

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

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**Sent:** Monday, March 14, 2011 10:45 AM  
**To:** H  
**Subject:** Fw: AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

**Importance:** High

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 02/29/2016 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 03/13/2026

Fyi

**From:** Jones, Deborah K  
**Sent:** Monday, March 14, 2011 09:34 AM  
**To:** Williams, Stephanie T; 'John\_O.\_Brennan( [redacted] ); 'Leslie\_M\_Tsou( [redacted] ); Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Wells, Alice G; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Bondy, Steven C; 'Denis\_R.\_McDonough( [redacted] ); 'Dennis\_B.\_Ross( [redacted] ); Hood, Ludovic L; 'Puneet\_Talwar( [redacted] ); 'Lisa\_D\_Kenna( [redacted] ); Macmanus, Joseph E; S\_SpecialAssistants; Catalano, Elisa; Nides, Thomas R; 'Antony\_J.\_Blinken( [redacted] ); 'Herro\_K.\_Mustafa( [redacted] )  
**Cc:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J; Posner, Michael H; Olson, Richard G; Greene, Douglas C; Ziadeh, Susan L; Smith, James B; Crowley, Philip J; Djerassi, Alexander M; NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Wittes, Tamara C; Mull, Stephen D; SES-O; Williams, Thomas E; Schmierer, Richard J; LeBaron, Joseph E; Hurtado, L Victor (Muscat); Nantongo, Mirembe L; Scobey, Margaret; Gray, Gordon  
**Subject:** RE: AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

B6

B1  
1.4(B)  
1.4(D)



*dj*

**Deborah K. Jones**  
US Ambassador to the State of Kuwait  
jonesdk2@state.gov  
Tel: +965.2259-1227

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

**From:** Williams, Stephanie T  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 10:40 PM  
**To:** 'John\_O.\_Brennan [redacted]'; 'Leslie\_M\_Tsou [redacted]'; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Jones, Deborah K; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Wells, Alice G; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Bondy, Steven C; 'Denis R. McDonough [redacted]'; 'Dennis\_B.\_Ross [redacted]'; Hood, Ludovic L; 'Puneet\_Talwar [redacted]'; 'Lisa\_D\_Kenna [redacted]'; Macmanus, Joseph E; S\_SpecialAssistants; Catalano, Elisa; Nides, Thomas R; 'Antony\_J.\_Blinken [redacted]'; 'Herro\_K.\_Mustafa [redacted]';  
**Cc:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J; Posner, Michael H; Olson, Richard G; Greene, Douglas C; Ziadeh, Susan L; Smith, James B; Crowley, Phillip J; Djerassi, Alexander M; NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Wittes, Tamara C; Mull, Stephen D; SES-O; Williams, Thomas E; Schmierer, Richard J; LeBaron, Joseph E; Hurtado, L Victor (Muscat); Nantongo, Mirembe L; Scobey, Margaret; Gray, Gordon  
**Subject:** Re: AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

B6

We are already receiving complaints from the GOB about the statement issued, that it is one-sided and does not take into account violent acts perpetrated by demonstrators against police (at least one senior police official is in critical condition). Two embassy sitreps today outlined in detail the state of play and difference between today's events and previous violence.

**From:** Brennan, John O. [redacted]  
**To:** Tsou, Leslie [redacted]; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Jones, Deborah K; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Wells, Alice G; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Bondy, Steven C; McDonough, Denis R. [redacted]; Ross, Dennis B. [redacted]; Williams, Stephanie T; Hood, Ludovic L; Talwar, Puneet <Puneet\_Talwar [redacted]>; Kenna, Lisa [redacted]; Macmanus, Joseph E; S\_SpecialAssistants; Catalano, Elisa; Nides, Thomas R; Blinken, Antony J. [redacted]; Mustafa, Herro K. [redacted];  
**Cc:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J; Posner, Michael H; Olson, Richard G; Greene, Douglas C; Ziadeh, Susan L; Smith, James B; Crowley, Phillip J; Djerassi, Alexander M; NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Wittes, Tamara C; Mull, Stephen D; SES-O; Williams, Thomas E; Schmierer, Richard J; LeBaron, Joseph E; Hurtado, L Victor (Muscat); Nantongo, Mirembe L; Scobey, Margaret; Gray, Gordon  
**Sent:** Sun Mar 13 22:08:39 2011  
**Subject:** RE: AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

