bush Administration that had languished without oversight for almost a year to a thriving group of grantees and sub-grantees totaling \$22 million. We have an excellent team in place and by the end of this month, we will make another round of grants totaling about \$28 million to a number of excellent organizations.

[REDACTED]  
 governments cracking down on their own people aren't just putting up firewalls, they're torturing people for their passwords, infecting their computers with viruses, hacking their email accounts, and taking down their websites. Your Internet Freedom speeches make clear that this issue is about defending people in their use of the open, content-neutral Internet to tell their own stories.

Our Internet freedom program is supporting that objective, and while the projects are still very young, we're already seeing results. In the last 18 months, we've supported a dozen different circumvention technologies, trained 5,000 of the most high-risk activists, run cyber self-defense campaigns to raise awareness about how to keep safe when using online tools in hostile environments, started funding brand new technology to secure mobile phones, and supported cutting edge research on the emerging threats activists are facing.

Ironically, other governments and big foundations increasingly are looking to our program as the best-in-class model of how to support activists and journalists in hostile Internet environments. I'm confident that this program will be part of your legacy. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] We issued \$6.5 million in grants last summer, on top of the \$15 million that we inherited from the last Administration. In December, we issued a solicitation for a further \$30 million together with NEA. Normal grants processing takes 6 - 9 months (and sometimes longer) to issue a solicitation, give people time to submit applications, evaluate them, notify Congress, and then finalize grant agreements with successful organizations. Because Internet freedom is so urgent, we've moved that timeline up--the Internet freedom team is evaluating proposals today and will notify Congress by the end of the month, two months ahead of the most optimistic timelines for a normal grants process. This is a new policy area, and the Department didn't have a foreign policy strategy for Internet freedom until DRL led a collaborative process to develop a

strategy with the buy-in of actors around the Department and USAID that you signed in November. In short, we took time to develop a strong program that will protect the safety and privacy of digital activists, [redacted]

B5

You're right that perception rules, and if anything, the place where we've fallen short is in public messaging around the Internet freedom program. We're being beaten by a false narrative that we're slow, we don't care, and we don't have capacity. This is far from the truth, and we're working full steam ahead to change the narrative. We've gotten some small media coverage in the last two weeks and are working on a few bigger stories. Judith has been incredibly supportive, and DRL's enhanced communications capacity will be hugely helpful in the coming weeks. I know a \$15 million transfer seems like small potatoes, but I strongly believe that transferring this money will confuse the issue of Internet freedom and undermine the Department's credibility on a defense of an open, content-neutral Internet. This isn't about just enabling people to access blocked content--this is about a comprehensive program that keeps people out of jail, on the streets, on blogs, in newspapers, telling their own stories.

Mike

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

This email is UNCLASSIFIED-----Original Message-----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
Sent: Tuesday, April 05, 2011 8:37 AM  
To: Baer, Daniel B; Mills, Cheryl D; Posner, Michael H  
Cc: McHale, Judith A  
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Having been in DC's evidence-free zone longer than I care to recall, I do know that perception trumps facts every time so we are in a deficit position from which to challenge these assertions.

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

From: Baer, Daniel B [mailto:BaerDB@state.gov]  
Sent: Tuesday, April 05, 2011 08:10 AM  
To: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>; H; Posner, Michael H <PosnerMH@state.gov>  
Cc: McHale, Judith A <McHaleJA@state.gov>  
Subject: RE: [redacted]

[redacted]  
[redacted]

I'm sorry that you keep having to deal with this. I'm confident that we are right on substance, that our programs are and will continue to be effective at supporting people on the ground, saving them from real danger, giving them safe access. We are about to distribute what will be the most competitive, cutting edge programming done for democracy/development in the USG.

Dan

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

From: Mills, Cheryl D  
Sent: Tuesday, April 05, 2011 8:04 AM  
To: 'H'; Posner, Michael H; Baer, Daniel B  
Cc: McHale, Judith A  
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

B5

I spoke with Mike who is preparing a response for you that outlines where we are; Judith is in rome and was not able to join the call so she does not yet have the feedback I shared with mike.

cdm

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

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]  
Sent: Tuesday, April 05, 2011 7:59 AM  
To: Posner, Michael H; 'daniel.baer' [REDACTED]  
Cc: McHale, Judith A; Mills, Cheryl D  
Subject: [REDACTED]

B6

B5

I am, as you might guess, concerned and surprised [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] the facts she cites don't make us look good. What's the bottom line on what we've actually done?