[Redacted]

B5

[Redacted]

1.4(B)  
1.4(D)  
B1

[Redacted]

B5

**From:** Tsou, Leslie

**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 1:01 PM

**To:** 'feltmanjd@state.gov'; 'JonesDK2@state.gov'; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov'; 'BurnsWJ@state.gov'; 'SteinbergJB@state.gov'; 'WellsAG@state.gov'; 'SchlicherRL@state.gov'; 'SandersonJA@state.gov'; 'BondySC@state.gov'; McDonough, Denis R.; Ross, Dennis B.; 'WilliamsST2@state.gov'; 'HoodLL@state.gov'; Talwar, Puneet; [redacted] Kenna, Lisa; 'MacmanusJE@state.gov'; 'S\_SpecialAssistants@state.gov'; 'CatalanoE@state.gov'; 'NidesTR@state.gov'; Blinken, Antony J.; Mustafa, Herro K.; Brennan, John O.

B6

**Cc:** 'Barks-RugglesEJ@state.gov'; 'PosnerMH@state.gov'; 'olsonrg@state.gov'; 'GreeneDC@state.gov'; 'ZiadehSL@state.gov'; 'SmithJB2@state.gov'; 'CrowleyPJ@state.gov'; 'DjerassiAM@state.gov'; 'NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL@state.gov'; 'HoltzGC@state.gov'; 'WittesTC@state.gov'; 'MullSD@state.gov'; 'SES-O@state.gov'; 'WilliamsTE@state.gov'; 'SchmiererRJ@state.gov'; 'LeBaronJE@state.gov'; 'HurtadoLV@state.gov'; 'NantongoML@state.gov'; 'ScobeyMM@state.gov'; 'GrayG2@state.gov'

**Subject:** Re: AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

+ John Brennan, this time with him

**From:** Tsou, Leslie

**To:** 'feltmanjd@state.gov' <feltmanjd@state.gov>; 'JonesDK2@state.gov' <JonesDK2@state.gov>; 'SullivanJJ@state.gov' <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; 'BurnsWJ@state.gov' <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; 'SteinbergJB@state.gov' <SteinbergJB@state.gov>; 'WellsAG@state.gov' <WellsAG@state.gov>; 'SchlicherRL@state.gov' <SchlicherRL@state.gov>; 'SandersonJA@state.gov' <SandersonJA@state.gov>; 'BondySC@state.gov' <BondySC@state.gov>; McDonough, Denis R.; Ross, Dennis B.; 'WilliamsST2@state.gov' <WilliamsST2@state.gov>; 'HoodLL@state.gov' <HoodLL@state.gov>; 'Puneet\_Talwar' [redacted]

[redacted]; Kenna, Lisa; 'MacmanusJE@state.gov' <MacmanusJE@state.gov>; 'S\_SpecialAssistants@state.gov' <S\_SpecialAssistants@state.gov>; 'CatalanoE@state.gov' <CatalanoE@state.gov>; 'NidesTR@state.gov' <NidesTR@state.gov>; Blinken, Antony J.; Mustafa, Herro K.

**Cc:** 'Barks-RugglesEJ@state.gov' <Barks-RugglesEJ@state.gov>; 'PosnerMH@state.gov' <PosnerMH@state.gov>; 'olsonrg@state.gov' <olsonrg@state.gov>; 'GreeneDC@state.gov' <GreeneDC@state.gov>; 'ZiadehSL@state.gov' <ZiadehSL@state.gov>; 'SmithJB2@state.gov' <SmithJB2@state.gov>; 'CrowleyPJ@state.gov' <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>; 'DjerassiAM@state.gov' <DjerassiAM@state.gov>; 'NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL@state.gov' <NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL@state.gov>; 'HoltzGC@state.gov' <HoltzGC@state.gov>; 'WittesTC@state.gov' <WittesTC@state.gov>; 'MullSD@state.gov' <MullSD@state.gov>; 'SES-O@state.gov' <SES-O@state.gov>; 'WilliamsTE@state.gov' <WilliamsTE@state.gov>; 'SchmiererRJ@state.gov' <SchmiererRJ@state.gov>; 'LeBaronJE@state.gov' <LeBaronJE@state.gov>; 'HurtadoLV@state.gov' <HurtadoLV@state.gov>; 'NantongoML@state.gov' <NantongoML@state.gov>; 'ScobeyMM@state.gov' <ScobeyMM@state.gov>; 'GrayG2@state.gov' <GrayG2@state.gov>

**Sent:** Sun Mar 13 12:59:29 2011

**Subject:** Re: AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

+ John Brennan

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>

**To:** Feltman, Jeffrey D <FeltmanJD@state.gov>; Jones, Deborah K <JonesDK2@state.gov>; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>; Steinberg, James B <SteinbergJB@state.gov>; Wells, Alice G <WellsAG@state.gov>; Schlicher, Ronald L <SchlicherRL@state.gov>; Sanderson, Janet A <SandersonJA@state.gov>; Bondy, Steven C <BondySC@state.gov>; McDonough, Denis R.; Ross, Dennis B.; Williams, Stephanie T <WilliamsST2@state.gov>; Hood, Ludovic L <HoodLL@state.gov>; Talwar, Puneet; [redacted]

[redacted] Tsou, Leslie; Kenna, Lisa; Macmanus, Joseph E <MacmanusJE@state.gov>; S\_SpecialAssistants <S\_SpecialAssistants@state.gov>; Catalano, Elisa <CatalanoE@state.gov>; Nides, Thomas R <NidesTR@state.gov>; Blinken, Antony J.; Mustafa, Herro K.

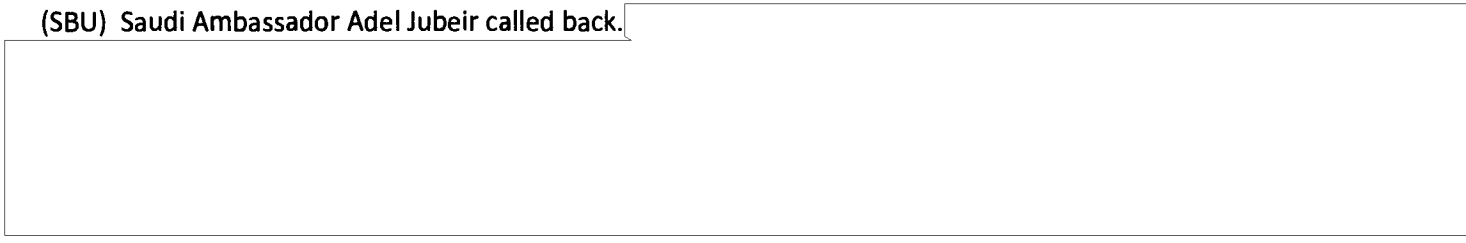
**Cc:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J <Barks-RugglesEJ@state.gov>; Posner, Michael H <PosnerMH@state.gov>; Olson, Richard G <olsonrg@state.gov>; Greene, Douglas C <GreeneDC@state.gov>; Ziadeh, Susan L <ZiadehSL@state.gov>; Smith, James B <SmithJB2@state.gov>; Crowley, Philip J <CrowleyPJ@state.gov>; Djerassi, Alexander M

<DjerassiAM@state.gov>; NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL <NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL@state.gov>; Holtz, Greta C (NEA) <HoltzGC@state.gov>; Wittes, Tamara C <WittesTC@state.gov>; Mull, Stephen D <MullSD@state.gov>; SES-O <SES-O@state.gov>; Williams, Thomas E <WilliamsTE@state.gov>; Schmierer, Richard J <SchmiererRJ@state.gov>; LeBaron, Joseph E <LeBaronJE@state.gov>; Hurtado, L Victor (Muscat) <HurtadoLV@state.gov>; Nantongo, Mirembe L <NantongoML@state.gov>; Scobey, Margaret <ScobeyMM@state.gov>; Gray, Gordon <GrayG2@state.gov>

**Sent:** Sun Mar 13 12:57:01 2011

**Subject:** RE: AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

(SBU) Saudi Ambassador Adel Jubeir called back.



1.4(B)  
1.4(D)  
B1

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D

**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 11:23 AM

**To:** Jones, Deborah K; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Wells, Alice G; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Bondy, Steven C; 'Denis\_R. McDonough'; 'Dennis\_B. Ross'; Williams, Stephanie T; Hood, Ludovic L; 'Puneet\_Talwar'; 'Lisa\_D\_Kenna'; Macmanus, Joseph E; S\_SpecialAssistants; Catalano, Elisa; Nides, Thomas R; 'Antony\_J. Blinker'; 'Herro\_K. Mustafa'

B6

**Cc:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J; Posner, Michael H; Olson, Richard G; Greene, Douglas C; Ziadeh, Susan L; Smith, James B; Crowley, Philip J; Djerassi, Alexander M; NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Wittes, Tamara C; Mull, Stephen D; SES-O; Williams, Thomas E; Schmierer, Richard J; LeBaron, Joseph E; Hurtado, L Victor (Muscat); Nantongo, Mirembe L; Scobey, Margaret; Gray, Gordon

**Subject:** RE: AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

(SBU) I do not believe that we will be able to dissuade the GCC from sending troops, which are apparently being sent in under a GCC security agreement. The GCC heads of state obviously see what is happening in Bahrain as an existential threat, and the increasingly provocative demonstrations and counter-demonstrations just reinforce for the GCC that the situation in Bahrain has become intolerable. But even if we can't dissuade the GCC from going in, I hope that people at the White House and OSD can use their contacts to reinforce the points I am trying to make – that violence against peaceful protestors will cause a crisis in our relationship, that the GCC troops need to exercise restraint and care, and that we will be asked to comment publicly on this. (The GCC will insist that this is an internal GCC matter.) The content of our public comments will derive from the behavior of the GCC troops on the ground.

**From:** Jones, Deborah K

**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 11:10 AM

**To:** Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Wells, Alice G; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Bondy, Steven C; 'Denis\_R. McDonough'; 'Dennis\_B. Ross'; Williams, Stephanie T; Hood, Ludovic L; 'Puneet\_Talwar'; 'Lisa\_D\_Kenna'; Macmanus, Joseph E; S\_SpecialAssistants; Catalano, Elisa; Nides, Thomas R; 'Antony\_J. Blinker'; 'Herro\_K. Mustafa'

**Cc:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J; Posner, Michael H; Olson, Richard G; Greene, Douglas C; Ziadeh, Susan L; Smith, James B; Crowley, Philip J; Djerassi, Alexander M; NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Wittes, Tamara C; Mull, Stephen D; SES-O; Williams, Thomas E; Schmierer, Richard J; LeBaron, Joseph E; Hurtado, L Victor (Muscat); Nantongo, Mirembe L; Scobey, Margaret; Gray, Gordon

**Subject:** Re: AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

Just got off the phone with Dr Mohamed, who is en route to Istanbul. While having external forces enter Bahrain was not Kuwait's preferred route, they had not objected to the Saudi proposal as it appeared that the opposition was determined to take things to a new level, ie take the fight to the Sunni areas. And here Dr Mohamed said "what was that Thomas Jefferson quote about the tree of liberty needing to be watered with the blood of martyrs and patriots? Well it seems they've chosen to do this." I told him Jeff might be passing through Kuwait unexpectedly. He will be in Istanbul tomorrow and possibly next day.

Deborah K. Jones, US Ambassador to the State of Kuwait

**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D

**To:** Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Wells, Alice G; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Bondy, Steven C; 'McDonough, Denis R.' <[REDACTED]> 'Ross, Dennis B.'

[REDACTED]; Williams, Stephanie T; Hood, Ludovic L; 'Puneet Talwar' [REDACTED]

'Leslie M Tsou' [REDACTED]

'Lisa D Kenna' [REDACTED]

Macmanus, Joseph E;

S\_SpecialAssistants; Catalano, Elisa; Nides, Thomas R; 'Blinken, Antony J.' [REDACTED] 'Mustafa, Herro K.' [REDACTED]

**Cc:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J; Posner, Michael H; Olson, Richard G; Greene, Douglas C; Ziadeh, Susan L; Smith, James B; Crowley, Phillip J; Djerassi, Alexander M; NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Wittes, Tamara C; Mull, Stephen D; SES-O; Jones, Deborah K; Williams, Thomas E; Schmierer, Richard J; LeBaron, Joseph E; Hurtado, L Victor (Muscat); Nantongo, Mirembe L; Scobey, Margaret; Gray, Gordon

**Sent:** Sun Mar 13 18:56:16 2011

**Subject:** RE: AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

(SBU) Saudi Ambassador Adel Jubeir called back. He said that the forces used will be Saudi National Guard, and he expects others from the GCC to participate. He did not know the numbers. He said that he believes that the purpose is moral support as much as anything. We had the same sort of conversation I had with AbZ – discussion about the human rights/violence aspects and the fact that moderate Shia will be politically undermined by this. I cautioned him that violence could cause a U.S.-Saudi crisis.

(SBU) He distinguished the troops going in “today” from what is now on the causeway. He said that there were Bahraini demonstrators trying to close the causeway and that Saudi police have been there 6-7 hours as a result of the demonstrators.

(SBU) Adel said that Prince Saud, Saudi FM, is trying to reach Secretary Clinton to discuss this.

(SBU) I noted that I was traveling to Bahrain, and he did not react.

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**From:** Feltman, Jeffrey D

**Sent:** Sunday, March 13, 2011 10:37 AM

**To:** Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J; Steinberg, James B; Wells, Alice G; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Bondy, Steven C; 'McDonough, Denis R.'; 'Ross, Dennis B.'; Williams, Stephanie T; Hood, Ludovic L;

'Puneet Talwar' [REDACTED]; 'Leslie M Tsou' [REDACTED]

'Lisa D Kenna' [REDACTED]; Macmanus, Joseph E; S\_SpecialAssistants; Catalano, Elisa; Nides, Thomas R; 'Blinken, Antony J.'; 'Mustafa, Herro K.'

**Cc:** Barks-Ruggles, Erica J; Posner, Michael H; Olson, Richard G; Greene, Douglas C; Ziadeh, Susan L; Smith, James B; Crowley, Phillip J; Djerassi, Alexander M; NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); Wittes, Tamara C; Mull, Stephen D; SES-O; Jones, Deborah K; Williams, Thomas E; Schmierer, Richard J; LeBaron, Joseph E; Hurtado, L Victor (Muscat); Nantongo, Mirembe L; Scobey, Margaret; Gray, Gordon

**Subject:** AbZ: Saudi and UAE forces responding to Bahraini request for help

(SBU) UAE Foreign Minister Abdullah bin Zayed just confirmed to me that the UAE and Saudi Arabia are sending troops into Bahrain, which he says was requested by the Bahraini government today. (I also have requested Saudi Ambassador Adel Jubeir to get back to me with the Saudi explanation.) He confirmed that troops are on the causeway to Bahrain and will enter Bahrain.

(SBU) I asked what he expected to accomplish. The basic answer is that the UAE is responding to the call to restore order. I raised the human rights concerns and my sense that Saudi and Emirati troops would provoke the hardline Shia into further action and undermine the moderate Shia, who will have no choice but to react in the same way as the hardliners. I noted that the UAE does not have a history of street protests, so I expressed

concern about the ability to avoid violence. He said that the UAE wasn't entering to kill people. AbZ also said that the King of Bahrain had extended his hand "too long" and that the other GCC countries would not stand by and watch others take Bahrain hostage. I asked about other GCC participation; he implied others might join, but he was non-committal. I said that, if there was violence, there could be a crisis with us; he said he understood, but that this was an internal GCC matter. I warned him that we would have to say something publicly. AbZ didn't say this explicitly, but it sure sounded, from everything that he said, that the GCC countries have had it with the demonstrations in Manama. (Ops, I wasn't taking notes, but I think this captures his major points, yes?)

(SBU) AbZ also advised me not to go to Bahrain tomorrow as planned. (I leave here in a few hours.) He added that he didn't expect big problems tomorrow. (Bahraini FM Sheikh Khalid also told the Embassy in Manama earlier that I should not travel; now we know why.)

(SBU) For my travel, I am going to proceed and try to get to Bahrain. If there is a crisis there tomorrow, I should be there to support our Embassy's work. But Embassy Kuwait: can you be prepared to receive me, if the United flight (which stops in Kuwait) is prevented from going on to Bahrain? I could see that happening.

(SBU) Jake Sullivan: depending on what happens in Bahrain, I may be forced to stay in the Gulf rather than meet up with S in Cairo and Tunisia.